Martin Luther

Biography

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Chapter 1

Main article

1.1 Martin Luther

For other people named Martin Luther, see Martin Luther (disambiguation).

Martin Luther (/ˈluːθər/;[1] German: [ˈmaɐ̯tiːn ˈlʊtɐ]; 10 November 1483 – 18 February 1546), O.S.A., was a German professor of theology, composer, priest, monk[2] and a seminal figure in the Protestant Reformation.

Luther came to reject several teachings and practices of the Roman Catholic Church. He strongly disputed the claim that freedom from God's punishment for sin could be purchased with money, proposing an academic discussion of the practice and efficacy of indulgences in his *Ninety-five Theses* of 1517. His refusal to renounce all of his writings at the demand of Pope Leo X in 1520 and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V at the Diet of Worms in 1521 resulted in his excommunication by the Pope and condemnation as an outlaw by the Emperor.

Luther taught that salvation and, subsequently, eternal life are not earned by good deeds but are received only as the free gift of God's grace through the believer's faith in Jesus Christ as redeemer from sin. His theology challenged the authority and office of the Pope by teaching that the Bible is the only source of divinely revealed knowledge from God[3] and opposed sacerdotalism by considering all baptized Christians to be a holy priesthood.[4] Those who identify with these, and all of Luther's wider teachings, are called Lutherans, though Luther insisted on *Christian* or *Evangelical* as the only acceptable names for individuals who professed Christ.

His translation of the Bible into the vernacular (instead of Latin) made it more accessible to the laity, an event that had a tremendous impact on both the church and German culture. It fostered the development of a standard version of the German language, added several principles to the art of translation,[5] and influenced the writing of an English translation, the Tyndale Bible.[6] His hymns influenced the development of singing in Protestant churches.[7] His marriage to Katharina von Bora, a former nun, set a model for the practice of clerical marriage, allowing Protestant clergy to marry.[8]

In two of his later works, Luther expressed antagonistic views towards Jews, writing that Jewish homes and synagogues should be destroyed, their money confiscated, and liberty curtailed. Condemned by virtually every Lutheran denomination, these statements and their influence on antisemitism have contributed to his controversial status.[9]

1.1.1 Early life

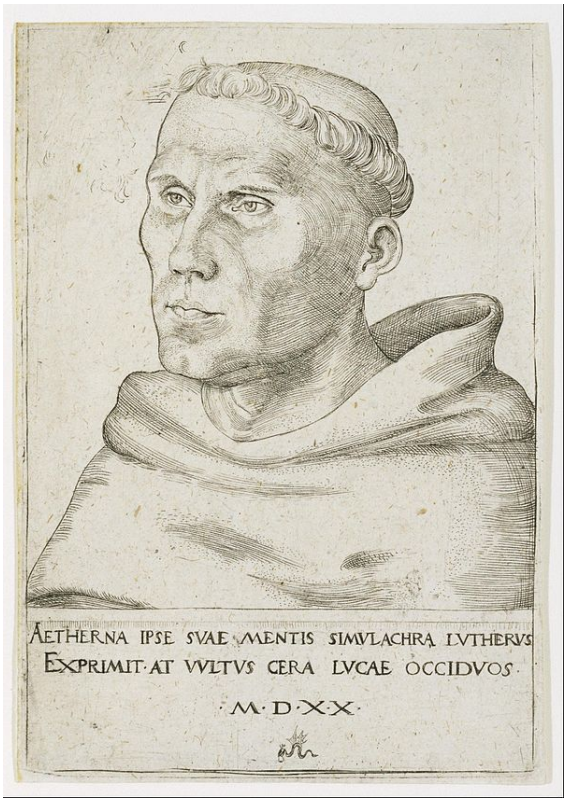
Birth and education

Portraits of Hans and Margarethe Luther by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1527

Martin Luther was born to Hans Luder (or Ludher, later Luther)[10] and his wife Margarethe (née Lindemann) on 10 November 1483 in Eisleben, Saxony, then part of the Holy Roman Empire. He was baptized as a Catholic the next morning on the feast day of St. Martin of Tours. His family moved to Mansfeld in 1484, where his father was a leaseholder of copper mines and smelters[11] and served as one of four citizen representatives on the local council.[10] The religious scholar Martin Marty describes Luther's mother as a hard-working woman of "trading-class stock and middling means" and notes that Luther's enemies later wrongly described her as a whore and bath attendant.[10] He had several brothers and sisters, and is known to have been close to one of them, Jacob.[12] Hans Luther was ambitious for himself and his family, and he was determined to see Martin, his eldest son, become a lawyer. He sent Martin to Latin schools in Mansfeld, then Magdeburg in 1497, where he attended a school operated by a lay group called the Brethren of the Common Life, and Eisenach in 1498.[13] The three schools focused

on the so-called "trivium": grammar, rhetoric, and logic. Luther later compared his education there to purgatory and hell.[14]

In 1501, at the age of 19, he entered the University of Erfurt, which he later described as a beerhouse and whorehouse.[15] He was made to wake at four every morning for what has been described as "a day of rote learning and often wearying spiritual exercises."[15] He received his master's degree in 1505.[16]



Luther as a friar, with tonsure

In accordance with his father's wishes, Luther enrolled in law school at the same university that year but dropped out almost immediately, believing that law represented uncertainty.[16] Luther sought assurances about life and was drawn to theology and philosophy, expressing particular interest in Aristotle, William of Ockham, and Gabriel Biel.[16] He was deeply influenced by two tutors, Bartholomaeus Arnoldi von Usingen and Jodocus Trutfetter, who taught him to be suspicious of even the greatest thinkers[16] and to test everything himself by experience.[17] Philosophy proved to be unsatisfying, offering assurance about the use of reason but none about loving God, which to Luther was more important. Reason could not lead men to God, he felt, and he thereafter developed a love-hate relationship with Aristotle over the latter's emphasis on reason.[17] For Luther, reason could be used to question men and institutions, but not God. Human beings could learn about God only through divine revelation, he believed, and Scripture therefore became increasingly important to him.[17]

He later attributed his decision to an event: on 2 July 1505, he was returning to university on horseback after a trip home. During a thunderstorm, a lightning bolt struck near him. Later telling his father he was terrified of death and divine judgment, he cried out, "Help! Saint Anna, I will become a monk!"[18][19] He came to view his cry for help as a vow he could never break. He left law school, sold his books, and entered a closed Augustinian cloister in Erfurt on 17 July 1505.[20] One friend blamed the decision on Luther's sadness over the deaths of two friends. Luther himself seemed saddened by the move. Those who attended a farewell supper walked him to the door of the Black Cloister. "This day you see me, and then, not ever again," he said.[17] His father was furious over what he saw as a waste of Luther's education.[21]

Early and academic life

Posthumous Portrait of Luther as an Augustinian friar

Luther dedicated himself to the Augustinian order, devoting himself to fasting, long hours in prayer, pilgrimage, and frequent confession.[22] Luther described this period of his life as one of deep spiritual despair. He said, "I lost touch with Christ the Savior and Comforter, and made of him the jailer and hangman of my poor soul."[23] Johann von Staupitz, his superior, pointed Luther's mind away from continual reflection upon his sins toward the merits of Christ. He taught that true repentance does not involve self-inflicted penances and punishments but rather a change of heart.[24]

In 1507, he was ordained to the priesthood, and in 1508, von Staupitz, first dean of the newly founded University of Wittenberg, sent for Luther, to teach theology.[25][26] He received a bachelor's degree in Biblical studies on 9 March 1508, and another bachelor's degree in the *Sentences* by Peter Lombard in 1509.[27]

On 19 October 1512, he was awarded his Doctor of Theology and, on 21 October 1512, was received into the senate of the theological faculty of the University of Wittenberg,[28] having succeeded Staupitz as chair of theology.[29] He spent the rest of his career in this position at the University of Wittenberg.

He was made provincial vicar of Saxony and Thuringia by his religious order in 1515. This meant he was to visit and oversee each of eleven monasteries in his province.[30]

1.1.2 Start of the Reformation

Further information: History of Protestantism and Ninety-five Theses

In 1516, Johann Tetzel, a Dominican friar and papal commissioner for indulgences, was sent to Germany by the Roman Catholic Church to sell indulgences to raise money to rebuild St. Peter's Basilica in Rome.[31] Roman Catholic theology stated that faith alone, whether fiduciary or dogmatic, cannot justify man;[32] justification rather depends only on such faith as is active in charity and good works (*fides caritate formata*).[33] The benefits of good works could be obtained by donating money to the church.

Luther's theses are engraved into the door of All Saints' Church, Wittenberg. The Latin inscription above informs the reader that the original door was destroyed by a fire, and that in 1857, King Frederick William IV of Prussia ordered a replacement be made.

On 31 October 1517, Luther wrote to his bishop, Albert of Mainz, protesting the sale of indulgences. He enclosed in his letter a copy of his "Disputation of Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences", which came to be known as the *Ninety-five Theses*. Hans Hillerbrand writes that Luther had no intention of confronting the church, but saw his disputation as a scholarly objection to church practices, and the tone of the writing is accordingly "searching, rather than doctrinaire."[34] Hillerbrand writes that there is nevertheless an undercurrent of challenge in several of the theses, particularly in Thesis 86, which asks: "Why does the pope, whose wealth today is greater than the wealth of the richest Crassus, build the basilica of St. Peter with the money of poor believers rather than with his own money?"[34]

Luther objected to a saying attributed to Johann Tetzel that "As soon as the coin in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory (also attested as 'into heaven') springs."[35] He insisted that, since forgiveness was God's alone to grant, those who claimed that indulgences absolved buyers from all punishments and granted them salvation were in error. Christians, he said, must not slacken in following Christ on account of such false assurances.

The sale of indulgences shown in A Question to a Mintmaker, *woodcut by Jörg Breu the Elder of Augsburg, ca. 1530.*

However, this oft-quoted saying of Tetzel was by no means representative of contemporary Catholic teaching on indulgences, but rather a reflection of his capacity to exaggerate. Yet if Tetzel overstated the matter in regard to indulgences for the *dead*, his teaching on indulgences for the *living* was in line with Catholic dogma of the time.[36]

According to one account, Luther nailed his *Ninety-five Theses* to the door of All Saints' Church in Wittenberg on 31 October 1517. Scholars Walter Krämer, Götz Trenkler, Gerhard Ritter, and Gerhard Prause contend that the story of the posting on the door, even though it has settled as one of the pillars of history, has little foundation in truth.[37][38][39] The story is based on comments made by Philipp Melanchthon, though it is thought that he was not in Wittenberg at the time.[40]

The Latin *Theses* were printed in several location in Germany in 1517. In January 1518 friends of Luther translated the *Ninety-five Theses* from Latin into German.[41]

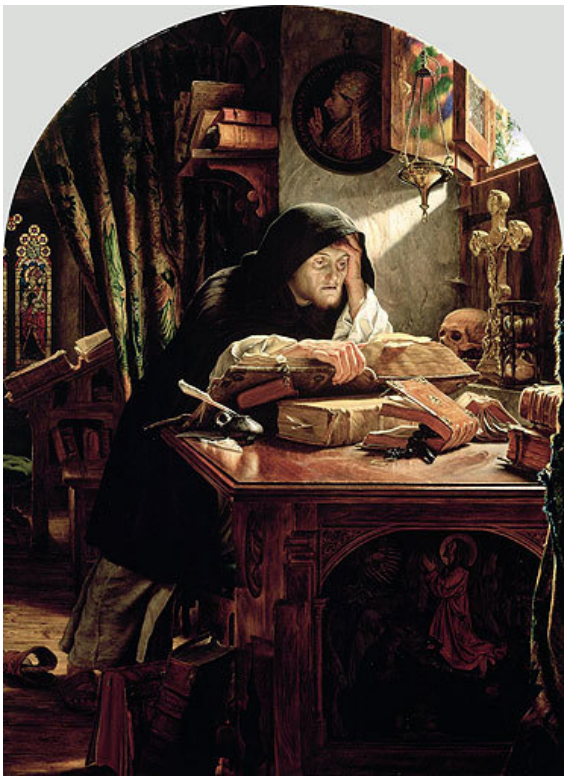
Within two weeks, copies of the theses had spread throughout Germany; within two months, they had spread throughout Europe.

Luther's writings circulated widely, reaching France, England, and Italy as early as 1519. Students thronged to Wittenberg to hear Luther speak. He published a short commentary on Galatians and his *Work on the Psalms*. This early part of Luther's career was one of his most creative and productive.[42] Three of his best-known works were published in 1520: *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, and *On the Freedom of a Christian*.

Justification by faith alone

Main article: Sola fide

From 1510 to 1520, Luther lectured on the Psalms,



"Luther at Erfurt", which depicts Martin Luther discovering the doctrine of sola fide. *Painting by Joseph Noel Paton, 1861.*

the books of Hebrews, Romans, and Galatians. As he studied these portions of the Bible, he came to view the use of terms such as penance and righteousness by the Catholic Church in new ways. He became convinced that the church was corrupt in its ways and had lost sight of what he saw as several of the central truths of Christianity. The most important for Luther was the doctrine of justification – God's act of declaring a sinner righteous – by faith alone through God's grace. He began to teach that salvation or redemption is a gift of God's grace, attainable only through faith in Jesus as the Messiah.[43] "This one and firm rock, which we call the doctrine of justification," he wrote, "is the chief article of the whole Christian doctrine, which comprehends the understanding of all godliness."[44]

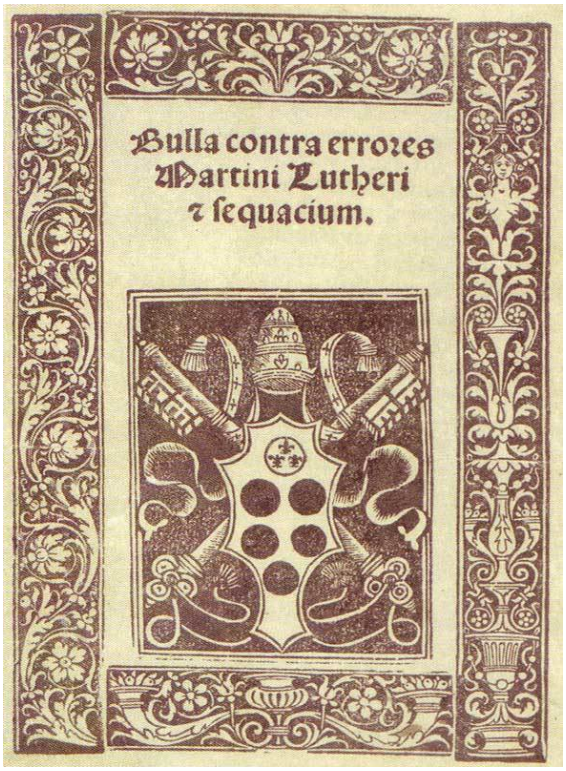
Luther came to understand justification as entirely the work of God. This teaching by Luther was clearly expressed in his 1525 publication *On the Bondage of the Will*, which was written in response to *On Free Will* by Desiderius Erasmus (1524). Luther based his position on predestination on St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians 2:8–10. Against the teaching of his day that the righteous acts of believers are performed in *cooperation* with God, Luther wrote that Christians receive such righteousness entirely from outside themselves; that righteousness not only comes from Christ but actually *is* the righteousness of Christ, imputed to Christians (rather than infused into them) through faith.[45] "That is why faith alone makes someone just and fulfills the law," he wrote. "Faith is that which brings the Holy Spirit through the merits of Christ."[46] Faith, for Luther, was a gift from God; the experience of being justified by faith was "as though I had been born again." His entry into Paradise, no less, was a discovery about "the righteousness of God" – a discovery that "the just person" of whom the Bible speaks (as in Romans 1:17) lives by faith.[47] He explained his concept of "justification" in the Smalcald Articles:

> The first and chief article is this: Jesus Christ, our God and Lord, died for our sins and was raised again for our justification (Romans 3:24–25). He alone is the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world (John 1:29), and God has laid on Him the iniquity of us all (Isaiah 53:6). All have sinned and are justified freely, without their own works and merits, by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, in His blood (Romans 3:23–25). This is necessary to believe. This cannot be otherwise acquired or grasped by any work, law or merit. Therefore, it is clear and certain that this faith alone justifies us ... Nothing of this article can be yielded or surrendered, even though heaven and earth and everything else falls (Mark 13:31).[48]

Luther's rediscovery of "Christ and His salvation" was the first of two points that became the foundation for the Reformation. His railing against the sale of indulgences was based on it.[49]

Breach with the papacy

Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz and Magdeburg did not reply to Luther's letter containing the *Ninety-five Theses*. He had the theses checked for heresy and in December 1517 forwarded them to Rome.[50] He needed the revenue from the indulgences to pay off a papal dispensation for

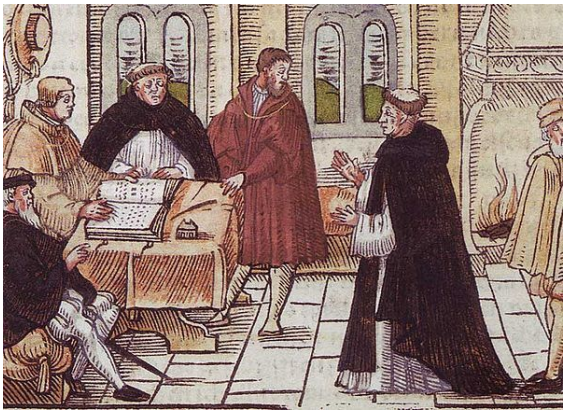


Pope Leo X's Bull against the errors of Martin Luther*, 1521, commonly known as* Exsurge Domine.

his tenure of more than one bishopric. As Luther later noted, "the pope had a finger in the pie as well, because one half was to go to the building of St Peter's Church in Rome".[51]

Pope Leo X was used to reformers and heretics,[52] and he responded slowly, "with great care as is proper."[53] Over the next three years he deployed a series of papal theologians and envoys against Luther, which served only to harden the reformer's anti-papal theology. First, the Dominican theologian Sylvester Mazzolini drafted a heresy case against Luther, whom Leo then summoned to Rome. The Elector Frederick persuaded the pope to have Luther examined at Augsburg, where the Imperial Diet was held.[54] There, over a three-day period in October 1518, Luther defended himself under questioning by papal legate Cardinal Cajetan. The Pope's right to issue indulgences was at the centre of the dispute between the two men.[55][56] The hearings degenerated into a shouting match. More than writing his theses, Luther's confrontation with the church cast him as an enemy of the pope.[57] Cajetan's original instructions had been to arrest Luther if he failed to recant, but the legate desisted from doing so.[58] Luther slipped out of the city at night, unbeknownst to Cajetan.[59]

In January 1519, at Altenburg in Saxony, the papal *nuncio* Karl von Miltitz adopted a more conciliatory approach. Luther made certain concessions to the Saxon, who was a relative of the Elector, and promised to remain silent if his opponents did.[60] The theologian Johann Eck,



The meeting of Martin Luther (right) and Cardinal Cajetan (left, before the book).

however, was determined to expose Luther's doctrine in a public forum. In June and July 1519, he staged a disputation with Luther's colleague Andreas Karlstadt at Leipzig and invited Luther to speak.[61] Luther's boldest assertion in the debate was that Matthew 16:18 does not confer on popes the exclusive right to interpret scripture, and that therefore neither popes nor church councils were infallible.[62] For this, Eck branded Luther a new Jan Hus, referring to the Czech reformer and heretic burned at the stake in 1415. From that moment, he devoted himself to Luther's defeat.[63]

Excommunication

On 15 June 1520, the Pope warned Luther with the papal bull (edict) *Exsurge Domine* that he risked excommunication unless he recanted 41 sentences drawn from his writings, including the *Ninety-five Theses*, within 60 days. That autumn, Johann Eck proclaimed the bull in Meissen and other towns. Karl von Miltitz, a papal nuncio, attempted to broker a solution, but Luther, who had sent the Pope a copy of *On the Freedom of a Christian* in October, publicly set fire to the bull and decretals at Wittenberg on 10 December 1520,[64] an act he defended in *Why the Pope and his Recent Book are Burned* and *Assertions Concerning All Articles*. As a consequence, Luther was excommunicated by Pope Leo X on 3 January 1521, in the bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem*.[65]

1.1.3 Diet of Worms

Main article: Diet of Worms

The enforcement of the ban on the *Ninety-five Theses* fell to the secular authorities. On 18 April 1521, Luther appeared as ordered before the Diet of Worms. This was a general assembly of the estates of the Holy Roman Empire that took place in Worms, a town on the Rhine. It was conducted from 28 January to 25 May 1521, with Emperor Charles V presiding. Prince Frederick III, Elector of Saxony, obtained a safe conduct for Luther to and

Luther Before the Diet of Worms *by Anton von Werner (1843–1915)*

from the meeting.

Johann Eck, speaking on behalf of the Empire as assistant of the Archbishop of Trier, presented Luther with copies of his writings laid out on a table and asked him if the books were his, and whether he stood by their contents. Luther confirmed he was their author, but requested time to think about the answer to the second question. He prayed, consulted friends, and gave his response the next day:

> Unless I am convinced by the testimony of the Scriptures or by clear reason (for I do not trust either in the pope or in councils alone, since it is well known that they have often erred and contradicted themselves), I am bound by the Scriptures I have quoted and my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and will not recant anything, since it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience. May God help me. Amen.[66]

At the end of this speech, Luther raised his arm "in the traditional salute of a knight winning a bout." Michael Mullett considers this speech as a "world classic of epoch-making oratory."[67]

Martin Luther Memorial in Worms. His statue is surrounded by the figures of his lay protectors and earlier Church reformers including John Wycliffe, Jan Hus and Girolamo Savonarola.

Eck informed Luther that he was acting like a heretic:

> "'Martin,' said he, 'there is no one of the heresies which have torn the bosom of the church, which has not derived its origin from the various interpretation of the Scripture. The Bible itself is the arsenal whence each innovator has drawn his deceptive arguments. It was with Biblical texts that Pelagius and Arius maintained their doctrines. Arius, for instance, found the negation of the eternity of the Word—an eternity which you admit, in this verse of the New Testament—*Joseph knew not his wife till she had brought forth her first-born son*; and he said, in the same way that you say, that this passage enchained him. When the fathers of the council of Constance condemned this proposition of John Huss—*The church of Jesus Christ is only the community of the elect*, they condemned an error; for the church, like a good mother, embraces within her arms all who bear the name of Christian, all who are called to enjoy the celestial beatitude.'"[68]

Luther refused to recant his writings. He is sometimes also quoted as saying: "Here I stand. I can do no other". Recent scholars consider the evidence for these words to be unreliable, since they were inserted before "May God help me" only in later versions of the speech and not recorded in witness accounts of the proceedings.[69] However, Mullett suggests that given his nature, "we are free to believe that Luther would tend to select the more dramatic form of words."[67]

Over the next five days, private conferences were held to determine Luther's fate. The Emperor presented the final draft of the Edict of Worms on 25 May 1521, declaring Luther an outlaw, banning his literature, and requiring his arrest: "We want him to be apprehended and punished as a notorious heretic."[70] It also made it a crime for anyone in Germany to give Luther food or shelter. It permitted anyone to kill Luther without legal consequence.

1.1.4 At Wartburg Castle

Luther's disappearance during his return trip back to Wittenberg was planned. Frederick III had him intercepted on his way home in the forest near Wittenberg by masked horsemen who were made to appear as armed highwaymen. They escorted Luther to the security of the Wartburg Castle at Eisenach.[71] During his stay at Wartburg, which he referred to as "my Patmos",[72] Luther translated the New Testament from Greek into German and poured out doctrinal and polemical writings. These included a renewed attack on Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz, whom he shamed into halting the sale of indulgences in his episcopates,[73] and a "Refutation of the Argument of Latomus," in which he expounded the principle of justification to Jacobus Latomus, an orthodox theologian from Louvain.[74]

Wartburg Castle, Eisenach

The Wartburg room where Luther translated the New Testament into German. An original first edition is kept in the case on the desk

In this work, one of his most emphatic statements on faith, he argued that every good work designed to attract God's favor is a sin.[75] All humans are sinners by nature, he explained, and God's grace (which cannot be earned) alone can make them just. On 1 August 1521, Luther wrote to Melanchthon on the same theme: "Be a sinner, and let your sins be strong, but let your trust in Christ be stronger, and rejoice in Christ who is the victor over sin, death, and the world. We will commit sins while we are here, for this life is not a place where justice resides."[76]

In the summer of 1521, Luther widened his target from individual pieties like indulgences and pilgrimages to doctrines at the heart of Church practices. In *On the Abrogation of the Private Mass*, he condemned as idolatry the idea that the mass is a sacrifice, asserting instead that it is a gift, to be received with thanksgiving by the whole congregation.[77] His essay *On Confession, Whether the Pope has the Power to Require It* rejected compulsory confession and encouraged private confession and absolution, since "every Christian is a confessor."[78] In November, Luther wrote *The Judgement of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows*. He assured monks and nuns that they could break their vows without sin, because vows were an illegitimate and vain attempt to win salvation.[79]

Luther disguised as "Junker Jörg", 1521

In 1521 Luther dealt largely with prophecy, in which he broadened the foundations of the Reformation placing them on prophetic faith. His main interest was centered on the prophecy of the Little Horn in Daniel 8:9–12, 23–25. The antichrist of 2 Thessalonians 2 was identified as the power of the Papacy. So too was the Little Horn of Daniel 7, coming up among the divisions of Rome, explicitly applied.[80]

Luther made his pronouncements from Wartburg in the context of rapid developments at Wittenberg, of which he was kept fully informed. Andreas Karlstadt, supported by the ex-Augustinian Gabriel Zwilling, embarked on a radical programme of reform there in June 1521, exceeding anything envisaged by Luther. The reforms provoked disturbances, including a revolt by the Augustinian friars against their prior, the smashing of statues and images in churches, and denunciations of the magistracy. After secretly visiting Wittenberg in early December 1521, Luther wrote *A Sincere Admonition by Martin Luther to All Christians to Guard Against Insurrection and Rebellion*.[81] Wittenberg became even more volatile after Christmas when a band of visionary zealots, the so-called Zwickau prophets, arrived, preaching revolutionary doctrines such as the equality of man, adult baptism, and Christ's imminent return.[82] When the town council asked Luther to return, he decided it was his duty to act.[83]

1.1.5 Return to Wittenberg and Peasants' War

See also: Radical Reformation and German Peasants' War

Luther secretly returned to Wittenberg on 6 March 1522.

Lutherhaus, Luther's residence in Wittenberg

He wrote to the Elector: "During my absence, Satan has entered my sheepfold, and committed ravages which I cannot repair by writing, but only by my personal presence and living word."[84] For eight days in Lent, beginning on *Invocavit* Sunday, 9 March, Luther preached eight sermons, which became known as the "Invocavit Sermons". In these sermons, he hammered home the primacy of core Christian values such as love, patience, charity, and freedom, and reminded the citizens to trust God's word rather than violence to bring about necessary change.[85]

> Do you know what the Devil thinks when he sees men use violence to propagate the gospel? He sits with folded arms behind the fire of hell, and says with malignant looks and frightful grin: "Ah, how wise these madmen are to play my game! Let them go on; I shall reap the benefit. I delight in it." But when he sees the Word running and contending alone on the battle-field, then he shudders and shakes for fear.[86]

The effect of Luther's intervention was immediate. After the sixth sermon, the Wittenberg jurist Jerome Schurf wrote to the elector: "Oh, what joy has Dr. Martin's return spread among us! His words, through divine mercy, are bringing back every day misguided people into the way of the truth."[86]

Luther next set about reversing or modifying the new church practices. By working alongside the authorities to restore public order, he signalled his reinvention as a conservative force within the Reformation.[87] After banishing the Zwickau prophets, he now faced a battle against not only the established Church but also the radical reformers who threatened the new order by fomenting social unrest and violence.[88]

16th-century peasant rebels

Despite his victory in Wittenberg, Luther was unable to stifle radicalism further afield. Preachers such as Zwickau prophet Nicholas Storch and Thomas Müntzer found support amongst poorer towns-people and peasants between 1521 and 1525. There had been revolts by the peasantry on a smaller scale since the 15th century.[89] Luther's pamphlets against the Church and the hierarchy, often worded with "liberal" phraseology, now led many peasants to believe he would support an attack on the upper classes in general.[90] Revolts broke out in Franconia, Swabia, and Thuringia in 1524, even drawing support from disaffected nobles, many of whom were in debt. Gaining momentum under the leadership of radicals such as Müntzer in Thuringia, and Hipler and Lotzer in the south-west, the revolts turned into war.[91]

Luther sympathised with some of the peasants' grievances, as he showed in his response to the Twelve Articles in May 1525, but he reminded the aggrieved to obey the temporal authorities.[92] During a tour of Thuringia, he became enraged at the widespread burning of convents, monasteries, bishops' palaces, and libraries. In *Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants*, written on his return to Wittenberg, he gave his interpretation of the Gospel teaching on wealth, condemned the violence as the devil's work, and called for the nobles to put down the rebels like mad dogs:

> Therefore let everyone who can, smite, slay, and stab, secretly or openly, remembering that nothing can be more poisonous, hurtful, or devilish than a rebel ... For baptism does not make men free in body and property, but in soul; and the gospel does not make goods common, except in the case of those who, of their own free will, do what the apostles and disciples did in Acts 4 [:32–37]. They did not demand, as do our insane peasants in their raging, that the goods of others—of Pilate and Herod—should be common, but only their own goods. Our peasants, however, want to make the goods of other men common, and keep their own for themselves. Fine Christians they are! I think there is not a devil left in hell; they have all gone into the peasants. Their raving has gone beyond all measure.[93]

Luther justified his opposition to the rebels on three grounds. First, in choosing violence over lawful submission to the secular government, they were ignoring Christ's counsel to "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's"; St. Paul had written in his epistle to the Romans 13:1–7 that all authorities are appointed by God and therefore should not be resisted. This reference from the Bible forms the foundation for the doctrine known as the Divine Right of Kings, or, in the German case, the divine right of the princes. Second, the violent actions of rebelling, robbing, and plundering placed the peasants "outside the law of God and Empire", so they deserved "death in body and soul, if only as highwaymen and murderers." Lastly, Luther charged the rebels with blasphemy for calling themselves "Christian brethren" and committing their sinful acts under the banner of the Gospel.[94]

Without Luther's backing for the uprising, many rebels laid down their weapons; others felt betrayed. Their defeat by the Swabian League at the Battle of Frankenhausen on 15 May 1525, followed by Müntzer's execution, brought the revolutionary stage of the Reformation to a close.[95] Thereafter, radicalism found a refuge in the Anabaptist movement and other religious movements, while Luther's Reformation flourished under the wing of the secular powers.[96] In 1526 Luther wrote: "I, Martin Luther, have during the rebellion slain all the peasants, for it was I who ordered them to be struck dead."[97]

Katharina von Bora, Luther's wife, by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1526

1.1.6 Marriage

Martin Luther married Katharina von Bora, one of 12 nuns he had helped escape from the Nimbschen Cistercian convent in April 1523, when he arranged for them to be smuggled out in herring barrels.[98] "Suddenly, and while I was occupied with far different thoughts," he wrote to Wenceslaus Link, "the Lord has plunged me into marriage."[99] At the time of their marriage, Katharina was 26 years old and Luther was 41 years old.

On 13 June 1525, the couple was engaged with Johannes Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, Johannes Apel, Philipp Melanchthon and Lucas Cranach the Elder and his wife as witnesses.[100] On the evening of the same day, the couple was married by Bugenhagen.[100] The ceremonial walk to the church and the wedding banquet were left out, and were made up two weeks later on 27 June.[100]

Some priests and former religious had already married, including Andreas Karlstadt and Justus Jonas, but Luther's wedding set the seal of approval on clerical marriage.[101] He had long condemned vows of celibacy on Biblical grounds, but his decision to marry surprised many, not least Melanchthon, who called it reckless.[102] Luther had written to George Spalatin on 30 November 1524, "I shall never take a wife, as I feel at present. Not that I am insensible to my flesh or sex (for I am neither wood nor stone); but my mind is averse to wedlock because I daily expect the death of a heretic."[103] Before marrying, Luther had been living on the plainest food, and, as he admitted himself, his mildewed bed was not properly made for months at a time.[104]

Luther and his wife moved into a former monastery, "The Black Cloister," a wedding present from the new elector John the Steadfast (1525–32). They embarked on what appeared to have been a happy and successful marriage, though money was often short.[105] Between bearing six children, Hans – June 1526; Elizabeth – 10 December 1527, who died within a few months; Magdalene – 1529, who died in Luther's arms in 1542; Martin – 1531; Paul – January 1533; and Margaret – 1534; Katharina helped the couple earn a living by farming the land and taking in boarders.[106] Luther confided to Michael Stiefel on 11 August 1526: "My Katie is in all things so obliging and pleasing to me that I would not exchange my poverty for the riches of Croesus."[107]

1.1.7 Organising the church

By 1526, Luther found himself increasingly occupied in organising a new church. His Biblical ideal of congregations choosing their own ministers had proved unworkable.[108] According to Bainton: "Luther's dilemma was that he wanted both a confessional church

Church orders, Mecklenburg 1650

Evangelical Lutheran church liturgy and sacraments

based on personal faith and experience and a territorial church including all in a given locality. If he were forced to choose, he would take his stand with the masses, and this was the direction in which he moved."[109] From 1525 to 1529, he established a supervisory church body, laid down a new form of worship service, and wrote a clear summary of the new faith in the form of two catechisms. Luther's thought is revolutionary to the extent that it is a theology of the cross, the negation of every affirmation: as long as the cross is at the center, the system building tendency of reason is held in check, and system building does not degenerate into System.[110]

To avoid confusing or upsetting the people, Luther avoided extreme change. He also did not wish to replace one controlling system with another. He concentrated on the church in the Electorate of Saxony, acting only as an adviser to churches in new territories, many of which followed his Saxon model. He worked closely with the new elector, John the Steadfast, to whom he turned for secular leadership and funds on behalf of a church largely shorn of its assets and income after the break with Rome.[111] For Luther's biographer Martin Brecht, this partnership "was the beginning of a questionable and originally unintended development towards a church government under the temporal sovereign".[112] The elector authorised a visitation of the church, a power formerly exercised by bishops.[113] At times, Luther's practical reforms fell short of his earlier radical pronouncements. For example, the *Instructions for the Visitors of Parish Pastors in Electoral Saxony* (1528), drafted by Melanchthon with Luther's approval, stressed the role of repentance in the forgiveness of sins, despite Luther's position that faith alone ensures justification.[114] The Eisleben reformer Johannes Agricola challenged this compromise, and Luther condemned him for teaching that faith is separate from works.[115] The *Instruction* is a problematic document for those seeking a consistent evolution in Luther's thought and practice.[116]

In response to demands for a German liturgy, Luther wrote a *German Mass*, which he published in early 1526.[117] He did not intend it as a replacement for his 1523 adaptation of the Latin Mass but as an alternative for the "simple people", a "public stimulation for people to believe and become Christians."[118] Luther based his order on the Catholic service but omitted "everything that smacks of sacrifice", and the Mass became a celebration where everyone received the wine as well as the bread.[119] He retained the elevation of the host and chalice, while trappings such as the Mass vestments, altar, and candles were made optional, allowing freedom of ceremony.[120] Some reformers, including followers of Huldrych Zwingli, considered Luther's service too papistic, and modern scholars note the conservatism of his alternative to the Catholic mass.[121] Luther's service, however, included congregational singing of hymns and psalms in German, as well as of parts of the liturgy, including Luther's unison setting of the Creed.[122] To reach the simple people and the young, Luther incorporated religious instruction into the weekday services in the form of the catechism.[123] He also provided simplified versions of the baptism and marriage services.[124]

Luther and his colleagues introduced the new order of worship during their visitation of the Electorate of Saxony, which began in 1527.[125] They also assessed the standard of pastoral care and Christian education in the territory. "Merciful God, what misery I have seen," Luther wrote, "the common people knowing nothing at all of Christian doctrine ... and unfortunately many pastors are well-nigh unskilled and incapable of teaching."[126]

A stained glass portrayal of Luther

Catechisms

Luther devised the catechism as a method of imparting the basics of Christianity to the congregations. In 1529, he wrote the *Large Catechism*, a manual for pastors and teachers, as well as a synopsis, the *Small Catechism*, to be memorised by the people themselves.[127] The catechisms provided easy-to-understand instructional and devotional material on the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, baptism, and the Lord's Supper.[128] Luther incorporated questions and answers in the catechism so that the basics of Christian faith would not just be learned by rote, "the way monkeys do it", but understood.[129]

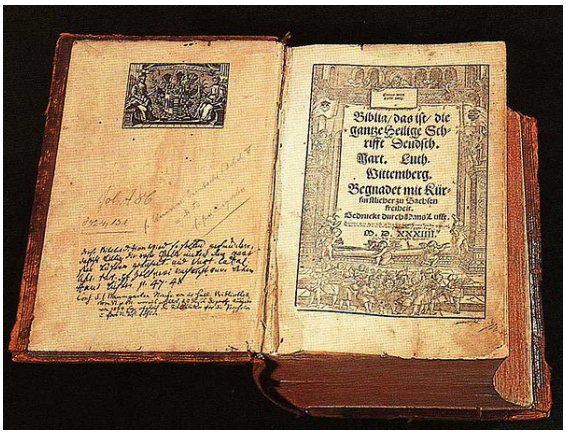
The catechism is one of Luther's most personal works. "Regarding the plan to collect my writings in volumes," he wrote, "I am quite cool and not at all eager about it because, roused by a Saturnian hunger, I would rather see them all devoured. For I acknowledge none of them to be really a book of mine, except perhaps the *Bondage of the Will* and the Catechism."[130] The *Small Catechism* has earned a reputation as a model of clear religious teaching.[131] It remains in use today, along with Luther's hymns and his translation of the Bible.

Luther's *Small Catechism* proved especially effective in helping parents teach their children; likewise the *Larger Catechism* was effective for pastors.[132] Using the German vernacular, they expressed the Apostles' Creed in simpler, more personal, Trinitarian language. He rewrote each article of the Creed to express the character of the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit. Luther's goal was to enable the catechumens to see themselves as a personal object of the work of the three persons of the Trinity, each of which works in the catechumen's life. That is, Luther depicted the Trinity not as a doctrine to be learned, but as persons to be known. The Father creates, the Son redeems, and the Spirit sanctifies, a divine unity with separate personalities. Salvation originates with the Father and draws the believer to the Father. Luther's treatment of the Apostles' Creed must be understood in the context of the Decalogue (the Ten Commandments) and the Lord's Prayer, which are also part of the Lutheran catechetical teaching.[133]

1.1.8 Translation of the Bible

Main article: Luther Bible

Luther had published his German translation of the New



Luther's 1534 Bible

Testament in 1522, and he and his collaborators completed the translation of the Old Testament in 1534, when the whole Bible was published. He continued to work on refining the translation until the end of his life.[134] Others had translated the Bible into German, but Luther tailored his translation to his own doctrine.[135] When he

was criticised for inserting the word “alone” after “faith” in Romans 3:28,[136] he replied in part: "[T]he text itself and the meaning of St. Paul urgently require and demand it. For in that very passage he is dealing with the main point of Christian doctrine, namely, that we are justified by faith in Christ without any works of the Law. ... But when works are so completely cut away – and that must mean that faith alone justifies – whoever would speak plainly and clearly about this cutting away of works will have to say, 'Faith alone justifies us, and not works'.”[137]

Luther’s translation used the variant of German spoken at the Saxon chancellery, intelligible to both northern and southern Germans.[138] He intended his vigorous, direct language to make the Bible accessible to everyday Germans, “for we are removing impediments and difficulties so that other people may read it without hindrance.”[139]

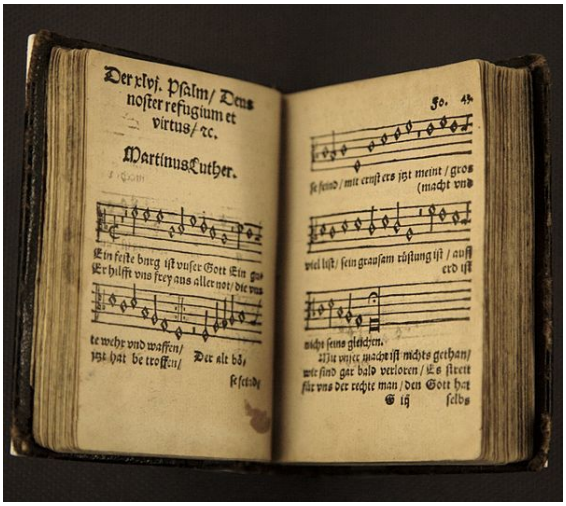
Published at a time of rising demand for German-language publications, Luther’s version quickly became a popular and influential Bible translation. As such, it made a significant contribution to the evolution of the German language and literature.[140] Furnished with notes and prefaces by Luther, and with woodcuts by Lucas Cranach that contained anti-papal imagery, it played a major role in the spread of Luther’s doctrine throughout Germany.[141] The Luther Bible influenced other vernacular translations, such as William Tyndale's English Bible (1525 forward), a precursor of the King James Bible.[142]

1.1.9 Hymnodist

Main article: List of hymns by Martin Luther

Luther was a prolific hymnodist, authoring hymns such as “Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott” ("A Mighty Fortress Is Our God"), based on Psalm 46, and "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her" (“From Heaven Above to Earth I Come”), based on Luke 2:11–12.[143] Luther connected high art and folk music, also all classes, clergy and laity, men, women and children. His tool of choice for this connection was the singing of German hymns in connection with worship, school, home, and the public arena.[144] He often accompanied the sung hymns with a lute, later recreated as the waldzither that became a national instrument of Germany in the 20th century.[145]

Luther’s hymns were frequently evoked by particular events in his life and the unfolding Reformation. This behavior started with his learning of the execution of Johann Esch and Heinrich Voes, the first individuals to be martyred by the Roman Catholic Church for Lutheran views, prompting Luther to write the hymn "Ein neues Lied wir heben an" (“A new song we raise”), which is generally known in English by John C. Messenger’s translation by the title and first line “Flung to the Heedless Winds” and sung to the tune Ibstone composed in 1875 by Maria C. Tiddeman.[146]



An early printing of Luther’s hymn A Mighty Fortress Is Our God *(*Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott*)*

Luther’s 1524 creedal hymn "Wir glauben all an einen Gott" (“We All Believe in One True God”) is a three-stanza confession of faith prefiguring Luther’s 1529 three-part explanation of the Apostles’ Creed in the *Small Catechism*. Luther’s hymn, adapted and expanded from an earlier German creedal hymn, gained widespread use in vernacular Lutheran liturgies as early as 1525. Sixteenth-century Lutheran hymnals also included “Wir glauben all” among the catechetical hymns, although 18th-century hymnals tended to label the hymn as Trinitarian rather than catechetical, and 20th-century Lutherans rarely use the hymn because of the perceived difficulty of its tune.[144]

Luther’s 1538 hymnic version of the Lord’s Prayer, "Vater unser im Himmelreich", corresponds exactly to Luther’s explanation of the prayer in the *Small Catechism*, with one stanza for each of the seven prayer petitions, plus opening and closing stanzas. The hymn functioned both as a liturgical setting of the Lord’s Prayer and as a means of examining candidates on specific catechism questions. The extant manuscript shows multiple revisions, demonstrating Luther’s concern to clarify and strengthen the text and to provide an appropriately prayerful tune. Other 16th- and 20th-century versifications of the Lord’s Prayer have adopted Luther’s tune, although modern texts are considerably shorter.[147]

Luther wrote "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir" (“From depths of woe I cry to you”) in 1523 as a hymnic version of Psalm 130 and sent it as a sample to encourage evangelical colleagues to write psalm-hymns for use in German worship. In a collaboration with Paul Speratus, this and seven other hymns were published in the *Achtliederbuch*, the first Lutheran hymnal. In 1524 Luther developed his original four-stanza psalm paraphrase into a five-stanza Reformation hymn that developed the theme of “grace alone” more fully. Because it expressed essential Reformation doctrine, this expanded version of “Aus

tiefer Not" was designated as a regular component of several regional Lutheran liturgies and was widely used at funerals, including Luther's own. Along with Erhart Hegenwalt's hymnic version of Psalm 51, Luther's expanded hymn was also adopted for use with the fifth part of Luther's catechism, concerning confession.[148]

Luther wrote "Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein" ("Oh God, look down from heaven"). "Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland" (Now come, Savior of the gentiles), based on *Veni redemptor gentium*, became the main hymn (Hauptlied) for Advent. He transformed *A solus ortus cardine* to "Christum wir sollen loben schon" ("We should now praise Christ") and *Veni Creator Spiritus* to "Komm, Gott Schöpfer, Heiliger Geist" ("Come, Holy Spirit, Lord God").[149] He wrote two hymns on the Ten Commandments, "Dies sind die heilgen Zehn Gebot" and "Mensch, willst du leben seliglich". His "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ" ("Praise be to You, Jesus Christ") became the main hymn for Christmas. He wrote for Pentecost "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist", and adopted for Easter "Christ ist erstanden" (Christ is risen), based on *Victimae paschali laudes*. "Mit Fried und Freud ich fahr dahin", a paraphrase of Nunc dimittis, was intended for Purification, but became also a funeral hymn. He paraphrased the Te Deum as "Herr Gott, dich loben wir" with a simplified form of the melody. It became known as the German Te Deum.

Luther's 1541 hymn "Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam" ("To Jordan came the Christ our Lord") reflects the structure and substance of his questions and answers concerning baptism in the *Small Catechism*. Luther adopted a preexisting Johann Walter tune associated with a hymnic setting of Psalm 67's prayer for grace; Wolf Heintz's four-part setting of the hymn was used to introduce the Lutheran Reformation in Halle in 1541. Preachers and composers of the 18th century, including J. S. Bach, used this rich hymn as a subject for their own work, although its objective baptismal theology was displaced by more subjective hymns under the influence of late-19th-century Lutheran pietism.[144]

Luther's hymns were included in early Lutheran hymnals and spread the ideas of the Reformation. He supplied four of eight songs of the First Lutheran hymnal *Achtliederbuch*, 18 of 26 songs of the *Erfurt Enchiridion*, and 24 of the 32 songs in the first choral hymnal with settings by Johann Walter, *Eyn geystlich Gesangk Buchleyn*, all published in 1524.

Luther's hymns inspired composers to write music. Johann Sebastian Bach included several verses as chorales in his cantatas and based chorale cantatas entirely on them, namely *Christ lag in Todes Banden*, BWV 4, as early as possibly 1707, in his second annual cycle (1724 to 1725) *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein*, BWV 2, *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam*, BWV 7, *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*, BWV 62, *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ*, BWV 91, and *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir*, BWV 38, later *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*, BWV 80, and in 1735 *Wär Gott nicht mit uns diese Zeit*, BWV 14.

1.1.10 On the soul after death

Luther on the left with Lazarus being raised by Jesus from the dead, painting by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1558

In contrast to the views of John Calvin[150] and Philipp Melanchthon,[151] throughout his life Luther maintained that it was not false doctrine to believe that a Christian's soul sleeps after it is separated from the body in death;[152] and, accordingly, he disputed traditional interpretations of some Bible passages, such as the parable of the rich man and Lazarus.[153] This also led Luther to reject the idea of torments for the saints: "It is enough for us to know that souls do not leave their bodies to be threatened by the torments and punishments of hell, but enter a prepared bedchamber in which they sleep in peace."[154] He also rejected the existence of Purgatory, which involved Christian souls undergoing penitential suffering after death.[155] He affirmed the continuity of one's personal identity beyond death. In his Smalcald Articles, he described the saints as currently residing "in their graves and in heaven."[156]

The Lutheran theologian Franz Pieper observed that Luther's teaching about the state of the Christian's soul after death differed from the later Lutheran theologians such as Johann Gerhard.[157] Lessing (1755) had earlier reached the same conclusion in his analysis of Lutheran orthodoxy on this issue.[158]

Luther's *Commentary on Genesis* contains a passage which concludes that "the soul does not sleep (*anima non sic dormit*), but wakes (*sed vigilat*) and experiences visions".[159] Francis Blackburne in 1765 argued that John Jortin misread this and other passages from

Luther,[160] while Gottfried Fritschel pointed out in 1867 that it actually refers to the soul of a man "in this life" (*homo enim in hac vita*) tired from his daily labour (*defatigus diurno labore*) who at night enters his bedchamber (*sub noctem intrat in cubiculum suum*) and whose sleep is interrupted by dreams.[161]

Henry Eyster Jacobs' English translation from 1898 reads:

> "Nevertheless, the sleep of this life and that of the future life differ; for **in this life**, man, fatigued by his daily labour, at nightfall goes to his couch, as in peace, to sleep there, and enjoys rest; nor does he know anything of evil, whether of fire or of murder."[162]

1.1.11 Sacramentarian controversy and the Marburg Colloquy

See also: The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ—Against the Fanatics

In October 1529, Philip I, Landgrave of Hesse, convoked an assembly of German and Swiss theologians at the Marburg Colloquy, to establish doctrinal unity in the emerging Protestant states.[163] Agreement was achieved on fourteen points out of fifteen, the exception being the nature of the Eucharist – the sacrament of the Lord's Supper—an issue crucial to Luther.[164]

Statue of Martin Luther outside St. Mary's Church, Berlin

The theologians, including Zwingli, Melanchthon, Martin Bucer, and Johannes Oecolampadius, differed on the significance of the words spoken by Jesus at the Last Supper: "This is my body which is for you" and "This cup is the new covenant in my blood" (1 Corinthians 11:23–26).[165] Luther insisted on the Real Presence of the body and blood of Christ in the consecrated bread and wine, which he called the sacramental union,[166] while his opponents believed God to be only spiritually or symbolically present.[167] Zwingli, for example, denied Jesus' ability to be in more than one place at a time but Luther stressed the omnipresence of his human nature.[168] According to transcripts, the debate sometimes became confrontational. Citing Jesus' words "The flesh profiteth nothing" (John 6.63), Zwingli said, "This passage breaks your neck". "Don't be too proud," Luther retorted, "German necks don't break that easily. This is Hesse, not Switzerland."[169] On his table Luther wrote the words "*Hoc est corpus meum*" ("This is my body") in chalk, to continually indicate his firm stance.[170]

Despite the disagreements on the Eucharist, the Marburg Colloquy paved the way for the signing in 1530 of the Augsburg Confession, and for the formation of the Schmalkaldic League the following year by leading Protestant nobles such as John of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, and George, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach. The Swiss cities, however, did not sign these agreements.[171]

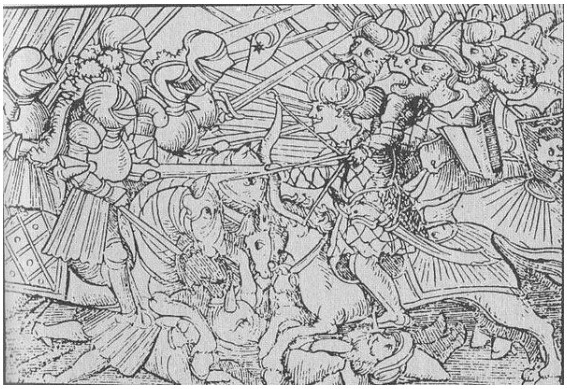
1.1.12 Epistemology

Some scholars have asserted that Luther taught that faith and reason were antithetical in the sense that questions of faith could not be illuminated by reason. He wrote, "All the articles of our Christian faith, which God has revealed to us in His Word, are in presence of reason sheerly impossible, absurd, and false."[172] and "[That] Reason in no way contributes to faith. [...] For reason is the greatest enemy that faith has; it never comes to the aid of spiritual things."[173] However, though seemingly contradictorily, he also wrote in the latter work that human reason "strives not against faith, when enlightened, but rather furthers and advances it",[174] bringing claims he was a fideist into dispute. Contemporary Lutheran scholarship, however, has found a different reality in Luther. Luther rather seeks to separate faith and reason in order to honor the separate spheres of knowledge that each applies to.

1.1.13 On Islam

Further information: Protestantism and Islam

At the time of the Marburg Colloquy, Suleiman the Magnificent was besieging Vienna with a vast Ottoman army.[175] Luther had argued against resisting the Turks in his 1518 *Explanation of the Ninety-five Theses*, provoking accusations of defeatism. He saw the Turks as a



The battle between the Turks and the Christians, in the 16th century

scourge sent by God to punish Christians, as agents of the Biblical apocalypse that would destroy the antichrist, whom Luther believed to be the papacy, and the Roman Church.[176] He consistently rejected the idea of a Holy War, "as though our people were an army of Christians against the Turks, who were enemies of Christ. This is absolutely contrary to Christ's doctrine and name".[177] On the other hand, in keeping with his doctrine of the two kingdoms, Luther did support non-religious war against the Turks.[178] In 1526, he argued in *Whether Soldiers can be in a State of Grace* that national defence is reason for a just war.[179] By 1529, in *On War against the Turk*, he was actively urging Emperor Charles V and the German people to fight a secular war against the Turks.[180] He made clear, however, that the spiritual war against an alien faith was separate, to be waged through prayer and repentance.[181] Around the time of the Siege of Vienna, Luther wrote a prayer for national deliverance from the Turks, asking God to "give to our emperor perpetual victory over our enemies".[182]

In 1542, Luther read a Latin translation of the Qur'an.[183] He went on to produce several critical pamphlets on Islam, which he called "Mohammedanism" or "the Turk".[184] Though Luther saw the Muslim faith as a tool of the devil, he was indifferent to its practice: "Let the Turk believe and live as he will, just as one lets the papacy and other false Christians live."[185] He opposed banning the publication of the Qur'an, wanting it exposed to scrutiny.[186]

1.1.14 Antinomian controversy

Early in 1537, Johannes Agricola (1494–1566) – serving at the time as pastor in Luther's birthplace, Eisleben – preached a sermon in which he claimed that God's gospel, not God's moral law (the Ten Commandments), revealed God's wrath to Christians. Based on this sermon and others by Agricola, Luther suspected that Agricola was behind certain anonymous antinomian theses circulating in Wittenberg. These theses asserted that the law is no longer to be taught to Christians but belonged only to city hall.[187] Luther responded to these theses with six series of theses against Agricola and the antinomians, four of which became the basis for disputations between 1538 and 1540.[188] He also responded to these assertions in other writings, such as his 1539 open letter to C. Güttel *Against the Antinomians*,[189] and his book *On the Councils and the Church* from the same year.[190]

In his theses and disputations against the antinomians, Luther reviews and reaffirms, on the one hand, what has been called the "second use of the law," that is, the law as the Holy Spirit's tool to work sorrow over sin in man's heart, thus preparing him for Christ's fulfillment of the law offered in the gospel.[191] Luther states that everything that is used to work sorrow over sin is called the law, even if it is Christ's life, Christ's death for sin, or God's goodness experienced in creation.[192] Simply refusing to preach the Ten Commandments among Christians – thereby, as it were, removing the three letters l-a-w from the church – does not eliminate the accusing law.[193] Claiming that the law – in any form – should not be preached to Christians anymore would be tantamount to asserting that Christians are no longer sinners in themselves and that the church consists only of essentially holy people.[194]

On the other hand, Luther also points out that the Ten Commandments – when considered not as God's condemning judgment but as an expression of his eternal will, that is, of the natural law – also positively teach how the Christian ought to live.[195] This has traditionally been called the "third use of the law."[196] For Luther, also Christ's life, when understood as an example, is nothing more than an illustration of the Ten Commandments, which a Christian should follow in his or her vocations on a daily basis.[197]

The Ten Commandments, and the beginnings of the renewed life of Christians accorded to them by the sacrament of baptism, are a present foreshadowing of the believers' future angel-like life in heaven in the midst of this life.[198] Luther's teaching of the Ten Commandments, therefore, has clear eschatological overtones, which, characteristically for Luther, do not encourage world-flight but direct the Christian to service to the neighbor in the common, daily vocations of this perishing world.

1.1.15 Bigamy of Philip of Hesse

From December 1539, Luther became implicated in the bigamy of Philip I, Landgrave of Hesse, who wanted to marry one of his wife's ladies-in-waiting. Philip solicited the approval of Luther, Melanchthon, and Bucer, citing as a precedent the polygamy of the patriarchs. The theologians were not prepared to make a general ruling, and they reluctantly advised the landgrave that if he was determined, he should marry secretly and keep quiet about the matter.[199] As a result, on 4 March 1540, Philip married a second wife, Margarethe von der Saale, with

Melanchthon and Bucer among the witnesses. However, Philip was unable to keep the marriage secret, and he threatened to make Luther's advice public. Luther told him to "tell a good, strong lie" and deny the marriage completely, which Philip did during the subsequent public controversy.[200] In the view of Luther's biographer Martin Brecht, "giving confessional advice for Philip of Hesse was one of the worst mistakes Luther made, and, next to the landgrave himself, who was directly responsible for it, history chiefly holds Luther accountable".[201] Brecht argues that Luther's mistake was not that he gave private pastoral advice, but that he miscalculated the political implications.[202] The affair caused lasting damage to Luther's reputation.[203]

1.1.16 Antisemitism

Main article: Martin Luther and antisemitism
See also: Christianity and antisemitism

Luther wrote negatively about the Jews throughout his career.[204] Though Luther rarely encountered Jews during his life, his attitudes reflected a theological and cultural tradition which saw Jews as a rejected people guilty of the murder of Christ, and he lived within a local community that had expelled Jews some ninety years earlier.[205] He considered the Jews blasphemers and liars because they rejected the divinity of Jesus.[206] In 1523, Luther advised kindness toward the Jews in *That Jesus Christ was Born a Jew* and also aimed to convert them to Christianity.[207] When his efforts at conversion failed, he grew increasingly bitter toward them.[208]

The original title page of On the Jews and Their Lies, *written by Martin Luther in 1543*

Luther's major works on the Jews were his 60,000-word treatise *Von den Juden und Ihren Lügen* (*On the Jews and Their Lies*), and *Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi* (*On the Holy Name and the Lineage of Christ*), both published in 1543, three years before his death.[209] Luther argued that the Jews were no longer the chosen people but "the devil's people", and referred to them with violent language.[210][211] Citing Deuteronomy 13, wherein Moses commands the killing of idolaters and the burning of their cities and property as an offering to God, Luther called for a "*scharfe Barmherzigkeit*" ("sharp mercy") against the Jews "to see whether we might save at least a few from the glowing flames."[212] Luther advocated setting synagogues on fire, destroying Jewish prayerbooks, forbidding rabbis from preaching, seizing Jews' property and money, and smashing up their homes, so that these "envenomed worms" would be forced into labour or expelled "for all time".[213] In Robert Michael's view, Luther's words "We are at fault in not slaying them" amounted to a sanction for murder.[214] "God's anger with them is so intense," Luther concluded, "that gentle mercy will only tend to make them worse, while sharp mercy will reform them but little. Therefore, in any case, away with them!"[212]

Luther spoke out against the Jews in Saxony, Brandenburg, and Silesia.[215] Josel of Rosheim, the Jewish spokesman who tried to help the Jews of Saxony in 1537, later blamed their plight on "that priest whose name was Martin Luther—may his body and soul be bound up in hell!—who wrote and issued many heretical books in which he said that whoever would help the Jews was doomed to perdition."[216] Josel asked the city of Strasbourg to forbid the sale of Luther's anti-Jewish works: they refused initially, but did so when a Lutheran pastor in Hochfelden used a sermon to urge his parishioners to murder Jews.[215] Luther's influence persisted after his death. Throughout the 1580s, riots led to the expulsion of Jews from several German Lutheran states.[217]

Luther was the most widely read author of his generation, and within Germany he acquired the status of a prophet.[218] According to the prevailing view among historians,[219] his anti-Jewish rhetoric contributed significantly to the development of antisemitism in Germany,[220] and in the 1930s and 1940s provided an "ideal underpinning" for the Nazis' attacks on Jews.[221] Reinhold Lewin writes that anybody who "wrote against the Jews for whatever reason believed he had the right to justify himself by triumphantly referring to Luther." According to Michael, just about every anti-Jewish book printed in the Third Reich contained references to and quotations from Luther. Heinrich Himmler wrote admiringly of his writings and sermons on the Jews in 1940.[222] The city of Nuremberg presented a first edition of *On*

the Jews and their Lies to Julius Streicher, editor of the Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer*, on his birthday in 1937; the newspaper described it as the most radically anti-Semitic tract ever published.[223] It was publicly exhibited in a glass case at the Nuremberg rallies and quoted in a 54-page explanation of the Aryan Law by Dr. E.H. Schulz and Dr. R. Frercks.[224]

On 17 December 1941, seven Protestant regional church confederations issued a statement agreeing with the policy of forcing Jews to wear the yellow badge, "since after his bitter experience Luther had already suggested preventive measures against the Jews and their expulsion from German territory." According to Daniel Goldhagen, Bishop Martin Sasse, a leading Protestant churchman, published a compendium of Luther's writings shortly after Kristallnacht, for which Diarmaid MacCulloch, Professor of the History of the Church in the University of Oxford argued that Luther's writing was a "blueprint."[225] Sasse applauded the burning of the synagogues and the coincidence of the day, writing in the introduction, "On 10 November 1938, on Luther's birthday, the synagogues are burning in Germany." The German people, he urged, ought to heed these words "of the greatest antisemite of his time, the warner of his people against the Jews."[226]

"There is a world of difference between his belief in salvation and a racial ideology. Nevertheless, his misguided agitation had the evil result that Luther fatefully became one of the 'church fathers' of anti-Semitism and thus provided material for the modern hatred of the Jews, cloaking it with the authority of the Reformer."

Martin Brecht[227]

At the heart of scholars' debate about Luther's influence is whether it is anachronistic to view his work as a precursor of the racial antisemitism of the Nazis. Some scholars see Luther's influence as limited, and the Nazis' use of his work as opportunistic. Johannes Wallmann argues that Luther's writings against the Jews were largely ignored in the 18th and 19th centuries, and that there was no continuity between Luther's thought and Nazi ideology.[228] Uwe Siemon-Netto agreed, arguing that it was because the Nazis were already anti-Semites that they revived Luther's work.[229][230] Hans J. Hillerbrand agreed that to focus on Luther was to adopt an essentially ahistorical perspective of Nazi antisemitism that ignored other contributory factors in German history.[231] Similarly, Roland Bainton, noted church historian and Luther biographer, wrote "One could wish that Luther had died before ever [*On the Jews and Their Lies*] was written. His position was entirely religious and in no respect racial."[232][233] However, Christopher J. Probst, in his book *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany* (2012), shows that a large number of German Lutheran clergy and theologians during the Nazi Third Reich used Luther's hostile publications towards the Jews and their Jewish religion to justify at least in part the anti-Semitic policies of the National Socialists.[234]

Some scholars, such as Mark U. Edwards in his book *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics 1531–46* (1983), suggest that since Luther's increasingly anti-semitic views developed during the years his health deteriorated, it is possible they were at least partly the product of a state of mind. Edwards also comments that Luther often deliberately used "vulgarity and violence" for effect, both in his writings condemning the Jews and in diatribes against "Turks" (Muslims) and Catholics.[235]

Since the 1980s, Lutheran denominations have repudiated Martin Luther's statements against the Jews and have rejected the use of them to incite hatred against Lutherans.[236][237] Strommen et al.'s 1970 survey of 4,745 North American Lutherans aged 15–65 found that, compared to the other minority groups under consideration, Lutherans were the least prejudiced toward Jews.[238] Nevertheless, Professor Richard (Dick) Geary, former Professor of Modern History at the University of Nottingham, England, and the author of *Hitler and Nazism* (Routledge 1993), published an article in the magazine *History Today* examining electoral trends in Weimar Germany between 1928 and 1933. Geary noted, based on his research, that the Nazi Party received disproportionately more votes from Protestant than Catholic areas of Germany.[239]

1.1.17 Final years, illness and death

Luther on his deathbed by Lucas Cranach the Elder

Luther had been suffering from ill health for years, including Ménière's disease, vertigo, fainting, tinnitus, and a cataract in one eye.[240] From 1531 to 1546 his health deteriorated further. The years of struggle with Rome, the antagonisms with and among his fellow reformers, and the scandal that ensued from the bigamy of the Philip of Hesse incident, in which Luther had played a leading role, all may have contributed. In 1536, he began to suffer from kidney and bladder stones, arthritis, and an ear infection ruptured an ear drum. In December 1544, he began to feel the effects of angina.[241]

His poor physical health made him short-tempered and even harsher in his writings and comments. His wife Katharina was overheard saying, "Dear husband, you are too rude," and he responded, "They are teaching me to be rude."[242] In 1545 and 1546 Luther preached three times in the Market Church in Halle, staying with his friend Justus Jonas during Christmas.[243]

His last sermon was delivered at Eisleben, his place of birth, on 15 February 1546, three days before his death.[244] It was "entirely devoted to the obdurate Jews, whom it was a matter of great urgency to expel from all German territory," according to Léon Poliakov.[245] James Mackinnon writes that it concluded with a "fiery summons to drive the Jews bag and baggage from their midst, unless they desisted from their calumny and their usury and became Christians."[246] Luther said, "we want to practice Christian love toward them and pray that they convert," but also that they are "our public enemies ... and if they could kill us all, they would gladly do so. And so often they do."[247]

Luther's final journey, to Mansfeld, was taken because of his concern for his siblings' families continuing in their father Hans Luther's copper mining trade. Their livelihood was threatened by Count Albrecht of Mansfeld bringing the industry under his own control. The controversy that ensued involved all four Mansfeld counts: Albrecht, Philip, John George, and Gerhard. Luther journeyed to Mansfeld twice in late 1545 to participate in the negotiations for a settlement, and a third visit was needed in early 1546 for their completion.

The negotiations were successfully concluded on 17 February 1546. After 8 a.m., he experienced chest pains. When he went to his bed, he prayed, "Into your hand I commit my spirit; you have redeemed me, O Lord, faithful God" (Ps. 31:5), the common prayer of the dying. At 1 a.m. he awoke with more chest pain and was warmed with hot towels. He thanked God for revealing his Son to him in whom he had believed. His companions, Justus Jonas and Michael Coelius, shouted loudly, "Reverend father, are you ready to die trusting in your Lord Jesus Christ and to confess the doctrine which you have taught in his name?" A distinct "Yes" was Luther's reply.

An apoplectic stroke deprived him of his speech, and he died shortly afterwards at 2:45 a.m. on 18 February 1546, aged 62, in Eisleben, the city of his birth. He was buried in the Castle Church in Wittenberg, beneath the pulpit.[248] The funeral was held by his friends Johannes Bugenhagen and Philipp Melanchthon.[249] A year later, troops of Luther's adversary Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor entered the town, but were ordered by Charles not to disturb the grave.[249]

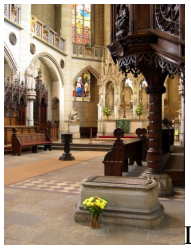
A piece of paper was later found on which Luther had written his last statement. The statement was in Latin, apart from "We are beggars," which was in German. The statement reads:

> 1. No one can understand Virgil's *Bucolics* unless he has been a shepherd for five years. No one can understand Virgil's *Georgics*, unless he has been a farmer for five years.
>
> 2. No one can understand Cicero's *Letters* (or so I teach), unless he has busied himself in the affairs of some prominent state for twenty years.
>
> 3. Know that no one can have indulged in the Holy Writers sufficiently, unless he has governed churches for a hundred years with the prophets, such as Elijah and Elisha, John the Baptist, Christ and the apostles. Do not assail this divine Aeneid; nay, rather prostrate revere the ground that it treads. We are beggars: this is true.[250][251]

- The house where Luther died—perceived to be the one until 2004.[252] It was disclosed that Luther really died at Markt 56, nowadays the site of *Hotel Graf von Mansfeld*.

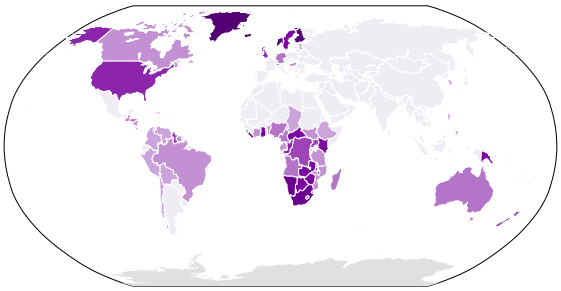
- Cast of Luther's face and hands at his death, in the Market Church in Halle.[253]

- *Schlosskirche* in Wittenberg, the site where Luther posted his Ninety Five Theses, is simultaneously his gravesite.

-  Luther's tombstone beneath the pulpit in the Castle Church in Wittenberg.

- Close-up of the grave with inscription in Latin.

1.1.18 Legacy and commemoration



Worldwide Protestantism in 2010.

In the 1530s and 1540s, printed images of Luther that emphasized his monumental size were crucial to the spread of Protestantism. In contrast to images of frail Catholic saints, Luther was presented as a stout man with a "double chin, strong mouth, piercing deep-set eyes, fleshy face, and squat neck." He was shown to be physically imposing, an equal in stature to the secular German princes with whom he would join forces to spread Lutheranism. His large body also let the viewer know that he did not shun earthly pleasures like drinking—behavior that was a stark contrast to the ascetic life of the medieval religious orders. Famous images from this period include the woodcuts by Hans Brosamer (1530) and Lucas Cranach the Elder and Lucas Cranach the Younger (1546).[254]

Luther is honoured on 18 February with a commemoration in the Lutheran Calendar of Saints and in the Episcopal (United States) Calendar of Saints. In the Church of England's Calendar of Saints he is commemorated on 31 October.

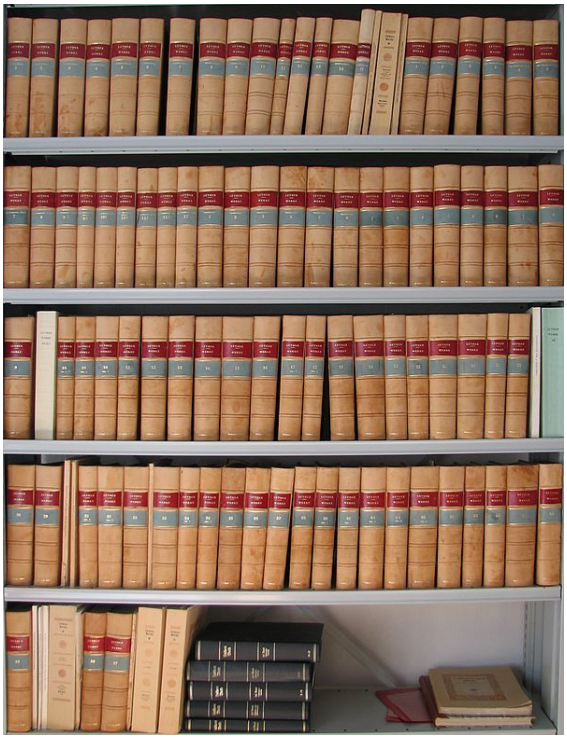
Martin Luther is honored in various ways by Christian traditions coming out directly from the Protestant Reformation, i.e. Lutheranism, the Reformed tradition, and Anglicanism. Branches of Protestantism that emerged afterwards vary in their remembrance and veneration of Luther, ranging from a complete lack of a single mention of him to a commemoration almost comparable to the way Lutherans commemorate and remember his persona. There is no known condemnation of Luther by Protestants themselves.

Various sites both inside and outside Germany (supposedly) visited by Martin Luther throughout his lifetime commemorate it with local memorials. Saxony-Anhalt has two towns lawfully named after Luther, Lutherstadt Eisleben and Lutherstadt Wittenberg. Mansfeld is sometimes called Mansfeld-Lutherstadt, although the state government has not decided to put the *Lutherstadt*-prefix in its official name.

Reformation Day commemorates the publication of the Ninety Five Theses in 1517 by Martin Luther; it has been historically important in the following European entities. It is a civic holiday in the German states of Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt and Thuringia. Slovenia celebrates it due to the profound contribution of the Reformation to its culture. Austria allows Protestant children not to go to school that day, and Protestant workers have a right to leave work in order to participate in a church service. Switzerland celebrates the holiday on the first Sunday after 31 October. It is also celebrated elsewhere around the world.

1.1.19 Works and editions

- The Erlangen Edition (*Erlangener Ausgabe*: "EA"), comprising the *Exegetica opera latina* – Latin exegetical works of Luther.
- The Weimar Edition (Weimarer Ausgabe) is the exhaustive, standard German edition of Luther's Latin and German works, indicated by the abbreviation "WA". This is continued into "WA Br" *Weimarer Ausgabe, Briefwechsel* (correspondence), "WA Tr" *Weimarer Ausgabe, Tischreden* (tabletalk) and "WA DB" *Weimarer Ausgabe, Deutsche Bibel* (German Bible).
- The American Edition (*Luther's Works*) is the most extensive English translation of Luther's writings, indicated either by the abbreviation "LW" or "AE". The first 55 volumes were published 1955-1986, and



Various books of the Weimar Edition of Luther's works

a twenty volume extension (vols. 56-75) is planned of which volumes 58, 60, and 68 have appeared thus far.

1.1.20 See also

- Hochstratus Ovans
- Luther's Marian theology
- Lutherhaus Eisenach
- Martin Luther's Birth House
- Propaganda during the Reformation
- *Theologia Germanica*

1.1.21 References

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[32] (Trent, l. c., can. xii: "Si quis dixerit, fidem justificantem nihil aliud esse quam fiduciam divinae misericordiae, peccata remittentis propter Christum, vel eam fiduciam solam esse, qua justificamur, a.s.")

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[91] Hughes, 45–47.

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[115] Brecht, 2:264–65.

[116] Brecht, 2:268.

[117] Brecht, 2:251–54; Bainton, Mentor edition, 266.

[118] Brecht, 2:255.

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[121] Brecht, 2:256; Bainton, Mentor edition, 265–66.

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[123] Brecht, 2:256–57.

[124] Brecht, 2:258.

[125] Brecht, 2:263.

[126] Mullett, 186. Quoted from Luther's preface to the *Small Catechism*, 1529; MacCulloch, 165.

[127] Marty, 123.

[128] Brecht, 2:273; Bainton, Mentor edition, 263.

[129] Marty, 123; Wilson, 278.

[130] Luther, Martin. *Luther's Works*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971, 50:172–73; Bainton, Mentor edition, 263.

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[133] Charles P. Arand, "Luther on the Creed." *Lutheran Quarterly* 2006 20(1): 1–25. ISSN 0024-7499; James Arne Nestingen, "Luther's Catechisms" *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation.* Ed. Hans J. Hillerbrand. (1996)

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[154] Weimarer Ausgabe 43, 360, 21–23 (to Genesis 25,7–10): also Exegetica opera latina Vol 5–6 1833 p. 120 and the English translation: *Luther's Works*, American Edition, 55 vols. (St. Louis: CPH), 4:313; "Sufficit igitur nobis haec cognitio, non egredi animas ex corporibus in periculum cruciatum et paenarum inferni, sed esse eis paratum cubiculum, in quo dormiant in pace."

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[158] Article in the Berlinischer Zeitung 1755 in Complete Works ed. Karl Friedrich Theodor Lachmann – 1838 p. 59 "Was die Gegner auf alle diese Stellen antworten werden, ist leicht zu errathen. Sie werden sagen, daß Luther mit dem Worte Schlaf gar die Begriffe nicht verbinde, welche Herr R. damit verbindet. Wenn Luther sage, daß die Seele IS nach dem Tode schlafe, so denke er nichts mehr dabey, als was alle Leute denken, wenn sie den Tod des Schlafes Bruder nennen. Tode ruhe, leugneten auch die nicht, welche ihr Wachen behaupteten :c. Ueberhaupt ist mit Luthers Ansehen bey der ganzen Streitigkeit nichts zu gewinnen."

[159] Exegetica opera Latina, Volumes 5–6 Martin Luther, ed. Christopf Stephan Elsperger (Gottlieb) p. 120 "Differunt tamen somnus sive quies hujus vitae et futurae. Homon enim in hac vita defatigatus diurno labore, sub noctem intrat in cubiculum suum tanquam in pace, ut ibi dormiat, et ea nocte fruitur quiete, neque quicquam scit de ullo malo sive incendii, sive caedis. Anima autem non sic dormit, sed vigilat, et patitur visiones loquelas Angelorum et Dei. Ideo somnus in futura vita profundior est quam in hac vita et tamen anima coram Deo vivit. Hac similitudine, quam habeo a somno viventia." (Commentary on Genesis – *Enarrationes in Genesin*, 1535–1545)"

[160] Blackburne *A short historical view of the controversy concerning an intermediate state* (1765) p121

[161] Gottfried Fritschel. *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche* p. 657 "Denn dass Luther mit den Worten "anima non sic dormit, sed vigilat et patitur visiones, loquelas Angelorum et Dei" nicht dasjenige leugnen will, was er an allen andern Stellen seiner Schriften vortragt"

[162] Henry Eyster Jacobs *Martin Luther the Hero of the Reformation 1483 to 1546* (1898). Emphasis added.

[163] Mullett, 194–95.

[164] Brecht, 2:325–34; Mullett, 197.

[165] Wilson, 259.

[166] *Weimar Ausgabe* 26, 442; *Luther's Works* 37, 299–300.

[167] Oberman, 237.

[168] Marty, 140–41; Lohse, 74–75.

[169] Quoted by Oberman, 237.

[170] Brecht 2:329.

[171] Oberman, 238.

[172] Martin Luther, *Werke, VIII*

[173] Martin Luther, *Table Talk*.

[174] Martin Luther, "On Justification CCXCIV", *Table Talk*

[175] Mallett, 198; Marius, 220. The siege was lifted on 14 October 1529, which Luther saw as a divine miracle.

[176] Andrew Cunningham, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine and Death in Reformation Europe*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, ISBN 0-521-46701-2, 141; Mullett, 239–40; Marty, 164.

[177] From *On War against the Turk*, 1529, quoted in William P. Brown, *The Ten Commandments: The Reciprocity of Faithfulness*, Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004, ISBN 0-664-22323-0, 258; Lohse, 61; Marty, 166.

[178] Marty, 166; Marius, 219; Brecht, 2:365, 368.

[179] Mullett, 238–39; Lohse, 59–61.

[180] Brecht, 2:364.

[181] Wilson, 257; Brecht, 2:364–65.

[182] Brecht, 2:365; Mullett, 239.

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[185] From *On war against the Turk*, 1529, quoted in Roland E. Miller, *Muslims and the Gospel*, Minneapolis: Kirk House Publishers, 2006, ISBN 1-932688-07-2, 208.

[186] Brecht, 3:355.

[187] Cf. Luther, *Only the Decalogue Is Eternal: Martin Luther's Complete Antinomian Theses and Disputations,* ed. and tr. H. Sonntag, Minneapolis: Lutheran Press, 2008, 23–27. ISBN 978-0-9748529-6-6

[188] Cf. ibid., 11–15.

[189] Cf. *Luther's Works* 47:107–119. There he writes: "Dear God, should it be unbearable that the holy church confesses itself a sinner, believes in the forgiveness of sins, and asks for remission of sin in the Lord's Prayer? How can one know what sin is without the law and conscience? And how will we learn what Christ is, what he did for us, if we do not know what the law is that he fulfilled for us and what sin is, for which he made satisfaction?" (112–113).

[190] Cf. *Luther's Works* 41, 113–114, 143–144, 146–147. There he said about the antinomians: "They may be fine Easter preachers, but they are very poor Pentecost preachers, for they do not preach *de sanctificatione et vivificatione Spiritus Sancti*, "about the sanctification by the Holy Spirit," but solely about the redemption of Jesus Christ" (114). "Having rejected and being unable to understand the Ten Commandments, ... they see and yet they let the people go on in their public sins, without any renewal or reformation of their lives" (147).

[191] Cf. Luther, *Only the Decalogue Is Eternal,* 33–36.

[192] Cf. Luther, *Only the Decalogue Is Eternal*, 170–172

[193] Cf. Luther, *Only the Decalogue Is Eternal*, 76, 105–107.

[194] Cf. Luther, *Only the Decalogue Is Eternal*, 140, 157.

[195] Cf. Luther, *Only the Decalogue Is Eternal*, 75, 104–105, 172–173.

[196] The "first use of the law," accordingly, would be the law used as an external means of order and coercion in the political realm by means of bodily rewards and punishments.

[197] Cf. Luther, *Only the Decalogue Is Eternal*, 110.

[198] Cf. Luther, *Only the Decalogue Is Eternal*, 35: "The law, therefore, cannot be eliminated, but remains, prior to Christ as not fulfilled, after Christ as to be fulfilled, although this does not happen perfectly in this life even by the justified. ... This will happen perfectly first in the coming life." Cf. Luther, *Only the Decalogue Is Eternal,*, 43–44, 91–93.

[199] Brecht, Martin, *Martin Luther*, tr. James L. Schaaf, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985–93, 3: 206.

[200] Brecht, Martin, *Martin Luther*, tr. James L. Schaaf, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985–93, 3:212.

[201] Brecht, Martin, *Martin Luther*, tr. James L. Schaaf, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985–93, 3:214.

[202] Brecht, Martin, *Martin Luther*, tr. James L. Schaaf, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985–93, 3:205–15.

[203] Oberman, Heiko, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006, 294.

[204] Michael, Robert. *Holy Hatred: Christianity, Antisemitism, and the Holocaust.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, 109; Mullett, 242.

[205] Edwards, Mark. *Luther's Last Battles.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983, 121.

[206] Brecht, 3:341–43; Mullett, 241; Marty, 172.

[207] Brecht, 3:334; Marty, 169; Marius, 235.

[208] Noble, Graham. "Martin Luther and German anti-Semitism," *History Review* (2002) No. 42:1–2; Mullett, 246.

[209] Brecht, 3:341–47.

[210] Luther, *On the Jews and their Lies*, quoted in Michael, 112.

[211] Luther, *Vom Schem Hamphoras*, quoted in Michael, 113.

[212] Gritsch, Eric W. (2012). *Martin Luther's Anti-Semitism: Against His Better Judgment*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company. ISBN 978-0-8028-6676-9. pp. 86–87.

[213] Luther, *On the Jews and Their Lies*, *Luthers Werke*. 47:268–271.

[214] Luther, *On the Jews and Their Lies*, quoted in Robert Michael, "Luther, Luther Scholars, and the Jews," *Encounter* 46 (Autumn 1985) No. 4:343–344.

[215] Michael, 117.

[216] Quoted by Michael, 110.

[217] Michael, 117–18.

[218] Gritsch, 113–14; Michael, 117.

[219] "The assertion that Luther's expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment have been of major and persistent influence in the centuries after the Reformation, and that there exists a continuity between Protestant anti-Judaism and modern racially oriented anti-Semitism, is at present wide-spread in the literature; since the Second World War it has understandably become the prevailing opinion." Johannes Wallmann, "The Reception of Luther's Writings on the Jews from the Reformation to the End of the 19th century", *Lutheran Quarterly*, n.s. 1 (Spring 1987) 1:72–97.

[220] Berger, Ronald. *Fathoming the Holocaust: A Social Problems Approach* (New York: Aldine De Gruyter, 2002), 28; Johnson, Paul. *A History of the Jews* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1987), 242; Shirer, William. *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1960).

[221] Grunberger, Richard. *The 12-Year Reich: A Social History of Nazi German 1933–1945* (NP:Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 465.

[222] Himmler wrote: "what Luther said and wrote about the Jews. No judgment could be sharper."

[223] Ellis, Marc H. Hitler and the Holocaust, Christian Anti-Semitism", (NP: Baylor University Center for American and Jewish Studies, Spring 2004), Slide 14. .

[224] See Noble, Graham. "Martin Luther and German anti-Semitism," *History Review* (2002) No. 42:1–2.

[225] Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation:Europe'{}s House Divided, 1490–1700*. New York:Penguin Books Ltd, 2004, pp. 666–667.

[226] Bernd Nellessen, "Die schweigende Kirche: Katholiken und Judenverfolgung," in Buttner (ed), *Die Deutchschen und die Jugendverfolg im Dritten Reich*, p.265, cited in Daniel Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* (Vintage, 1997)

[227] Brecht 3:351.

[228] Wallmann, 72–97.

[229] Siemon-Netto, *The Fabricated Luther*, 17–20.

[230] Siemon-Netto, "Luther and the Jews," Lutheran Witness 123 (2004) No. 4:19, 21.

[231] Hillerbrand, Hans J. "Martin Luther," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2007. Hillerbrand writes: "His strident pronouncements against the Jews, especially toward the end of his life, have raised the question of whether Luther significantly encouraged the development of German anti-Semitism. Although many scholars have taken this view, this perspective puts far too much emphasis on Luther and not enough on the larger peculiarities of German history."

[232] Bainton, Roland: *Here I Stand*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, New American Library, 1983), p. 297

[233] For similar views, see:

- Briese, Russell. "Martin Luther and the Jews," *Lutheran Forum* (Summer 2000):32;
- Brecht, *Martin Luther*, 3:351;
- Edwards, Mark U. Jr. *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics 1531–46*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983, 139;
- Gritsch, Eric. "Was Luther Anti-Semitic?", *Christian History*, No. 3:39, 12.;
- Kittelson, James M., *Luther the Reformer*, 274;
- Oberman, Heiko. *The Roots of Anti-Semitism: In the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*. Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984, 102;
- Rupp, Gordon. *Martin Luther*, 75;
- Siemon-Netto, Uwe. *Lutheran Witness*, 19.

[234] Christopher J. Probst, *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany*, Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2012, ISBN 978-0-253-00100-9

[235] Dr. Christopher Probst. "Martin Luther and "The Jews" A Reappraisal". The Theologian. Retrieved 20 March 2014.

[236] *Synod deplores and disassociates itself from Luther's negative statements about the Jewish people and the use of these statements to incite anti-Lutheran sentiment*, from a summary of Official Missouri Synod Doctrinal Statements

[237] Lull, Timothy *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings, Second Edition* (2005), p. 25

[238] See Merton P. Strommen et al., A Study of Generations (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing, 1972), p. 206. P. 208 also states "The clergy [ALC, LCA, or LCMS] are less likely to indicate anti-Semitic or racially prejudiced attitudes [compared to the laity]."

[239] Richard (Dick) Geary, *Who voted for the Nazis? (electoral history of the National Socialist German Workers' Party)*, in History Today, 1 October 1998, Vol.48, Issue 10, pp.8-14.

[240] Iversen OH (1996). "[Martin Luther's somatic diseases. A short life-history 450 years after his death]". *Tidsskr. Nor. Laegeforen.* (in Norwegian). **116** (30): 3643–46. PMID 9019884.

[241] Edwards, 9.

[242] Spitz, 354.

[243] Die Beziehungen des Reformators Martin Luther zu Halle buergerstiftung-halle.de (German)

[244] Luther, Martin. Sermon No. 8, "Predigt über Mat. 11:25, Eisleben gehalten," 15 February 1546, *Luthers Werke*, Weimar 1914, 51:196–197.

[245] Poliakov, Léon. *From the Time of Christ to the Court Jews*, Vanguard Press, p. 220.

[246] Mackinnon, James. *Luther and the Reformation*. Vol. IV, (New York): Russell & Russell, 1962, p. 204.

[247] Luther, Martin. *Admonition against the Jews*, added to his final sermon, cited in Oberman, Heiko. *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*, New York: Image Books, 1989, p. 294. A complete translation of Luther's *Admonition* can be found in Wikisource.s:Warning Against the Jews (1546)

[248] Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther*. tr. James L. Schaaf, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985–93, 3:369–79.

[249] McKim, Donald K. (2003). *The Cambridge companion to Martin Luther*. Cambridge companions to religion. Cambridge University Press. p. 19. ISBN 0-521-01673-8.

[250] Kellermann, James A. (translator) "The Last Written Words of Luther: Holy Ponderings of the Reverend Father Doctor Martin Luther". 16 February 1546.

[251] Original German and Latin of Luther's last written words is: "Wir sein pettler. Hoc est verum." Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther's World of Thought*, tr. Martin H. Bertram (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), 291.

[252] Dorfpredigten.: Biblische Einsichten aus Deutschlands 'wildem Süden'. Ausgewählte Predigten aus den Jahren 1998 bis 2007 Teil II 2002-2007 by Thomas O. H. Kaiser, p. 354

[253] Martin Luther's Death Mask on View at Museum in Halle, Germany artdaily.com

[254] Roper, Lyndal (April 2010). "Martin Luther's Body: The 'Stout Doctor' and His Biographers". *American Historical Review*. **115** (2): 351–362. doi:10.1086/ahr.115.2.351.

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1.1.23 Further reading

For works by and about Luther, see Martin Luther (resources) or Luther's works at Wikisource.

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1.1.24 External links

- Works written by or about Martin Luther at Wikisource

- Media related to Martin Luther at Wikimedia Commons
- Quotations related to Martin Luther at Wikiquote
- Works by Martin Luther at Project Gutenberg
- Works by or about Martin Luther at Internet Archive
- Works by Martin Luther at LibriVox (public domain audiobooks)
- Works by Martin Luther at Post-Reformation Digital Library
- The Mutopia Project has compositions by Martin Luther
- Website about Martin Luther
- *Booknotes* interview with Martin Marty on *Martin Luther*, 11 April 2004.
- Commentarius in psalmos Davidis Manuscript of Luther's first lecture as Professor of Theology at the University of Wittenberg, digital version at the Saxon State and University Library, Dresden (SLUB)
- "Martin Luther". *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*.
- Martin Luther Collection: Early works attributed to Martin Luther, (285 titles). From the Rare Book and Special Collections Division at the Library of Congress

Chapter 2

Life

2.1 History of Protestantism

Protestantism originated from the ideas of several theologians starting in the 12th century, although there could have been earlier cases of which there is no surviving evidence. However, these ideas were a subject to persecution by the Roman Catholic Church, and thus were kept isolated or effectively eradicated up to the 16th century. One of the early Protestant reformers was John Wycliffe, a theologian and an early proponent of reform in the 14th century. He influenced Jan Hus, a Czech priest from Prague, who in turn influenced German Martin Luther, who sparked the Protestant Reformation. The Protestant Reformation began as an attempt to reform the Roman Catholic Church.

Martin Luther wrote *Ninety-Five Theses* on the sale of indulgences in 1517. At the same time, a movement began in Switzerland under the leadership of Huldrych Zwingli. The political separation of the Church of England from Rome under Henry VIII brought England alongside the broad Reformation movement.[1] The Scottish Reformation of 1560 decisively shaped the Church of Scotland.[2]

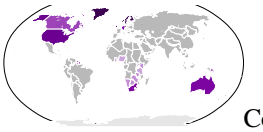
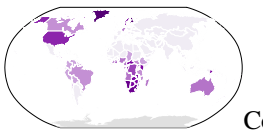
Following the excommunication of Luther, the Pope condemned the Reformation and its followers. The work and writings of John Calvin helped establish a loose consensus among various groups in Switzerland, Scotland, the Netherlands, Hungary, Germany and elsewhere.[3] In the course of this religious upheaval, the German Peasants' War of 1524–1525 swept through Bavaria, Thuringia and Swabia. The confessional division of the states of the Holy Roman Empire eventually erupted in the Thirty Years' War of 1618–1648, leaving the agglomeration severely weakened.[4]

The success of the Counter-Reformation on the Continent and the growth of a Puritan party dedicated to further Protestant reform polarized the Elizabethan Age, although it was not until the Civil War of the 1640s that England underwent religious strife comparable to that which its neighbours had suffered some generations before. Nonconforming Protestants along with the Protestant refugees from continental Europe were the primary founders of the United States of America.

The "Great Awakenings" were periods of rapid and dramatic religious revival in American religious history, from the 1730s to the mid-19th century. The result was a multitude of strong Protestant denominations, many quite new.

In the 20th century, Protestantism, especially in the United States, was becoming increasingly fragmented. Both liberal and conservative splinter groups asrose, as well as a general secularization of Western society. Notable developments in the 20th century US Protestantism include the rise of Pentecostalism, Christian fundamentalism and Evangelicalism. While these movements spilled over to Europe to a limited degree, the development of Protestantism in Europe was more dominated by secularization, leading to an increasingly post-Christian Europe.

2.1.1 Historical maps

- Countries by percentage of Protestants in 1545.
- Countries by percentage of Protestants in 1710.
-  Countries by percentage of Protestants in 1938.
-  Countries by percentage of Protestants in 2010.

2.1.2 Origins

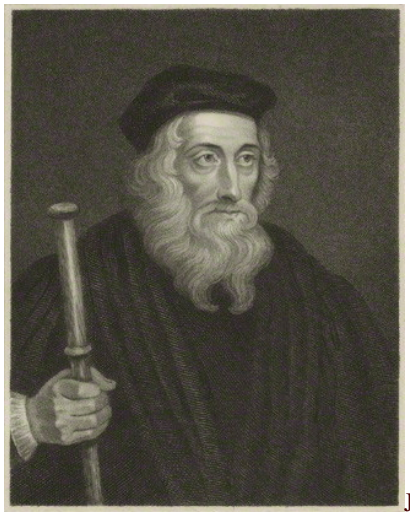
Protestants generally trace to the 16th century their separation from the Catholic Church. Mainstream Protestantism began with the *Magisterial Reformation*, so called because it received support from the magistrates (that is, the civil authorities). The *Radical Reformation*, had no state sponsorship. Older Protestant churches, such as the Unitas Fratrum (Unity of the Brethren), Moravian Brethren or the Bohemian Brethren trace their origin to the time of Jan Hus in the early 15th century. As the Hussite movement was led by a majority of Bohemian nobles and recognized for a time by the Basel Compacts, this is considered by some to be the first Magisterial Reformation in Europe. In Germany, a hundred years later, protests against Roman Catholic authorities erupted in many places at once during a time of threatened Islamic Ottoman invasion [1] which distracted the German princes in particular. To some degree, these protests can be explained by the events of the previous two centuries in Europe and particularly in Bohemia. Earlier in the south of France, where the old influence of the Cathars led to the growing protests against the pope and his authorities, Guillaume Farel (b. 1489) preached reformation as early as 1522 in Dauphiné, where the French Wars of Religion later originated in 1562, also known as Huguenot wars. These also spread later to other parts of Europe.

Execution of Jan Hus at the Council of Constance in 1415. His death led to a radicalization of the Bohemian Reformation and to the Hussite Wars in the Crown of Bohemia.

Roots

See also: Bohemian Reformation

Unrest due to the Avignon Papacy and the Papal Schism in the Roman Catholic Church (1378–1416) sparked wars between princes, uprisings among peasants, and widespread concern over corruption in the Church. A new nationalism also challenged the relatively internationalist medieval world. The first of a series of disruptive and new perspectives came from John Wycliffe at Oxford University, then from Jan Hus at the University of Prague (Hus had been influenced by Wycliffe). The Catholic Church officially concluded debate over Hus' teachings at the Council of Constance (1414–1417). The conclave condemned Jan Hus, who was executed by burning in spite of a promise of safe-conduct. At the command of Pope Martin V, Wycliffe was exhumed and burned as a heretic twelve years after his burial.



John Wycliffe

Peter Waldo

The Council of Constance confirmed and strengthened the traditional medieval conception of Churches and Empires. It did not address the national or theological tensions which had been stirred up during the previous century. The council could not prevent schism and the Hussite Wars in Bohemia.[5]

Following the breakdown of monastic institutions and scholasticism in late medieval Europe, accentuated by the "Babylonian Captivity" of the Papacy, the Papal Schism, and the failure of the Conciliar movement, the sixteenth century saw a great cultural debate about religious reforms and later fundamental religious values (See German mysticism). Historians would generally assume that the failure to reform (too many vested interests, lack of coordination in the reforming coalition) would eventually lead to a greater upheaval or even revolution, since the system must eventually be adjusted or disintegrate, and the failure of the Conciliar movement helped lead to the Protestant Reformation in Europe. These frustrated reformist movements ranged from nominalism, devotio moderna (modern devotion), to humanism occurring in conjunction with economic, political and demographic forces that contributed to a growing disaffection with the wealth and power of the elite clergy, sensitizing the population to the financial and moral corruption of the secular Renaissance church.

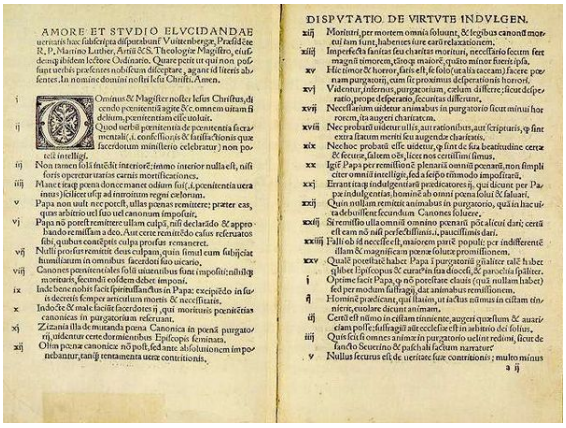
The outcome of the Black Death encouraged a radical reorganization of the economy, and eventually of European society. In the emerging urban centers, however, the calamities of the fourteenth and early fifteenth century, and the resultant labor shortages, provided a strong impetus for economic diversification and technological innovations. Following the Black Death, the initial loss of life due to famine, plague, and pestilence contributed to an intensification of capital accumulation in the urban areas, and thus a stimulus to trade, industry, and burgeoning urban growth in fields as diverse as banking (the Fugger banking family in Augsburg and the Medici family of Florence being the most prominent); textiles, armaments, especially stimulated by the Hundred Years' War, and mining of iron ore due, in large part, to the booming armaments industry. Accumulation of surplus, competitive overproduction, and heightened competition to maximize economic advantage, contributed to civil war, aggressive militarism, and thus to centralization. As a direct result of the move toward centralization, leaders like Louis XI of France (1461–1483), the "spider king", sought to remove all constitutional restrictions on the exercise of their authority. In England, France, and Spain the move toward centralization begun in the thirteenth century was carried to a successful conclusion.

But as recovery and prosperity progressed, enabling the population to reach its former levels in the late 15th and 16th centuries, the combination of a newly-abundant labor supply and improved productivity, was a mixed blessing for many segments of Western European society. Despite tradition, landlords started to exclude peasants from "common lands". With trade stimulated, landowners increasingly moved away from the manorial economy. Woollen manufacturing greatly expanded in France, Germany, and the Netherlands and new textile industries began to develop.

The invention of movable type led to Protestant zeal for translating the Bible and getting it into the hands of the laity.

The "humanism" of the Renaissance period stimulated unprecedented academic ferment, and a concern for academic freedom. Ongoing, earnest theoretical debates occurred in the universities about the nature of the church, and the source and extent of the authority of the papacy, of councils, and of princes.

16th century


AMORE ET STVDIO ELVCIDANDAE
ueritatis hæc subscripta disputabunt Vuittenbergæ, Præsidente
R. P. Martino Luther, Artiũ & S. Theologiæ Magistro, eiusde-
mq; ibidem lectore Ordinario. Quare petit ut qui non pos-
sunt uerbis præsentes nobiscum disceptare, agant id literis ab-
sentes. In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi. Amen.

DISPVTATIO DE VIRTVTE INDVLGEN.

Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses placed in doubt and repudiated several of the Roman Catholic practices.

Protests against Rome began in earnest when Martin Luther, an Augustinian monk and professor at the uni-

versity of Wittenberg, called in 1517 for a reopening of the debate on the sale of indulgences. The quick spread of discontent occurred to a large degree because of the printing press and the resulting swift movement of both ideas and documents, including the *95 Theses*. Information was also widely disseminated in manuscript form, as well as by cheap prints and woodcuts amongst the poorer sections of society.

Parallel to events in Germany, a movement began in Switzerland under the leadership of Ulrich Zwingli. These two movements quickly agreed on most issues, as the recently introduced printing press spread ideas rapidly from place to place, but some unresolved differences kept them separate. Some followers of Zwingli believed that the Reformation was too conservative, and moved independently toward more radical positions, some of which survive among modern day Anabaptists. Other Protestant movements grew up along lines of mysticism or humanism (cf. Erasmus), sometimes breaking from Rome or from the Protestants, or forming outside of the churches.

Huldrych Zwingli launched the Reformation in Switzerland.

After this first stage of the Reformation, following the excommunication of Luther and condemnation of the Reformation by the Pope, the work and writings of John Calvin were influential in establishing a loose consensus among various groups in Switzerland, Scotland, Hungary, Germany and elsewhere.

The Reformation foundations engaged with Augustinianism. Both Luther and Calvin thought along lines linked with the theological teachings of

Iconoclasm was caused by the Protestant rejection of the Roman Catholic saints. Zurich, 1524.

Augustine of Hippo. The Augustinianism of the Reformers struggled against Pelagianism, a heresy that they perceived in the Catholic Church of their day. In the course of this religious upheaval, the German Peasants' War of 1524–1525 swept through the Bavarian, Thuringian and Swabian principalities, leaving scores of Catholics slaughtered at the hands of Protestant bands, including the Black Company of Florian Geier, a knight from Giebelstadt who joined the peasants in the general outrage against the Catholic hierarchy.

Even though Luther and Calvin had very similar theological teachings, the relationship between their followers turned quickly to conflict. Frenchman Michel de Montaigne told a story of a Lutheran pastor who once claimed that he would rather celebrate the mass of Rome than participate in a Calvinist service.

The political separation of the Church of England from Rome under Henry VIII, beginning in 1529 and completed in 1536, brought England alongside this broad Reformed movement. However, religious changes in the English national church proceeded more conservatively than elsewhere in Europe. Reformers in the Church of England alternated, for centuries, between sympathies for Catholic traditions and Protestantism, progressively forging a stable compromise between adherence to ancient tradition and Protestantism, which is now sometimes called the via media.[6]

Martin Luther, John Calvin, and Ulrich Zwingli are considered Magisterial Reformers because their reform movements were supported by ruling authorities or "magistrates". Frederick the Wise not only supported Luther, who was a professor at the university he founded, but also protected him by hiding Luther in Wartburg Castle in Eisenach. Zwingli and Calvin were supported by the city councils in Zurich and Geneva. Since the term "magister" also means "teacher", the Magisterial Reformation is also characterized by an emphasis on the authority of a teacher. This is made evident in the prominence of Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli as leaders of the reform movements in their respective areas of ministry. Because of their authority, they were often criticized by

Life of Martin Luther and the heroes of the Reformation.

Radical Reformers as being too much like the Roman Popes. For example, Radical Reformer Andreas von Bodenstein Karlstadt referred to the Wittenberg theologians as the "new papists".[7]

Impact of humanism

The frustrated reformism of the humanists, ushered in by the Renaissance, contributed to a growing impatience among reformers. Erasmus and later figures like Martin Luther and Zwingli would emerge from this debate and eventually contribute to another major schism of Christendom. The crisis of theology beginning with William of Ockham in the fourteenth century was occurring in conjunction with the new burgher discontent. Since the breakdown of the philosophical foundations of scholasticism, the new nominalism did not bode well for an institutional church legitimized as an intermediary between man and God. New thinking favored the notion that no religious doctrine can be supported by philosophical arguments, eroding the old alliance between reason and faith of the medieval period laid out by Thomas Aquinas.

The major individualistic reform movements that revolted against medieval scholasticism and the institutions that underpinned it were humanism, devotionalism, (see for example, the Brothers of the Common Life and Jan Standonck) and the observantine tradition. In Germany, "the modern way" or devotionalism caught on in the universities, requiring a redefinition of God, who was no longer a rational governing principle but an arbitrary, unknowable will that cannot be limited. God was now a ruler, and religion would be more fervent and emotional. Thus, the ensuing revival of Augustinian theology, stating that man cannot be saved by his own efforts but only by the grace of God, would erode the legitimacy of the rigid institutions of the church meant to provide a channel for man to do good works and get into heaven. Humanism, however, was more of an educational reform movement with origins in the Renaissance's revival of classical learning and thought. A revolt against Aristotelian logic, it placed great emphasis on reforming individuals through eloquence as opposed to reason. The European Renaissance laid the foundation for the Northern humanists in its reinforcement of the traditional use of Latin as the great unifying language of European culture.

Erasmus was a Catholic priest who inspired some of the Protestant reformers.

Johannes Reuchlin.

The polarization of the scholarly community in Germany over the Reuchlin (1455–1522) affair, attacked by the elite clergy for his study of Hebrew and Jewish texts, brought Luther fully in line with the humanist educational reforms who favored academic freedom. At the same time, the impact of the Renaissance would soon backfire against traditional Catholicism, ushering in an age of reform and a repudiation of much of medieval Latin tradition. Led by Erasmus, the humanists condemned various forms of corruption within the Church, forms of corruption that might not have been any more prevalent than during the medieval zenith of the church. Erasmus held that true religion was a matter of inward devotion rather than outward symbols of ceremony and ritual. Going back to ancient texts, scriptures, from this viewpoint the greatest culmination of the ancient tradition, are the guides to life. Favoring moral reforms and de-emphasizing didactic ritual, Erasmus laid the groundwork for Luther.

Humanism's intellectual anti-clericalism would profoundly influence Luther. The increasingly well-educated middle sectors of Northern Germany, namely the educated community and city dwellers would turn to Luther's rethinking of religion to conceptualize their discontent according to the cultural medium of the era. The great rise of the burghers, the desire to run their new businesses free of institutional barriers or outmoded cultural practices, contributed to the appeal of humanist individualism. To many, papal institutions were rigid, especially regarding their views on just price and usury. In the North, burghers and monarchs were united in their frustration for not paying any taxes to the nation, but collecting taxes from subjects and sending the revenues disproportionately to the Pope in Italy.

These trends heightened demands for significant reform and revitalization along with anticlericalism. New thinkers began noticing the divide between the priests and the flock. The clergy, for instance, were not always well-educated. Parish priests often did not know Latin and rural parishes often did not have great opportunities for theological education for many at the time. Due to its large landholdings and institutional rigidity, a rigidity to which the excessively large ranks of the clergy contributed, many bishops studied law, not theology, being relegated to the role of property managers trained in administration. While priests emphasized works of religiosity, the respectability of the church began diminishing, especially among well educated urbanites, and especially considering the recent strings of political humiliation, such as the apprehension of Pope Boniface VIII by Philip IV of France, the "Babylonian Captivity", the Great Schism, and the failure of Conciliar reformism. In a sense, the campaign by Pope Leo X to raise funds to rebuild St. Peter's Basilica was too much of an excess by the secular Renaissance church, prompting high-pressure indulgences that rendered the clergy establishments even more disliked in the cities.

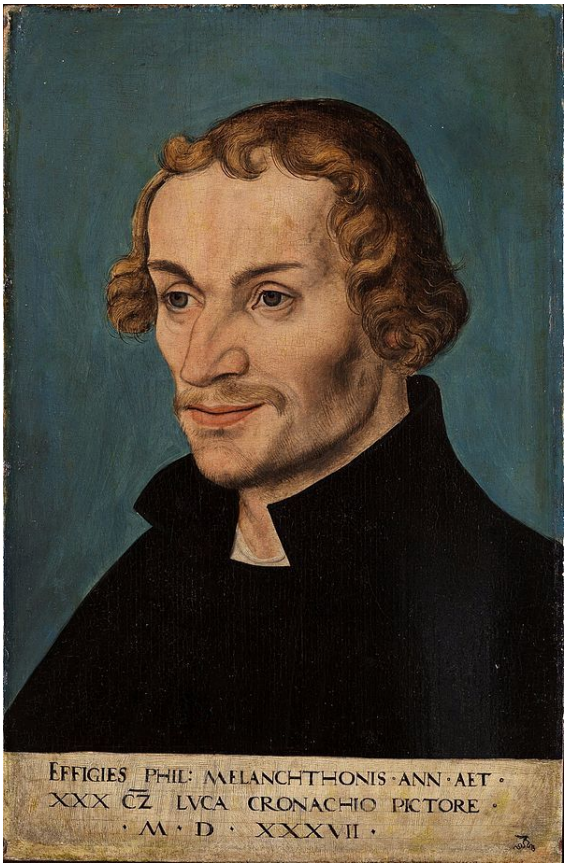
Luther borrowed from the humanists the sense of individualism, that each man can be his own priest (an attitude likely to find popular support considering the rapid rise of an educated urban middle class in the North), and that the only true authority is the Bible, echoing the reformist zeal of the Conciliar movement and opening up the debate once again on limiting the authority of the Pope. While his ideas called for the sharp redefinition of the dividing lines between the laity and the clergy, his ideas were still, by this point, reformist in nature. Luther's contention that the human will was incapable of following good, however, resulted in his rift with Erasmus finally distinguishing Lutheran reformism from humanism.

Lutherans and the Holy Roman Empire

Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor opposed the Lutherans.

Luther affirmed a theology of the Eucharist called Real Presence, a doctrine of the presence of Christ in the Eucharist which affirms the real presence yet upholding that the bread and wine are not "changed" into the body and blood; rather the divine elements adhere "in, with, and under" the earthly elements. He took this understanding of Christ's presence in the Eucharist to be more harmonious with the Church's teaching on the Incarnation. Just as Christ is the union of the fully human and the fully divine (cf. Council of Chalcedon) so to the Eucharist is a union of Bread and Body, Wine and Blood. According to the doctrine of real presence, the substances of the body and the blood of Christ and of the bread and the wine were held to coexist together in the conse-

crated Host during the communion service. While Luther seemed to maintain the perpetual consecration of the elements, other Lutherans argued that any consecrated bread or wine left over would revert to its former state the moment the service ended. Most Lutherans accept the latter.



Portrait of Philipp Melanchthon, co-founder of Lutheranism, by Lucas Cranach the Elder.

A Lutheran understanding of the Eucharist is distinct from the Reformed doctrine of the Eucharist in that Lutherans affirm a real, physical presence of Christ in the Eucharist (as opposed to either a "spiritual presence" or a "memorial") and Lutherans affirm that the presence of Christ does not depend on the faith of the recipient; the repentant receive Christ in the Eucharist worthily, the unrepentant who receive the Eucharist risk the wrath of Christ.

Luther, along with his colleague Philipp Melanchthon, emphasized this point in his plea for the Reformation at the Imperial Diet of 1529 amid charges of heresy. But the changes he proposed were of such a fundamental nature that by their own logic they would automatically overthrow the old order; neither the Emperor nor the Church could possibly accept them, as Luther well knew. As was only to be expected, the edict by the Diet of Worms (1521) prohibited all innovations. Meanwhile, in these efforts to retain the guise of a Catholic reformer as opposed to a heretical revolutionary, and to appeal to German princes with his religious condemnation of the peasant revolts backed up by the Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms, Luther's growing conservatism would provoke more radical reformers.

At a religious conference with the Zwinglians in 1529, Melanchthon joined with Luther in opposing a union with Zwingli. There would finally be a schism in the reform movement due to Luther's belief in real presence—the real (as opposed to symbolic) presence of Christ at the Eucharist. His original intention was not schism, but with the Diet of Augsburg (1530) and its rejection of the Lutheran Augsburg Confession, a separate Lutheran church finally emerged. In a sense, Luther would take theology further in its deviation from established Catholic dogma, forcing a rift between the humanist Erasmus and Luther. Similarly, Zwingli would further repudiate ritualism, and break with the increasingly conservative Luther.

Reformation and Counter Reformation in Europe. Protestant lands are in blue, Catholic in olive.

Aside from the enclosing of the lower classes, the middle sectors of northern Germany, namely the educated community and city dwellers, would turn to religion to conceptualize their discontent according to the cultural medium of the era. The great rise of the burghers, the desire to run their new businesses free of institutional barriers or outmoded cultural practices contributed to the appeal of individualism. To many, papal institutions were rigid, especially regarding their views on just price and usury. In the North, burghers and monarchs were united in their frustration for not paying any taxes to the nation, but collecting taxes from subjects and sending the revenues disproportionately to Italy. In northern Europe, Luther appealed to the growing national consciousness of the German states because he denounced the Pope for involvement in politics as well as religion. Moreover, he backed the nobility, which was now justified to crush the Great Peasant Revolt of 1525 and to confiscate church property by Luther's Doctrine of the Two Kingdoms. This explains the attraction of some territorial princes to Lutheranism, especially its Doctrine of the Two King-

doms. However, the Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I, blamed Lutheranism for the revolt and so did others. In Brandenburg, it was only under his successor Joachim II that Lutheranism was established, and the old religion was not formally extinct in Brandenburg until the death of the last Catholic bishop there, Georg von Blumenthal, who was Bishop of Lebus and sovereign Prince-Bishop of Ratzeburg.

With the church subordinate to and the agent of civil authority and peasant rebellions condemned on strict religious terms, Lutheranism and German nationalist sentiment were ideally suited to coincide.

Though Charles V fought the Reformation, it is no coincidence either that the reign of his nationalistic predecessor Maximilian I saw the beginning of the movement. While the centralized states of western Europe had reached accords with the Vatican permitting them to draw on the rich property of the church for government expenditures, enabling them to form state churches that were greatly autonomous of Rome, similar moves on behalf of the Empire were unsuccessful so long as princes and prince bishops fought reforms to drop the pretension of the secular universal empire.

2.1.3 Protestant Reformation

Main article: Protestant Reformation

In the early 16th century, the church was confronted with the challenge posed by Martin Luther to the traditional teaching on the church's doctrinal authority and to many of its practices as well. The seeming inability of Pope Leo X (1513–1521) and those popes who succeeded him to comprehend the significance of the threat that Luther posed - or, indeed, the alienation of many Christians by the corruption that had spread throughout the church - was a major factor in the rapid growth of the Protestant Reformation. By the time the need for a vigorous, reforming papal leadership was recognized, much of northern Europe had already converted to Protestantism.

Germany

Main article: Martin Luther

Martin Luther was a German monk,[8] theologian, university professor, priest, father of Protestantism,[9][10][11][12] and church reformer whose ideas started the Protestant Reformation.[13]

Luther taught that salvation is a free gift of God and received only through true faith in Jesus as redeemer from sin. His theology challenged the authority of the papacy by adducing the Bible as the only infallible source of Christian doctrine[14] and countering "sacerdotalism" in the doctrine that all baptized Christians are a universal priesthood.[15]

Martin Luther started the Reformation in Wittenberg, Electorate of Saxony, Holy Roman Empire in 1517.

Luther's refusal to retract his writings in confrontation with the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V at the Diet of Worms in 1521 resulted in his excommunication by Pope Leo X (actually on 3 January 1521, before the Diet convened) and declaration as an outlaw. His translation of the Bible into the language of the people made the Scriptures more accessible, causing a tremendous impact on the church and on German culture. It fostered the development of a standard version of the German language, added several principles to the art of translation,[16] and influenced the translation of the King James Bible.[17] His hymns inspired the development of congregational singing within Christianity.[18] His marriage to Katharina von Bora set a model for the practice of clerical marriage within Protestantism.[19]

In 1516-17, Johann Tetzel, a Dominican friar and papal commissioner for indulgences, was sent to Germany by the Roman Catholic Church to sell indulgences to raise money to rebuild St Peter's Basilica in Rome.[20] Roman Catholic theology stated that faith alone, whether fiduciary or dogmatic, cannot justify man;[21] and that only such faith as is active in charity and good works (fides caritate formata) can justify man.[22] These good works could be obtained by donating money to the church.

On 31 October 1517, Luther wrote to Albrecht, Arch-

Albert of Mainz and Magdeburg procured the services of Johann Tetzel to sell the indulgences in his diocese.

bishop of Mainz and Magdeburg, protesting the sale of indulgences. He enclosed in his letter a copy of his "Disputation of Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences," which came to be known as *The 95 Theses*.

Luther objected to a saying attributed to Johann Tetzel that "As soon as the coin in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory springs,"[23] insisting that, since forgiveness was God's alone to grant, those who claimed that indulgences absolved buyers from all punishments and granted them salvation were in error. Christians, he said, must not slacken in following Christ on account of such false assurances.

According to Walter Krämer, Götz Trenkler, Gerhard Ritter and Gerhard Prause,[24][25][26] the story of the posting on the door has settled as one of the pillars of history, but its foundations in truth are minimal. In the preface of the second pressing of Luther's compiled work, released posthumously, humanist and reformist Philipp Melanchthon writes 'reportedly, Luther, burning with passion and just devoutness, posted the Ninety-Five Theses at the Castle Church in Wittenberg, Germany at All Saints Eve, 31 October (Old calendar)". At the time of the writing of the preface Melanchton lived in Tübingen, far from Wittenberg. In the preface, Melanchton presents

Door of the Schlosskirche *(castle church) in Wittenberg to which Luther is said to have nailed his 95 Theses, sparking the Reformation.*

more facts that are not true: He writes that indulgence sales man Johann Tetzel publicly burned Luther's Ninety-Five Theses, that Luther held colleges on nature and physics, and that Luther had visited Rome in 1511. For a professor of the Wittenberg University to post thesis on doors is unparalleled in history. Even further, Luther is known as strongly law abiding, and to publish his thoughts and direction in such a way would be strongly against his character. Luther has never mentioned anything in this direction in his writings, and the only contemporary account of the publishing of the thesis is the account of Luther's servant Agricola, written in Latin. In this account, Agricola states that Luther presents 'certain thesis in the year of 1517 according to the customs of University of Wittenberg as part of a scientific discussion. The presentation of the thesis was done in a modest and respectful way, preventing to mock or insult anybody". There is no mention of nailing the thesis to a door, nor does any other source report this. In reality, Luther presented a handwritten copy, accompanied with honourable comments to the archbishop Albrecht of Mainz and Magdeburg, responsible for the practice of the indulgence sales, and to the bishop of Brandenburg, the superior of Luther.

It wasn't until January 1518 that friends of Luther translated the *95 Theses* from Latin into German, printed, and widely copied, making the controversy one of the first in history to be aided by the printing press.[27] Within two weeks, copies of the theses had spread throughout Germany; within two months throughout Europe. In contrast to the speed with which the theses were distributed, the response of the papacy was painstakingly slow. After three years of debate and negotiations involving Luther, government, and church officials, on 15 June 1520, the Pope warned Luther with the papal bull (edict) *Exsurge Domine* that he risked excommunication unless he re-

The sale of indulgences shown in A Question to a Mintmaker, *woodcut by Jörg Breu the Elder of Augsburg, circa 1530.*

canted 41 sentences drawn from his writings, including the 95 Theses, within 60 days.

That autumn, Johann Eck proclaimed the bull in Meissen and other towns. Karl von Miltitz, a papal nuncio, attempted to broker a solution, but Luther, who had sent the Pope a copy of his conciliatory *On the Freedom of a Christian* (which the Pope refused to read) in October, publicly set fire to the bull and decretals at Wittenberg on 10 December 1520,[28] an act he defended in *Why the Pope and his Recent Book are Burned* and *Assertions Concerning All Articles*.

As a consequence, Luther was excommunicated by Leo X on 3 January 1521, in the bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem*.

Switzerland

Main article: Reformation in Switzerland

Zwingli Parallel to events in Germany, a movement began in Switzerland under the leadership of Huldrych Zwingli (died 1531). These two movements quickly agreed on most issues, as the recently introduced printing press spread ideas rapidly from place to place, but some unresolved differences kept them separate. Some followers of Zwingli believed that the Reformation was too conservative, and moved independently toward more radical positions, some of which survive among modern day Anabaptists. Other Protestant movements grew up along lines of mysticism or humanism (cf. Erasmus), sometimes breaking from Rome or from the Protestants, or forming outside of the churches.

John Calvin Following the excommunication of Luther and condemnation of the Reformation by the Pope, the work and writings of John Calvin were influential in establishing a loose consensus among various groups in Switzerland, Scotland, Hungary, Germany and elsewhere.

John Calvin was one of the leading figures of the Protestant Reformation. His legacy remains in a variety of churches.

Geneva became the unofficial capital of the Protestant movement, led by the Frenchman, Jean Calvin, until his death in 1564 (when Calvin's ally, William Farel, assumed the spiritual leadership of the group).

The Reformation foundations engaged with Augustinianism. Both Luther and Calvin thought along lines linked with the theological teachings of Augustine of Hippo. The Augustinianism of the Reformers struggled against Pelagianism, a heresy that they perceived in the Catholic Church of their day. Ironically, even though both Luther and Calvin both had very similar theological teachings, the relationship between Lutherans and Calvinists evolved into one of conflict.

Scandinavia

See also: Reformation in Denmark

All of Scandinavia ultimately adopted Lutheranism over the course of the sixteenth century, as the monarchs of Denmark (who also ruled Norway and Iceland) and Sweden (who also ruled Finland) converted to that faith.

In Sweden the Reformation was spearheaded by Gustav Vasa, elected king in 1523. Friction with the pope over the latter's interference in Swedish ecclesiastical affairs led to the discontinuance of any official connection between Sweden and the papacy from 1523.[29] Four years later, at the Diet of Västerås, the king succeeded in forc-

ing the diet to accept his dominion over the national church. The king was given possession of all church property, church appointments required royal approval, the clergy were subject to the civil law, and the "pure Word of God" was to be preached in the churches and taught in the schools—effectively granting official sanction to Lutheran ideas.[29]

Under the reign of Frederick I (1523–33), Denmark remained officially Catholic. But though Frederick initially pledged to persecute Lutherans, he soon adopted a policy of protecting Lutheran preachers and reformers, of whom the most famous was Hans Tausen.[29] During his reign, Lutheranism made significant inroads among the Danish population. Frederick's son, Christian, was openly Lutheran, which prevented his election to the throne upon his father's death. However, following his victory in the civil war that followed, in 1537 he became Christian III and began a reformation of the official state church.

England

Main article: English Reformation

The separation of the Church of England from Rome

Elizabeth I, Queen of England and Ireland.

under Henry VIII, beginning in 1529 and completed in 1536, brought England alongside this broad Reformed movement. However, religious changes in the English national church proceeded more conservatively than elsewhere in Europe; King Henry himself sought only to break the bond to Rome, but the bishops, in particular Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, drove the newly freed church into Protestant reformation. Reformers in the Church of England alternated, for centuries, between sympathies for ancient traditions and more radical Protestantism, progressively forging a compromise between conservative practices and the ideas of the puritans. In the Victorian period this was reinterpreted by John Newman as a *via media* (middle way), which idea remains a current theme of Anglican discourse.

Henry VIII of England.

In England, the Reformation followed a different course from elsewhere in Europe. There had long been a strong strain of anti-clericalism, and England had already given rise to the Lollard movement of John Wycliffe, which played an important part in inspiring the Hussites in Bohemia. Lollardy was suppressed and became an underground movement so the extent of its influence in the 1520s is difficult to assess. The different character of the English Reformation came rather from the fact that it was driven initially by the political necessities of Henry VIII. Henry had once been a sincere Roman Catholic and had even authored a book strongly criticizing Luther, but he later found it expedient and profitable to break with the Papacy. His wife, Catherine of Aragon, bore him only a single child, Mary. As England had recently gone through a lengthy dynastic conflict (*see Wars of the Roses*), Henry feared that his lack of a male heir might jeopardize his descendants' claim to the throne. However, Pope Clement VII, concentrating more on Charles V's "sack of Rome", denied his request for an annul-

ment. Had Clement granted the annulment and therefore admitted that his predecessor, Julius II, had erred, Clement would have given support to the Lutheran assertion that Popes replaced their own judgement for the will of God. King Henry decided to remove the Church of England from the authority of Rome. In 1534, the Act of Supremacy made Henry the Supreme Head of the Church of England. Between 1535 and 1540, under Thomas Cromwell, the policy known as the Dissolution of the Monasteries was put into effect. The veneration of some saints, certain pilgrimages and some pilgrim shrines were also attacked. Huge amounts of church land and property passed into the hands of the crown and ultimately into those of the nobility and gentry. The vested interest thus created made for a powerful force in support of the dissolutions.

There were some notable opponents to the Henrician Reformation, such as Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher, who were executed for their opposition. There was also a growing party of reformers who were imbued with the Zwinglian and Calvinistic doctrines now current on the Continent. When Henry died he was succeeded by his Protestant son Edward VI, who, through his empowered councillors (with the King being only nine years old at his succession and not yet sixteen at his death) the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland, ordered the destruction of images in churches, and the closing of the chantries. Under Edward VI, and with Thomas Cranmer as Archbishop, the reform of the Church of England was established unequivocally in doctrinal terms. Yet, at a popular level, religion in England was still in a state of flux. Following a brief Roman Catholic restoration during the reign of Mary 1553–1558, a loose consensus developed during the reign of Elizabeth I, though this point is one of considerable debate among historians. Yet it is the so-called "Elizabethan Religious Settlement" to which the origins of Anglicanism are traditionally ascribed. The compromise was uneasy and was capable of veering between extreme Calvinism on the one hand and Catholicism on the other, but compared to the bloody and chaotic state of affairs in contemporary France, it was relatively successful until the Puritan Revolution or English Civil War in the seventeenth century.

Puritans Main articles: Puritan and English Civil War The success of the Counter-Reformation on the Continent and the growth of a Puritan party dedicated to further Protestant reform polarized the Elizabethan Age, although it was not until the 1640s that England underwent religious strife comparable to that which its neighbours had suffered some generations before.

The early *Puritan movement* (late 16th century-17th century) was Reformed or Calvinist and was a movement for reform in the Church of England. Its origins lay in the discontent with the Elizabethan Religious Settlement. The desire was for the Church of England to resemble more closely the Protestant churches of Europe, especially Geneva. The Puritans objected to ornaments and ritual in the churches as idolatrous (vestments, surplices, organs, genuflection), which they castigated as "popish pomp and rags". (See Vestments controversy.) They also objected to ecclesiastical courts. They refused to endorse completely all of the ritual directions and formulas of the *Book of Common Prayer*; the imposition of its liturgical order by legal force and inspection sharpened Puritanism into a definite opposition movement.

Oliver Cromwell was a devout Puritan and military leader, who came to power in the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland.

The later Puritan movement were often referred to as Dissenters and Nonconformists and eventually led to the formation of various Reformed denominations.

The most famous and well-known emigration to America was the migration of the Puritan separatists from the Anglican Church of England, who fled first to Holland, and then later to America, to establish the English colonies of New England, which later became the United States.

These Puritan separatists were also known as "the pilgrims". After establishing a colony at Plymouth (in what would become later Massachusetts) in 1620, the Puritan pilgrims received a charter from the King of England which legitimized their colony, allowing them to do trade and commerce with merchants in England, in accordance with the principles of mercantilism. This successful, though initially quite difficult, colony marked the beginning of the Protestant presence in America (the earlier French, Spanish and Portuguese settlements had been Catholic), and became a kind of oasis of spiritual and economic freedom, to which persecuted Protestants and other minorities from the British Isles and Europe (and

later, from all over the world) fled to for peace, freedom and opportunity.

The original intent of the colonists was to establish spiritual Puritanism, which had been denied to them in England and the rest of Europe to engage in peaceful commerce with England and the Native American Indians and to Christianize the peoples of the Americas.

Scotland

Main article: Scottish Reformation
See also: John Knox

The Reformation in Scotland's case culminated ecclesiastically in the re-establishment of the church along Reformed lines, and politically in the triumph of English influence over that of France. John Knox is regarded as the leader of the Scottish Reformation

John Knox was a leading figure in the Scottish Reformation.

The Reformation Parliament of 1560, which repudiated the pope's authority, forbade the celebration of the mass and approved a Protestant Confession of Faith, was made possible by a revolution against French hegemony under the regime of the regent Mary of Guise, who had governed Scotland in the name of her absent daughter Mary, Queen of Scots, (then also Queen of France).

The Scottish Reformation decisively shaped the Church of Scotland[2] and, through it, all other Presbyterian churches worldwide.

A spiritual revival also broke out among Catholics soon after Martin Luther's actions, and led to the Scottish Covenanters' movement, the precursor to Scottish Presbyterianism. This movement spread, and greatly influenced the formation of Puritanism among the Anglican Church in England. The Scottish Covenanters were persecuted by the Roman Catholic Church. This persecution by the Catholics drove some of the Protestant Covenanter leadership out of Scotland, and into France and later, Switzerland.

France

Main articles: Huguenot, Reformed Church of France, and French Wars of Religion

Protestantism also spread into France, where the Protestants were nicknamed "Huguenots", and this touched off decades of warfare in France, after initial support by Henry of Navarre was lost due to the "Night of the Placards" affair. Many French Huguenots however, still contributed to the Protestant movement, including many who emigrated to the English colonies.

Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre, Painting by François Dubois (born about 1529, Amiens, Picardy)

Though he was not personally interested in religious reform, Francis I (1515–47) initially maintained an attitude of tolerance, arising from his interest in the humanist movement. This changed in 1534 with the Affair of the Placards. In this act, Protestants denounced the mass in placards that appeared across France, even reaching the royal apartments. The issue of religious faith having been thrown into the arena of politics, Francis was prompted to view the movement as a threat to the kingdom's stability. This led to the first major phase of anti-Protestant persecution in France, in which the *Chambre Ardente* ("Burning Chamber") was established within the Parlement of Paris to handle with the rise in prosecutions for heresy. Several thousand French Protestants fled the country during this time, most notably John Calvin, who settled in Geneva.

Calvin continued to take an interest in the religious affairs of his native land and, from his base in Geneva, beyond the reach of the French king, regularly trained pastors to lead congregations in France. Despite heavy persecution by Henry II, the Reformed Church of France, largely Calvinist in direction, made steady progress across large sections of the nation, in the urban bourgeoisie and parts of the aristocracy, appealing to people alienated by the obduracy and the complacency of the Catholic establishment.

French Protestantism, though its appeal increased under persecution, came to acquire a distinctly political character, made all the more obvious by the noble conversions of the 1550s. This had the effect of creating the preconditions for a series of destructive and intermittent conflicts, known as the Wars of Religion. The civil wars were helped along by the sudden death of Henry II in 1559, which saw the beginning of a prolonged period of weakness for the French crown. Atrocity and outrage became the defining characteristic of the time, illustrated at its most intense in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of August 1572, when the Catholic Church annihilated between 30,000 and 100,000 Huguenots across France.[30] The wars only concluded when Henry IV, himself a former Huguenot, issued the Edict of Nantes, promising official toleration of the Protestant minority, but under highly restricted conditions. Catholicism remained the official state religion, and the fortunes of French Protestants gradually declined over the next century, culminating in Louis XIV's Edict of Fontainebleau—which revoked the Edict of Nantes and made Catholicism the sole legal religion of France. In response to the Edict of Fontainebleau, Frederick William of Brandenburg declared the Edict of Potsdam, giving free passage to French Huguenot refugees, and tax-free status to them for 10 years.

Netherlands

Main article: History of religion in the Netherlands

The Reformation in the Netherlands, unlike in many

Iconoclasm: The organised destruction of Catholic images, or Beeldenstorm*, swept through Netherlands churches in 1566.*

other countries, was not initiated by the rulers of the Seventeen Provinces, but instead by multiple popular movements, which in turn were bolstered by the arrival of Protestant refugees from other parts of the continent. While the Anabaptist movement enjoyed popularity in the region in the early decades of the Reformation, Calvinism, in the form of the Dutch Reformed Church, became the dominant Protestant faith in the country from the 1560s onward.

Harsh persecution of Protestants by the Spanish government of Philip II contributed to a desire for independence in the provinces, which led to the Eighty Years' War and eventually, the separation of the largely Protestant Dutch Republic from the Catholic-dominated Southern Netherlands, the present-day Belgium.

Hungary

See also: History of Christianity in Hungary § Reformation

Much of the population of Kingdom of Hungary adopted Protestantism during the sixteenth century. After the 1526 Battle of Mohács the Hungarian people were disillusioned by the ability of the government to protect them and turned to the faith which would infuse them with the strength necessary to resist the Turkish invaders. They found this in the teaching of the Protestant Reformers such as Martin Luther. The spread of Protestantism in the country was aided by its large ethnic German minority, which could understand and translate the writings of Martin Luther. While Lutheranism gained a foothold among the German-speaking population, Calvinism became widely accepted among ethnic Hungarians.[31]

Stephen Bocskay prevented the Holy Roman Emperor from imposing Roman Catholicism on Hungarians with the help of the Ottomans.

In the more independent northwest the rulers and priests, protected now by the Habsburg Monarchy which had taken the field to fight the Turks, defended the old Catholic faith. They dragged the Protestants to prison and the stake wherever they could. Such strong measures

only fanned the flames of protest, however. Leaders of the Protestants included Matthias Biro Devai, Michael Sztarai, and Stephen Kis Szegedi.

Protestants likely formed a majority of Hungary's population at the close of the sixteenth century, but Counter-Reformation efforts in the seventeenth century reconverted a majority of the kingdom to Catholicism.[32] A significant Protestant minority remained, most of it adhering to the Calvinist faith.

In 1558 the Transylvanian Diet of Turda declared free practice of both the Catholic and Lutheran religions, but prohibited Calvinism. Ten years later, in 1568, the Diet extended this freedom, declaring that "It is not allowed to anybody to intimidate anybody with captivity or expelling for his religion". Four religions were declared as accepted (recepta) religions, while Orthodox Christianity was "tolerated" (though the building of stone Orthodox churches was forbidden). Hungary entered the Thirty Years' War, Royal (Habsburg) Hungary joined the catholic side, until Transylvania joined the Protestant side.

There were a series of other successful and unsuccessful anti-Habsburg /i.e. anti-Austrian/ (requiring equal rights and freedom for all Christian religions) uprisings between 1604 and 1711, the uprisings were usually organized from Transylvania. The constrained Habsburg Counter-Reformation efforts in the seventeenth century reconverted the majority of the kingdom to Catholicism.

2.1.4 Nineteenth century

Historian Kenneth Scott Latourette argues that the outlook for Protestantism at the start of the 19th century was discouraging. It was a regional religion based in northwestern Europe, with an outpost in the sparsely settled United States. It was closely allied with government, as in Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Prussia, and especially Great Britain. The alliance came at the expense of independence, as the government made the basic policy decisions, down to such details as the salaries of ministers and location of new churches. The dominant intellectual currents of the Enlightenment promoted rationalism, and most Protestant leaders preached a sort of deism. Intellectually, the new methods of historical and anthropological study undermine automatic acceptance of biblical stories, as did the sciences of geology and biology. Industrialization was a strongly negative factor, as workers who moved to the city seldom joined churches. The gap between the church and the unchurched grew rapidly, and secular forces, based both in socialism and liberalism undermine the prestige of religion. Despite the negative forces, Protestantism demonstrated a striking vitality by 1900. Shrugging off Enlightenment rationalism, Protestants embraced romanticism, with the stress on the personal and the invisible. Entirely fresh ideas as expressed by Friedrich Schleiermacher, Soren Kierkegaard, Albrecht Ritschl and Adolf von Harnack restored the intellectual power of theology. There was more attention to historic creeds such as the Augsburg, the Heidelberg, and the Westminster confessions. The stirrings of pietism on the Continent, and evangelicalism in Britain expanded enormously, leading the devout away from an emphasis on formality and ritual and toward an inner sensibility toward personal relationship to Christ. From the religious point of view of the typical Protestant, major changes were underway in terms of a much more personalized religiosity that focused on the individual more than the church or the ceremony. The rationalism of the late 19th century faded away, and there was a new emphasis on the psychology and feeling of the individual, especially in terms of contemplating sinfuness, redemption, and the mysteries and the revelations of Christianity. Pietistic revivals were common among Protestants. Social activities, in education and in opposition to social vices such as slavery, alcoholism and poverty provided new opportunities for social service. Above all, worldwide missionary activity became a highly prized goal, proving quite successful in close cooperation with the imperialism of the British, German, and Dutch empires.[33]

Britain

In England, Anglicans emphasized the historically Catholic components of their heritage, as the High Church element reintroduced vestments and incense into their rituals, against the opposition of Low Church evangelicals.[34] As the Oxford Movement began to advocate restoring traditional Catholic faith and practice to the Church of England (see Anglo-Catholicism), there was felt to be a need for a restoration of the monastic life. Anglican priest John Henry Newman established a community of men at Littlemore near Oxford in the 1840s. From then forward, there have been many communities of monks, friars, sisters, and nuns established within the Anglican Communion. In 1848, Mother Priscilla Lydia Sellon founded the Anglican Sisters of Charity and became the first woman to take religious vows within the Anglican Communion since the English Reformation. From the 1840s and throughout the following hundred years, religious orders for both men and women proliferated in Britain, America and elsewhere.[35]

Germany

Further information: Prussian Union of churches

Two main developments reshaped religion in Germany. Across the land, there was a movement to unite the larger Lutheran and the smaller Reformed Protestant churches. The churches themselves brought this about in Baden, Nassau, and Bavaria. However, in Prussia King Frederick William III was determined to handle unification entirely on his own terms, without consultation. His goal was to

King Frederick William III ruled Prussia 1797 to 1840

unify the Protestant churches, and to impose a single standardized liturgy, organization and even architecture. The long-term goal was to have fully centralized royal control of all the Protestant churches. In a series of proclamations over several decades the *Church of the Prussian Union* was formed, bringing together the more numerous Lutherans, and the less numerous Reformed Protestants. The government of Prussia now had full control over church affairs, with the king himself recognized as the leading bishop. Opposition to unification came from the "Old Lutherans" in Silesia who clung tightly to the theological and liturgical forms they had followed since the days of Luther. The government attempted to crack down on them, so they went underground. Tens of thousands migrated, to South Australia, and especially to the United States, where they formed the Missouri Synod, which is still in operation as a conservative denomination. Finally in 1845 a new king Frederick William IV offered a general amnesty and allowed the Old Lutherans to form a separate church association with only nominal government control.[36][37][38]

2.1.5 The Great Awakenings in America

Main article: Great Awakening

The "Great Awakenings" were periods of rapid and dramatic religious revival in American religious history, beginning in the 1730s.

First Great Awakening

Main article: First Great Awakening

The "First Great Awakening" (or sometimes "The Great Awakening") was a wave of religious enthusiasm among Protestants that swept the American colonies in the 1730s and 1740s, leaving a permanent impact on American religion. It emphasized the traditional Reformed virtues of Godly preaching, rudimentary liturgy, and a deep sense of personal guilt and redemption by Christ Jesus. It resulted from powerful preaching that deeply affected listeners (already church members) with a deep sense of personal guilt and salvation by Christ. Pulling away from ritual and ceremony, the Great Awakening made religion intensely personal to the average person by creating a deep sense of spiritual guilt and redemption. Historian Sydney E. Ahlstrom saw it as part of a "great international Protestant upheaval" that also created Pietism in Germany, the Evangelical Revival, and Methodism in England.[39] It had a major impact in reshaping the Congregational, Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, and German Reformed denominations, and strengthened the small Baptist and Methodist denominations. It brought Christianity to the slaves and was an apocalyptic event in New England that challenged established authority. It incited rancor and division between the old traditionalists who insisted on ritual and doctrine and the new revivalists. It had little impact on Anglicans and Quakers.

Unlike the Second Great Awakening that began about 1800 and which reached out to the unchurched, the First Great Awakening focused on people who were already church members. It changed their rituals, their piety, and their self-awareness. The new style of sermons and the way people practiced their faith breathed new life into religion in America. People became passionately and emotionally involved in their religion, rather than passively listening to intellectual discourse in a detached manner. Ministers who used this new style of preaching were generally called "new lights", while the preachers of old were called "old lights". People began to study the Bible at home, which effectively decentralized the means of informing the public on religious manners and was akin to the individualistic trends present in Europe during the Protestant Reformation.

Second Great Awakening

Main article: Second Great Awakening
See also: Christian primitivism

The "Second Great Awakening" (1790-1840s) was the second great religious revival in United States history and, unlike the First Great Awakening of the 18th century, focused on the unchurched and sought to instil in them a deep sense of personal salvation as experienced in revival meetings. It also sparked the beginnings of groups such as the Mormons[40] and the Holiness movement. Lead-

1839 Methodist camp meeting during the Second Great Awakening in the United States.

ers included Charles Grandison Finney, Lyman Beecher, Barton W. Stone, Peter Cartwright and James Finley.

In New England, the renewed interest in religion inspired a wave of social activism. In western New York, the spirit of revival encouraged the emergence of the Restoration Movement, the Latter Day Saint movement, Adventism and the Holiness movement. In the west especially—at Cane Ridge, Kentucky and in Tennessee—the revival strengthened the Methodists and the Baptists and introduced into America a new form of religious expression—the Scottish camp meeting.

The Second Great Awakening made its way across the frontier territories, fed by intense longing for a prominent place for God in the life of the new nation, a new liberal attitude toward fresh interpretations of the Bible, and a contagious experience of zeal for authentic spirituality. As these revivals spread, they gathered converts to Protestant sects of the time. However, the revivals eventually moved freely across denominational lines, with practically identical results, and went farther than ever toward breaking down the allegiances which kept adherents to these denominations loyal to their own. Consequently, the revivals were accompanied by a growing dissatisfaction with Evangelical churches and especially with the doctrine of Calvinism, which was nominally accepted or at least tolerated in most Evangelical churches at the time. Various unaffiliated movements arose that were often restorationist in outlook, considering contemporary Christianity of the time to be a deviation from the true, original Christianity. These groups attempted to transcend Protestant denominationalism and orthodox Christian creeds to restore Christianity to its original form.

Third Great Awakening

Main article: Third Great Awakening

The "Third Great Awakening" was a period of religious activism in American history from the late 1850s

William Booth and his wife founded The Salvation Army during the Third Great Awakening.

to the 1900s. It affected pietistic Protestant denominations and had a strong sense of social activism. It gathered strength from the postmillennial theology that the Second Coming of Christ would come after mankind had reformed the entire earth. The Social Gospel Movement gained its force from the Awakening, as did the worldwide missionary movement. New groupings emerged, such as the Holiness movement and Nazarene movements, and Christian Science.[41] Significant names include Dwight L. Moody, Ira D. Sankey, William Booth and Catherine Booth (founders of the Salvation Army), Charles Spurgeon and James Caughey. Hudson Taylor began the China Inland Mission and Thomas John Barnardo founded his famous orphanages. The Keswick Convention movement began out of the British Holiness movement, encouraging a lifestyle of holiness, unity and prayer.

Mary Baker Eddy introduced Christian Science, which gained a national following. In 1880, the Salvation Army denomination arrived in America. Although its theology was based on ideals expressed during the Second Great Awakening, its focus on poverty was of the Third. The Society for Ethical Culture was established in New York City in 1876 by Felix Adler attracted a Reform Jewish clientele. Charles Taze Russell founded a Bible Student movement now known as The Jehovah's Witnesses

With Jane Addams's Hull House in Chicago as its center, the settlement house movement and the vocation of social work were deeply influenced by the Tolstoyan reworking of Christian idealism.[42] The final group to emerge from

this awakening in North America was Pentecostalism, which had its roots in the Methodist, Wesleyan, and Holiness movements, and began in 1906 on Azusa Street, in Los Angeles. Pentecostalism would later lead to the Charismatic movement.

2.1.6 20th century

Protestant Christianity in the 20th century was characterized by accelerating fragmentation. The century saw the rise of both liberal and conservative splinter groups, as well as a general secularization of Western society. The Roman Catholic Church instituted many reforms in order to modernize. Missionaries also made inroads in the Far East, establishing further followings in China, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan. At the same time, state-promoted atheism in Communist Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union brought many Eastern Orthodox Christians to Western Europe and the United States, leading to greatly increased contact between Western and Eastern Christianity. Nevertheless, church attendance declined more in Western Europe than it did in the East. Christian ecumenism grew in importance, beginning at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910, and accelerated after the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) of the Catholic Church, The Liturgical Movement became significant in both Catholic and Protestant Christianity, especially in Anglicanism.

Another movement which has grown up over the 20th century has been Christian anarchism which rejects the church, state or any power other than God. They usually also believe in absolute nonviolence. Leo Tolstoy's book *The Kingdom of God is Within You* published in 1894, is believed to be the catalyst for this movement. Because of its extremist political views, however, its appeal has been largely limited to the highly educated, especially those with erstwhile humanist sentiments; the thoroughgoing aversion to institutionalism on Christian anarchists' part has also hindered acceptance of this philosophy on a large scale.

The 1950s saw a boom in the Evangelical church in America. The post–World War II prosperity experienced in the U.S. also had its effects on the church. Although simplistically referred to as "morphological fundamentalism", the phrase nonetheless does accurately describe the physical developments experienced. Church buildings were erected in large numbers, and the Evangelical church's activities grew along with this expansive physical growth.

Pentecostal movement

Main article: Pentecostalism

Another noteworthy development in 20th-century Christianity was the rise of the modern Pentecostal movement. Although its roots predate the year 1900, its actual birth is commonly attributed to the 20th century. Sprung from Methodist and Wesleyan roots, it arose out of meetings at an urban mission on Azusa Street in Los Angeles. From there it spread around the world, carried by those who experienced what they believed to be miraculous moves of God there. These Pentecost-like manifestations have steadily been in evidence throughout the history of Christianity—such as seen in the two Great Awakenings that started in the United States. However, Azusa Street is widely accepted as the fount of the modern Pentecostal movement. Pentecostalism, which in turn birthed the Charismatic movement within already established denominations, continues to be an important force in western Christianity.

The Apostolic Faith Mission on Azusa Street, now considered to be the birthplace of Pentecostalism

Modernism, fundamentalism, and neo-orthodoxy

Main articles: Liberal Christianity and Christian fundamentalism

As the more radical implications of the scientific and cultural influences of the Enlightenment began to be felt in the Protestant churches, especially in the 19th century, Liberal Christianity, exemplified especially by numerous theologians in Germany in the 19th century, sought to bring the churches alongside of the broad revolution that Modernism represented. In doing so, new critical approaches to the Bible were developed, new attitudes became evident about the role of religion in society, and a new openness to questioning the nearly universally accepted definitions of Christian orthodoxy began to become obvious.

In reaction to these developments, Christian fundamentalism was a movement to reject the radical influences of philosophical humanism, as this was affecting the Christian religion. Especially targeting critical approaches to the interpretation of the Bible, and trying to blockade the inroads made into their churches by atheistic scientific assumptions, the fundamentalists began to appear in various denominations as numerous independent movements

Karl Barth is often regarded as the greatest Protestant theologian of the twentieth century.[43][44]

of resistance to the drift away from historic Christianity. Over time, the Fundamentalist Evangelical movement has divided into two main wings, with the label *Fundamentalist* following one branch, while *Evangelical* has become the preferred banner of the more moderate movement. Although both movements primarily originated in the English speaking world, the majority of Evangelicals now live elsewhere in the world.

A third, but less popular, option than either liberalism or fundamentalism was the neo-orthodox movement, which generally affirmed a higher view of Scripture than liberalism but did not tie the main doctrines of the Christian faith to precise theories of Biblical inspiration. If anything, thinkers in this camp denounced such quibbling between liberals and conservatives as a dangerous distraction from the duties of Christian discipleship. This branch of thought arose in the early 20th century in the context of the rise of the Third Reich in Germany and the accompanying political and ecclesiastical destabilization of Europe in the years before and during World War II. Neo-orthodoxy's highly contextual, dialectical modes of argument and reasoning often rendered its main premises incomprehensible to American thinkers and clergy, and it was frequently either dismissed out of hand as unrealistic or cast into the reigning left- or right-wing molds of theologizing. Karl Barth, a Swiss Reformed pastor and professor, brought this movement into being by drawing upon earlier criticisms of established (largely modernist) Protestant thought made by the likes of Søren Kierkegaard and Franz Overbeck; Dietrich Bonhoeffer, murdered by the Nazis for allegedly taking part in an attempt to overthrow the Hitler regime, adhered to this school of thought; his classic *The Cost of Discipleship* is likely the best-known and accessible statement of the neo-orthodox position.

Evangelicalism

Main article: Evangelicalism

In the U.S. and elsewhere in the world, there has been a

One of the prominent evangelical revivalists Billy Graham preaching in Duisburg, Germany, 1954.

marked rise in the evangelical wing of Protestant denominations, especially those that are more exclusively evangelical, and a corresponding decline in the mainstream liberal churches. In the post–World War I era, Liberalism was the faster-growing sector of the American church. Liberal wings of denominations were on the rise, and a considerable number of seminaries held and taught from a liberal perspective as well. In the post–World war II era, the trend began to swing back towards the conservative camp in America's seminaries and church structures. Those entering seminaries and other postgraduate theologically related programs have shown more conservative leanings than their average predecessors.

The neo-Evangelical push of the 1940s and 1950s produced a movement that continues to have wide influence. In the southern U.S., the more moderate neo-Evangelicals, represented by leaders such as Billy Graham, have experienced a notable surge displacing the caricature of the pulpit pounding country preachers of fundamentalism. The stereotypes have gradually shifted. Some, such as Jerry Falwell, have managed to maintain credibility in the eyes of many fundamentalists, as well as to gain stature as a more moderate Evangelical.

Evangelicalism is not a single, monolithic entity. The Evangelical churches and their adherents cannot be easily stereotyped. Most are not fundamentalist, in the narrow

Chinese evangelical church in Madrid, Spain. Evangelicalism is a driving force behind the current rise of Protestantism, especially in the Global South.

sense that this term has come to represent; though many still refer to themselves as such. There have always been diverse views on issues, such as openness to cooperation with non-Evangelicals, the applicability of the Bible to political choices and social or scientific issues, and even the limited inerrancy of the Bible.

However, the movement has managed in an informal way, to reserve the name *Evangelical* for those who adhere to an historic Christian faith, a *paleo-orthodoxy*, as some have put it. Those who call themselves "moderate evangelicals"(although considered conservative in relation to society as a whole) still hold fast to the fundamentals of the historic Christian faith. Even "Liberal" Evangelicals label themselves as such not so much in terms of their theology, but rather to advertise that they are progressive in their civic, social, or scientific perspective.

There is some debate as to whether Pentecostals are considered to be Evangelical. Their roots in Pietism and the Holiness movement are undisputedly Evangelical, but their doctrinal distinctives differ from the more traditional Evangelicals, who are less likely to have an expectation of private revelations from God, and differ from the Pentecostal perspective on miracles, angels, and demons. Typically, those who include the Pentecostals in the Evangelical camp are labeled *neo-evangelical* by those who do not. The National Association of Evangelicals and the Evangelical Alliance have numerous Trinitarian Pentecostal denominations among their membership.[45] Another relatively late entrant to wide acceptance within the Evangelical fold is the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

Evangelicals are as diverse as the names that appear—Billy Graham, Chuck Colson, J. Vernon McGee, John MacArthur, J.I. Packer, John R.W. Stott, Pat Robertson, Jimmy Carter, etc.—or even Evangelical institutions such as Dallas Theological Seminary (dispensationalist), Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary (Boston), Trinity Evangelical Divinity School (Chicago), The Master's Seminary (California), Wheaton College (Illinois), the Christian Coalition, The Christian Embassy (Jerusalem), etc. Although there exists a diversity in the Evangelical community worldwide, the ties that bind all Evangelicals are still apparent. These include but are not limited to a high view of Scripture, belief in the Deity of Christ, the Trinity, salvation by grace alone through faith alone, and the bodily resurrection of Christ.

Spread of secularism

St Mary's, Wythall, a redundant church, now houses an electrical company. Secularism is rising in the West, causing churches to find new uses.

Europe

In Europe there has been a general move away from religious observance and belief in Christian teachings and

a move towards secularism. The "secularization of society", attributed to the time of the Enlightenment and its following years, is largely responsible for the spread of secularism. For example, the Gallup International Millennium Survey showed that only about one sixth of Europeans attend regular religious services, less than half gave God "high importance", and only about 40% believe in a "personal God". Nevertheless, the large majority considered that they "belong" to a religious denomination.

The Americas and Australia

In North America, South America and Australia, the other three continents where Christianity is the dominant professed religion, religious observance is much higher than in Europe. At the same time, these regions are often seen by other nations as being uptight and "Victorian", in their social mores. In general, the United States leans toward the conservative in comparison to other western nations in its general culture, in part due to the Christian element found primarily in its Midwestern and southern states.

South America, historically Catholic, has experienced a large Evangelical and Pentecostal infusion in the 20th century due to the influx of Christian missionaries from abroad. For example: Brazil, South America's largest country, is the largest Catholic country in the world, and at the same time is the largest Evangelical country in the world (based on population). Some of the largest Christian congregations in the world are found in Brazil.

2.1.7 See also

- Christianity in the 19th century
- History of Christianity of the Late Modern era
- Christianity in the 18th century
- Christianity in the 20th century
- History of the Roman Catholic Church
- Revival (religious)
- Timeline of Christianity

2.1.8 Notes

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[2] Article 1, of the Articles Declaratory of the Constitution of the Church of Scotland 1921 states 'The Church of Scotland adheres to the Scottish Reformation'.

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[18] Bainton, Roland. *Here I Stand: a Life of Martin Luther*. New York: Penguin, 1995, 269.

[19] Bainton, Roland. *Here I Stand: a Life of Martin Luther*. New York: Penguin, 1995, 223.

[20] "Johann Tetzel," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2007: "Tetzel's experiences as a preacher of indulgences, especially between 1503 and 1510, led to his appointment as general commissioner by Albrecht, archbishop of Mainz, who, deeply in debt to pay for a large accumulation of benefices, had to contribute a considerable sum toward the rebuilding of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Albrecht obtained permission from Pope Leo X to conduct the sale of a special plenary indulgence (i.e., remission of the temporal punishment of sin), half of the proceeds of which Albrecht

was to claim to pay the fees of his benefices. In effect, Tetzel became a salesman whose product was to cause a scandal in Germany that evolved into the greatest crisis (the Reformation) in the history of the Western church."

[21] (Trent, l. c., can. xii: "Si quis dixerit, fidem justificantem nihil aliud esse quam fiduciam divinae misericordiae, peccata remittentis propter Christum, vel eam fiduciam solam esse, qua justificamur, a.s.")

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2.1.10 External links

2.2 Protestant Reformation

"Reformation" redirects here. For other uses, see Reformation (disambiguation).

The **Protestant Reformation**, often referred to simply as the **Reformation** (from Latin *reformatio*, lit. "restoration, renewal"), was a schism from the Roman Catholic Church initiated by Martin Luther and continued by John Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli, and other early Protestant Reformers in 16th century Europe. Timing most commonly used for this period is from 1517 (the Ninety-five Theses are published by Martin Luther) to 1648 (Peace of Westphalia ends the Thirty Years' War).

Although there had been significant earlier attempts to reform the Roman Catholic Church before Luther – such as those of Jan Hus, Peter Waldo, and John Wycliffe – Martin Luther is widely acknowledged to have started the Reformation with his 1517 work *The Ninety-Five Theses*. Luther began by criticizing the sale of indulgences, insisting that the Pope had no authority over purgatory and that the Catholic doctrine of the merits of the saints had no foundation in the gospel. The Protestant position, however, would come to incorporate doctrinal changes such as *sola scriptura* and *sola fide*. The core motivation behind these changes was theological, though many other factors played a part, including the rise of nationalism, the Western Schism that eroded faith in the Papacy, the perceived corruption of the Roman Curia, the impact of humanism, and the new learning of the Renaissance that questioned much traditional thought.

The initial movement within Germany diversified, and other reform impulses arose independently of Luther. The spread of Gutenberg's printing press provided the means for the rapid dissemination of religious materials in the vernacular. The largest groups were the Lutherans and Calvinists. Lutheran churches were founded mostly in Germany, the Baltics and Scandinavia, while the Reformed ones were founded in Switzerland, Hungary, France, the Netherlands and Scotland. The new movement influenced the Church of England decisively after 1547 under Edward VI and Elizabeth I, although the Church of England had been made independent under Henry VIII in the early 1530s for political rather than religious reasons.

There were also reformation movements throughout continental Europe known as the Radical Reformation, which gave rise to the Anabaptist, Moravian and other Pietistic movements. Radical Reformers, besides forming communities outside state sanction, often employed more extreme doctrinal change, such as the rejection of the tenets of the late antique councils of Nicaea and Chalcedon.

The Roman Catholic Church responded with a Counter-Reformation initiated by the Council of Trent. Much work in battling Protestantism was done by the well-organised new order of the Jesuits. In general, Northern Europe, with the exception of most of Ireland, came under the influence of Protestantism. Southern Europe remained Roman Catholic, while Central Europe was a site of a fierce conflict, culminating in the Thirty Years' War, which left it devastated.

2.2.1 Origins and early history

See also: History of Protestantism

The oldest Protestant churches, such as the Unitas Fratrum and Moravian Church, date their origins to Jan Hus (John Huss) in the early 15th century. As it was led by a Bohemian noble majority, and recognised, for a time, by the Basel Compacts, the Hussite Reformation was Europe's first "Magisterial Reformation" because the ruling magistrates supported it, unlike the "Radical Reformation", which the state did not support.

The later Protestant Churches generally date their doctrinal separation from the Roman Catholic Church to the 16th century. The Reformation began as an attempt to reform the Roman Catholic Church, by priests who opposed what they perceived as false doctrines and ecclesiastic malpractice. They especially objected to the teaching and the sale of indulgences, and the abuses thereof, and to simony, the selling and buying of clerical offices. The reformers saw these practices as evidence of the systemic corruption of the Church's hierarchy, which included the pope.

Earlier schisms

See also: Bohemian Reformation, Hussites, Lollardy, Waldensians, and Arnoldists

Unrest due to the Great Schism of Western Christian-

Execution of Jan Hus, an important Reformation precursor, in 1415.

ity (1378–1416) excited wars between princes, uprisings among the peasants, and widespread concern over corruption in the Church. New perspectives came from John Wycliffe at Oxford University and from Jan Hus at the Charles University in Prague. Hus objected to some of the practices of the Roman Catholic Church and wanted to return the church in Bohemia and Moravia to early Byzantine-inspired practices: liturgy in the language of the people (i.e. Czech), having lay people receive communion in both kinds (bread *and* wine – that is, in Latin, communio sub utraque specie), married priests, and eliminating indulgences and the idea of Purgatory. Hus rejected indulgences and adopted a doctrine of justification by grace through faith alone.

The Roman Catholic Church officially concluded this debate at the Council of Constance (1414–1417) by condemning Hus, who was executed by burning despite a promise of safe-conduct.[1] Wycliffe was posthumously condemned as a heretic and his corpse exhumed and burned in 1428.[2] The Council of Constance confirmed and strengthened the traditional medieval conception of church and empire. The council did not address the national tensions or the theological tensions stirred up during the previous century and could not prevent schism and the Hussite Wars in Bohemia.[3]

Pope Sixtus IV (1471–1484) established the practice of selling indulgences to be applied to the dead, thereby establishing a new stream of revenue with agents across Europe.[4] Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) was one of the most controversial of the Renaissance popes. He was the father of seven children, including Lucrezia and Cesare Borgia.[5] In response to papal corruption, particularly the sale of indulgences, Luther wrote *The Ninety-Five Theses*.[6]

Early Reformation in Germany

The protests against the corruption emanating from Rome began in Germany when reformation ideals developed in 1517–1521 with Martin Luther expressing doubts over the legitimacy of indulgences and the *plenitudo potestatis* of the pope. The Reformation was born of Luther's dual declaration – first, the discovering of Jesus and salvation by faith alone; and second, identifying the papacy as the Antichrist.[7] The highly educated Reformation leaders used prophecies of the Bible as their most powerful weapon in appealing to committed believers to break from the church, which they perceived as the new Babylon, and to convince them that the popes were the Antichrist who had assumed the place of God.[8] The Protestant reformers were unanimous in agreement and this understanding of prophecy furnished importance to their deeds.[7] It was the rallying point and the battle cry that made the Reformation nearly unassailable.[7]

The Reformation is often dated to 31 October 1517 in Wittenberg, Saxony, when Luther sent his *Ninety-Five Theses on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences* to the Archbishop of Mainz. The theses debated and criticised the Church and the papacy, but concentrated upon the selling of indulgences and doctrinal policies about purgatory, particular judgment, and the authority of the pope. He would later in the period 1517–1521 write works on the Catholic devotion to Virgin Mary, the intercession of and devotion to the saints, the sacraments, mandatory clerical celibacy, monasticism, further on the authority of the pope, the ecclesiastical law, censure and excommunication, the role of secular rulers in religious

Martin Luther, shown in a portrait by Lucas Cranach the Elder, initiated the Protestant Reformation in 1517.

matters, the relationship between Christianity and the law, and good works.[9]

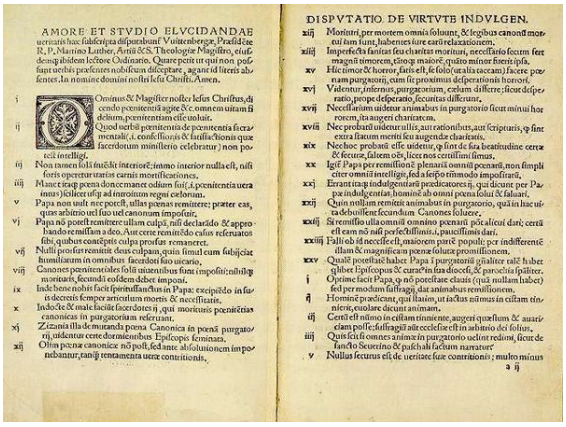
Reformers made heavy use of inexpensive pamphlets as well as vernacular Bibles using the relatively new printing press, so there was swift movement of both ideas and documents.[10][11]

Magisterial Reformation

Main article: Magisterial Reformation

Parallel to events in Germany, a movement began in Switzerland under the leadership of Ulrich Zwingli. These two movements quickly agreed on most issues, but some unresolved differences kept them separate. Some followers of Zwingli believed that the Reformation was too conservative, and moved independently toward more radical positions, some of which survive among modern day Anabaptists. Other Protestant movements grew up along lines of mysticism or humanism, sometimes breaking from Rome or from the Protestants, or forming outside of the churches.

After this first stage of the Reformation, following the excommunication of Luther and condemnation of the



AMORE ET STVDIO ELVCIDANDAE
ueritatis hæc subscripta disputabunt Vuitenbergæ, Præsidẽte
R. P. Martino Luther, Artis & S. Theologiæ Magistro, eiusdemq; ibidem lectore Ordinario. Quare petit vt qui non possunt uerbis præsentes nobiscum disceptare, agant id literis absentes. In nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi. Amen.

i Omnes & Magister noster Iesus Christus, dicendo pœnitentiã agite &c. omnem uitam fidelium, pœnitentiam esse uoluit.
ij Quod uerbũ pœnitentia de pœnitentia sacramentali (i. confessionis & satisfactionis quæ sacerdotum ministerio celebratur) non potest intelligi.
iij Non tamen solũ fuerit interior: immo interior nulla est, nisi foris operetur uarias carnis mortificationes.
iiij Manet itaq; pœna donec manet odium sui (id pœnitentia uera inquam) scilicet ut sit ad introitum regni cælorum.
v Papa non uult nec potest, ullas pœnas remittere: præter eas, quas arbitrio uel suo uel canonum imposuit.
vj Papa nõ potest remittere ullam culpã, nisi declarando & approbando remissam a deo. Aut certe remittendo casus reseruatos sibi, quibus contẽptis culpa prorsus remaneret.
vij Nulli prorsus remittit deus culpam, quin simul eum subijciat humilitatum in omnibus sacerdoti suo uicario.
viij Canones pœnitentiales solũ uiuentibus sunt impositi: nihilq; moribus, secundũ eosdem debet imponi.
ix Inde bene nobis facit spiritus sanctus in Papa: excipiẽdo in suis decretis semper articulum mortis & necessitatis.
x Inde male faciũt sacerdotes ij, qui morituris pœnitẽtias canonicas in purgatorium reseruant.
xj Zizania illa de mutanda pœna Canonica in pœnã purgatorij, uidentur certe dormientibus Episcopis seminata.
xij Olim pœnæ canonicæ nõ ante absolutionem imponebantur, tanq; tentamenta ueræ contritionis.

DISPVTATIO DE VIRTVTE INDVLGEN.
xiij Morituri, per mortem omnia soluunt, & legibus canonũ mortui iam sunt, habentes iure earũ relaxationem.
xiiij Imperfecta sanitas seu charitas morituri, necessario fecerit fere magnũ timorem, eoq; maiorẽ, quãto minor fuerit ipsa.
xv Hic timor & horror, satis est, se solo (ut alia taceam) facere pœnam purgatorij, cum sit proximus desperationis horrori.
xvj Videntur, infernus, purgatorium, cœlum differre: sicut desperatio, prope desperatio, securitas differunt.
xvij Necessarium uidetur animabus in purgatorio sicut minui horrorem, ita augeri charitatem.
xviii Nec probatũ uidetur ullis, aut rationibus, aut scripturis, q; sint extra statum meriti seu augendæ charitatis.
xix Nec hoc probatũ esse uidetur, q; sint de sua beatitudine certæ & securæ, saltem oẽs, licet nos certissimi simus.
xx Igit Papa per remissionẽ plenariã omnũ pœnarũ, non simpliciter omnũ intelligit, sed a seipso tũ modo impositarũ.
xxj Errant itaq; indulgentiarũ prædicatores ij, qui dicunt per Papæ indulgentias, hominẽ ab omni pœna solui & saluari.
xxij Quin nullam remittit animabus in purgatorio, quã in hac uita debuisset secũdũ Canones soluere.
xxiij Si remissio ulla omnũ omnino pœnarũ pot alicui dari; certũ est eam nõ nisi perfectissimis.i. paucissimis dari.
xxiiij Fallitur ob id necesse est, maiorem partẽ populi per indifferentẽ illam & magnificam pœnæ solutæ promissionem.
xxv Qualẽ potestatẽ habet Papa i purgatorio id ualitter talẽ habet q̃libet Episcopus & curatus in suo diœcesi, & parochia ipsiusmet.
j Optime facit Papa, q; nõ potestatẽ clauis (quã nullam habet) sed per modum suffragij, dat animabus remissionem.
ij Hominẽ prædicant, qui illusion, ut tactus nummi in cistam tinniens, euolare dicunt animam.
iij Certũ est nũmo in cistam tinniente, augeri quæstum & auaritiam posse: suffragiũ aũt ecclesiæ est in arbitrio dei solius.
iiij Quis scit q̃ omnes animæ in purgatorio uelint redimi, sicut de sancto Seuerino & paschali factum narratur?
v Nullus securus est de ueritate suæ contritionis; multo minus

a ij

Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses placed in doubt and repudiated several of the Roman Catholic practices.

Reformation by the Pope, the work and writings of John Calvin were influential in establishing a loose consensus among various groups in Switzerland, Scotland, Hungary, Germany and elsewhere.

The Reformation foundations engaged with Augustinianism; both Luther and Calvin thought along lines linked with the theological teachings of Augustine of Hippo. The Augustinianism of the reformers struggled against Pelagianism, a heresy that they perceived in the Roman Catholic Church. In the course of this religious upheaval, the German Peasants' War of 1524–1525 swept through the Bavarian, Thuringian and Swabian principalities, including the Black Company of Florian Geier, a knight from Giebelstadt who joined the peasants in the general outrage against the Roman Catholic hierarchy. Zwinglian and Lutheran ideas had influence with preachers within the regions that the Peasants' War occurred and upon works such as the Twelve Articles.[12] Luther, however, condemned the revolt in writings such as *Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants*; Zwingli and Luther's ally Philipp Melanchthon also did not condone the uprising.[13][14] Some 100,000 peasants were killed by the end of the war.[15]

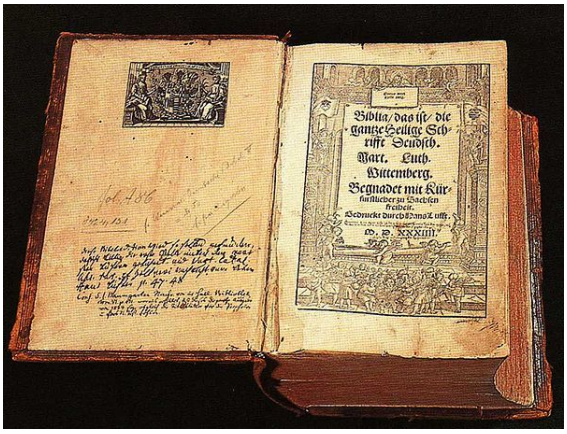
Radical Reformation

Main article: Radical Reformation

The Radical Reformation was the response to what was believed to be the corruption in the Roman Catholic Church and the expanding Magisterial Protestant movement led by Martin Luther and many others. Beginning in Germany and Switzerland in the 16th century, the Radical Reformation gave birth to many radical Protestant groups throughout Europe. The term covers both radical reformers like Thomas Müntzer, Andreas Karlstadt, groups like the Zwickau prophets and Anabaptist groups like the Hutterites and Mennonites.

In parts of Germany, Switzerland and Austria, a majority sympathized with the Radical Reformation despite intense persecution.[16] Although the surviving proportion of the European population that rebelled against Catholic, Lutheran and Zwinglian churches was small, Radical Reformers wrote profusely and the literature on the Radical Reformation is disproportionately large, partly as a result of the proliferation of the Radical Reformation teachings in the United States.[17]

Literacy



Martin Luther's 1534 Bible translated into German. Luther's translation influenced the development of the current Standard German.

The Reformation was a triumph of literacy and the new printing press.[18][lower-alpha 1][10][20] Luther's translation of the Bible into German was a decisive moment in the spread of literacy, and stimulated as well the printing and distribution of religious books and pamphlets. From 1517 onward, religious pamphlets flooded Germany and much of Europe.[21][lower-alpha 2]

By 1530, over 10,000 publications are known, with a total of ten million copies. The Reformation was thus a media revolution. Luther strengthened his attacks on Rome by depicting a "good" against "bad" church. From there, it became clear that print could be used for propaganda in the Reformation for particular agendas. Reform writers used pre-Reformation styles, clichés and stereotypes and changed items as needed for their own purposes.[21] Especially effective were writings in German, including Luther's translation of the Bible, his Smaller Catechism for parents teaching their children, and his Larger Catechism, for pastors.

Using the German vernacular they expressed the Apostles' Creed in simpler, more personal, Trinitarian language. Illustrations in the German Bible and in many tracts popularised Luther's ideas. Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), the great painter patronised by the electors of Wittenberg, was a close friend of Luther, and he illustrated Luther's theology for a popular audience. He dramatised Luther's views on the relationship between the Old and New Testaments, while remaining mindful of Luther's careful distinctions about proper and improper uses of visual imagery.[23]

Causes of the Protestant Reformation

The following supply-side factors have been identified as causes of the Protestant Reformation:[24]

- The presence of a printing press in a city by 1500 made Protestant adoption by 1600 far more likely.[10]
- Protestant literature was produced at greater levels in cities where media markets were more competitive, making these cities more likely to adopt Protestantism.[20]
- Ottoman incursions decreased conflicts between Protestants and Catholics, helping the Protestant Reformation take root.[25]
- Greater political autonomy increased the likelihood that Protestantism would be adopted.[10][26]
- Where Protestant reformers enjoyed princely patronage, they were much more likely to succeed.[27]
- Proximity to neighbors who adopted Protestantism increased the likelihood of adopting Protestantism.[26]
- Cities that had higher numbers of students enrolled in heterodox universities and lower numbers enrolled in orthodox universities were more likely to adopt Protestantism.[27]

The following demand-side factors have been identified as causes of the Protestant Reformation:[24]

- Cities with strong cults of saints were less likely to adopt Protestantism.[28]
- Cities where primogeniture was practiced were less likely to adopt Protestantism.[29]
- Regions that were poor but had great economic potential and bad political institutions were more likely to adopt Protestantism.[30]
- The presence of bishoprics made the adoption of Protestantism less likely.[10]
- The presence of monasteries made the adoption of Protestantism less likely.[30]

2.2.2 Reformation outside Germany

The Reformation also spread widely throughout Europe over the next few decades.

Austria

Austria followed the same pattern of the German-speaking states within the Holy Roman Empire, and Lutheranism became the main Protestant confession among its population. Lutheranism gained a significant following in Austria which was concentrated in the eastern half of present-day Austria, while Calvinism was less successful. Eventually the adoption of the Counter-Reformation reversed the trend.

Czech Republic

Main article: Bohemian Reformation

Hussites made up the vast majority of the population, and Lutheranism also gained a substantial following. Protestants were persecuted under the Habsburg monarchy, which controlled the region and eventually managed to recatholicize it.

Switzerland

Main article: Reformation in Switzerland

In Switzerland, the teachings of the reformers and especially those of Zwingli and Calvin had a profound effect, despite the frequent quarrels between the different branches of the Reformation.

Huldrych Zwingli Main article: Huldrych Zwingli
Parallel to events in Germany, a movement began in the Swiss Confederation under the leadership of Huldrych Zwingli. Zwingli was a scholar and preacher who moved to Zurich – the then-leading city state – in 1518, a year after Martin Luther began the Reformation in Germany with his Ninety-five Theses. Although the two movements agreed on many issues of theology, as the recently introduced printing press spread ideas rapidly from place to place, some unresolved differences kept them separate. Long-standing resentment between the German states and the Swiss Confederation led to heated debate over how much Zwingli owed his ideas to Lutheranism. Although Zwinglianism does hold uncanny resemblance to Lutheranism (it even had its own equivalent of the Ninety-five Theses, called the 67 Conclusions), historians have been unable to prove that Zwingli had any contact with Luther's publications before 1520, and Zwingli himself maintained that he had prevented himself from reading them.

The German Prince Philip of Hesse saw potential in creating an alliance between Zwingli and Luther, seeing strength in a united Protestant front. A meeting was held in his castle in 1529, now known as the Colloquy of Marburg, which has become infamous for its complete failure. The two men could not come to any agreement due to their disputation over one key doctrine. Although Luther preached consubstantiation in the Eucharist over transubstantiation, he believed in the spiritual presence of Christ at the Mass. Zwingli, inspired by Dutch theologian Cornelius Hoen, believed that the mass was only representative and memorial – Christ was not present.[31] Luther became so angry that he famously carved into the meeting table in chalk *Hoc Est Corpus Meum* – a Biblical quotation from the Last Supper meaning 'This is my body'. Zwingli countered this saying that *est* in that context was the equivalent of the word *significant* (signifies).[32]

Huldrych Zwingli launched the Reformation in Switzerland.

Some followers of Zwingli believed that the Reformation was too conservative and moved independently toward more radical positions, some of which survive among modern day Anabaptists. One famous incident illustrating this was when radical Zwinglians fried and ate sausages during Lent in Zurich city square by way of protest against the Church teaching of good works. Other Protestant movements grew up along the lines of mysticism or humanism (cf. Erasmus), sometimes breaking from Rome or from the Protestants, or forming outside of the churches.

John Calvin Main article: John Calvin
Following the excommunication of Luther and condemnation of the Reformation by the Pope, the work and writings of John Calvin were influential in establishing

John Calvin was one of the leading figures of the Protestant Reformation. His legacy remains in a variety of churches.

a loose consensus among various groups in Switzerland, Scotland, Hungary, Germany and elsewhere. After the expulsion of its Bishop in 1526, and the unsuccessful attempts of the Berne reformer Guillaume (William) Farel, Calvin was asked to use the organisational skill he had gathered as a student of law to discipline the "fallen city" of Geneva. His "Ordinances" of 1541 involved a collaboration of Church affairs with the City council and consistory to bring morality to all areas of life. After the establishment of the Geneva academy in 1559, Geneva became the unofficial capital of the Protestant movement, providing refuge for Protestant exiles from all over Europe and educating them as Calvinist missionaries. These missionaries dispersed Calvinism widely, and formed the French Huguenots in Calvin's own lifetime, as well as causing the conversion of Scotland under the leadership of the cantankerous John Knox in 1560. The faith continued to spread after Calvin's death in 1563 and reached as far as Constantinople by the start of the 17th century.

The Reformation foundations engaged with Augustinianism. Both Luther and Calvin thought along lines linked with the theological teachings of Augustine of Hippo. The Augustinianism of the Reformers struggled against Pelagianism, a heresy that they perceived in the Roman Catholic Church of their day. Unfortunately, since Calvin and Luther disagreed strongly on certain matters of theology (such as double-predestination and Holy Communion), the relationship between Lutherans and Calvinists was one of conflict.

Scandinavia

See also: Reformation in Denmark-Norway and Holstein, Reformation in Iceland, Reformation in Norway, Reformation in Sweden

Johannes Bugenhagen introduced Protestantism in Denmark.

All of Scandinavia ultimately adopted Lutheranism over the course of the 16th century, as the monarchs of Denmark (who also ruled Norway and Iceland) and Sweden (who also ruled Finland) converted to that faith.

In Sweden, the Reformation was spearheaded by Gustav Vasa, elected king in 1523. Friction with the pope over the latter's interference in Swedish ecclesiastical affairs led to the discontinuance of any official connection between Sweden and the papacy from 1523. Four years later, at the Diet of Västerås, the king succeeded in forcing the diet to accept his dominion over the national church. The king was given possession of all church property, church appointments required royal approval, the clergy were subject to the civil law, and the "pure Word of God" was to be preached in the churches and taught in the schools – effectively granting official sanction to Lutheran ideas.

Under the reign of Frederick I (1523–33), Denmark remained officially Roman Catholic. But though Frederick initially pledged to persecute Lutherans, he soon adopted a policy of protecting Lutheran preachers and

reformers, of whom the most famous was Hans Tausen. During his reign, Lutheranism made significant inroads among the Danish population. Frederick's son, Christian, was openly Lutheran, which prevented his election to the throne upon his father's death. In 1536, the authority of the Roman Catholic bishops was terminated by national assembly. The next year, following his victory in the Count's War, he became king as Christian III and continued the Reformation of the state church with assistance of Johannes Bugenhagen.

England

Main article: English Reformation

Church of England Main articles: Church of England and Anglicanism

The separation of the Church of England (or Anglican Church) from Rome under Henry VIII, beginning in 1529 and completed in 1537, brought England alongside this broad Reformation movement; however, religious changes in the English national church proceeded more conservatively than elsewhere in Europe. Reformers in the Church of England alternated, for decades, between sympathies for ancient Catholic tradition and more Reformed principles, gradually developing, within the context of robustly Protestant doctrine, a tradition considered a middle way (*via media*) between the Roman Catholic and Protestant traditions.

Henry VIII broke England's ties with the Catholic Church, becoming the sole head of the English Church.

The English Reformation followed a different course from the Reformation in continental Europe. There had long been a strong strain of anti-clericalism. England had already given rise to the Lollard movement of John Wycliffe, which played an important part in inspiring the Hussites in Bohemia. Lollardy was suppressed and became an underground movement, so the extent of its influence in the 1520s is difficult to assess. The different character of the English Reformation came rather from the fact that it was driven initially by the political necessities of Henry VIII.

Henry had once been a sincere Roman Catholic and had even authored a book strongly criticising Luther, but he later found it expedient and profitable to break with the Papacy. His wife, Catherine of Aragon, bore him only a single child that survived infancy, Mary. Henry strongly wanted a male heir, and many of his subjects might have agreed, if only because they wanted to avoid another dynastic conflict like the Wars of the Roses.

Thomas Cranmer proved essential in the development of the English Reformation.

King Henry decided to remove the Church of England from the authority of Rome. In 1534, the Act of

Supremacy recognized Henry as “the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England”.[33] Between 1535 and 1540, under Thomas Cromwell, the policy known as the Dissolution of the Monasteries was put into effect. The veneration of some saints, certain pilgrimages and some pilgrim shrines were also attacked. Huge amounts of church land and property passed into the hands of the Crown and ultimately into those of the nobility and gentry. The vested interest thus created made for a powerful force in support of the dissolutions.

There were some notable opponents to the Henrician Reformation, such as Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher, who were executed for their opposition. There was also a growing party of reformers who were imbued with the Calvinistic, Lutheran and Zwinglian doctrines now current on the Continent. When Henry died he was succeeded by his Protestant son Edward VI, who, through his empowered councillors (with the King being only nine years old at his succession and fifteen at his death) the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Northumberland, ordered the destruction of images in churches, and the closing of the chantries. Under Edward VI the Church of England moved closer to continental Protestantism.

Yet, at a popular level, religion in England was still in a state of flux. Following a brief Roman Catholic restoration during the reign of Mary 1553–1558, a loose consensus developed during the reign of Elizabeth I, though this point is one of considerable debate among historians. It is this "Elizabethan Religious Settlement" which largely formed Anglicanism into a distinctive church tradition. The compromise was uneasy and was capable of veering between extreme Calvinism on the one hand and Roman Catholicism on the other, but compared to the bloody and chaotic state of affairs in contemporary France, it was relatively successful in part because Queen Elizabeth lived so long, until the Puritan Revolution or English Civil War in the 17th century.

Puritan movement Main article: Puritans

The success of the Counter-Reformation on the Continent and the growth of a Puritan party dedicated to further Protestant reform polarised the Elizabethan Age, although it was not until the 1640s that England underwent religious strife comparable to what its neighbours had suffered some generations before.

The early *Puritan movement* (late 16th–17th centuries) was Reformed or Calvinist and was a movement for reform in the Church of England. Its origins lay in the discontent with the Elizabethan Religious Settlement. The desire was for the Church of England to resemble more closely the Protestant churches of Europe, especially Geneva. The Puritans objected to ornaments and ritual in the churches as idolatrous (vestments, surplices, organs, genuflection), which they castigated as "popish pomp and rags”. (See Vestments controversy.) They also objected to ecclesiastical courts. Their refusal to endorse

Oliver Cromwell was a devout Puritan and military leader, who came to power in the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland.

completely all of the ritual directions and formulas of the *Book of Common Prayer* and the imposition of its liturgical order by legal force and inspection sharpened Puritanism into a definite opposition movement.

The later Puritan movement, often referred to as dissenters and nonconformists, eventually led to the formation of various reformed denominations.

The most famous emigration to America was the migration of Puritan separatists from the Anglican Church of England. They fled first to Holland, and then later to America, to establish the English colony of Massachusetts in New England, which later became one of the original United States.

These Puritan separatists were also known as “the Pilgrims". After establishing a colony at Plymouth (which became part of the colony of Massachusetts) in 1620, the Puritan pilgrims received a charter from the King of England that legitimised their colony, allowing them to do trade and commerce with merchants in England, in accordance with the principles of mercantilism. This successful, though initially quite difficult, colony strengthened the Protestant presence in America, which had started in the previous decade with the establishment of New Netherlands (the earlier French, Spanish and Portuguese settlements had been Roman Catholic) and became a kind of oasis of spiritual and economic freedom, to which persecuted Protestants and other minorities from the British Isles and Europe (and later, from all over the world) fled to for peace, freedom and opportunity. The Pilgrims of New England disapproved of

Christmas, and celebration was outlawed in Boston from 1659 to 1681. The ban was revoked in 1681 by Sir Edmund Andros, who also revoked a Puritan ban against festivities on Saturday night. Despite the removal of the ban, it wouldn't be until the middle of the 19th century that Christmas would become a popular holiday in the Boston region.

The original intent of the colonists was to establish spiritual Puritanism, which had been denied to them in England and the rest of Europe, to engage in peaceful commerce with England and the natives, and to Christianize the peoples of the Americas.

Scotland

Main articles: Scottish Reformation and Church of Scotland

The Reformation in Scotland's case culminated ecclesiastically in the establishment of a church along reformed lines, and politically in the triumph of English influence over that of France. John Knox is regarded as the leader of the Scottish reformation.

John Knox was a leading figure in the Scottish Reformation.

The Reformation Parliament of 1560 repudiated the pope's authority by the Papal Jurisdiction Act 1560, forbade the celebration of the Mass and approved a Protestant Confession of Faith. It was made possible by a revolution against French hegemony under the regime of the regent Mary of Guise, who had governed Scotland in the name of her absent daughter Mary, Queen of Scots (then also Queen of France).

Although Protestantism triumphed relatively easily in Scotland, the exact form of Protestantism remained to be determined. The 17th century saw a complex struggle between Presbyterianism (particularly the Covenanters) and Episcopalianism. The Presbyterians eventually won control of the Church of Scotland, which went on to have an important influence on Presbyterian churches worldwide, but Scotland retained a relatively large Episcopalian minority.

France

Main articles: Huguenot, Reformed Church of France, and French Wars of Religion

Protestantism also spread from the German lands into France, where the Protestants were nicknamed *Huguenots*; this eventually led to decades of civil warfare.

Although a Roman Catholic clergyman himself, Cardinal Richelieu allied France with Protestant states.

Though not personally interested in religious reform, Francis I (reigned 1515–1547) initially maintained an attitude of tolerance, in accordance with his interest in the humanist movement. This changed in 1534 with the Affair of the Placards. In this act, Protestants denounced the Catholic Mass in placards that appeared across France, even reaching the royal apartments. The issue of religious faith having been thrown into the arena of politics, Francis came to view the movement as a threat to the kingdom's stability. This led to the first major phase of anti-Protestant persecution in France, in which the *Chambre Ardente* ("Burning Chamber") was established (1535) within the Parlement of Paris to deal with the rise in prosecutions for heresy. Several thousand French Protestants fled the country, most notably John Calvin, who emigrated to Basel in 1535 before eventually settling in Geneva in 1536.

Calvin continued to take an interest in the religious affairs of his native land and, from his base in Geneva, beyond the reach of the French kings, regularly trained pastors to lead congregations in France. Despite heavy persecution by King Henry II of France (reigned 1547–1559), the Reformed Church of France, largely Calvinist in direction, made steady progress across large sections of the nation, in the urban bourgeoisie and parts of the aristocracy, appealing to people alienated by the obduracy and the complacency of the Catholic establishment.

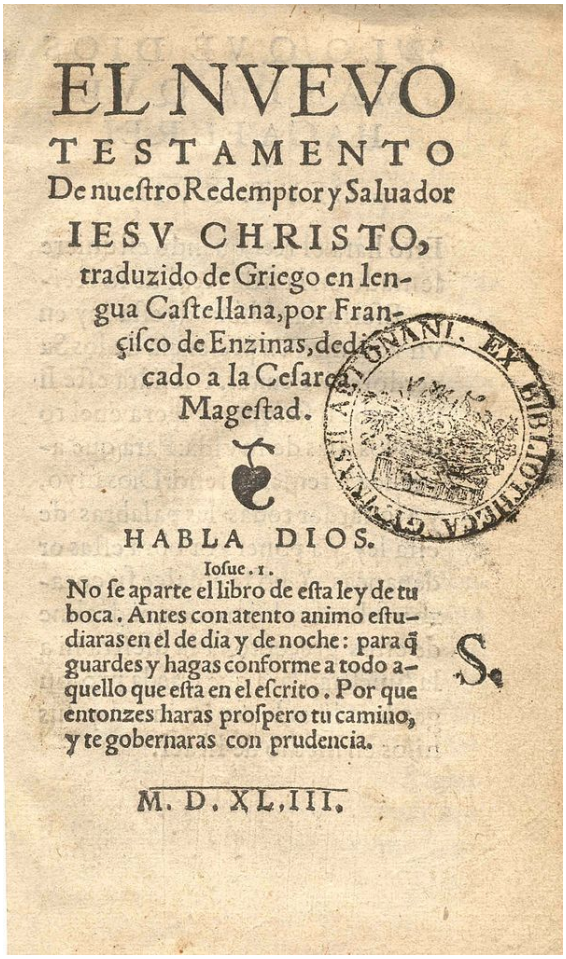
Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre, Painting by François Dubois

French Protestantism, though its appeal increased under persecution, came to acquire a distinctly political character, made all the more obvious by the conversions of nobles during the 1550s. This established the preconditions for a series of destructive and intermittent conflicts, known as the Wars of Religion. The civil wars gained impetus with the sudden death of Henry II in 1559, which began a prolonged period of weakness for the French crown. Atrocity and outrage became the defining characteristics of the time, illustrated at their most intense in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of August 1572, when the Roman Catholic party annihilated between 30,000 and 100,000 Huguenots across France. The wars only concluded when Henry IV, himself a former Huguenot, issued the Edict of Nantes (1598), promising official toleration of the Protestant minority, but under highly restricted conditions. Roman Catholicism remained the official state religion, and the fortunes of French Protestants gradually declined over the next century, culminating in Louis XIV's Edict of Fontainebleau (1685) – which revoked the Edict of Nantes and made Roman Catholicism the sole legal religion of France. In response to the Edict of Fontainebleau, Frederick William I, Elector of Brandenburg declared the Edict of Potsdam (October 1685), giving free passage to Huguenot refugees, and tax-free status to them for ten years.

In the late 17th century many Huguenots fled to England, the Netherlands, Prussia, Switzerland, and the English and Dutch overseas colonies. A significant community in France remained in the Cévennes region. A separate Protestant community, of the Lutheran faith, existed in the newly conquered (1639–) province of Alsace, its status not affected by the Edict of Fontainebleau.

Spain

Spain had a different political and cultural milieu from its Western and Central European neighbors in several aspects during the early 16th century, and these unique aspects affected the mentality and the reaction of the nation towards the Protestant Reformation. Spain, which had only recently managed to reconquer the Peninsula from the Moors in 1492, had been preoccupied with converting the Muslim and Jewish population of the newly conquered regions through the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478. The rulers of the nation stressed political, cultural, and religious unity, and by the time of the Lutheran Reformation the Spanish Inquisition was already 40 years old and had the capability of quickly dealing with any new movement that the Catholic Church perceived or interpreted to be religious heterodoxy.[34] Charles V did not wish to see either Spain nor the rest of Habsburg Europe divided, and in the light of a continual threat from the Ottomans, preferred to see the Catholic Church reform itself from within. This led to a Counter-Reformation in Spain in the 1530s. During the 1520s, the Spanish Inquisition had created an atmosphere of suspicion, and sought to root out any religious thought seen as suspicious. As early as 1521, the Pope had written a letter to the Spanish monarchy warning against allowing the unrest in Northern Europe to be repeated in Spain. Between 1520 and 1550, printing presses in Spain were tightly controlled, and any books of Protestant teaching were prohibited.



EL NVEVO
TESTAMENTO
De nueſtro Redemptor y Saluador
IESV CHRISTO,
traduzido de Griego en lengua Caſtellana, por Françiſco de Enzinas, dedicado a la Ceſarea Mageſtad.

HABLA DIOS.
Iosue. 1.
No ſe aparte el libro de eſta ley de tu boca. Antes con atento animo eſtudiaras en el de dia y de noche: para q̃ guardes y hagas conforme a todo aquello que eſta en el eſcrito. Por que entonzes haras proſpero tu camino, y te gobernaras con prudencia.

M. D. XL. III.

The New Testament translated by Enzinas, published in Antwerp (1543)

Between 1530 and 1540 Protestantism in Spain was still able to gain followers clandestinely, and in cities such

as Seville and Valladolid adherents would secretly meet at private houses to pray and study the Bible.[35] Protestants in Spain were estimated at between 1000 and 3000, mainly among intellectuals who had seen writings such as those of Erasmus. Notable reformers included Dr. Juan Gil and Juan Pérez de Pineda who subsequently fled and worked alongside others such as Francisco de Enzinas to translate the Greek New Testament into the Spanish language, a task completed by 1556. Protestant teachings were smuggled into Spain by Spaniards such as Julián Hernández, who in 1557 was condemned by the Inquisition and burnt at the stake. Under Philip II conservatives in the Spanish church tightened their grip, and those who refused to recant such as Rodrigo de Valer were condemned to life imprisonment. In May 1559 16 Spanish Lutherans were burnt at the stake: 14 were strangled before being burnt, two were burnt alive. In October another thirty were executed. Spanish Protestants that were able to flee the country were to be found in at least a dozen cities in Europe such as Geneva, where some of them embraced Calvinist teachings. Those that fled to England were given support by the Church of England.

Erasmus was a Catholic priest who inspired some of the Protestant reformers.

Portugal

Reformation did not succeed in Portugal, as similar reasons to Spain prevented it from spreading.

Netherlands

Main article: History of religion in the Netherlands

The Reformation in the Netherlands, unlike in many other countries, was not initiated by the rulers of the Seventeen Provinces, but instead by multiple popular movements, which in turn were bolstered by the arrival of Protestant refugees from other parts of the continent. While the Anabaptist movement enjoyed popularity in the region in the early decades of the Reformation, Calvinism, in the form of the Dutch Reformed Church, became the dominant Protestant faith in the country from the 1560s onward.

Belgium

Harsh persecution of Protestants by the Spanish government of Philip II contributed to a desire for independence in the provinces, which led to the Eighty Years' War and, eventually, the separation of the largely Protestant Dutch Republic from the Roman Catholic-dominated Southern Netherlands (present-day Belgium).

Luxembourg

Luxembourg, a part of the Spanish Netherlands, remained Roman Catholic.

Kingdom of Hungary

Stephen Bocskay prevented the Holy Roman Emperor from imposing Roman Catholicism on Hungarians.

Much of the population of the Kingdom of Hungary

Jiří Třanovský (1592-1637)- the "Luther of the Slavs" who was active in Bohemia, Moravia, Poland and Slovakia.

adopted Protestantism during the 16th century. After the 1526 Battle of Mohács, the Hungarian people were disillusioned by the ability of the government to protect them and turned to the faith they felt would infuse them with the strength necessary to resist the invader. They found this in the teaching of the Protestant reformers such as Martin Luther. The spread of Protestantism in the country was aided by its large ethnic German minority, which could understand and translate the writings of Martin Luther. While Lutheranism gained a foothold among the German- and Slovak-speaking populations, Calvinism became widely accepted among ethnic Hungarians.

In the more independent northwest the rulers and priests, protected now by the Habsburg Monarchy, which had taken the field to fight the Turks, defended the old Roman Catholic faith. They dragged the Protestants to prison and the stake wherever they could. Such strong measures only fanned the flames of protest, however. Leaders of the Protestants included Matthias Biro Devai, Michael Sztarai, and Stephen Kis Szegedi.

Protestants likely formed a majority of Hungary's population at the close of the 16th century, but Counter-Reformation efforts in the 17th century reconverted a majority of the kingdom to Roman Catholicism. A significant Protestant minority remained, most of it adhering to the Calvinist faith.

In 1558 the Transylvanian Diet of Turda declared free practice of both the Catholic and Lutheran religions, but prohibited Calvinism. Ten years later, in 1568, the Diet extended this freedom, declaring that "It is not allowed to anybody to intimidate anybody with captivity or expelling for his religion". Four religions (Unitarianism became official in 1583, following the faith of the only Unitarian King John II Sigismund Zápolya 1541–1571) were declared as accepted (recepta) religions, while Eastern Orthodox Christianity was "tolerated" (though the building of stone Orthodox churches was forbidden). During the Thirty Years' War, Royal (Habsburg) Hungary joined the Roman Catholic side, until Transylvania joined the Protestant side.

There were a series of other successful and unsuccessful anti-Habsburg (requiring equal rights and freedom for all Christian denominations) uprisings between 1604 and 1711; the uprisings were usually organised from Transylvania. The constrained Habsburg Counter-Reformation efforts in the 17th century reconverted the majority of the kingdom to Roman Catholicism.

Ireland

Main article: Reformation in Ireland

The Reformation in Ireland was a movement for the re-

A devout Roman Catholic, Mary I of England started the first Plantations of Ireland, which, ironically, soon came to be associated with Protestantism.

form of religious life and institutions that was introduced into Ireland by the English administration at the behest of King Henry VIII of England. His desire for an annulment of his marriage was known as the King's Great Matter.

Ultimately Pope Clement VII refused the petition; consequently it became necessary for the King to assert his lordship over the Roman Catholic Church in his realm to give legal effect to his wishes. The English Parliament confirmed the King's supremacy over the Church in the Kingdom of England. This challenge to Papal supremacy resulted in a breach with the Roman Catholic Church. By 1541, the Irish Parliament had agreed to the change in status of the country from that of a Lordship to that of Kingdom of Ireland.

Unlike similar movements for religious reform on the continent of Europe, the various phases of the English Reformation as it developed in Ireland were largely driven by changes in government policy, to which public opinion in England gradually accommodated itself. However, a number of factors complicated the adoption of the religious innovations in Ireland; the majority of the population there adhered to the Roman Catholic Church. However, in the city of Dublin the reformation took hold under the auspices of George Browne (Archbishop of Dublin).

Italy

Further information: Reformation in Italy

Word of the Protestant reformers reached Italy in the

Waldensian symbol Lux lucet in tenebris *("Light glows in the darkness")*

1520s, but never caught on. Its development was stopped by the Counter-Reformation, the Inquisition and also popular disinterest. Not only was the Church highly aggressive in seeking out heresy and suppressing it, but there was a shortage of Protestant leadership. No one translated the Bible into Italian; few tracts were written. No core of Protestantism emerged. The few preachers who did take an interest in "Lutheranism," as it was called in Italy, were suppressed or went into exile to northern countries where their message was well received. As a result, the Reformation exerted almost no lasting influence in Italy, except for strengthening the Roman Catholic Church and motivating the Counter-Reformation.[36][37]

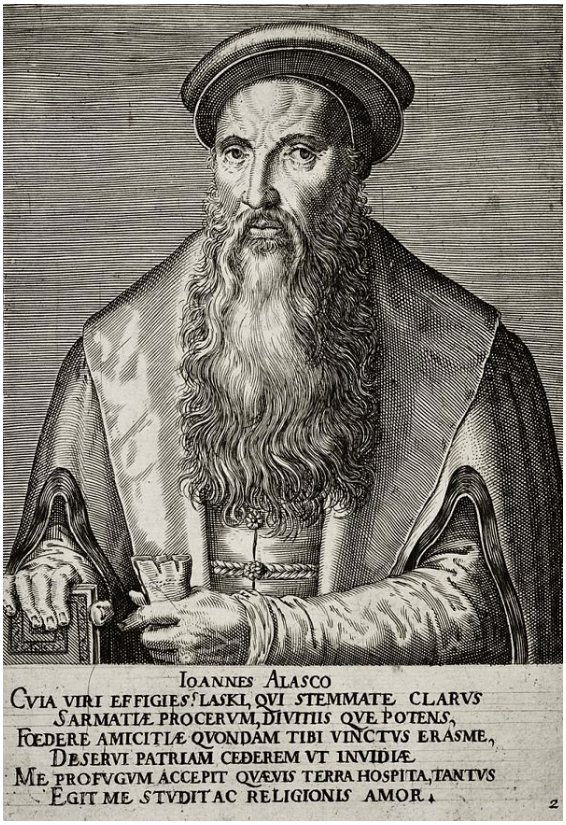
Some Protestants left Italy and became outstanding activists of the European Reformation, mainly in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (e.g. Giorgio Biandrata, Bernardino Ochino, Giovanni Alciato, Giovanni Battista Cetis, Fausto Sozzini, Francesco Stancaro and Giovanni Valentino Gentile) who propagated Nontrinitarianism there and were chief instigators of the movement of Polish Brethren.[38]

In 1532 the Waldensians adhered to the Reformation, adopting the Calvinist theology. The Waldensian Church survived in the Western Alps through many persecutions and remains a Protestant church in Italy.[39]

Poland & Lithuania

Main article: Reformation in Poland

In the first half of the 16th century, the enormous



Jan Łaski sought unity between various Christian churches in the Commonwealth, and participated in the English Reformation.

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was a country of many creeds, but Roman Catholic Church remained the dominating religion. Reformation reached Poland in the

1520s, and quickly gained popularity among mostly German-speaking inhabitants of such major cities as Gdańsk, Toruń and Elbląg. In Koenigsberg, in 1530, a Polish-language edition of Luther's Small Catechism was published. The Duchy of Prussia, which was a Polish fief, emerged as a key center of the movement, with numerous publishing houses issuing not only Bibles, but also catechisms, in German, Polish and Lithuanian.

Lutheranism gained popularity in the northern part of the country, while Calvinism caught the interest of the nobility (known as szlachta), mainly in Lesser Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Several publishing houses were opened in Lesser Poland in the mid-16th century in such locations as Słomniki and Raków. At that time, Mennonites and Czech Brothers came to Poland, with the latter settling mostly in Greater Poland around Leszno. In 1565, the Polish Brethren appeared as yet another reformation movement.

The 16th century Commonwealth was unique in Europe, because of widespread tolerance confirmed by the Warsaw Confederation. In 1563, the Brest Bible was published (see also Bible translations into Polish). The period of tolerance ended during the reign of King Sigismund III Vasa, who was under the strong influence of Piotr Skarga and other Jesuits. After the Deluge, and other wars of the mid-17th century in which all enemies of Poland were either Protestant or Orthodox Christians, the Poles' attitude changed. The Counter-Reformation prevailed: in 1658 the Polish Brethren were forced to leave the country, and in 1666, the Sejm banned apostasy from Catholicism to any other religion, under punishment of death. Finally, in 1717, the Silent Sejm banned non-Catholics from becoming deputies of the Parliament.

Among most important Protestants of the Commonwealth, there are such names, as Mikołaj Rej, Marcin Czechowic, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski and Symon Budny.

Slovenia

Primož Trubar is notable for consolidating the Slovene language and is considered to be the key figure of Slovenian cultural history and in many aspects a major Slovene historical personality.[40] He was the key figure of the Protestant Church of the Slovene Lands, as he was its founder and its first superintendent. The first books in Slovene, *Catechismus* and *Abecedarium*, were written by Trubar.[41]

Greece

The Protestant teachings of the Western Church were also briefly adopted by Eastern Orthodox Church through the Greek Patriarch Cyril Lucaris in 1629 with the publishing of the *Confessio* (Calvinistic doctrine) in Geneva. Motivating factors in their decision to adopt aspects of the

Primož Trubar

Reformation included the historical rivalry and mistrust between the Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic church along with their concerns of Jesuit priests entering Greek lands in their attempts to propagate the teachings of the Counter-Reformation to the Greek populace. He subsequently sponsored Maximos of Gallipoli's translation of the New Testament into the Modern Greek language and was published in Geneva in 1638. Upon Lucaris's death in 1638, the conservative factions within the Eastern Orthodox Church held two synods: the Synod of Constantinople (1638) and Synod of Jassy (1642) criticizing the reforms and in the 1672 convocation led by Dositheos, they officially condemned the Calvinistic doctrines.

2.2.3 Conclusion and legacy

End of the Reformation

There is no universal agreement on the exact or approximate date the Protestant Reformation ended. Various interpretations emphasize different dates, entire periods, or argue that the Reformation never really ended. However, there are a few popular interpretations that are used by large groups of observers.

- Historically, the Peace of Westphalia is considered to be the event that ended the Reformation. This is the most commonly held interpretation;

- According to other historical interpretation, the Reformation could truly be considered to have ended in the middle 18th century, as the Peace of Westphalia did not specify, nor did it mean that it concluded; that is around time the First Great Awakening (1730–1755) took place. People who hold this interpretation often argue that the emergence of Pietism prolonged the Reformation up to this point;
- Some argue that the Reformation never ended as new spin-offs continue to emerge from the Roman Catholic Church, as well as all the various Protestant churches that exist today.

Treaty of Westphalia allowed Calvinism to be freely exercised.

Thirty Years' War: 1618–1648 The Reformation led to a series of religious wars that culminated in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which devastated much of Germany, killing between 25% and 40% of its entire population.[42] Roman Catholic House of Habsburg and its allies fought against the Protestant princes of Germany, supported at various times by Denmark, Sweden and France. The Habsburgs, who ruled Spain, Austria, the Crown of Bohemia, Hungary, Slovene Lands, the Spanish Netherlands and much of Germany and Italy, were staunch defenders of the Roman Catholic Church. Some historians believe that the era of the Reformation came to a close when Roman Catholic France allied itself with Protestant states against the Habsburg dynasty. For the first time since the days of Martin Luther, political and national convictions again outweighed religious convictions in Europe.

Two main tenets of the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War, were:

- All parties would now recognise the Peace of Augsburg of 1555, by which each prince would have the right to determine the religion of his own state, the options being Roman Catholicism, Lutheranism, and now Calvinism (the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*)
- Christians living in principalities where their denomination was *not* the established church were guaranteed the right to practice their faith in public during allotted hours and in private at their will.

The treaty also effectively ended the Papacy's pan-European political power. Pope Innocent X declared the treaty "null, void, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, damnable, reprobate, inane, empty of meaning and effect for all times" in his bull *Zelo Domus Dei*. European sovereigns, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, ignored his verdict.[43]

Consequences of the Protestant Reformation

The following outcomes of the Protestant Reformation regarding human capital formation, the Protestant ethic, economic development, governance, and "dark" outcomes have been identified by scholars:[24]

Human Capital formation

- Higher literacy rates.[44]
- Lower gender gap in school enrollment and literacy rates.[45]
- Higher primary school enrollment.[46]
- Higher public spending on schooling and better educational performance of military conscripts.[47]
- Higher capability in reading, numeracy, essay writing, and history.[48]

Protestant ethic

- More hours worked.[49]
- Divergent work attitudes of Protestant and Catholics.[50]
- Fewer referenda on leisure, state intervention, and redistribution in Swiss cantons with more Protestants.[51]
- Lower life satisfaction when unemployed.[52]
- Pro-market attitudes.[53]
- Income differences between Protestants and Catholics.[44]

Economic development

- Different levels of income tax revenue per capita, % of labor force in manufacturing and services, and incomes of male elementary school teachers.[44]

- Protestant cities grew more.[54][55]
- Greater entrepreneurship among religious minorities in Protestant states.[56][57]
- Different social ethics.[58]

Governance

- The Reformation has been credited as a key factor in the development of the state system.[59][60]
- The Reformation has been credited as a key factor in the formation of transnational advocacy movements.[61]
- The Reformation impacted the Western legal tradition.[62]
- Establishment of State churches.[63]
- Poor relief and social welfare regimes.[64][65]

"Dark" outcomes

- Witch trials became more common in areas where Protestants and Catholics contested the religious market.[66]
- Protestants were far more likely to vote for Nazis than their Catholic German counterparts.[67] Christopher J. Probst, in his book *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany* (2012), shows that a large number of German Lutheran clergy and theologians during the Nazi Third Reich used Luther's hostile publications towards the Jews and their Jewish religion to justify at least in part the anti-Semitic policies of the National Socialists.[68]
- Higher suicide rate and greater suicide acceptability.[69][70]

Historiography

Margaret C. Jacob argues that there has been a dramatic shift in the historiography of the Reformation. Until the 1960s, historians focused their attention largely on the great leaders and theologians of the 16th century, especially Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli. Their ideas were studied in depth. However, the rise of the new social history in the 1960s look at history from the bottom up, not from the top down. Historians began to concentrate on the values, beliefs and behavior of the people at large. She finds, "in contemporary scholarship, the Reformation is now seen as a vast cultural upheaval, a social and popular movement, textured and rich because of its diversity."[71]

The Lord's Prayer in German Das Vaterunser *on a woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder during the Protestant Reformation under Martin Luther.*

2.2.4 See also

- Anti-Catholicism
- Book of Concord
- Concordat of Worms
- Confessionalization
- Exsurge Domine
- Free Grace theology
- Historiography of religion
- Johann Tetzel
- List of Protestant Reformers
- Matthias Flacius
- Menno Simons
- Nicolaus von Amsdorf
- Pierre Viret
- Propaganda during the Reformation

2.2.5 Notes

[1] In the end, while the Reformation emphasis on Protestants reading the Scriptures was one factor in the development of literacy, the impact of printing itself, the wider availability of printed works at a cheaper price, and the

increasing focus on education and learning as key factors in obtaining a lucrative post, were also significant contributory factors.[19]

[2] In the first decade of the Reformation, Luther's message became a movement, and the output of religious pamphlets in Germany was at its height.[22]

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2.2.9 External links

- Internet Archive of Related Texts and Documents
- 16th Century Reformation Reading Room: Extensive online resources, Tyndale Seminary
- The Reformation Collection From the Rare Book and Special Collections Division at the Library of Congress
- An ecumenical official valuation by Lutherans and Catholics 500 years later
- The Historyscoper

2.3 Lutheranism

For the theology of Martin Luther himself, see Theology of Martin Luther.

Lutheranism is a major branch of Protestant

Martin Luther initiated the Protestant Reformation in 1517.

Christianity which identifies with the theology of Martin Luther (1483-1546), a German friar, ecclesiastical reformer and theologian.

Luther's efforts to reform the theology and practice of the Catholic Church launched the Protestant Reformation in the German-speaking territories of the Holy Roman Empire. Beginning with the Ninety-Five Theses, first published in 1517, Luther's writings were disseminated internationally, spreading the early ideas of the Reformation beyond the influence and control of the Roman Curia and the Holy Roman Emperor.[1] The split between the Lutherans and the Catholics was made public and clear with the 1521 Edict of Worms: the edicts of the Diet condemned Luther and officially banned citizens of the Holy Roman Empire from defending or propagating his ideas, subjecting advocates of Lutheranism to forfeiture of all property, half of the seized property to be forfeit to the imperial government and the remaining half forfeit to the party who brought the accusation.[2] The divide centered primarily on two points: the proper source of authority in the church, often called the *formal principle* of the Reformation, and the doctrine of justification, often called the *material principle*.[3]

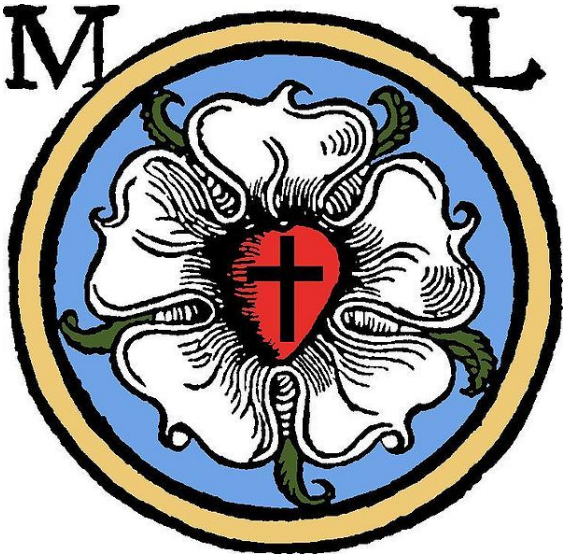
Lutheranism advocates a doctrine of justification "by grace alone through faith alone on the basis of Scripture alone", the doctrine that scripture is the final authority on all matters of faith. This is in contrast to the belief of the Catholic Church, defined at the Council of Trent, concerning authority coming from both the Scriptures and Tradition.[4] In addition, Lutheranism accepts the teachings of the first four ecumenical councils of the undivided Christian Church.[5][6]

Unlike the Reformed tradition, Lutherans retain many of the liturgical practices and sacramental teachings of the pre-Reformation Church, with a particular emphasis on the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper. Lutheran theology differs from Reformed theology in Christology, the purpose of God's Law, the divine grace, the concept of perseverance of the saints, and predestination.

Today, Lutheranism is one of the largest denominations of Protestantism. With approximately 80 million adherents,[7] it constitutes the third most common Protestant denomination after historically Pentecostal denominations and Anglicanism.[8][lower-alpha 1] The Lutheran World Federation, the largest communion of Lutheran churches, represents over 72 million people.[9] Other Lutheran organizations include the International Lutheran Council and the Confessional Evangelical Lutheran Conference, as well as independent churches.

2.3.1 Etymology

The name Lutheran originated as a derogatory term used against Luther by German Scholastic theologian Dr. Johann Maier von Eck during the Leipzig Debate in July 1519.[10] Eck and other Catholics followed the traditional practice of naming a heresy after its leader, thus labeling all who identified with the theology of Martin Luther as Lutherans.[2]



Luther's rose seal, a symbol of Lutheranism

Martin Luther always disliked the term *Lutheran*, preferring the term *Evangelical*, which was derived from *euangelion*, a Greek word meaning "good news", i.e. "Gospel".[10] The followers of John Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli, and other theologians linked to the Reformed Tradition also began to use that term. To distinguish the two evangelical groups, others began to refer to the two groups as *Evangelical Lutheran* and *Evangelical Reformed*. As time passed by, the word *Evangelical* was dropped. Lutherans themselves began to use the term *Lutheran* in the middle of the 16th century, in order to distinguish themselves from other groups such as the Philippists and Calvinists.

In 1597, theologians in Wittenberg defined the title *Lutheran* as referring to the true church.[2]

2.3.2 History

See also: Protestant Reformation

Lutheranism has its roots in the work of Martin Luther, who sought to reform the Western Church to what he considered a more biblical foundation.[11][12][13][14]

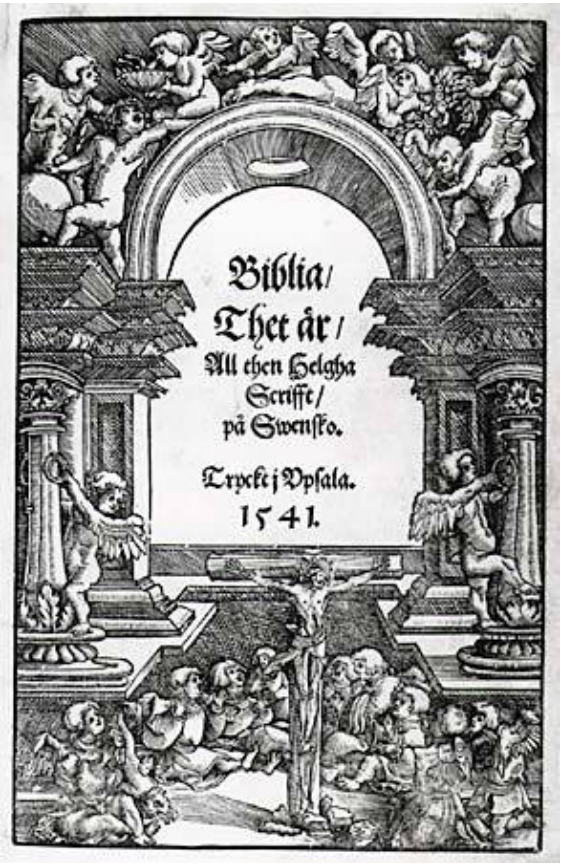
Spread into northern Europe

Lutheranism spread through all of Scandinavia during the 16th century, as the monarch of Denmark–Norway (also ruling Iceland and the Faroe Islands) and the monarch of Sweden (also ruling Finland) adopted Lutheranism. Through Baltic-German and Swedish rule, Lutheranism also spread into Estonia and Latvia.

Since 1520, regular[15] Lutheran services have been held in Copenhagen. Under the reign of Frederick I (1523–33), Denmark-Norway remained officially Catholic. Al-

though Frederick initially pledged to persecute Lutherans, he soon adopted a policy of protecting Lutheran preachers and reformers, the most significant being Hans Tausen.[16]

During Frederick's reign, Lutheranism made significant inroads in Denmark. At an open meeting in Copenhagen attended by the king in 1536, the people shouted; "We will stand by the holy Gospel, and do not want such bishops anymore".[17] Frederick's son Christian was openly Lutheran, which prevented his election to the throne upon his father's death. However, following his victory in the civil war that followed, in 1537 he became Christian III and advanced the Reformation in Denmark-Norway.



Title page of the Swedish Gustav Vasa Bible, translated by the Petri brothers, along with Laurentius Andreae

The constitution upon which the Danish Norwegian Church, according to the Church Ordinance, should rest was "The pure word of God, which is the Law and the Gospel".[18] It does not mention the [15] Augsburg Confession. The priests had to [15] understand the Holy Scripture well enough to preach and explain the Gospel and the Epistles for their congregations.

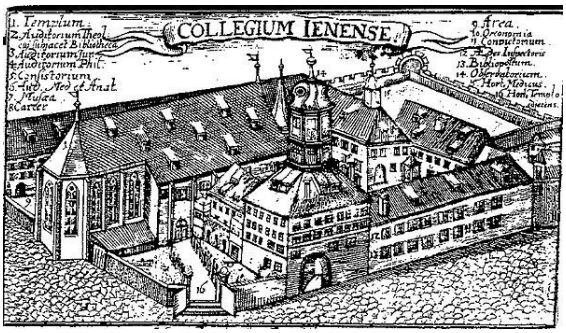
The youths were taught [19] from the *Small Catechism*, available in Danish since 1532. They were taught to expect at the end of life:[15] "forgiving of their sins", "to be counted as just", and "the eternal life". Instruction is still similar.[20]

The first complete Bible in Danish was based on Martin Luther's translation into German. It was published in 1550, with 3,000 copies printed in the first edition; a second edition was published in 1589.[21] Unlike Catholicism, the Lutheran Church does not believe that tradition is a carrier of the "Word of God", or that only the communion of the Bishop of Rome has been entrusted to interpret the "Word of God".[15][22]

The Reformation in Sweden began with Olaus and Laurentius Petri, brothers who took the Reformation to Sweden after studying in Germany. They led Gustav Vasa, elected king in 1523, to Lutheranism. The pope's refusal to allow the replacement of an archbishop who had supported the invading forces opposing Gustav Vasa during the Stockholm Bloodbath led to the severing of any official connection between Sweden and the papacy in 1523.[16]

Four years later, at the Diet of Västerås, the king succeeded in forcing the diet to accept his dominion over the national church. The king was given possession of all church properties, as well as the church appointments and approval of the clergy. While this effectively granted official sanction to Lutheran ideas,[16] Lutheranism did not become official until 1593. At that time the Uppsala Synod declared Holy Scripture the sole guideline for faith, with four documents accepted as faithful and authoritative explanations of it: the *Apostles' Creed*, the *Nicene Creed*, the *Athanasian Creed*, and the unaltered *Augsburg Confession* of 1530.[23] Mikael Agricola's translation of the first *Finnish New Testament* was published in 1548.[24]

Schmalkaldic War and the Formula of Concord



The University of Jena around 1600. Jena was the center of Gnesio-Lutheran activity during the controversies leading up to the Formula of Concord.

After the death of Martin Luther in 1546, the Schmalkaldic War started out as a conflict between two German Lutheran rulers in 1547. Soon, Holy Roman Imperial forces joined the battle and conquered the members of the Schmalkaldic League, oppressing and exiling many German Lutherans as they enforced the terms of the Augsburg Interim. Religious freedom was secured

for Lutherans through the Peace of Passau in 1552, and under the Cuius regio, eius religio and Declaratio Ferdinandei clauses of the Peace of Augsburg in 1555.[25]

Religious disputes between the Crypto-Calvinists, Philippists, Sacramentarians, Ubiquitarians and Gnesio-Lutherans raged within Lutheranism during the middle of the 16th century. This finally ended with the resolution of the issues in the *Formula of Concord*. Large numbers of politically and religiously influential leaders met together, debated, and resolved these topics on the basis of Scripture, resulting in the Formula, which over 8,000 leaders signed. The *Book of Concord* replaced earlier, incomplete collections of doctrine, unifying all German Lutherans with identical doctrine and beginning the period of Lutheran Orthodoxy.

Lutheran orthodoxy

Main article: Lutheran orthodoxy

The historical period of Lutheran Orthodoxy is divided into three sections: Early Orthodoxy (1580–1600), High Orthodoxy (1600–1685), and Late Orthodoxy (1685–1730). Lutheran scholasticism developed gradually especially for the purpose of arguing with the Jesuits, and it was finally established by Johann Gerhard. Abraham Calovius represents the climax of the scholastic paradigm in orthodox Lutheranism. Other orthodox Lutheran theologians include Martin Chemnitz, Aegidius Hunnius, Leonhard Hutter, Nicolaus Hunnius, Jesper Rasmussen Brochmand, Salomo Glassius, Johann Hülsemann, Johann Conrad Dannhauer, Johannes Andreas Quenstedt, Johann Friedrich König and Johann Wilhelm Baier.

Near the end of the Thirty Years' War, the compromising spirit seen in Philip Melanchthon rose up again in Helmstedt School and especially in theology of Georgius Calixtus, causing the syncretistic controversy. Another theological issue that arose was the Crypto-Kenotic controversy.[26]

Late orthodoxy was torn by influences from rationalism, philosophy based on reason, and Pietism, a revival movement in Lutheranism. After a century of vitality, the Pietist theologians Philipp Jakob Spener and August Hermann Francke warned that orthodoxy had degenerated into meaningless intellectualism and Formalism, while orthodox theologians found the emotional and subjective focuses of Pietism to be vulnerable to Rationalist propaganda.[27]

The last famous orthodox Lutheran theologian before the rationalist *Aufklärung*, or *Enlightenment*, was David Hollatz. Late orthodox theologian Valentin Ernst Löscher took part in the controversy against Pietism. Medieval mystical traditions continued in the works of Martin Moller, Johann Arndt, and Joachim Lütkemann. Pietism became a rival of orthodoxy but adopted some orthodox devotional literature; for example, Arndt's, Scriver's and Prätorius' which were all Pietistic literature.

Rationalism

Rationalist philosophers from France and England had an enormous impact during the 18th century, along with the German Rationalists Christian Wolff, Gottfried Leibniz and Immanuel Kant. Their work led to an increase in rationalist beliefs, "at the expense of faith in God and agreement with the Bible".[27]

In 1709, Valentin Ernst Löscher warned that this new Rationalist view of the world fundamentally changed society by drawing into question every aspect of theology. Instead of considering the authority of divine revelation, he explained, Rationalists relied solely on their personal understanding when searching for truth.[28]

Johann Melchior Goeze (1717–1786), pastor of St. Catherine's Church, Hamburg, wrote apologetical works against Rationalists, including a theological and historical defence against the historical criticism of the Bible.[29]

Dissenting Lutheran pastors were often reprimanded by the government bureaucracy overseeing them, for example, when they tried to correct Rationalist influences in the parish school.[30] As a result of the impact of a local form of rationalism, termed Neology, by the latter half of the 18th century, genuine piety was found almost solely in small Pietist conventicles.[27] However, some of the laity preserved Lutheran orthodoxy from both Pietism and rationalism through reusing old catechisms, hymnbooks, postils, and devotional writings, including those written by Johann Gerhard, Heinrich Müller and Christian Scriver.[31]

Revivals

A nineteenth-century Haugean conventicle.

A layman, Luther scholar Johann Georg Hamann (1730–88), became famous for countering Rationalism and striv-

Representing the continuation of the Finnish Awakening to the present, youth are confirmed at the site of Paavo Ruotsalainen's homestead.

ing to advance a revival known as the *Erweckung*, or *Awakening*.[32] In 1806, Napoleon's invasion of Germany promoted Rationalism and angered German Lutherans, stirring up a desire among the people to preserve Luther's theology from the Rationalist threat. Those associated with this *Awakening* held that reason was insufficient and pointed out the importance of emotional religious experiences.[33][34]

Small groups sprang up, often in universities, which devoted themselves to Bible study, reading devotional writings, and revival meetings. Although the beginning of this *Awakening* tended heavily toward Romanticism, patriotism, and experience, the emphasis of the *Awakening* shifted around 1830 to restoring the traditional liturgy, doctrine, and confessions of the Lutheran church in the Neo-Lutheran movement.[33][34]

This *Awakening* swept through all of Scandinavia except for Iceland.[35] It developed from both German Neo-Lutheranism and Pietism. Danish pastor and philosopher N. F. S. Grundtvig reshaped church life throughout Denmark through a reform movement beginning in 1830. He also wrote about 1,500 hymns, including *God's Word Is Our Great Heritage*.[36]

In Norway, Hans Nielsen Hauge, a lay street preacher, emphasized spiritual discipline and sparked the Haugean movement.[37] In Norway, the *Awakening* drove the growth of foreign missions to non-Christians to a new height, which has never been reached since.[35] In Sweden, Lars Levi Læstadius began the Laestadian movement that emphasized moral reform.[37] In Finland, a farmer, Paavo Ruotsalainen, began the Finnish Awakening when he took to preaching about repentance and prayer.[37]

In 1817, Frederick William III of Prussia ordered the Lutheran and Reformed churches in his territory to unite, forming the Evangelical Church of the Prussian Union. The unification of the two branches of German Protestantism sparked the Schism of the Old Lutherans. Many Lutherans, called "Old Lutherans", chose to leave the state churches despite imprisonment and military force.[32] Some formed independent church bodies, or "free churches", at home while others left for the United States, Canada and Australia. A similar legislated merger in Silesia prompted thousands to join the Old Lutheran movement. The dispute over ecumenism overshadowed other controversies within German Lutheranism.[38]

Despite political meddling in church life, local and national leaders sought to restore and renew Christianity. Neo-Lutheran Johann Konrad Wilhelm Löhe and Old Lutheran free church leader Friedrich August Brünn[39] both sent young men overseas to serve as pastors to German Americans, while the Inner Mission focused on renewing the situation home.[40] Johann Gottfried Herder, superintendent at Weimar and part of the Inner Mission movement, joined with the Romantic movement with his quest to preserve human emotion and experience from Rationalism.[41]

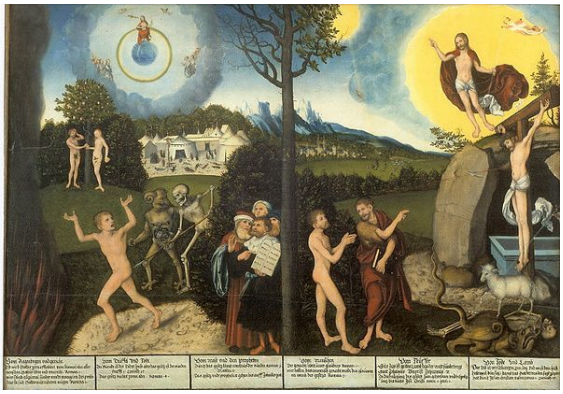
Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, though raised Reformed, became convinced of the truth of historic Lutheranism as a young man.[42] He led the Neo-Lutheran *Repristination School* of theology, which advocated a return to the orthodox theologians of the 17th century and opposed modern Bible scholarship.[43] As editor of the periodical *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, he developed it into a major support of Neo-Lutheran revival and used it to attack all forms of theological liberalism and rationalism. Although he received a large amount of slander and ridicule during his forty years at the head of revival, he never gave up his positions.[42]

The theological faculty at the University of Erlangen in Bavaria became another force for reform.[42] There, professor Adolf von Harless, though previously an adherent of rationalism and German idealism, made Erlangen a magnet for revival oriented theologians.[44] Termed the *Erlangen School* of theology, they developed a new version of the Incarnation,[44] which they felt emphasized the humanity of Jesus better than the ecumenical creeds.[45] As theologians, they used both modern historical critical and Hegelian philosophical methods instead of attempting to revive the orthodoxy of the 17th century.[46]

Friedrich Julius Stahl led the *High Church Lutherans*. Though raised a Jew, he was baptized as a Christian at the age of 19 through the influence of the Lutheran school he attended. As the leader of a neofeudal Prussian political party, he campaigned for the divine right of kings, the power of the nobility, and episcopal polity for the church. Along with Kliefoth and Vilmar, he promoted agreement with the Catholic Church with regard to the authority of the institutional church, ex opere operato effectiveness of the sacraments, and the divine authority of clergy. Unlike Catholics, however, they also urged complete agreement with the *Book of Concord*.[45]

The Neo-Lutheran movement managed to slow secularism and counter atheistic Marxism, but it did not fully

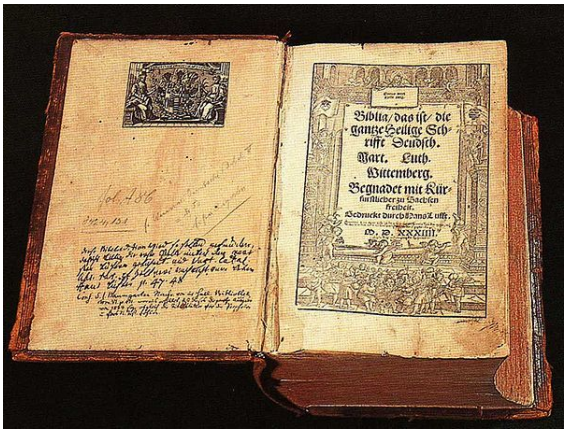
succeed in Europe.[40] It partly succeeded in continuing the Pietist movement's drive to right social wrongs and focus on individual conversion. The Neo-Lutheran call to renewal failed to achieve widespread popular acceptance because it both began and continued with a lofty, idealistic Romanticism that did not connect with an increasingly industrialized and secularized Europe.[47] At best, the work of local leaders resulted in specific areas with vibrant spiritual renewal, but people in Lutheran areas overall continued to become increasingly distant from church life.[40] By 1969, Manfried Kober complained that "unbelief is rampant" even within German Lutheran parishes.[48]



Law and Grace, *by Lucas Cranach. The left side shows humans' condemnation under God's law, while the right side presents God's grace in Christ.*

2.3.3 Doctrine

Bible



Luther's translation of the Bible, from 1534

Moses and Elijah point the sinner looking for God's salvation to the cross to find it.

Traditionally, Lutherans hold the Bible of the Old and New Testaments to be the only divinely inspired book, the only source of divinely revealed knowledge, and the only norm for Christian teaching.[49] Scripture alone is the formal principle of the faith, the final authority for all matters of faith and morals because of its inspiration, authority, clarity, efficacy, and sufficiency.[50]

The authority of the Scriptures has been challenged during the history of Lutheranism. Martin Luther taught that the Bible was the written Word of God, and the only reliable guide for faith and practice. He held that every passage of Scripture has one straightforward meaning, the literal sense as interpreted by other Scripture.[51] These teachings were accepted during the orthodox Lutheranism of the 17th century.[52] During the 18th century, Rationalism advocated reason rather than the authority of the Bible as the final source of knowledge, but most of the laity did not accept this Rationalist position.[53] In the 19th century, a confessional revival re-emphasized the authority of the Bible and agreement with the Lutheran Confessions.

Today, Lutherans disagree about the inspiration and authority of the Bible. Theological conservatives use the historical-grammatical method of Biblical interpretation, while theological liberals use the higher critical method. The 2008 U.S. Religious Landscape Survey conducted by the Pew Research Center surveyed 1,926 adults in the United States that self-identified as Lutheran. The study found that 30% believed that the Bible was the Word of God and was to be taken literally word for word. 40% held that the Bible was the Word of God, but was not literally true word for word or were unsure if it was literally true word for word. 23% said the Bible was written by men and not the Word of God. 7% did not know, were not sure, or had other positions.[54]

Inspiration Although many Lutherans today hold less specific views of inspiration, historically, Lutherans affirm that the Bible does not merely contain the Word of God, but every word of it is, because of plenary, verbal inspiration, the direct, immediate word of God.[55] The *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* identifies Holy Scripture with the Word of God[56] and calls the Holy

Spirit the author of the Bible.[57] Because of this, Lutherans confess in the *Formula of Concord*, "we receive and embrace with our whole heart the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the pure, clear fountain of Israel."[58] The apocryphal books were not written by the prophets nor by inspiration; they contain errors[59]and were never included in the Judean Canon that Jesus used;[60] therefore they are not a part of Holy Scripture.[61] The prophetic and apostolic Scriptures are authentic as written by the prophets and apostles. A correct translation of their writings is God's Word because it has the same meaning as the original Hebrew and Greek.[61] A mistranslation is not God's word, and no human authority can invest it with divine authority.[61]

Divine authority Historically, Lutherans maintain that Holy Scripture, the Word of God, carries the full authority of God. For conservative confessional Lutherans, every single statement of the Bible calls for instant and unqualified acceptance. For confessional Lutherans who are more aligned with mainline Protestantism, a basic claim is made that the canonical Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are the inspired Word of God and the authoritative source and norm of its proclamation, faith, and life. This allows for historical-critical methods for interpretation.

Clarity Historically, Lutherans understand the Bible to present all doctrines and commands of the Christian faith clearly.[62] God's Word is freely accessible to every reader or hearer of ordinary intelligence, without requiring any special education.[63] Of course, one must understand the language God's Word is presented in, and not be so preoccupied by contrary thoughts so as to prevent understanding.[64] As a result of this, no one needs to wait for any clergy, pope, scholar, or ecumenical council to explain the real meaning of any part of the Bible.[65]

Efficacy Lutherans confess that Scripture is united with the power of the Holy Spirit and with it, not only demands, but also creates the acceptance of its teaching.[66] This teaching produces faith and obedience. Holy Scripture is not a dead letter, but rather, the power of the Holy Spirit is inherent in it.[67] Scripture does not compel a mere intellectual assent to its doctrine, resting on logical argumentation, but rather it creates the living agreement of faith.[68] As the Smalcald Articles affirm, "in those things which concern the spoken, outward Word, we must firmly hold that God grants His Spirit or grace to no one, except through or with the preceding outward Word."[69]

Sufficiency Lutherans are confident that the Bible contains everything that one needs to know in order to obtain salvation and to live a Christian life.[70] There are no deficiencies in Scripture that need to be filled with by tradition, pronouncements of the Pope, new revelations, or present-day development of doctrine.[71]

Law and Gospel Lutherans understand the Bible as containing two distinct types of content, termed Law and Gospel (or Law and Promises).[72] Properly distinguishing between Law and Gospel prevents the obscuring of the Gospel teaching of justification by grace through faith alone.[73]

Lutheran confessions

CONCORDIA.

Christliche,

Widerholete/einmütige Bekenntnüs

Aus einhelliger vergleichung vnd

Erstlich. M. D. LXXX.

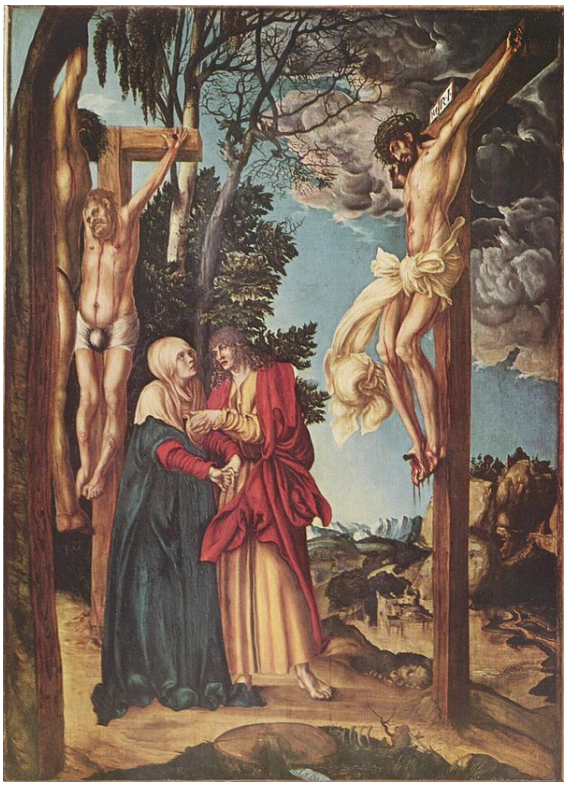
Title Page from the 1580 Dresden Book of Concord

The *Book of Concord*, published in 1580, contains ten documents which some Lutherans believe are faithful and authoritative explanations of Holy Scripture. Besides the three Ecumenical Creeds, which date to Roman times, the *Book of Concord* contains seven credal documents articulating Lutheran theology in the Reformation era.

The doctrinal positions of Lutheran churches are not uniform because the *Book of Concord* does not hold the same position in all Lutheran churches. For example, the state churches in Scandinavia consider only the *Augsburg Confession* as a "summary of the faith" in addition to the three ecumenical Creeds.[74] Lutheran pastors, congregations, and church bodies in Germany and the Americas usually agree to teach in harmony with the entire Lutheran Confessions. Some Lutheran church bodies require this

pledge to be unconditional because they believe the confessions correctly state what the Bible teaches. Others allow their congregations to do so "insofar as" the Confessions are in agreement with the Bible.

Justification



Lutherans believe that whoever has faith in Jesus alone will receive salvation from the grace of God and will enter eternity in heaven instead of eternity in hell after death or at the second coming of Jesus.

The key doctrine, or material principle, of Lutheranism is the doctrine of justification. Lutherans believe that humans are saved from their sins by God's grace alone (*Sola Gratia*), through faith alone (*Sola Fide*), on the basis of Scripture alone (*Sola Scriptura*). Orthodox Lutheran theology holds that God made the world, including humanity, perfect, holy and sinless. However, Adam and Eve chose to disobey God, trusting in their own strength, knowledge, and wisdom.[75][76] Consequently, people are saddled with original sin, born sinful and unable to avoid committing sinful acts.[77] For Lutherans, original sin is the "chief sin, a root and fountainhead of all actual sins."[78]

Lutherans teach that sinners, while capable of doing works that are outwardly "good", are not capable of doing works that satisfy God's justice.[79] Every human thought and deed is infected with sin and sinful motives.[80] Because of this, all humanity deserves eternal damnation in hell.[81] God in eternity has turned His Fatherly heart to this world and planned for its redemption because he loves all people and does not want anyone to be eternally damned.[82]

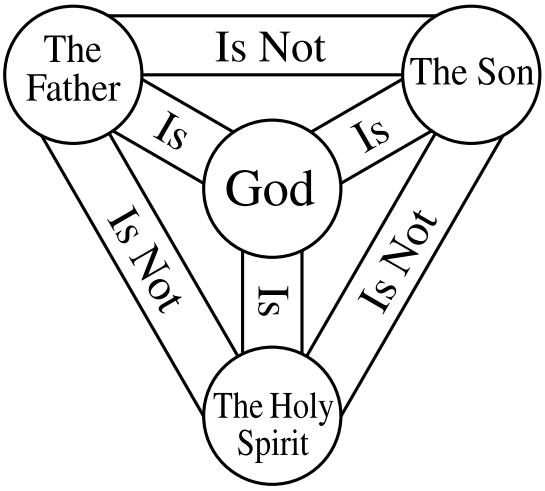
To this end, "God sent his Son Jesus Christ, our Lord, into the world to redeem and deliver us from the power of the devil, and to bring us to Himself, and to govern us as a King of righteousness, life, and salvation against sin, death, and an evil conscience," as the Large Catechism explains.[83] Because of this, Lutherans teach that salvation is possible only because of the grace of God made manifest in the birth, life, suffering, death, and resurrection, and continuing presence by the power of the Holy Spirit, of Jesus Christ.[84] By God's grace, made known and effective in the person and work of Jesus Christ, a person is forgiven, adopted as a child and heir of God, and given eternal salvation.[85] Christ, because he was entirely obedient to the law with respect to both his human and divine natures, "is a perfect satisfaction and reconciliation of the human race," as the Formula of Concord asserts, and proceeds to summarize:[86]

> [Christ] submitted to the law for us, bore our sin, and in going to his Father performed complete and perfect obedience for us poor sinners, from his holy birth to his death. Thereby he covered all our disobedience, which is embedded in our nature and in its thoughts, words, and deeds, so that this disobedience is not reckoned to us as condemnation but is pardoned and forgiven by sheer grace, because of Christ alone.

Lutherans believe that individuals receive this gift of salvation through faith alone.[87] Saving faith is the knowledge of,[88] acceptance of,[89] and trust[90] in the promise of the Gospel.[91] Even faith itself is seen as a gift of God, created in the hearts of Christians[92] by the work of the Holy Spirit through the Word[93] and Baptism.[94] Faith receives the gift of salvation rather than causes salvation.[95] Thus, Lutherans reject the "decision theology" which is common among modern evangelicals.

Trinity

Lutherans are Trinitarian. Lutherans reject the idea that the Father and the Son are merely faces of the same person, stating that both the Old Testament and the New Testament show them to be two distinct persons.[96] Lutherans believe the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son.[97] "We worship one God in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity; Neither confounding the Persons, nor dividing the Substance. For there is one Person of the Father, another of the Son, and another of the Holy Ghost. But the Godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost is all one: the glory equal, the majesty coeternal."[98]



Lutherans believe in the Trinity

A.C. Article IX: Of Confession[109]

Two natures of Christ

Main article: Scholastic Lutheran Christology

Lutherans believe Jesus is the Christ, the savior promised in the Old Testament. They believe he is both by nature God and by nature man in one person, as they confess in Luther's *Small Catechism* that he is "true God begotten of the Father from eternity and also true man born of the Virgin Mary".[99]

The *Augsburg Confession* explains:[100]

> [T]he Son of God, did assume the human nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin Mary, so that there are two natures, the divine and the human, inseparably enjoined in one Person, one Christ, true God and true man, who was born of the Virgin Mary, truly suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, that He might reconcile the Father unto us, and be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

Sacraments

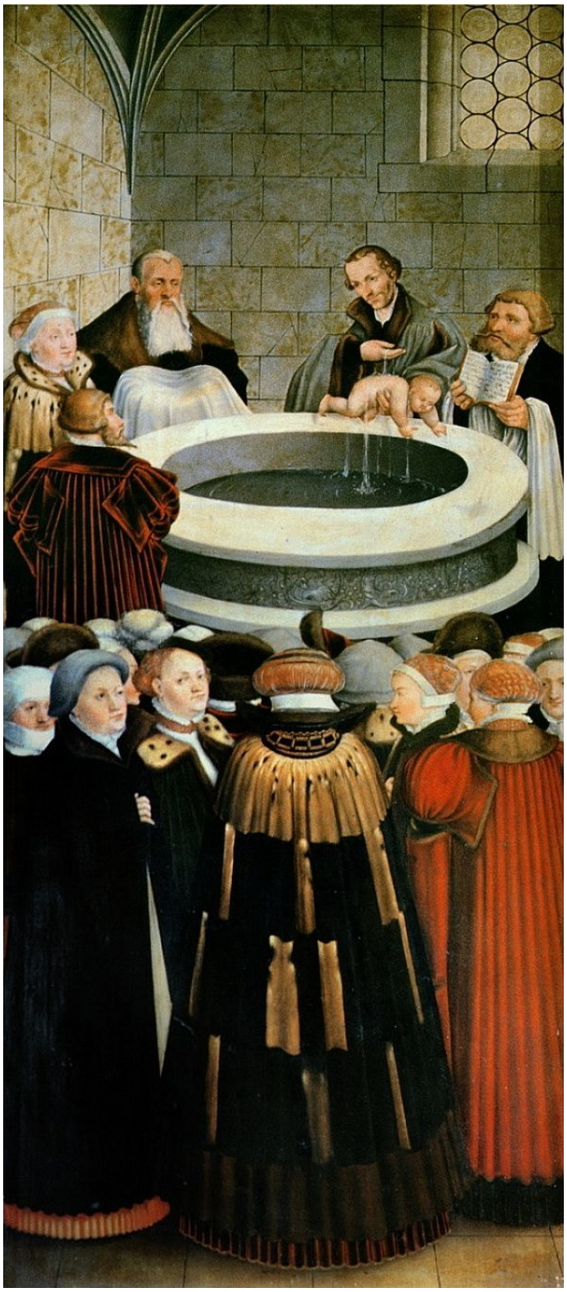
Main article: Lutheran sacraments

Lutherans hold that sacraments are sacred acts of divine institution.[101] Whenever they are properly administered by the use of the physical component commanded by God[102] along with the divine words of institution,[103] God is, in a way specific to each sacrament, present with the Word and physical component.[104] He earnestly offers to all who receive the sacrament[105] forgiveness of sins[106] and eternal salvation.[107] He also works in the recipients to get them to accept these blessings and to increase the assurance of their possession.[108]

Lutherans are not dogmatic about the number of the sacraments.[110] In line with Luther's initial statement in his Large Catechism some speak of only two sacraments,[111] Baptism and Holy Communion, although later in the same work he calls Confession and Absolution[112] "the third sacrament."[113] The definition of sacrament in the *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* lists Absolution as one of them.[114] Since Absolution is a return to the forgiveness given in baptism, strictly speaking there are only two sacraments. Private Confession is not practiced among Lutherans as often as in the Catholic Church. Rather, it is expected before receiving the Eucharist for the first time.[115] Some churches also allow for individual absolution on Saturdays before the Eucharistic service. A general confession and absolution (known as the Penitential Rite) is proclaimed in the Eucharistic liturgy. Lutherans do not emphasize "penance" as a retribution of sin but rather the proclamation of God's forgiveness by the "called and ordained" minister of the Holy Gospel.

Baptism Lutherans hold that Baptism is a saving work of God,[116] mandated and instituted by Jesus Christ.[117] Baptism is a "means of grace" through which God creates and strengthens "saving faith" as the "washing of regeneration"[118] in which infants and adults are reborn.[119] Since the creation of faith is exclusively God's work, it does not depend on the actions of the one baptized, whether infant or adult. Even though baptized infants cannot articulate that faith, Lutherans believe that it is present all the same.[120]

Because it is faith alone that receives these divine gifts, Lutherans confess that baptism "works forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil, and gives eternal salvation to all who believe this, as the words and promises of God declare."[121] Holding fast to the Scrip-



German reformer Philipp Melanchthon baptizing an infant

ture cited in 1 Peter 3:21 "Baptism, which corresponds to this, now saves you, not as a removal of dirt from the body but as an appeal to God for a good conscience, through the resurrection of Jesus Christ." Therefore, Lutherans administer Baptism to both infants[122] and adults.[123] In the special section on infant baptism in his Large Catechism, Luther argues that infant baptism is God-pleasing because persons so baptized were reborn and sanctified by the Holy Spirit.[124][125]

Eucharist Main article: Eucharist in the Lutheran Church

Lutherans hold that within the Eucharist, also referred to as the Sacrament of the Altar, the Mass, or the Lord's

Luther communing John the Steadfast.

Supper, the true body and blood of Christ are truly present "in, with, and under the forms" of the consecrated bread and wine for all those who eat and drink it,[126] a doctrine that the *Formula of Concord* calls the sacramental union.[127]

Conversion

A.C. Article XII: Of Repentance.

In Lutheranism, conversion or regeneration in the strict sense of the term is the work of divine grace and power by which man, born of the flesh, and void of all power to think, to will, or to do any good thing, and dead in sin is, through the gospel and holy baptism, taken from a state of sin and spiritual death under God's wrath into a state of spiritual life of faith and grace, rendered able to will and to do what is spiritually good and, especially, made to

trust in the benefits of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus.[128]

During conversion, one is moved from impenitence to repentance. The *Augsburg Confession* divides repentance into two parts: "One is contrition, that is, terrors smiting the conscience through the knowledge of sin; the other is faith, which is born of the Gospel, or of absolution, and believes that for Christ's sake, sins are forgiven, comforts the conscience, and delivers it from terrors."[129]

Predestination

A.C. Article 18: Of Free Will[130]

Lutherans adhere to divine monergism, the teaching that salvation is by God's act alone, and therefore reject the idea that humans in their fallen state have a free will concerning spiritual matters.[131] Lutherans believe that although humans have free will concerning civil righteousness, they cannot work spiritual righteousness in the heart without the presence and aid of the Holy Spirit.[132][133] Lutherans believe Christians are "saved";[134] that all who trust in Christ alone and his promises can be certain of their salvation.[135]

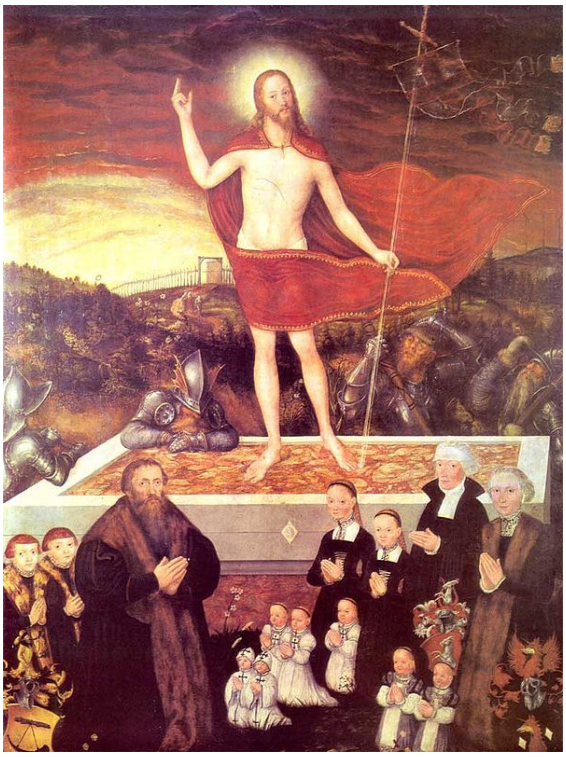
According to Lutheranism, the central final hope of the Christian is "the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting" as confessed in the *Apostles' Creed* rather than predestination. Lutherans disagree with those who make predestination—rather than Christ's suffering, death, and resurrection—the source of salvation. Unlike some Calvinists, Lutherans do not believe in a predestination to damnation,[136] usually referencing "God our Savior, who desires all people to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the truth"[137] as contrary evidence to such a claim. Instead, Lutherans teach eternal damnation is a result of the unbeliever's sins, rejection of the forgiveness of sins, and unbelief.[138]

Divine providence

According to Lutherans, God preserves his creation, cooperates with everything that happens, and guides the universe.[139] While God cooperates with both good and evil deeds, with evil deeds he does so only inasmuch as they are deeds, but not with the evil in them. God concurs with an act's effect, but he does not cooperate in the corruption of an act or the evil of its effect.[140] Lutherans believe everything exists for the sake of the Christian Church, and that God guides everything for its welfare and growth.[141]

The explanation of the Apostles' Creed given in the *Small Catechism* declares that everything good that people have is given and preserved by God, either directly or through other people or things.[142] Of the services others provide us through family, government, and work, "we receive these blessings not from them, but, through them, from God."[143] Since God uses everyone's useful tasks for good, people should not look down upon some useful vocations as being less worthy than others. Instead people should honor others, no matter how lowly, as being the means God uses to work in the world.[143]

Good works



*"Even though I am a sinner and deserving of death and hell, this shall nonetheless be my consolation and my victory that my Lord Jesus lives and has risen so that He, in the end, might rescue me from sin, death, and hell."—**Luther***[144]

Lutherans believe that good works are the fruit of faith,[145] always and in every instance.[146] Good works

have their origin in God,[147] not in the fallen human heart or in human striving;[148] their absence would demonstrate that faith, too, is absent.[149] Lutherans do not believe that good works are a factor in obtaining salvation; they believe that we are saved by the grace of God—based on the merit of Christ in his suffering and death—and faith in the Triune God. Good works are the natural result of faith, not the cause of salvation. Although Christians are no longer compelled to keep God's law, they freely and willingly serve God and their neighbors.[150]

Judgment and eternal life

Lutherans do not believe in any sort of earthly millennial kingdom of Christ either before or after his second coming on the last day.[151] Lutherans teach that, at death, the souls of Christians are immediately taken into the presence of Jesus,[152] where they await the second coming of Jesus on the last day.[153] On the last day,[154] all the bodies of the dead will be resurrected.[155]

Their souls will then be reunited with the same bodies they had before dying.[156] The bodies will then be changed, those of the wicked to a state of everlasting shame and torment,[157] those of the righteous to an everlasting state of celestial glory.[158] After the resurrection of all the dead,[159] and the change of those still living,[160] all nations shall be gathered before Christ,[161] and he will separate the righteous from the wicked.[162]

Christ will publicly judge[163] all people by the testimony of their deeds,[164] the good works[165] of the righteous in evidence of their faith,[166] and the evil works of the wicked in evidence of their unbelief.[167] He will judge in righteousness[168] in the presence of all people and angels,[169] and his final judgment will be just damnation to everlasting punishment for the wicked and a gracious gift of life everlasting to the righteous.[170]

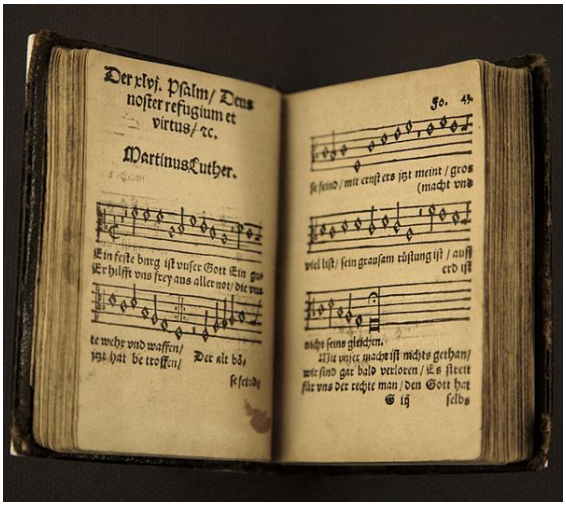
Comparison among Protestants

Protestant beliefs about salvation vary.[171] This table summarizes the classical views of three Protestant beliefs about salvation.[172]

2.3.4 Practices

Liturgy

Lutherans place great emphasis on a liturgical approach to worship services;[200] although there are substantial non-liturgical minorities, for example, the Haugean Lutherans from Norway. Martin Luther was a great fan of music, and this is why it forms a large part of Lutheran services; in particular, Luther admired the composers Josquin des



Luther composed hymns and hymn tunes, including "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God".

Prez and Ludwig Senfl and wanted singing in the church to move away from the *ars perfecta* (Catholic Sacred Music of the late Renaissance) and towards singing as a *Gemeinschaft* (community).[201] Lutheran hymns are sometimes known as chorales. Lutheran hymnody is well known for its doctrinal, didactic, and musical richness. Most Lutheran churches are active musically with choirs, handbell choirs, children's choirs, and occasionally carillon groups that ring bells in a bell tower. Johann Sebastian Bach, a devout Lutheran, composed music for the Lutheran church.

Lutherans also preserve a liturgical approach to the celebration of the Mass (or the Holy Eucharist/Communion), emphasizing the sacrament as the central act of Christian worship. Lutherans believe that the actual body and blood of Jesus Christ are present in, with and under the bread and the wine. This belief is called Real Presence or sacramental union and is different from consubstantiation and transubstantiation. Additionally Lutherans reject the idea that communion is a mere symbol or memorial. They confess in the *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*:

> "...we do not abolish the Mass but religiously keep and defend it. Among us the Mass is celebrated every Lord's Day and on other festivals, when the Sacrament is made available to those who wish to partake of it, after they have been examined and absolved. We also keep traditional liturgical forms, such as the order of readings, prayers, vestments, and other similar things." (*Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, Article XXIV.1)

Besides the Holy Communion (Divine Service), congre-

gations also hold offices, which are worship services without communion. They may include Matins, Vespers, Compline, and Easter Vigil. Private or family offices include the Morning and Evening Prayers from Luther's *Small Catechism*.[202] Meals are blessed with the *Common Table Prayer*, Psalm 145:15–16, or other prayers, and after eating the Lord is thanked, for example, with Psalm 136:1.[202] In addition, Lutherans use devotional books, from small daily devotionals, for example, *Portals of Prayer*, to large breviaries, including the *Breviarium Lipsiensae* and *Treasury of Daily Prayer*.

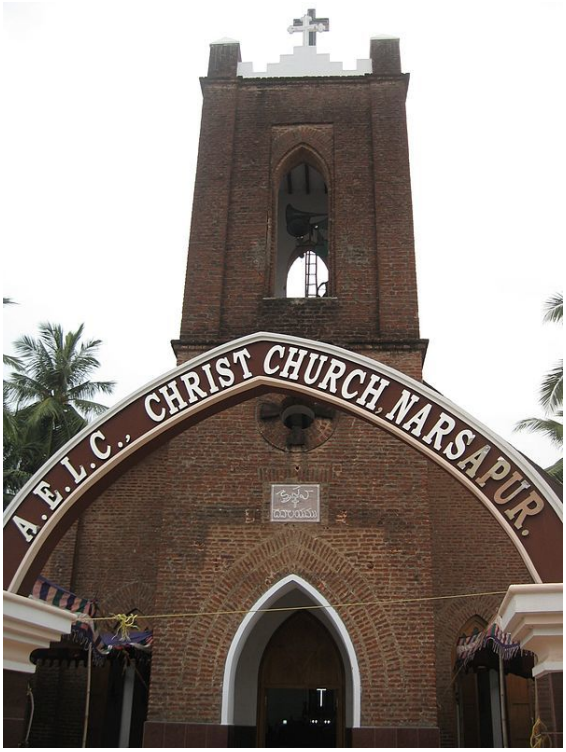
In the 1970s, many Lutheran churches began holding contemporary worship services for the purpose of evangelistic outreach. These services were in a variety of styles, depending on the preferences of the congregation. Often they were held alongside a traditional service in order to cater to those who preferred contemporary worship music. Today, few but some Lutheran congregations have contemporary worship as their sole form of worship. Outreach is no longer given as the primary motivation; rather this form of worship is seen as more in keeping with the desires of individual congregations.[203] In Finland, Lutherans have experimented with the St Thomas Mass or Metal Mass in which traditional hymns are adapted to heavy metal. The Lutheran World Federation, in its Nairobi Statement on Worship and Culture, recommended every effort be made to bring church services into a more sensitive position with regard to cultural context.[204]

In 2006, both the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod, in cooperation with certain foreign English speaking church bodies within their respective fellowships, released new hymnals: Evangelical Lutheran Worship (ELCA) and Lutheran Service Book (LCMS). Along with these, the most widely used among English speaking congregations include: *Evangelical Lutheran Hymnary* (1996, ELS), *The Lutheran Book of Worship* (1978, LC-USA), *Lutheran Worship* (1982, LCMS), *Christian Worship* (1993, WELS), and *The Lutheran Hymnal* (1941, Synodical Conference). In the Lutheran Church of Australia, the official hymnal is the *Lutheran Hymnal with Supplement* of 1986, which includes a supplement to the *Lutheran Hymnal* of 1973, itself a replacement for the *Australian Lutheran Hymn Book* of 1921. Prior to this time, the two Lutheran church bodies in Australia (which merged in 1966) used a bewildering variety of hymnals, usually in the German language.

Spanish-speaking ELCA churches frequently use Libro de Liturgia y Cántico (1998, Augsburg Fortress) for services and hymns.

Missions

Sizable Lutheran missions arose for the first time during the 19th century. Early missionary attempts during the



Christ Lutheran Church, Narsapur in India

century after the Reformation did not succeed. However, European traders brought Lutheranism to Africa beginning in the 17th century as they settled along the coasts. During the first half of the 19th century, missionary activity in Africa expanded, including preaching by missionaries, translation of the Bible, and education.[205]

Lutheranism came to India beginning with the work of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, where a community totaling several thousand developed, complete with their own translation of the Bible, catechism, their own hymnal, and system of Lutheran schools. In the 1840s, this church experienced a revival through the work of the Leipzig Mission, including Karl Graul.[206] After German missionaries were expelled in 1914, Lutherans in India became entirely autonomous, yet preserved their Lutheran character. In recent years India has relaxed its anti-religious conversion laws, allowing a resurgence in missionary work.

In Latin America, missions began to serve European immigrants of Lutheran background, both those who spoke German and those who no longer did. These churches in turn began to evangelize those in their areas who were not of European background, including indigenous peoples.[207]

In 1892, the first Lutheran missionaries reached Japan. Although work began slowly and a major setback occurred during the hardships of WWII.[208] Lutheranism there has survived and become self-sustaining.[209] After missionaries to China, including those of the Lutheran Church of China, were expelled, they began ministry in

Taiwan and Hong Kong, the latter which became a center of Lutheranism in Asia.[209]

The Lutheran Mission in New Guinea, though founded only in 1953, became the largest Lutheran mission in the world in only several decades. Through the work of native lay evangelists, many tribes of diverse languages were reached with the Gospel.[209]

Education

Winnebago Lutheran Academy, a Lutheran high school of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS)

Catechism is considered foundational in most Lutheran churches. Almost all maintain Sunday Schools, and some host or maintain Lutheran schools, at the preschool, elementary, middle, high school, folk high school, or university level. Lifelong study of the catechism is intended for all ages so that the abuses of the pre-Reformation Church will not recur.[210] Lutheran schools have always been a core aspect of Lutheran mission work, starting with Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Heinrich Putschasu, who began work in India in year 1706.[211]

Pastors almost always have substantial theological educations, including Greek and Hebrew so that they can refer to the Christian scriptures in the original language. Pastors usually teach in the common language of the local congregation. In the U.S., some congregations and synods historically taught in German, Danish, Finnish, Norwegian, or Swedish, but retention of immigrant languages has been in significant decline since the early and middle 20th century.

Church fellowship

Lutherans were divided about the issue of church fellowship for the first thirty years after Luther's death. Philipp Melanchthon and his Philippist party felt that Christians of different beliefs should join in union with each other without completely agreeing on doctrine. Against them stood the Gnesio-Lutherans, led by Matthias Flacius and the faculty at Jena. They condemned the Philippist position for indifferentism, describing it as a "unionistic compromise" of precious Reformation theology. Instead, they held that genuine unity between Christians and real theological peace was only possible with an honest agreement about every subject of doctrinal controversy.[212]

Hallowed be Thy Name *by Cranach illustrates a Lutheran pastor preaching Christ crucified.*

Complete agreement finally came about in 1577, after the death of both Melanchthon and Flacius, when a new generation of theologians resolved the doctrinal controversies on the basis of Scripture in the *Formula of Concord* of 1577.[213] Although they decried the visible division of Christians on earth, orthodox Lutherans avoided ecumenical fellowship with other churches, believing that Christians should not, for example, join together for the Lord's Supper or exchange pastors if they do not completely agree about what the Bible teaches. In the 17th century, Georgius Calixtus began a rebellion against this practice, sparking the Syncretistic Controversy with Abraham Calovius as his main opponent.[214]

In the 18th century, there was some ecumenical interest between the Church of Sweden and the Church of England. John Robinson, Bishop of London, planned for a union of the English and Swedish churches in 1718. The plan failed because most Swedish bishops rejected the Calvinism of the Church of England, although Swedberg and Gezelius, bishops of Skara, Sweden and Turku, Finland, were in favor.[215] With the encouragement of Swedberg, church fellowship was established between Swedish Lutherans and Anglicans in the Middle Colonies. Over the course of the 1700s and the early 1800s, Swedish Lutherans were absorbed into Anglican churches, with the last original Swedish congre-

gation completing merger into the Episcopal Church in 1846.[216]

In the 19th century, Samuel Simon Schmucker attempted to lead the Evangelical Lutheran General Synod of the United States toward unification with other American Protestants. His attempt to get the synod to reject the *Augsburg Confession* in favor of his compromising *Definite Platform* failed. Instead, it sparked a Neo-Lutheran revival, prompting many to form the General Council, including Charles Porterfield Krauth. Their alternative approach was "Lutheran pulpits are for Lutheran ministers only, and Lutheran altars are for Lutheran communicants only."

Stormtroopers holding German Christians propaganda during the Church Council elections on 23 July 1933 at St. Mary's Church, Berlin. These elections resulted in the merger of the German state churches.

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Beginning in 1867, confessional and liberal minded Lutherans in Germany joined together to form the *Common Evangelical Lutheran Conference* against the ever looming prospect of a state-mandated union with the Reformed.[217] However, they failed to reach a consensus among themselves on how much agreement in doctrine is necessary for church union.[40] Eventually, the fascist German Christians movement pushed the final national merger of Lutheran, Union, and Reformed church bodies into a single Reich Church in 1933, doing away with the previous umbrella German Evangelical Church Confederation (DEK), refounded in 1945 as the new umbrella Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD). In 1948 the Lutheran church bodies within EKD founded their denominational umbrella, despite being named church, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Germany.

Presently, Lutherans are divided over how to interact with other Christian denominations. Some Lutherans assert that everyone must share the "whole counsel of God" (Acts 20:27) in complete unity (1 Cor. 1:10)[218] before pastors can share each other's pulpits, and before communicants commune at each other's altars, a practice termed closed (or close) communion. On the other hand, other Lutherans practice varying degrees of open communion and allow preachers from other Christian denominations in their pulpits.

While not an issue in the majority of Lutheran church bodies, some of them forbid membership in Freemasonry. Partly, this is because the lodge is viewed as spreading Unitarianism, as the Brief Statement of the LCMS reads, "Hence we warn against Unitarianism, which in our country has to a great extent impenetrated the sects and is being spread particularly also through the influence of the lodges."[219] A 1958 report from the publishing house of the Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod states that, "Masonry is guilty of idolatry. Its worship and prayers are idol worship. The Masons may not with their hands have made an idol out of gold, silver, wood or stone, but they created one with their own mind and reason out of purely human thoughts and ideas. The latter is an idol no less than the former."[220]

LCMS pastor wearing a chasuble during communion

The largest organizations of Lutheran churches around the world are the Lutheran World Federation, the International Lutheran Council, and the Confessional Evangelical Lutheran Conference. These organizations together include the great majority of Lutheran denominations around the globe. The Lutheran World Federation supports the activities of Lutheran World Relief, a relief and development agency active in more than 50 countries. The LCMS and the LCC are members of the International Lutheran Council (ILC). The WELS and ELS are members of the Confessional Evangelical Lutheran Conference. Many Lutheran churches are not affiliated with the LWF, the ILC or the CELC: The congregations of the Church of the Lutheran Confession (CLC) are affiliated with their mission organizations in Canada, India, Nepal, Myanmar, and many African nations; and those affiliated with the Church of the Lutheran Brethren, are especially active doing mission work in Africa and East

Asia.

The Lutheran World Federation (LWF)-aligned churches do not believe that one church is singularly true in its teachings. According to this belief, Lutheranism is a reform movement rather than a movement into doctrinal correctness. For that reason, a number of doctrinally diverse LWF denominations, now largely separated from state control, are declaring fellowship and joint statements of agreement with other Lutheran and non-Lutheran Christian denominations.

The Lutheran World Federation and the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod engaged in a series of official dialogues with the Catholic Church since shortly after the Second Vatican Council. In 1999 the LWF and the Catholic Church jointly issued a statement, the *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification* (*JDDJ*), that stated that the LWF and the Catholic both agreed about certain basics of Justification and lifted certain Catholic anathemas formerly applying to the LWF member churches. The LCMS has participated in most of these talks, though not the one which produced the *Joint Declaration* and to which they were not invited. While some Lutheran theologians saw the *Joint Declaration* as a sign that the Catholics were essentially adopting the Lutheran position, other Lutheran theologians disagreed, claiming that, considering the public documentation of the Catholic position, this assertion does not hold up.

By contrast, the Confessional Evangelical Lutheran Conference and International Lutheran Council as well as some unaffiliated denominations such as the Church of the Lutheran Confession (CLC) maintain that the orthodox confessional Lutheran churches are the only churches with completely correct doctrine. They teach that while other Christian churches teach partially orthodox doctrine and have true Christians as members, the doctrines of those churches contain significant errors. More conservative Lutherans strive to maintain historical distinctiveness while emphasizing doctrinal purity alongside Gospel-motivated outreach. They claim that LWF Lutherans are practicing *"fake ecumenism"* by desiring church fellowship outside of actual unity of teaching.[221]

Although not an "ecumenical" movement in the formal sense, in the 1990s influences from the megachurches of American evangelicalism have become somewhat common. Many of the largest Lutheran congregations in the United States have been heavily influenced by these "progressive Evangelicals." These influences are sharply criticized by some Lutherans as being foreign to orthodox Lutheran beliefs.[222]

The Porvoo Communion is a communion of episcopally led Lutheran and Anglican churches in Europe. Beside its membership in the Porvoo Communion, Church of Sweden also has declared full communion with the Philippine Independent Church and the United Methodist Church. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) has been involved in ecumenical dialogues with several denominations. Recently, the ELCA has declared full communion with several American Churches: the Moravian Church, the Episcopal Church, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the Reformed Church in America, the United Methodist Church, and the United Church of Christ.

2.3.5 Throughout the world

Main article: Lutheranism by region

Today, millions belong to Lutheran churches, which are present on all populated continents.[223] The Lutheran World Federation estimates the total membership of its churches at approximately 72.3 million.[224] This figure undercounts Lutherans worldwide as not all Lutheran churches belong to this organization. In recent years, Lutheranism saw a slight increase in its fellowship, which continues to the present.[225][226][227][228][229] Lutheran churches in North America, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean regions are experiencing decreases and no growth in membership, while those in Africa and Asia continue to grow. Lutheranism is the largest religious group in Denmark, the Faroe Islands, Greenland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Latvia, Namibia, and North Dakota. Lutheranism is also the dominant form of Christianity in the White Mountain and San Carlos Apache nations. In addition, Lutheranism is a main Protestant denomination in Germany (behind United Protestant churches; Protestants form about 31.7% of the country's total population),[230] Estonia, Poland, Austria, Slovakia, Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Papua New Guinea, North Sumatra, and Tanzania.[231]

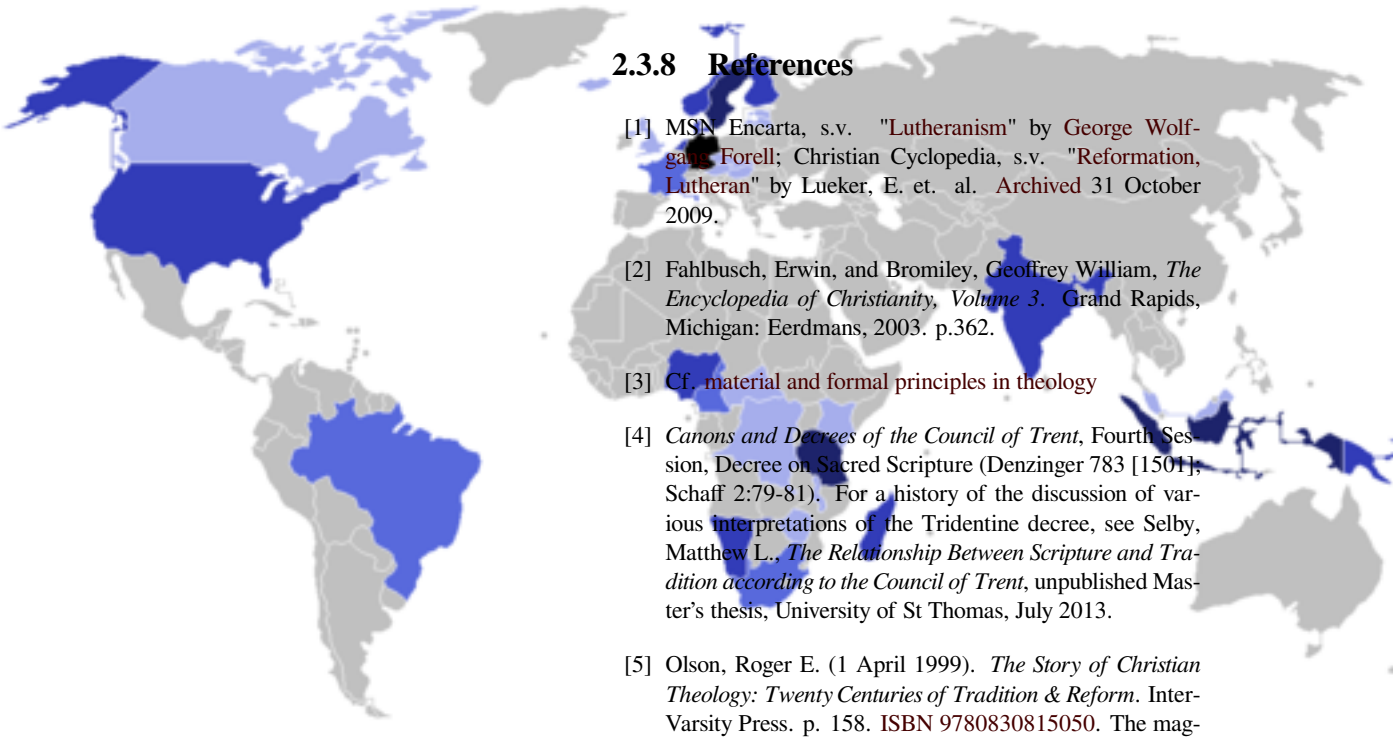
The Arctic Cathedral is often used as a symbol of Norwegian Christianity.

Although Namibia is the only country outside Europe to have a Lutheran majority, there are sizable Lutheran bodies in other African countries. In the following African countries, the total number of Lutherans exceeds 100,000: Nigeria, Central African Republic, Chad, Kenya, Malawi, Congo, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Zimbabwe, and Madagascar. In addition, the following nations also have sizable Lutheran populations: Canada, France, the Czech Republic, Poland, Hungary, Slovakia, Brazil,

Malaysia, India, Indonesia, the Netherlands (within the Protestant Church of the Netherlands), South Africa, the United Kingdom, and the United States, especially in the heavily German and Scandinavian Upper Midwest.[232][233]

Lutheranism is also a state religion in Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Greenland, and the Faroe Islands. Finland has its Lutheran church established as a national church. Similarly, Sweden also has its national church, which was a state church until 2000.[234]

This map shows the global distribution of Lutheranism based on The LWF 2013 membership data.[235][lower-alpha 2]



World Federation membership by country in 2013.

More than 10 million More than 5 million More than 1 million More than 500 thousand More than 100 thousand

2.3.6 Lutheran bodies

- List of Lutheran denominations
- Lutheran church bodies in North America
- List of Lutheran clergy
- List of Lutheran colleges and universities
- List of Lutheran dioceses and archdioceses
- List of Lutheran schools in Australia
- Beta Sigma Psi National Lutheran Fraternity

2.3.7 Notes

[1] In accordance with the classification in the provided source. Though the broadly defined Reformed faith is larger, as it constitutes Congregationalist (0.5%), most of the United and uniting churches (unions of different denominations) (7.2%) and most likely some of the other Protestant denominations (38.2%) (all three are distinct categories from Presbyterian or Reformed (7%) in this report).

[2] One of the countries with a higher number of Lutherans is the United States. The LWF does not include the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod and several other Lutheran bodies which together have over 2.5 million members

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[77] Krauth, C.P.,The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology: As Represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the History and Literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church . Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott. 1875. pp. 335–455, Part IX The Specific Doctrines Of The Conservative Reformation: Original Sin.

[78] *Formula of Concord*, Original Sin.

[79] Rom. 7:18, 8:7 1 Cor. 2:14, Martin Chemnitz, Examination of the Council of Trent: Vol. I. Trans. Fred Kramer, St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1971, pp. 639–52, "The Third Question: Whether the Good Works of the Regenerate in This Life Are So Perfect that They Fully, Abundantly, and Perfectly Satisfy the Divine Law".

[80] Gen. 6:5, 8:21, Mat. 7:17, Krauth, C.P.,The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology: As Represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the History and Literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church . Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott. 1875. pp. 388–90, Part IX The Specific Doctrines Of The Conservative Reformation: Original Sin, Thesis VII The Results, Section ii Positive.

[81] Dt. 27:26,Rom. 5:12,2 Th. 1:9 Rom. 6:23, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 38–41, Part VIII. "Sin"

[82] 1 Tim. 2:4, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 43–44, Part X. "Saving Grace", paragraph 55.

[83] *Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Ev. Lutheran Church*. St. Louis: Concordia, 1921. Large Catechism, The Lord's Prayer, The Second Petition, Par. 51.

[84] Gal. 3:13, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. p. 43, Part X. "Saving Grace", paragraph 54.

[85] Rom. 10:4, Gal. 4:4–5, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. p. 42, Part X. "Saving Grace", paragraph 52.

[86] Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord, Article III, "Concerning the Righteousness of Faith before God". par. 57–58. trans. Kolb, R., Wengert, T., and Arand, C. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2000.

[87] "Augsburg Confession - Book of Concord". Retrieved 5 March 2015.

[88] John 17:3, Luke 1:77,Galatians 4:9, Philippians 3:8, and 1 Timothy 2:4 refer to faith in terms of knowledge.

[89] John 5:46 refers to acceptance of the truth of Christ's teaching, while John 3:36 notes the rejection of his teaching.

[90] John 3:16,36, Galatians 2:16, Romans 4:20–25, 2 Timothy 1:12 speak of trust, confidence, and belief in Christ. John 3:18 notes belief in the name of Christ, and Mark 1:15 notes belief in the gospel.

[91] Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 54–5, Part XIV. "Sin"

[92] Ps. 51:10, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934, p.57 Part XV. "Conversion", paragraph 78.

[93] John 17:20, Rom. 10:17, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934, p.101 Part XXV. "The Church", paragraph 141.

[94] Titus 3:5, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934, p.87 Part XXIII. "Baptism", paragraph 118.

[95] Eph. 2:8, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934, p.57 Part XV. "Conversion", paragraph 78.

[96] Is. 63:8–9, Mueller, J.T., Christian Dogmatics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 158–160, section "The Doctrine of God", part 5. "The Holy Trinity Revealed in the Old Testament",Heb. 1:5, see Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 33–36, Part VI. "The Trinity".

[97] The Nicene Creed and the Filioque: A Lutheran Approach by Rev. David Webber for more information

[98] The quote is from the Athanasian Creed--for an older Trinitarian Creed used by Lutherans, see the *Nicene Creed:* the version in Evangelical Lutheran Worship (2006) of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America (ELCA) and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (ELCIC) is the 1988 ecumenical (ELLC) version. But the version in both "Lutheran Service Book" (2006) of the Lutheran Church Missouri Synod (LCMS) and the Lutheran Church Canada (LCC) is that of the 1662 Book of Common Prayer with modernized spelling of the words "catholic" and "apostolic", with changes in capitalization of these and other words, and with "Holy Spirit" in place of "Holy Ghost".

[99] Luther's Small Catechism, The Apostles' Creed, Second Article, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. pp. 100ff. ISBN 0-524-04891-6. Archived from the original on 12 July 2006.

[100] Augsburg confession, Article III. Retrieved 17 April 2010.

[101] Matthew 28:19, 1 Corinthians 11:23–25, Matthew 26:26–28, Mark 14:22–24, Luke 22:19–20, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 161. ISBN 0-524-04891-6.

[102] Ephesians 5:27, John 3:5, John 3:23, 1 Corinthians 10:16, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 161. ISBN 0-524-04891-6.

[103] Ephesians 5:26, 1 Corinthians 10:16, 1 Corinthians 11:24–25, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 161. ISBN 0-524-04891-6.

[104] Matthew 3:16–17, John 3:5, 1 Corinthians 11:19, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 161. ISBN 0-524-04891-6.

[105] Luke 7:30, Luke 22:19–20, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 162. ISBN 0-524-04891-6.

[106] Acts 21:16, Acts 2:38, Luke 3:3, Ephesians 5:26, 1 Peter 3:21, Galatians 3:26–27, Matthew 26:28, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 163. ISBN 0-524-04891-6.

[107] 1 Peter 3:21, Titus 3:5, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 163. ISBN 0-524-04891-6.

[108] Titus 3:5, John 3:5, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 163. ISBN 0-524-04891-6.

[109] "Private Absolution ought to be retained in the churches, although in confession an enumeration of all sins is not necessary." Article XI: Of Confession

[110] The Apology of the Augsburg Confession XIII, 2: "We believe we have the duty not to neglect any of the rites and ceremonies instituted in Scripture, whatever their number. We do not think it makes much difference if, for purposes of teaching, the enumeration varies, provided what is handed down in Scripture is preserved" (cf. Theodore G. Tappert, trans. and ed., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 211).

[111] Luther's Large Catechism IV, 1: "We have now finished the three chief parts of the common Christian doctrine. Besides these we have yet to speak of **our two Sacraments** instituted by Christ, of which also every Christian ought to have at least an ordinary, brief instruction, because without them there can be no Christian; although, alas! hitherto no instruction concerning them has been given" (emphasis added; cf. Theodore G. Tappert, trans. and ed., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 733).

[112] John 20:23, and Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 112–3, Part XXVI "The Ministry", paragraph 156.

[113] Luther's Large Catechism IV, 74–75: "And here you see that Baptism, both in its power and signification, comprehends also the **third Sacrament, which has been called repentance**, as it is really nothing else than Baptism" (emphasis added; cf. Theodore G. Tappert, trans. and ed., *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959), 751).

[114] The *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* XIII, 3, 4: "If we define the sacraments as rites, which have the command of God and to which the promise of grace has been added, it is easy to determine what the sacraments are, properly speaking. For humanly instituted rites are not sacraments, properly speaking, because human beings do not have the authority to promise grace. Therefore signs instituted without the command of God are not sure signs of grace, even though they perhaps serve to teach or admonish the common folk. Therefore, the sacraments are actually baptism, the Lord's Supper, and absolution (the sacrament of repentance)" (cf. Tappert, 211). Apology of the Augsburg Confession, Article 13, Of the Number and Use of the Sacraments

[115] *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, article 24, paragraph 1. Retrieved 16 April 2010.

[116] 1 Pet. 3:21, Mueller, J.T., Christian Dogmatics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 491–496, section "The Doctrine of Baptism", part 4. "Baptism a True Means of Grace", and Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. p. 87, Part XXIII. "Baptism", paragraph 118.

[117] Martin Luther, Small Catechism 4

[118] Titus 3:5

[119] John 3:3–7

[120] "Baptism and Its Purpose". Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod. Retrieved 24 February 2009.

[121] Luther, Martin (2009) [1529]. "The Sacrament of Holy Baptism". *Luther's Small Catechism*. ISBN 0-89279-043-1. Retrieved 24 February 2009.

[122] Mat. 19:14, Acts 2:38–39, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. p. 90, Part XXIII. "Baptism", paragraph 122.

[123] 1 Cor. 1:14, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. p. 90, Part XXIII. "Baptism", paragraph 122.

[124] Luther, Martin (2009) [1529]. "Of Infant Baptism". *Luther's Large Catechism*. ISBN 1-4264-3861-3. Retrieved 24 February 2009.Luther's Large Catechism – Holy Baptism

[125] "Augsburg Confession - Book of Concord". Retrieved 5 March 2015.

[126] 1 Cor. 10:16, 11:20, 27, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. p. 95, Part XXIV. "The Lord's Supper", paragraph 131.

[127] The Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord, Article 8, The Holy Supper

[128] Augustus Lawrence Graebner, Lutheran Cyclopedia p. 136, "Conversion"

[129] "Augsburg Confession - Book of Concord". Retrieved 5 March 2015.

[130] See Augsburg Confession, Article XVIII: Of Free Will

[131] 1 Cor. 2:14, 12:3, Rom. 8:7, Martin Chemnitz, Examination of the Council of Trent: Vol. I. Trans. Fred Kramer, St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1971, pp. 409–53, "Seventh Topic, Concerning Free Will: From the Decree of the Sixth Session of the Council of Trent".

[132] Augsburg Confession, Article 18, Of Free Will.

[133] Acts 13:48, Eph. 1:4–11, Epitome of the Formula of Concord, Article 11, Election, Mueller, J.T., Christian Dogmatics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 585–9, section "The Doctrine of Eternal Election: 1. The Definition of the Term", and Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 124–8, Part XXXI. "The Election of Grace", paragraph 176.

[134] 2 Thess. 2:13, Mueller, J.T., Christian Dogmatics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 589–593, section "The Doctrine of Eternal Election: 2. How Believers are to Consider Their Election, and Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 127–8, Part XXXI. "The Election of Grace", paragraph 180.

[135] Rom. 8:33, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 127–8, Part XXXI. "The Election of Grace", paragraph 179., Engelder, T.E.W., The Certainty of Final Salvation. *The Lutheran Witness* 2(6). English Evangelical Missouri Synod: Baltimore. 1891, pp. 41ff.

[136] 1 Tim. 2:4, 2 Pet. 3:9, Epitome of the Formula of Concord, Article 11, Election, and Engelder's Popular Symbolics, Part XXXI. The Election of Grace, pp. 124–8.

[137] 1 Timothy 2:3–4

[138] Hos. 13:9, Mueller, J.T., Christian Dogmatics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. p. 637, section "The Doctrine of the Last Things (Eschatology), part 7. "Eternal Damnation", and Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 135–6, Part XXXIX. "Eternal Death", paragraph 196.

[139] Mueller, J.T., *Christian Dogmatics*. Concordia Publishing House. 1934. pp. 189–195 and Fuerbringer, L., *Concordia Cyclopedia* Concordia Publishing House. 1927. p. 635 and Christian Cyclopedia article on Divine Providence. For further reading, see The Proof Texts of the Catechism with a Practical Commentary, section Divine Providence, p. 212, Wessel, Louis, published in Theological Quarterly, Vol. 11, 1909.

[140] Mueller, Steven P.,*Called to Believe, Teach, and Confess*. Wipf and Stock. 2005. pp. 122–123.

[141] Mueller, J.T., *Christian Dogmatics*. Concordia Publishing House: 1934. pp. 190 and Edward. W. A.,*A Short Explanation of Dr. Martin Luther's Small Catechism*. Concordia Publishing House. 1946. p. 165. and Divine Providence and Human Adversity by Markus O. Koepsell

[142] "The Small Catechism". Retrieved 5 March 2015.

[143] Luther's Large Catechism, First Commandment

[144] quoted in Scaer, David. Luther's Concept of the Resurrection Concordia Theological Quarterly 47(3) p.219

[145] John 15:5, Tit. 2:14, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 62–3, Part XV. "Conversion", paragraph 88 The New Obedience Is The Fruit Of Conversion, The Product Of Faith.

[146] 2 Cor. 9:8, Krauth, C.P.,The Conservative Reformation and Its Theology: As Represented in the Augsburg Confession, and in the History and Literature of the Evangelical Lutheran Church . Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott. 1875. pp. 313–4, Part D Confession of the Conservative Reformation: II, Secondary Confessions: Book of Concord, Formula of Concord, Part IV The Doctrinal Result, 2, Section iv, Of Good Works.

[147] Phil 2:13, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 74, Part XIX. "Preservation in Faith", paragraph 102.

[148] Rom. 7:18 Heb 11:6, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 39–40, Part VIII. "Sin", paragraph 46 "Original Sin".

[149] "Mat. 7:15-16; NIV - True and False Prophets - "Watch out - Bible Gateway". *Bible Gateway*. Retrieved 5 March 2015.

[150] Albrecht Beutel, "Luther's Life", tr. Katharina Gustavs, in The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther, ed. Donald K. McKim (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 11.

[151] "Joh 18:36; ESV - Jesus answered, "My kingdom is not of - Bible Gateway". *Bible Gateway*. Retrieved 5 March 2015.

[152] Luke 23:42–43, 2 Cor. 5:8, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 130, Part XXXIV. "The State of the Soul in the Interval Between Death and the Resurrection", paragraph 185.

[153] 1 Cor. 15:22–24, Francis Pieper, Christian Dogmatics, 505–515; Heinrich Schmid, The Doctrinal Theology of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, 624–632; John Mueller, Christian Dogmatics, 616–619

[154] John 6:40, John 6:54

[155] John 5:21, John 5:28–29, Matthew 25:32, 2 Corinthians 5:10, Acts 24:15

[156] Romans 8:11, Philippians 3:21, 2 Corinthians 5:10, Job 19:26, 1 Corinthians 15:44, 1 Corinthians 15:53, John 5:28, Revelation 20:12

[157] Daniel 12:2, Matthew 25:41–46, John 5:29

[158] Daniel 12:1–2, John 5:29, 1 Corinthians 15:52, 1 Corinthians 15:42–44, 1 Corinthians 15:49–53, Philippians 3:21, Matthew 13:43, Revelation 7:16

[159] John 6:40, John 6:44, John 11:24

[160] 1 Corinthians 15:51–52, 1 Thessalonians 4:15–17

[161] Matthew 25:32, Romans 14:10, John 5:22, Acts 17:31, Revelation 1:7

[162] Matthew 25:32, Mark 16:16

[163] 2 Corinthians 5:10, 1 Corinthians 4:5, Romans 2:5, Romans 2:16

[164] Romans 2:6, 2 Corinthians 5:10, Matthew 25:35–36, Matthew 25:42–43

[165] Isaiah 43:25, Ezekiel 18:22, 1 John 2:28

[166] Matthew 25:34–35, John 3:16–18, John 3:36, Revelation 14:13, Galatians 5:6, John 13:35

[167] Matthew 25:42, Matthew 7:17–18, John 3:18, John 3:36

[168] Romans 2:5, Acts 17:31, Romans 2:16

[169] Luke 9:26, Matthew 25:31–32

[170] Matthew 25:41, Matthew 25:34, Matthew 25:46, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. pp. 233–8. ISBN 0-524-04891-6.

[171] Table adapted from Lange, Lyle W. *God So Loved the World: A Study of Christian Doctrine* (Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2006), 448, with the addition of specific citations.

[172] Table drawn from, though not copied, from Lange, Lyle W. *God So Loved the World: A Study of Christian Doctrine*. Milwaukee: Northwestern Publishing House, 2006. p. 448.

[173] "Calvinism and Lutheranism Compared". *WELS Topical Q&A*. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Archived from the original on 7 February 2009. Retrieved 26 January 2015. Both (Lutherans and Calvinists) agree on the devastating nature of the fall and that man by nature has no power to aid in his conversions...and that election to salvation is by grace. In Lutheranism the German term for election is *Gnadenwahl*, election by grace--there is no other kind.

[174] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge, III.23.2.

[175] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge, II.3.5.

[176] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. Henry Beveridge, III.3.6.

[177] WELS Topical Q&A: WELS vs Assembly of God: "[P]eople by nature are dead in their tranbsgressions (*sic*) and sin and therefore have no ability to decide of Christ (Ephesians 2:1, 5). We do not choose Christ, rather he chose us (John 15:16) We believe that human beings are purely passive in conversion."

[178] Augsburg Confessional, Article XVIII, Of Free Will, saying: "(M)an's will has some liberty to choose civil righteousness, and to work things subject to reason. But it has no power, without the Holy Ghost, to work the righteousness of God, that is, spiritual righteousness; since the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God (1 Cor. 2:14); but this righteousness is wrought in the heart when the Holy Ghost is received through the Word."

[179] Henry Cole, trans, *Martin Luther on the Bondage of the Will* (London, T. Bensley, 1823), 66. The controversial term *liberum arbitrium* was translated "free-will" by Cole. However Ernest Gordon Rupp and Philip Saville Watson, *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation* (Westminister, 1969) chose "free choice" as their translation.

[180] Keith D. Stanglin and Thomas H. McCall, *Jacob Arminius: Theologian of Grace* (Oxford University, 2012), 157-158.

[181] *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Lutheran Church*, XI. Election. "Predestination" means "God's ordination to salvation".

[182] Roger E. Olson, *Arminian Theology: Myths and Realities* (InterVarsity Press, 2009), 63. "Arminians accepts divine election, [but] they believe it is conditional."

[183] *The Westminster Confession*, III:6, says that only the "elect" are "effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved." However in his *Calvin and the Reformed Tradition* (Baker, 2012), 45, Richard A. Muller observes that "a sizeable body of literature has interpreted Calvin as teaching "limited atonement", but "an equally sizeable body . . . [interprets] Calvin as teaching "unlimited atonement".

[184] "Justification / Salvation". *WELS Topical Q&A*. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Archived from the original on 27 September 2009. Retrieved 29 January 2015. Romans 3:23-24, 5:9, 18 are other passages that lead us to say that it is most appropriate and accurate to say that universal justification is a finished fact. God has forgiven the sins of the whole world whether people believe it or not. He has done more than "made forgiveness possible." All this is for the sake of the perfect substitutionary work of Jesus Christ.

[185] "IV. Justification by Grace through Faith". *This We Believe*. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Retrieved 5 February 2015. We believe that God has justified all sinners, that is, he has declared them righteous for the sake of Christ. This is the central message of Scripture upon which the very existence of the church depends. It is a message relevant to people of all times and places,

of all races and social levels, for "the result of one trespass was condemnation for all men" (Romans 5:18). All need forgiveness of sins before God, and Scripture proclaims that all have been justified, for "the result of one act of righteousness was justification that brings life for all men" (Romans 5:18). We believe that individuals receive this free gift of forgiveness not on the basis of their own works, but only through faith (Ephesians 2:8–9). ... On the other hand, although Jesus died for all, Scripture says that "whoever does not believe will be condemned" (Mark 16:16). Unbelievers forfeit the forgiveness won for them by Christ (John 8:24).

[186] Becker, Siegbert W. "Objective Justification" (PDF). Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary. p. 1. Retrieved 26 January 2015.

[187] "Universal Justification". *WELS Topical Q&A*. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Archived from the original on 27 September 2009. Retrieved 5 February 2015. Christ paid for all our sins. God the Father has therefore forgiven them. But to benefit from this verdict we need to hear about it and trust in it. If I deposit money in the bank for you, to benefit from it you need to hear about it and use it. Christ has paid for your sins, but to benefit from it you need to hear about it and believe in it. We need to have faith but we should not think of faith as our contribution. It is a gift of God which the Holy Spirit works in us.

[188] *Augsburg Confession*, Article V, Of Justification. People "cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but are freely justified for Christ's sake, through faith, when they believe that they are received into favor, and that their sins are forgiven for Christ's sake. ..."

[189] "Faith is a condition of justification". Keith D. Stanglin and Thomas H. McCall, *Jacob Arminius: Theologian of Grace* (Oxford University, 2012), 136.

[190] Paul ChulHong Kang, *Justification: The Imputation of Christ's Righteousness from Reformation Theology to the American Great Awakening and the Korean Revivals* (Peter Lang, 2006), 70, note 171. Calvin generally defends Augustine's "monergistic view".

[191] Diehl, Walter A. "The Age of Accountability". Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary. Retrieved 10 February 2015. In full accord with Scripture the Lutheran Confessions teach monergism. "In this manner, too, the Holy Scriptures ascribe conversion, faith in Christ, regeneration, renewal and all the belongs to their efficacious beginning and completion, not to the human powers of the natural free will, neither entirely, nor half, nor in any, even the least or most inconsiderable part, but in solidum, that is, entirely, solely, to the divine working and the Holy Ghost" (Trigl. 891, F.C., Sol. Decl., II, 25).

[192] http://www.thefreedictionary.com/Monergism

[193] "Calvinism and Lutheranism Compared". *WELS Topical Q&A*. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Archived from the original on 7 February 2009. Retrieved 9 February 2015.

[194] Roger E. Olson, *Arminian Theology: Myths and Realities* (InterVarsity Press, 2009), 18. "Arminian synergism" refers to "evangelical synergism, which affirms the prevenience of grace."

[195] *The Westminster Confession of Faith*, Ch XVII, "Of the Perseverance of the Saints".

[196] "Once saved always saved". *WELS Topical Q&A*. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Archived from the original on 27 September 2009. Retrieved 7 February 2015. People can fall from faith. The Bible warns, "If you think you are standing firm, be careful that you don't fall" (! Corinthians 10:12). Some among the Galatians had believed for a while, but had fallen into soul-destroying error. Paul warned them, "You who are trying to be justified by law have been alienated from Christ; you have fallen away from grace" (Galatians 5:4). In his explanation of the parable of the sower, Jesus says, "Those on the rock are the ones who receive the word with joy when they hear it, but they have no root. They believe for a while, but in time of testing they fall away" (Luke 8:13). According to Jesus a person can believe for a while and then fall away. While they believed they possessed eternal salvation, but when they fell from faith they lost God's gracious gift.

[197] "Perseverence of the Saints (Once Saved Always Saved)". *WELS Topical Q&A*. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Archived from the original on 27 September 2009. Retrieved 7 February 2015. We cannot contribute one speck to our salvation, but by our own arrogance or carelessness we can throw it away. Therefore, Scripture urges us repeatedly to fight the good fight of faith (Ephesians 6 and 2 Timothy 4 for example). My sins threaten and weaken my faith, but the Spirit through the gospel in word and sacraments strengthens and preserves my faith. That's why Lutherans typically speak of God's preservation of faith and not the perseverance of the saints. The key is *not our perseverance but the Spirit's preservation*.

[198] Bruce Demarest, *The Cross and Salvation: The Doctrine of Salvation* (Crossway, 1997), 437-438.

[199] "Many Arminians deny the doctrine of the *perseverance of the saints*." Bruce Demarest, *The Cross and Salvation: The Doctrine of Salvation* (Crossway, 1997), 35.

[200] McGrath, Alister, E. *Christianity: An Introduction*. 2nd ed. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, 2006. p.272.

[201] Taruskin, Richard. *The Oxford History of Western Music - Volume I (Music in the Earliest Notations to the sixteenth century)*, p. 753-8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010)

[202] See Luther's Small Catechism, Daily Prayers

[203] Principle examples of this in the ELCA include Family of God, Cape Coral FL., The Well, Charlotte NC, Hosanna! of Lakeville, Minnesota, and Church of the Apostles, Seattle WA..

[204] "A given culture's values and patterns, insofar as they are consonant with the values of the Gospel, can be used to express the meaning and purpose of Christian worship. Contextualization is a necessary task for the Church's mission in the world, so that the Gospel can be ever more deeply rooted in diverse local cultures." The Nairobe Statement

[205] Piepkorn, A.C. *Profiles in Belief: Volume II, Protestant Denominations*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978. P. 31.

[206] Piepkorn, A.C. , *Profiles in Belief: Volume II, Protestant Denominations*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978. P. 32.

[207] Piepkorn, A.C. , *Profiles in Belief: Volume II, Protestant Denominations*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978. P. 35.

[208] Piepkorn, A.C. , *Profiles in Belief: Volume II, Protestant Denominations*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978. P. 33.

[209] Piepkorn, A.C., *Profiles in Belief: Volume II, Protestant Denominations*. San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1978. P. 34.

[210] Preface to Luther's Large and preface to Luther's *Small Catechism*.

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[214] See *Lutheran Orthodoxy Under Fire: An Exploratory Study of the Syncretistic Controversy And The Consensus Repetitus Fidei Vere Lutheranae* and *Strenuus Christi Athleta Abraham Calov (1612–1686): Sainted Doctor And Defender of the Church*, both by Timothy R. Schmeling

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[218] For a historical example, see Robert Preus, To Join or Not To Join. North Dakota District of The Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod, 1968.

[219] See Brief Statement was adopted as LCMS doctrine in 1932, and from time to time has been adopted by other Lutherans

[220] Report of the Lutheran Church, *The Northwestern Lutheran*, page 281, 31 August 1988.

[221] see Ecumenism: Facts and Illusions by Kurt E. Marquart for a short explanation of the modern ecumenism movement from a Confessional Lutheran perspective

[222] See scholarly articles on the Church Growth Movement from the Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary Library and Implications of the Church Growth Movement for Lutherans: Possibilities and Concerns by Harold L. Senkbeil as examples of criticism from confessional Lutherans

[223] Lutheran World Federation, "Slight Increase Pushes LWF Global Membership to 66.2 Million", The Lutheran World Federation, http://www.lutheranworld.org/ (accessed 18 May 2006). However, some Lutherans disagree with the way the Lutheran World Federation arrives at this number, as millions of them actually come from bodies that are largely Reformed, but include some Lutherans. For more information on this, see William Schumacher, "Theological Observer: How Many Lutherans?", Concordia Journal April 2005, http://www.csl.edu/CJApril05.pdf/

[224] The Lutheran World Federation – 2013 Membership Figures Lutheran World Federation

[225] , The Lutheran World Federation

[226] , The Lutheran World Federation

[227] , The Lutheran World Federation

[228] , The Lutheran World Federation

[229] , The Lutheran World Federation

[230] Religionszugehörigkeit, Deutschland, 2013 Forschungsgruppe Weltanschauungen in Deutschland

[231] Encyclopædia Britannica, Dominant Protestant Denomination Per Country, 1995.

[232] Lutherans as a Percentage of All Residents, 2000 (Map by county). Also see comparable maps of other religions along with specific denominations of Lutheran at the main American Ethnic Geography site

[233] 2011 World Lutheran Membership Details

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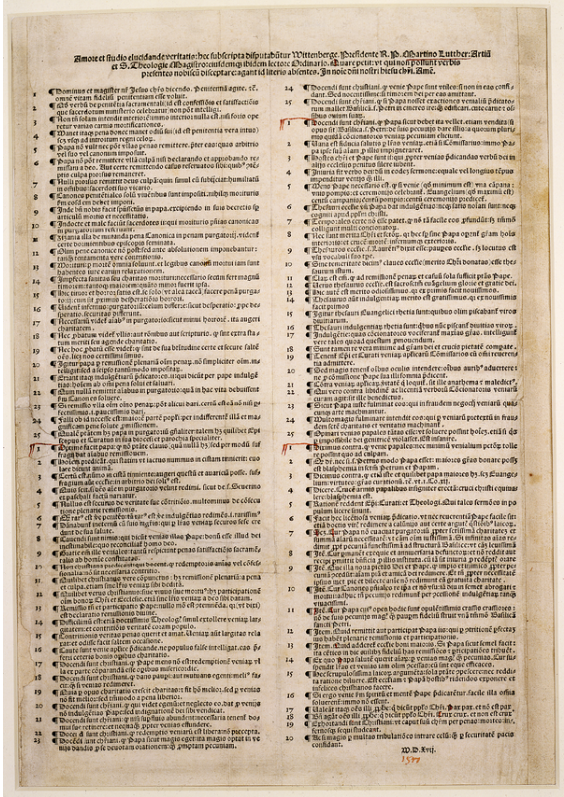
2.4 Ninety-five Theses

The ***Ninety-five Theses*** or ***Disputation on the Power of Indulgences*** (Latin: *Disputatio pro declaratione virtutis indulgentiarum*[lower-alpha 1]) are a list of propositions for an academic disputation written in 1517 by Martin Luther, professor of moral theology at the University of Wittenberg, Germany. They advance Luther's positions against what he saw as abusive practices by preachers



1517 Nuremberg printing of the Ninety-five Theses *as a placard, now in the Berlin State Library*

selling plenary indulgences, which were certificates believed to reduce the temporal punishment for sins committed by the purchasers themselves or their loved ones in purgatory. In the *Theses*, Luther claimed that the repentance required by Christ in order for sins to be forgiven involves inner spiritual repentance rather than the system of sacramental confession of the Catholic Church. He argued that indulgences lead Christians to avoid true repentance and sorrow for sin, believing that they can forgo it by purchasing an indulgence. They also, according to Luther, discourage Christians from giving to the poor and performing other acts of mercy, believing that indulgence certificates were more spiritually valuable. Though Luther claimed that his positions on indulgences accorded with those of the pope, the *Theses* challenge a fourteenth-century papal bull stating that the pope could use the treasury of merit and the good deeds of past saints to forgive temporal punishment for sins. The *Theses* are framed as propositions to be argued in debate rather than necessarily representing Luther's opinions, but Luther later clarified his views in the *Explanations of the Disputation Concerning the Value of Indulgences*.

Luther sent the *Theses* enclosed with a letter to Albert of Brandenburg, the Archbishop of Mainz, on 31 October 1517, a date now considered the start of the Protestant Reformation and commemorated annually as Reformation Day. Luther may have also posted the *Theses* on the door of All Saints' Church and other churches in Wittenberg in accordance with University custom on 31 October or in mid-November. The *Theses* were quickly reprinted, translated, and distributed throughout Germany and Europe. They initiated a pamphlet war with indulgence preacher Johann Tetzel, which spread Luther's fame even further. Luther's ecclesiastical superiors had him tried for heresy, which culminated in his excommunication in 1521. The indulgence controversy and Luther's ensuing conflict with the Church was the beginning of the Protestant Reformation, a schism in the Catholic Church which profoundly changed Europe, though Luther did not consider indulgences to be as important as other theological matters which would divide the church, such as justification by faith and the bondage of the will. His breakthrough on these issues would come later, and he did not see the writing of the *Theses* as the point at which his beliefs diverged from those of the Catholic Church.

2.4.1 Background

Martin Luther, professor of moral theology at the University of Wittenberg and town preacher,[2] wrote the *Ninety-five Theses* against the contemporary practice of the church with respect to indulgences. In the Catholic Church, indulgences are part of the economy of salvation. In this system, when Christians sin and confess, they are forgiven and will no longer receive eternal punishment in hell, but may still be liable to temporal punishment.[3] This punishment could be satisfied by the penitent performing works of mercy.[4] If the temporal punishment is not satisfied during life, it would need to be satisfied in purgatory. With an indulgence (which may be translated "kindness"), this temporal punishment could be lessened.[3] Under abuses of the system of indulgences, clergy benefited by selling indulgences and the pope gave official sanction in exchange for a fee.[5]

Popes are empowered to grant plenary indulgences, which provide complete satisfaction for any remaining temporal punishment due to sins, and these were purchased on behalf of people believed to be in purgatory. This led to the popular saying, "As soon as the coin in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory springs". Theologians at the University of Paris had criticized this saying late in the fifteenth century.[6] Earlier critics of indulgences included John Wycliffe, who denied that the pope had jurisdiction over purgatory. Jan Hus and his followers had advocated a more severe system of penance, in which indulgences were not available.[7] Johannes von Wesel had also attacked indulgences late in the fifteenth century.[8] Political rulers had an interest in controlling indulgences because local economies suffered when the money for indulgences left a given territory. Rulers often sought to receive a portion of the proceeds or prohibited indulgences altogether, as Duke George did in Luther's Electoral Saxony.[9]

Woodcut of an indulgence-seller in a church from a 1521 pamphlet

In 1515, Pope Leo X granted a plenary indulgence intended to finance the construction of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome.[10] It would apply to almost any sin, including adultery and theft. All other indulgence preaching was to cease for the eight years in which it was offered. Indulgence preachers were given strict instructions on how the indulgence was to be preached, and they were much more laudatory of the indulgence than those of earlier indulgences.[11] Johann Tetzel was commissioned to preach and offer the indulgence in 1517, and his campaign in cities near Wittenberg drew many Wittenbergers to travel to these cities and purchase them, since sales had been prohibited in Wittenberg and other Saxon cities.[12]

Luther also had experience with the indulgences connected to All Saints' Church, Wittenberg.[13] By venerating the large collection of relics at the church, one could receive an indulgence.[14] He had preached as early as 1514 against the abuse of indulgences and the way they cheapened grace rather than requiring true repentance.[15] Luther became especially concerned in 1517 when his parishioners, returning from purchasing Tetzel's indulgences, claimed that they no longer needed to repent and change their lives in order to be forgiven of sin. After hearing what Tetzel had said about indulgences in his sermons, he began to study the issue more carefully, and contacted experts on the subject. He preached about indulgences several times in 1517, explaining that true repentance was better than purchasing an indulgence.[16] He taught that receiving an indulgence presupposed that the penitent had confessed and repented, otherwise it was worthless. A truly repentant sinner would also not seek an indulgence, because they loved God's righteousness and desired the inward punishment of their sin.[17] These sermons seem to have ceased from April to October 1517, presumably while Luther was writing the *Ninety-five Theses*.[18] He composed a *Treatise on Indulgences*, apparently in early autumn 1517. It is a cautious and searching examination of the subject.[19] He contacted church leaders on the subject by letter, including his superior Hieronymus Schulz, Bishop of Brandenburg, sometime on or before 31 October, when he sent the *Theses* to Archbishop Albert of Brandenburg.[20]

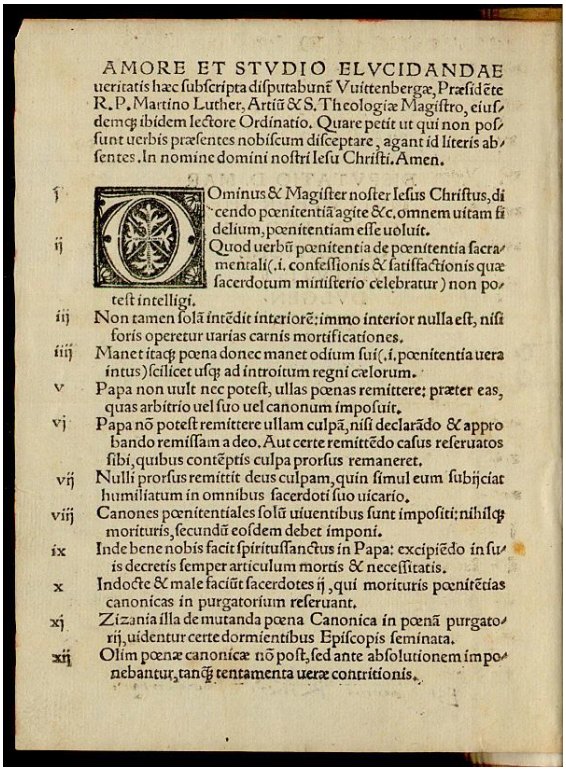
2.4.2 Content

The first thesis has become famous: "When our Lord and Master Jesus Christ said, 'Repent,' he willed the entire life of believers to be one of repentance." In the first few theses Luther develops the idea of repentance as the Christian's inner struggle with sin rather than the external system of sacramental confession.[21] Theses 5–7 then state that the pope can only release people from the punishments he has administered himself or through the church's system of penance, not the guilt of sin. The pope can only announce God's forgiveness of the guilt of sin in his name.[22] In theses 14–29, Luther challenged common beliefs about purgatory. Theses 14–16 discuss the idea that the punishment of purgatory can be likened to the fear and despair felt by dying people.[23] In theses 17–24 he asserts that nothing can be definitively said about the spiritual state of people in purgatory. He denies that the pope has any power over people in purgatory in theses 25 and 26. In theses 27–29, he attacks the idea that as soon as payment is made, the payer's loved one is released from purgatory. He sees it as encouraging sinful greed, and says it is impossible to be certain because only God has ultimate power in forgiving punishments in purgatory.[24]

Theses 30–34 deal with the false certainty Luther believed the indulgence preachers offered Christians. Since no one knows whether a person is truly repentant, a letter assuring a person of his forgiveness is dangerous. In theses 35 and 36, he attacks the idea that an indulgence makes repentance unnecessary. This leads to the conclusion that the truly repentant person, who alone may benefit from the indulgence, has already received the only benefit the indulgence provides. Truly repentant Christians have already, according to Luther, been forgiven of the penalty as well as the guilt of sin.[24] In theses 37 and 38, he states that indulgences are not necessary for Christians to receive all the benefits provided by Christ. Theses 39 and 40 argue that indulgences make true repentance more difficult. True repentance desires God's punishment of sin, but indulgences teach one to avoid punishment, since that is the purpose of purchasing the indulgence.[25]

In theses 41–47 Luther criticizes indulgences on the basis that they discourage works of mercy by those who purchase them. Here he begins to use the phrase, "Christians are to be taught..." to state how he thinks people

1525 woodcut of forgiveness from Christ outweighing the pope's indulgences



AMORE ET STVDIO ELVCIDANDAE
ueritatis hæc ſubſcripta diſputabunt Vuittenbergæ, Præſidẽte
R. P. Martino Luther, Artiũ & S. Theologiæ Magiſtro, eiuſ-
demq; ibidem lectore Ordinatio. Quare petit ut qui non poſ-
ſunt uerbis præſentes nobiſcum diſceptare, agant id literis ab-
ſentes. In nomine domini noſtri Ieſu Chriſti. Amen.

i Dominus & Magiſter noſter Ieſus Chriſtus, di-
cendo pœnitentiã agite &c, omnem uitam fi-
delium, pœnitentiam eſſe uoluit.
ii Quod uerbũ pœnitentia de pœnitentia ſacra-
mentali (.i. confeſſionis & ſatiſfactionis quæ
ſacerdotum miniſterio celebratur) non po-
teſt intelligi.
iii Non tamen ſolã intẽdit interiorẽ; immo interior nulla eſt, niſi
foris operetur uarias carnis mortificationes.
iiii Manet itaq; pœna donec manet odium ſui (.i. pœnitentia uera
intus) ſcilicet uſq; ad introitum regni cælorum.
v Papa non uult nec poteſt, ullas pœnas remittere; præter eas,
quas arbitrio uel ſuo uel canonum impoſuit.
vi Papa nõ poteſt remittere ullam culpã, niſi declarãdo & appro
bando remiſſam a deo. Aut certe remittẽdo caſus reſeruatos
ſibi, quibus contẽptis culpa prorſus remaneret.
vii Nulli prorſus remittit deus culpam, quin ſimul eum ſubijciat
humiliatum in omnibus ſacerdoti ſuo uicario.
viii Canones pœnitentiales ſolũ uiuentibus ſunt impoſiti; nihilq;
morituris, ſecundũ eoſdem debet imponi.
ix Inde bene nobis facit ſpirituſſanctus in Papa: excipiẽdo in ſu-
is decretis ſemper articulum mortis & neceſſitatis.
x Indocte & male faciũt ſacerdotes ij, qui morituris pœnitẽtias
canonicas in purgatorium reſeruant.
xi Zizania illa de mutanda pœna Canonica in pœnã purgato-
rij, uidentur certe dormientibus Epiſcopis ſeminata.
xii Olim pœnæ canonicæ nõ poſt, ſed ante abſolutionem im po-
nebantur, tanq; tentamenta ueræ contritionis.

First page of the 1517 Basel printing of the Theses *as a pamphlet*

should be instructed on the value of indulgences. They should be taught that giving to the poor is incomparably more important than buying indulgences, that buying an indulgence rather than giving to the poor invites God's wrath, and that doing good works makes a person better while buying indulgences does not. In theses 48–52 Luther takes the side of the pope, saying that if the pope knew what was being preached in his name he would rather St. Peter's Basilica be burned down than "built up with the skin, flesh, and bones of his sheep."[25] Theses 53–55 complain about the restrictions on preaching while the indulgence was being offered.[26]

Luther criticizes the doctrine of the treasury of merit on which the doctrine of indulgences is based in theses 56–66. He states that everyday Christians do not understand the doctrine and are being misled. For Luther, the true treasure of the church is the gospel of Jesus Christ. This treasure tends to be hated because it makes "the first last",[27] in the words of Matthew 19:30 and 20:16.[28] Luther uses metaphor and wordplay to describe the treasures of the gospel as nets to catch wealthy people, whereas the treasures of indulgences are nets to catch the wealth of men.[27]

In theses 67–80, Luther discusses further the problems with the way indulgences are being preached, as he had done in the letter to Archbishop Albert. The preachers have been promoting indulgences as the greatest of the graces available from the church, but they actually only promote greed. He points out that bishops have been commanded to offer reverence to indulgence preachers who enter their jurisdiction, but bishops are also charged with protecting their people from preachers who preach contrary to the pope's intention.[27] He then attacks the belief allegedly propagated by the preachers that the indulgence could forgive one who had violated the Virgin Mary. Luther states that indulgences cannot take away the guilt of even the lightest of venial sins. He labels several other alleged statements of the indulgence preachers as blasphemy: that Saint Peter could not have granted a greater indulgence than the current one, and that the indulgence cross with the papal arms is as worthy as the cross of Christ.[29]

Luther lists several criticisms advanced by laypeople against indulgences in theses 81–91. He presents these as difficult objections his congregants are bringing rather than his own criticisms. How should he answer those who ask why the pope does not simply empty purgatory if it is in his power? What should he say to those who ask why anniversary masses for the dead, which were for the sake of those in purgatory, continued for those who had been redeemed by an indulgence? Luther claimed that it seemed strange to some that pious people in purgatory could be redeemed by living impious people. Luther also mentions the question of why the pope, who is very rich, requires money from poor believers to build St. Peter's Basilica. Luther claims that ignoring these questions risks

allowing people to ridicule the pope.[29] He appeals to the pope's financial interest, saying that if the preachers limited their preaching in accordance with Luther's positions on indulgences (which he claimed was also the pope's position), the objections would cease to be relevant.[30] Luther closes the *Theses* by exhorting Christians to imitate Christ even if it brings pain and suffering. Enduring punishment and entering heaven is preferable to false security.[31]

2.4.3 Luther's intent

The *Theses* are written as propositions to be argued in a formal academic disputation,[32] though there is no evidence that such an event ever took place.[33] In the heading of the *Theses*, Luther invited interested scholars from other cities to participate. Holding such a debate was a privilege Luther held as a doctor, and it was not an unusual form of academic inquiry.[32] Luther prepared twenty sets of theses for disputation at Wittenberg between 1516 and 1521.[34] Andreas Karlstadt had written a set of such theses in April 1517, and these were more radical in theological terms than Luther's. He posted them on the door of All Saints' Church, as Luther was alleged to have done with the *Ninety-five Theses*. Karlstadt posted his theses at a time when the relics of the church were placed on display, and this may have been considered a provocative gesture. Similarly, Luther posted the *Ninety-five Theses* on the most important day of the year for the display of relics at All Saints' Church.[35]

Luther's theses were intended to begin a debate among academics, not a popular revolution,[34] but there are indications that he saw his action as prophetic and significant. Around this time, he began using the name "Luther" and sometimes "Eleutherius", Greek for "free", rather than "Luder". This seems to refer to his being free from the scholastic theology which he had argued against earlier that year.[36] Luther later claimed not to have desired the *Theses* to be widely distributed. Elizabeth Eisenstein has argued that his claimed surprise at their success may have involved self-deception and Hans Hillerbrand has claimed that Luther was certainly intending to instigate a large controversy.[1] At times, Luther seems to use the academic nature of the *Theses* as a cover to allow him to attack established beliefs while being able to deny that he intended to attack church teaching. Since writing a set of theses for a disputation does not necessarily commit the author to those views, Luther could deny that he held the most incendiary ideas in the *Theses*.[37]

2.4.4 Distribution and publication

On 31 October 1517, Luther sent a letter to Archbishop of Mainz, Albert of Brandenburg, under whose authority the indulgences were being sold. In the letter, Luther addresses the archbishop out of a loyal desire to alert him to the pastoral problems created by the indulgence sermons. He assumes that Albert is unaware of what is being preached under his authority, and speaks out of concern that the people are being led away from the gospel, and that the indulgence preaching may bring shame to Albert's name. He does not condemn indulgences or the current doctrine regarding them, nor even the sermons which had been preached themselves, as he had not seen them firsthand. Instead he states his concern regarding the misunderstandings of the people about indulgences which have been fostered by the preaching, such as the belief that any sin could be forgiven by indulgences or that the guilt as well as the punishment for sin could be forgiven by an indulgence. In a postscript, Luther wrote that Albert could find some theses on the matter enclosed with his letter, so that he could see the uncertainty surrounding the doctrine of indulgences in contrast to the preachers who spoke so confidently of the benefits of indulgences.[38]

Painting by Julius Hübner

It was customary when proposing a disputation to have the theses printed by the university press and publicly posted.[39] No copies of a Wittenberg printing of the *Ninety-five Theses* have survived, but this is not surprising as Luther was not famous and the importance of the document was not recognized.[40][lower-alpha 2] In Wittenberg, the university statutes demand that theses be posted on every church door in the city, but Philip Melanchthon, who first mentioned the posting of the theses, only mentioned the door of All Saints' Church.[lower-alpha 3][42] Melanchthon also claimed that Luther posted the *Theses* on 31 October, but this conflicts with several of Luther's statements about the course of events,[32] and Luther always claimed that he brought his objections through proper channels rather than inciting a public controversy.[43] It is possible that while Luther later saw the 31 October letter to Albert as the beginning of the Reformation, he did not post the *Theses* to the church door until mid-November, but he may not have posted them on the door at all.[32] Regardless, the *Theses* were well-known among the Wittenberg intellectual elite soon after Luther sent them to Albert.[40]

The *Theses* were copied and distributed to interested parties soon after Luther sent the letter to Archbishop Albert.[44] The Latin *Theses* were printed in a four-

page pamphlet in Basel, and as placards in Leipzig and Nuremberg.[45] In all, several hundred copies of the Latin *Theses* were printed in Germany in 1517. Kaspar Nützel in Nuremberg translated them into German later that year, and copies of this translation were sent to several interested parties across Germany,[44] but it was not necessarily printed.[46][lower-alpha 4]

2.4.5 Reaction

Albert seems to have received Luther's letter with the *Theses* around the end of November. He requested the opinion of theologians at the University of Mainz and conferred with his advisers. His advisers recommended he have Luther prohibited from preaching against indulgences in accordance with the indulgence bull. Albert requested such action from the Roman Curia.[48] In Rome, Luther was immediately perceived as a threat.[49] In February 1518, Pope Leo asked the head of the Augustinian Hermits, Luther's religious order, to convince him to stop spreading his ideas about indulgences.[48] Sylvester Mazzolini was also appointed to write an opinion which would be used in the trial against him.[50] Mazzolini wrote *A Dialogue against Martin Luther's Presumptious Theses concerning the Power of Pope*, which focused on Luther's questioning of the pope's authority rather than his complaints about indulgence preaching.[51] Luther received a summons to Rome in August 1518.[50] He responded with *Explanations of the Disputation Concerning the Value of Indulgences*, in which he attempted to clear himself of the charge that he was attacking the pope.[51] As he set down his views more extensively, Luther seems to have recognized that the implications of his beliefs set him further from official teaching than he initially knew. He later said he may not have begun the controversy had he known where it would lead.[52] The *Explanations* have been called Luther's first Reformation work.[53]

Johann Tetzel responded to the *Theses* by calling for Luther to be burnt for heresy and having theologian Konrad Wimpina write 106 theses against Luther's work. Tetzel defended these in a disputation before the University of Frankfurt on the Oder in January 1518.[55] 800 copies of the printed disputation were sent to be sold in Wittenberg, but students of the University seized them from the bookseller and burned them. Luther became increasingly fearful that the situation was out of hand and that he would be in danger. To placate his opponents, he published a *Sermon on Indulgences and Grace*, which did not challenge the pope's authority.[56] This pamphlet, written in German, was very short and easy for laypeople to understand.[46] Luther's first widely successful work, it was reprinted twenty times.[57] Tetzel responded with a point-by-point refutation, citing heavily from the Bible and important theologians.[58][lower-alpha 5] His pamphlet was not nearly as popular as Luther's. Luther's reply to Tetzel's pamphlet, on the other hand, was another publishing success for Luther.[60][lower-alpha 6]

These commemorative doors were installed at All Saints' Church, Wittenberg, on Luther's 375th birthday in 1858.[54]

Another prominent opponent of the *Theses* was Johann Eck, Luther's friend and a theologian at the University of Ingolstadt. Eck wrote a refutation, intended for the Bishop of Eichstätt, entitled the *Obelisks*. This was in reference to the obelisks used to mark heretical passages in texts in the Middle Ages. It was a harsh and unexpected personal attack, charging Luther with heresy and stupidity. Luther responded privately with the *Asterisks*, titled after the asterisk marks then used to highlight important texts. Luther's response was angry and he expressed the opinion that Eck did not understand the matter on which he wrote.[62] The dispute between Luther and Eck would become public in the 1519 Leipzig Debate.[58]

Luther was summoned by authority of the pope to defend himself against charges of heresy before Thomas Cajetan at Augsburg in October 1518. Cajetan did not allow Luther to argue with him over his alleged heresies, but he did identify two points of controversy. The first was against the fifty-eighth thesis, which stated that the pope could not use the treasury of merit to forgive temporal punishment of sin.[63] This contradicted the papal bull *Unigenitus* promulgated by Clement VI in 1343.[64] The second point was whether one could be assured that they had been forgiven when their sin had been absolved by a priest. Luther's *Explanations* on thesis seven asserted that one could based on God's promise, but Cajetan argued that the humble Christian should never presume to be certain of their standing before God.[63] Luther re-

fused to recant and requested that the case be reviewed by university theologians. This request was denied, so Luther appealed to the pope before leaving Augsburg.[65] Luther was finally excommunicated in 1521 after he burned the papal bull threatening him to recant or face excommunication.[66]

2.4.6 Legacy

Print made for the 1617 Reformation Jubilee showing Luther enscribing the Theses *on the Wittenberg church door with a giant quill*

The indulgence controversy set off by the *Theses* was the beginning of the Protestant Reformation, a schism in the Catholic Church which initiated profound and lasting social and political change in Europe.[67] Luther later stated that the issue of indulgences was insignificant relative to controversies he would enter into later, such as his debate with Erasmus over the bondage of the will,[68] nor did he see the controversy as important to his intellectual breakthrough regarding the gospel. Later Luther would write that at the time he wrote the *Theses* he remained a "papist", and he did not seem to think the *Theses* represented a break with established Catholic doctrine.[43] But it was out of the indulgences controversy that the movement which would be called the Reformation began, and the controversy propelled Luther to the leadership position he would hold in that movement.[68] The *Theses* also made evident that Luther believed the church was not preaching properly and that this put the laity in serious danger. Further, the *Theses* contradicted the decree of Pope Clement VI, that indulgences are the treasury of the church. This disregard for papal authority presaged later conflicts.[69]

31 October 1517, the day Luther sent the *Theses* to Albert, was commemorated as the beginning of the Reformation as early as 1527, when Luther and his friends raised a glass of beer to commemorate the "trampling out of indulgences".[70] The posting of the *Theses* was established in the historiography of the Reformation as the beginning of the movement by Philip Melanchthon in his 1548 *Historia de vita et actis Lutheri*. During the 1617 Reformation Jubilee, the centenary of 31 October was celebrated by a procession to the Wittenberg Church where Luther was believed to have posted the *Theses*. An engraving was made showing Luther writing the *Theses* on the door of the church with a gigantic quill. The quill penetrates the head of a lion symbolizing Pope Leo X.[71] In 1668, 31 October was made Reformation Day, an annual festival in Electoral Saxony, which spread to other Lutheran lands.[72]

2.4.7 Notes and references

Notes

[1] This title comes from the 1517 Basel pamphlet printing. The first printings of the *Theses* use an incipit rather than a title which summarizes the content. The 1517 Nuremberg placard edition opens *Amore et studio elucidande veritatis: hec subscripta disputabuntur Wittenberge. Presidente R.P Martino Lutther ... Quare petit: vt qui non possunt verbis presentes nobiscum disceptare: agant id Uteris absentes.* Luther usually called them "*meine Propositiones*" (my propositions).[1]

[2] The Wittenberg printer was Johann Rhau-Grunenberg. A Rhau-Grunenberg printing of Luther's "Disputation Against Scholastic Theology", published just eight weeks before the *Ninety-five Theses*, was discovered in 1983.[41] Its form is very similar to that of the Nuremberg printing of the *Ninety-five Theses*. This is evidence for a Rhau-Grunenberg printing of the *Ninety-five Theses*, as the Nuremberg printing may be a copy of the Wittenberg printing.[40]

[3] Georg Rörer, Luther's scribe, claimed in a note that Luther posted the theses to every church door.

[4] No copies of the 1517 German translation survive.[47]

[5] Tetzel's pamphlet is titled *Rebuttal Against a Presumptuous Sermon of Twenty Erroneous Articles*.[59]

[6] Luther's reply to Tetzel's *Rebuttal* is titled *Concerning the Freedom of the Sermon on Papal Indulgences and Grace*. Luther intends to free the Sermon from Tetzel's insults.[61]

References

[1] Cummings 2002, p. 32.

[2] Junghans 2003, pp. 23, 25.

[3] Brecht 1985, p. 176.

[4] Wengert 2015a, p. xvi.

[5] Noll 2015, p. 31.

[6] Brecht 1985, p. 182.

[7] Brecht 1985, p. 177.

[8] Waibel 2005, p. 47.

[9] Brecht 1985, pp. 178, 183.

[10] Brecht 1985, p. 178.

[11] Brecht 1985, p. 180.

[12] Brecht 1985, p. 183.

[13] Brecht 1985, p. 186.

[14] Brecht 1985, pp. 117–118.

[15] Brecht 1985, p. 185.

[16] Brecht 1985, p. 184.

[17] Brecht 1985, p. 187.

[18] Brecht 1985, p. 188.

[19] Wicks 1967, p. 489.

[20] Leppin & Wengert 2015, p. 387.

[21] Brecht 1985, p. 192.

[22] Waibel 2005, p. 43.

[23] Wengert 2015b, p. 36.

[24] Brecht 1985, p. 194.

[25] Brecht 1985, p. 195.

[26] Waibel 2005, p. 44.

[27] Brecht 1985, p. 196.

[28] Wengert 2015a, p. 22.

[29] Brecht 1985, p. 197.

[30] Brecht 1985, p. 198.

[31] Brecht 1985, p. 199.

[32] Brecht 1985, pp. 199–200.

[33] Leppin & Wengert 2015, p. 388.

[34] Hendrix 2015, p. 61.

[35] McGrath 2011, pp. 23–24.

[36] Lohse 1999, p. 101.

[37] Cummings 2002, p. 35.

[38] Brecht 1985, pp. 190–192.

[39] Pettegree 2015, p. 128.

[40] Pettegree 2015, p. 129.

[41] Pettegree 2015, p. 97.

[42] Wengert 2015b, p. 23.

[43] Marius 1999, p. 138.

[44] Hendrix 2015, p. 62.

[45] Cummings 2002, p. 32; Hendrix 2015, p. 62.

[46] Leppin & Wengert 2015, p. 389.

[47] Oberman 2006, p. 191.

[48] Brecht 1985, pp. 205–206.

[49] Pettegree 2015, p. 152.

[50] Brecht 1985, p. 242.

[51] Hendrix 2015, p. 66.

[52] Marius 1999, p. 145.

[53] Lohse 1986, p. 125.

[54] Stephenson 2010, p. 17.

[55] Brecht 1985, pp. 206–207.

[56] Hendrix 2015, p. 64.

[57] Brecht 1985, pp. 208–209.

[58] Hendrix 2015, p. 65.

[59] Pettegree 2015, p. 144.

[60] Pettegree 2015, p. 145.

[61] Brecht 1985, p. 209.

[62] Brecht 1985, p. 212.

[63] Hequet 2015, p. 124.

[64] Brecht 1985, p. 253.

[65] Hequet 2015, p. 125.

[66] Brecht 1985, p. 427.

[67] Dixon 2002, p. 23.

[68] McGrath 2011, p. 26.

[69] Wengert 2015a, pp. xliii–xliv.

[70] Stephenson 2010, pp. 39–40.

[71] Cummings 2002, pp. 15–16.

[72] Stephenson 2010, p. 40.

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2.4.8 External links

- *Ninety-five Theses* at Project Gutenberg
- *Ninety-five Theses* public domain audiobook at LibriVox

2.5 Heidelberg Disputation

The **Heidelberg Disputation** was held at the lecture hall of the Augustianian order on April 25, 1518.[1] It was here that Martin Luther, as a delegate for his order, began to have occasion to articulate his views. In the defense of his theses, which culminated in a contrast between divine love and human love,[2] Luther defended the doctrine of human depravity and the bondage of the will. Martin Bucer, the reformer of Strasbourg, heard Luther here and became an avid follower.[3] This disputation also led to Johann Eck challenging Martin Luther to the Leipzig Debate.[4]

2.5.1 See also

- Theology of the Cross

2.5.2 References

[1] Kittelson 1986, p. 111

[2] Totten 2003, p. 446

[3] Kittelson 1986, p. 112: "Marting Bucer, who later took up what he understood to be Luther's cause, observed in a letter to his friends, 'Luther responds with magnificent grace and listens with insurmountable patience. He presents an argument with the insight of the apostle Paul.'"

[4] Kolb 2009, p. 24

2.5.3 Resources

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2.5.4 External links

- The Heidelberg Disputation

2.6 Leipzig Debate

The **Leipzig Debate** (German: *Leipziger Disputation*) was a theological disputation originally between Andreas Karlstadt and Johann Eck. Eck, a defender of Catholic doctrine and a highly respected Dominican friar, had challenged Karlstadt, a Christian theologian, to a public debate concerning the doctrines of free will and grace. The Leipzig Debate took place at June and July 1519 at Pleissenburg Castle in Leipzig, Germany. Its purpose was to discuss Martin Luther's teachings, and was initiated and conducted in the presence of George, Duke of Saxony, an opponent of Luther. Eck, considered the master debater in Germany, was concerned about clerical abuses, but his life's work had been dedicated to the defence of Catholic teachings and combating heresy.[1]

Eck invited Martin Luther to join the debate, and when Luther arrived in July he and Eck expanded the terms of the debate to include matters such as the existence of purgatory, the sale of indulgences, the need for and methods of penance, and the legitimacy of papal authority.[2] Eck's debating skills led to Luther's open admissions of heresy in order to not be defeated. Luther declared that *sola scriptura* (scripture alone) was the basis of Christian belief, that the Pope had no power as he was not mentioned in the Bible, and condemned the sale of indulgences to the laity to reduce their time in purgatory, as there was no mention of purgatory in the Bible.

The debate led Pope Leo X to censor Luther and threaten him with excommunication from the Catholic Church in his June 1520 papal bull, *Exsurge Domine*, which banned Luther's views from being preached or written. There was much opposition to the bull, especially in north west Germany where Lutheran beliefs were strongest.

A joint verdict on the outcome of the debate was to be issued by the University of Erfurt and the University of Paris, but the theological faculty of Erfurt recused itself. The faculty in Paris delivered a negative verdict on Luther's writings in 1521, but made no direct reference to the debate in Leipzig itself.

2.6.1 Notes

[1] AQA History, AS Unit 1, Philip Stanton p48

[2] Kolb, Robert (2009). *Martin Luther*. New York: Oxford University Press. p. 24. ISBN 0199208948.

2.7 Exsurge Domine

Title page of first printed edition of Exsurge Domine.

Exsurge Domine (Latin for "Arise O Lord") is a papal bull promulgated on 15 June 1520 by Pope Leo X. It

was written in response to the teachings of Martin Luther which opposed the views of the Church. It censured forty one propositions extracted from Luther's 95 theses and subsequent writings, and threatened him with excommunication unless he recanted within a sixty-day period commencing upon the publication of the bull in Saxony and its neighboring regions. Luther refused to recant and responded instead by composing polemical tracts lashing out at the papacy and by publicly burning a copy of the bull on 10 December 1520. As a result, Luther was excommunicated in 1521.

2.7.1 History

The historical impetus for this bull arose from an effort to provide a decisive papal response to the growing popularity of Luther's teachings. Beginning in January 1520, a papal consistory was summoned to examine Luther's fidelity to Catholic teachings. After a short time, it produced a hasty list of several perceived errors found in his writings, but Curial officials believed that a more thorough consideration was warranted. The committee was reorganized and subsequently produced a report determining that only a few of Luther's teachings could potentially be deemed heretical or erroneous from the standpoint of Catholic theology. His other teachings perceived as problematic were deemed to warrant lesser degrees of theological censure, including the designations "scandalous" or "offensive to pious ears".[1][lower-alpha 1]

Johann Eck subsequently became involved in these proceedings. He had personally confronted Luther a year earlier in the Leipzig disputation and had obtained copies of condemnations issued against Luther by the universities of Cologne and Leuven.[3] In a letter to a friend, Eck claimed he became involved because "no one else was sufficiently familiar with Luther's errors."[1] Soon after having joined the committee when it was already halfway through its deliberations,[4] he began to exert his considerable influence on the direction it subsequently took.

The committee on which Eck sat consisted of some forty members, including cardinals (among whom was Cardinal Cajetan), theologians and canon lawyers. The heads of the three major mendicant orders, the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians, were represented.[1][5] Central to the committee's proceedings was the matter of whether (and in what manner) Luther and his teachings should be formally condemned. Some members argued that Luther's popular support in Germany made it too politically risky to issue a bull at that time. The theologians supported an immediate condemnation of Luther. But the canon lawyers advocated a mediating position: Luther should be given a hearing and a chance to defend himself before being excommunicated as a heretic. Ultimately the committee negotiated a compromise. Luther would be given no hearing, but he would be offered a sixty-day window in which to repent before further action would be taken.[6]

Prior to Eck's involvement, Cajetan had expressed his desire that the committee members examine the whole context of Luther's writings and specify careful distinctions among the various degrees of censure to be applied to Luther's teachings. Eck's approach was markedly different. He bulldozed a final decision through the committee to ensure a speedy publication.[4] As a result, the text it ultimately drafted simply contained a list of various statements by Luther perceived as problematic. No attempt was made to provide specific responses to Luther's propositions based upon Scripture or Catholic tradition or any clarification of what degree of theological censure should be associated with each proposition listed. All quoted statements were to be condemned as a whole (*in globo*) as either heretical, scandalous, false, offensive to pious ears, or seductive of simple minds. Eck may have employed this tactic in order to associate more strongly the taint of error with all of Luther's censured teachings.[7] However, this *in globo* formula for censure had already been employed by the earlier Council of Constance to condemn various propositions extracted from the writings of Jan Hus.[8]

When the committee members had obtained agreement among themselves regarding the selection of forty-one propositions which they deemed to be problematic, they subsequently submitted their draft text to Leo X. He appended a preface and conclusion and issued the document as an official papal bull on 15 June 1520.[8] Copies were printed, notarized, sealed and distributed to specially appointed papal nuncios who were tasked with disseminating the bull, especially in those regions where Luther's followers were most active, and ensuring that its instructions were carried out.[9]

2.7.2 Text

Printed copies of this bull bore the Latin title *Bulla contra errores Martini Lutheri et sequacium* (Bull against the errors of Martin Luther and his followers), but it is more commonly known by its Latin incipit, *Exsurge Domine* (*Arise O Lord*). These words also serve to open a prefatory prayer within the text of the bull calling on the Lord to arise against the "foxes [that] have arisen seeking to destroy the vineyard" and the destructive "wild boar from the forest."[10] In these poetic metaphors may be found an echo of Leo X's engagement in the hunting of wild boars while residing at a hunting lodge in the Italian hills during the spring of 1520.[4]

Following additional prayers of intercession directed towards the Apostles Peter and Paul and the "whole church of the saints" to defend Catholicism against Luther, the bull proceeds to list the forty-one propositions previously selected by the committee. The condemned propositions do not cover all disputed points of doctrine advocated by Luther. Many of Luther's important works setting forth his disagreements with Catholic theology, including *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, had not yet been

published when this bull was issued. Moreover, on account of Eck's efforts to speed the committee along, it did not have sufficient opportunity to thoroughly examine the material Luther had already published. Therefore, the list of condemned propositions draws in large part upon the material with which Eck was personally familiar, including the 95 Theses, the lists of censures against Luther issued by the universities at Cologne and Leuven which Eck had brought with him to Rome, and Luther's *Resolutiones*[11] (a detailed exposition of the 95 Theses).[12] More than half of the forty-one censured propositions come from the 95 Theses or the *Resolutiones*; the larger part of the remainder are derived from the Leipzig debate.[13] The selection of censures themselves in large part combines and amplifies those statements already selected as problematic by the universities of Cologne and Leuven.[14]

Some of the condemnations confirmed prior judgments by the papacy. Luther's support for conciliarism is explicitly censured (proposition #28) and is singled out for further condemnation in the bull's conclusion: "...[Luther] broke forth in a rash appeal to a future council. This to be sure was contrary to the constitution of Pius II[lower-alpha 2] and Pope Julius II our predecessors that all appealing in this way are to be punished with the penalties of heretics."[10] Other condemnations represent new papal interventions on matters that had been freely disputed among Catholic scholars and theologians before that time. For example, Luther's opposition to the burning of heretics (proposition #33) and his anti-war stance with respect to the Ottoman Turks (proposition #34) reflect opinions also shared by Desiderus Erasmus.[15] Moreover, Luther explicitly referred to the church father Jerome for support when he opposed the practice of burning heretics.[16]

Leo X then proceeded to issue an authoritative condemnation of these forty-one propositions in the following words:

> With the advice and consent of these our venerable brothers, with mature deliberation on each and every one of the above theses, and by the authority of almighty God, the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and our own authority, we condemn, reprobate, and reject completely each of these theses or errors as either heretical, scandalous, false, offensive to pious ears or seductive of simple minds, and against Catholic truth. By listing them, we decree and declare that all the faithful of both sexes must regard them as condemned, reprobated, and rejected . . . We restrain all in the virtue of holy obedience and under the penalty of an automatic major excommunication....[lower-alpha 3][10]

Additionally, the bull contains a directive forbidding any use of Luther's works and decreeing that they should be burned:

> ...we likewise condemn, reprobate, and reject completely the books and all the writings and sermons of the said Martin, whether in Latin or any other language, containing the said errors or any one of them; and we wish them to be regarded as utterly condemned, reprobated, and rejected. We forbid each and every one of the faithful of either sex, in virtue of holy obedience and under the above penalties to be incurred automatically, to read, assert, preach, praise, print, publish, or defend them. ... Indeed immediately after the publication of this letter these works, wherever they may be, shall be sought out carefully by the ordinaries and others [ecclesiastics and regulars], and under each and every one of the above penalties shall be burned publicly and solemnly in the presence of the clerics and people.:[10]

Luther, along with his "supporters, adherents and accomplices," were given sixty days from the publication of this bull in which to desist "from preaching, both expounding their views and denouncing others, from publishing books and pamphlets concerning some or all of their errors." Luther himself was instructed to "inform us of such recantation through an open document, sealed by two prelates, which we should receive within another sixty days. Or he should personally, with safe conduct, inform us of his recantation by coming to Rome."[10]

2.7.3 Reaction

Reactions by Luther and his sympathizers

The Pope assigned to Eck and Cardinal Girolamo Aleandro the task of publishing this bull in Saxony, its neighboring regions, and the Low Countries.[17]

They found this task more difficult than had initially been anticipated on account of the widespread public support for Luther, particularly in Germany. At Erfurt, students who sympathized with Luther tossed copies of the bull into the local river and at Torgau, a posted copy was torn down and defaced. Even some Catholic bishops hesitated as much as six months before publishing the bull's contents.[17] At times, the opposition faced by Eck and Aleandro was so fierce that their very lives were endangered.[18] At Leipzig, Eck had to retreat for an hour to a cloister in fear for his life.[17]

Eck found his task to be particularly onerous. He had received secret instructions permitting him to include more names under the bull's threat of excommunication at his discretion. This power he chose to exercise by supplementing the bull with the names of several prominent

German Humanists and thereby aroused their opposition besides that of Luther's supporters. In the Netherlands, Aleandro also experienced his share of confrontations with Luther's sympathizers. Among those he encountered was Desiderus Erasmus, who declared that "The inclemency of the bull ill comports with the moderation of Leo" and also that "Papal bulls are weighty, but scholars attach much more weight to books with good arguments drawn from the testimony of divine Scripture, which does not coerce but instructs."[19]

For these reasons, its dissemination took several months to complete. Luther himself received an official copy bearing the papal seal in early October of that year. However, rumors of its existence reached Luther well in advance of the official copy. At first he doubted their veracity and thought that the document to which they referred may be a forgery, possibly by Eck himself. Nonetheless he commented that it was the work of Antichrist, whatever its true origin may be, and started to compose a response even before he had received an official copy.[20] His response was entitled *Adversus Execrabile Antichristi Bullam* (Against the Execrable Bull of Antichrist).[21]

Luther defiantly proclaimed in his response that "...whoever wrote this bull, he is Antichrist. I protest before God, our Lord Jesus, his sacred angels and the whole world that with my whole heart I dissent from the damnation of this bull, that I curse and execrate it as sacrilege and blasphemy of Christ, God's Son and our Lord. This be my recantation, O bull, thou daughter of bulls."[22] He subsequently took issue with the *in globo* censure of his statements: "My articles are called 'respectively some heretical, some erroneous, some scandalous," which is as much to say, 'We don't know which are which.' O meticulous ignorance! I want to be instructed, not respectively, but absolutely and certainly. ... Let them show where I am a heretic, or dry up their spittle."[23] Much of the remainder of the tract is devoted to a discussion of the censured propositions.

With the publication of the bull, sporadic public burnings of Luther's works began to take place in Germany in accordance with Leo X's instructions. However, in some places this directive proved impossible or difficult to carry out because of Luther's popular support. On certain occasions, his followers managed to substitute his condemned books with wastepaper or anti-Luther tracts, or rescue some of his works from the flames before they were consumed.[24]

On 29 November 1520, Luther published a second response to the bull entitled *Assertion of All the Articles Wrongly Condemned in the Roman Bull.* Luther's commentary on proposition #18 provides a representative example of its general tone: "I was wrong, I admit it, when I said that indulgences were 'the pious defrauding of the faithful.' I recant and say, 'Indulgences are the most pious frauds and imposters of the most rascally pontiffs, by which they deceive the souls and destroy the goods of the faithful.'"[25] Luther also published his *On the Freedom of a Christian* that same month. Although this work was not penned as a direct response to the bull, it nevertheless reaffirmed Luther's commitment to certain themes censured therein, including the primacy of ecumenical councils over papal decrees.[26]

On 10 December 1520, sixty days after Luther had received a copy of this bull, he and Melanchthon invited the local university faculty and students to assemble that morning at the Elster Gate in Wittenberg. A bonfire was lit and volumes of canon law, papal constitutions, and works of scholastic theology were burned. Luther himself tossed a copy of the bull into the flames. Having done so, Luther is reported to have said, "Because you have confounded the truth [or, the saints] of God, today the Lord confounds you. Into the fire with you!", a declaration which alludes to Psalm 21:9.[27][28] Luther's act of defiance reflected deeper motives than a mere retaliatory desire to treat these representations of Catholic authority with the same regard that the papal bull had shown for his own books. By burning these works, Luther signaled his decisive break from Catholicism's traditions and institutions.[29] Luther himself later explained his actions that day:

> Since they have burned my books, I burn theirs. The canon law was included because it makes the pope a god on earth. So far I have merely fooled with this business of the pope. All my articles condemned by Antichrist are Christian. Seldom has the pope overcome anyone with Scripture and with reason.[30]

The breach between Luther and the papacy was finalized on 3 January 1521, when on account of Luther's failure to comply, the Pope issued the bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem* to declare that he had been formally excommunicated.

Modern reactions

Exsurge Domine marks a watershed event in Christian history. Protestant author Philip Schaff notes that "The bull of excommunication is the papal counter-manifesto to Luther's Theses, and condemns in him the whole cause of the Protestant Reformation. Therein lies its historical significance. It was the last bull addressed to Latin Christendom as an undivided whole, and the first which was disobeyed by a large part of it."[31]

However, contemporary scholars of the Reformation widely agree that this bull itself is a "strange document and an evasive assessment of Luther's theological concerns."[16] Schaff notes that the condemned propositions are "torn from the connection [context], and presented in the most objectionable form as mere negations of Catholic doctrines. The positive views of the Reformer are not stated, or distorted."[32] Catholic author John M.

Todd calls the bull "contradictory, lacking in charity, and incidentally far less effective than it might have been."[18] Not only does the text fail to identify precisely how each proposition is censured, but also it avoids direct engagement with numerous issues that are central to Luther's theology including Sola Fide and Sola Scriptura. In part, this evasion was simply an unavoidable consequence of the fact that Luther did not fully articulate his mature theological position until some time after this bull had been issued. Even so, Eck did not afford the committee sufficient time to better grasp the core issues at stake in Luther's teachings. As a result, some of the censured propositions are ambiguous, peripheral to Luther's main concerns, or were misunderstood or misrepresented by the committee. At least twelve of the forty-one propositions fail to accurately quote Luther or misrepresent his beliefs.[33] The bull itself contains an internal contradiction: at one point it orders all of Luther's works to be burned, but elsewhere restricts this censorship only to those works which contain one of the forty-one censored propositions.[13]

The censure of certain theological propositions in this bull continues to be a source of controversy. For example, proposition #33 censured by this bull states "It is contrary to the will of the Spirit that heretics be burned.",[lower-alpha 4] something more recent Catholic teaching, particularly in regards to the declaration of Vatican II that "the human person has a right to religious freedom" and that "This freedom means that all men are to be immune from coercion on the part of individuals or of social groups and of any human power, in such wise that no one is to be forced to act in a manner contrary to his own beliefs, whether privately or publicly, whether alone or in association with others, within due limits", seems to have softened.[34] This tension between these two authoritative sources of Catholic teaching has sparked a contemporary debate on papal infallibility, however, Vatican II's declaration on religious freedom is not absolute but only "within due limits" which is subject to a "just public order."

Eastern Orthodox author Laurent Cleenewerck asserts that Leo X's condemnations technically satisfy the requirements of an infallible (ex cathedra) definition in accordance with the criteria laid down by Vatican I.[35] The declaration of Leo X that members of the Catholic faithful must "condemn, reprobate, and reject completely each of these theses or errors" on pain of an automatic (latae sententiae) excommunication is claimed to constitute an authoritative papal definition on doctrinal matters concerning faith and morals which must be held by the whole Catholic Church. He then notes that the practice of burning heretics poses a "serious ethical problem"[36] and thus Cleenewerck finds in *Exsurge Domine* support for his conclusion that "the idea that Papal Infallibility can be presented as independent of any conciliar consent and as 'the constant belief of the universal Church' is rejected."[37]

Others disagree with these assessments and advance the alternative view that a censure which may be heretical, but may also be merely "scandalous", "offensive to pious ears" or "seductive of simple minds", cannot be accepted as an infallible utterance of the Magisterium. Brian Harrison argues that a censure of an unspecified nature is potentially subject to future clarification or reform, unlike an ex cathedra definition which is by nature irreformable.[38] A second argument advanced here asserts that censures which are merely "scandalous", "offensive to pious ears" or "seductive of simple minds" strongly depend upon a particular context of certain historical or cultural circumstances. A proposition that causes scandal or offense when it is advanced within a particular context "may not necessarily be so noxious under different circumstances."[38] Even if a proposition is essentially true, but poorly worded or advanced in a particular context with the intent of provoking scandal or offense, it may be censured as "scandalous" or "offensive to pious ears".[39][lower-alpha 5]

2.7.4 Manuscript copies

A copy of *Exsurge Domine* is extant in the Vatican Library.[41]

2.7.5 Notes

[1] Catholicism has traditionally recognized several degrees of theological censure. According to *Catholic Encyclopedia*, "A proposition is branded heretical when it goes directly and immediately against a revealed or defined dogma, or dogma *de fide*." An erroneous proposition "contradicts only a certain theological conclusion or truth clearly deduced from two premises, one an article of faith, the other naturally certain." The Magisterium may also apply censures of lesser gravity to other propositions that are inherently neither heretical nor erroneous. For example, a proposition may be deemed as "scandalous" or "offensive to pious ears" if it is worded in a manner that could lead to a scandalous interpretation or its "verbal expression is such as rightly to shock the Catholic sense and delicacy of faith."[2]

[2] Here Leo X alludes to Pope Pius II's bull *Execrabilis* promulgated in 1460.

[3] "Automatic major excommunication" translates the Latin expression *majoris excommunicationis latae sententiae*.

[4] Latin: *Haereticos comburi, est contra voluntatem Spiritus.*

[5] It is itself a matter of controversy whether the 16th century Magisterium would have permitted the Catholic faithful to embrace some censured propositions as being generally true and worthy of censure only when they are advanced in certain contexts with the intention of generating scandal or causing offense. In a debate with Eck, Luther himself attempted to defend some of Jan Hus' propositions

which the Council of Constance had condemned *in globo* as either heretical, erroneous, blasphemous, presumptuous, seditious or offensive to pious ears. Eck replied to Luther with the retort, "Whichever they were, none of them was called most Christian and evangelical, and if you defend them, then you are heretical, erroneous, blasphemous presumptuous, seditious, and offensive to pious ears respectively."[40]

2.7.6 Citations

[1] Hillerbrand 2007, p. 50.

[2] Sollier 1908.

[3] Bainton 1950, p. 143.

[4] Todd 1964, p. 166.

[5] Bainton 1950, p. 144.

[6] Bainton 1950, pp. 143–144.

[7] Dolan 1965, p. 240.

[8] Bainton 1950, p. 147.

[9] Bainton 1950, p. 156.

[10] Leo X & *Exsurge Domine*.

[11] Luther, Martin (1518). *Resolutiones disputationum de Indulgentiarum virtute F. Martini Luther Augustiniani Vittenbergensis* (in Latin). Rhau-Grunenberg.

[12] Hillerbrand 2007, p. 40.

[13] Hillerbrand 2007, p. 51.

[14] Bainton 1950, p. 145.

[15] Bainton 1950, pp. 145–147.

[16] Hillerbrand 1969, p. 108.

[17] Bainton 1950, p. 158.

[18] Todd 1964, p. 167.

[19] Bainton 1950, p. 157.

[20] Todd 1964, p. 168.

[21] Luther, Martin (1520). *Adversus Execrabile Antichristi Bullam* (in Latin). Wittenberg.

[22] Bainton 1950, pp. 161–162.

[23] Bainton 1950, p. 162.

[24] Todd 1964, p. 169.

[25] Bainton 1950, p. 165.

[26] Bainton 1950, p. 164.

[27] Brecht 1993, p. 424.

[28] Psalms 21:9

[29] Todd 1964, p. 170.

[30] Bainton 1950, p. 166.

[31] Schaff 1916, p. 228.

[32] Schaff 1916, p. 229.

[33] Hillerbrand 1969, p. 111.

[34] Pope Paul VI (7 December 1965). "Dignitatis Humanae". Proceedings of Vatican II. Archived from the original on 2012-02-11. Retrieved 2012-03-10.

[35] Cleenewerck 2005, pp. 311–313.

[36] Cleenewerck 2005, p. 313.

[37] Cleenewerck 2005, p. 315.

[38] Harrison 2005.

[39] Akin 2001.

[40] Bainton 2005, p. 116.

[41] Vatican Secret Archives c. 2006.

2.7.7 References

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- Pope Leo X (15 June 1520). "Exsurge Domine". Retrieved 2012-03-10.
- Schaff, Philip (1916) [©1888]. "The German reformation from the publication Luther's theses to the Diet of Worms A.D. 1517–1521". *History of the Christian church*. **6** (2nd rev. ed.). Charles Scribner's Sons.
- One or more of the preceding sentences incorporates text from a publication now in the public domain: Sollier, Joseph (1908). "Theological Censures". In Herbermann, Charles. *Catholic Encyclopedia*. **3**. New York: Robert Appleton.
- Todd, John M. (1964). *Martin Luther: A Biographical Study*. Paulist Press.
- "The Bull *Exsurge Domine* by Leo X". Vatican City: Vatican Secret Archives. c. 2006. Archived from the original on 2011-05-22. Retrieved 2012-02-28.

2.7.8 External links

- Latin Text of *Exsurge Domine*
- English Translation of *Exsurge Domine*

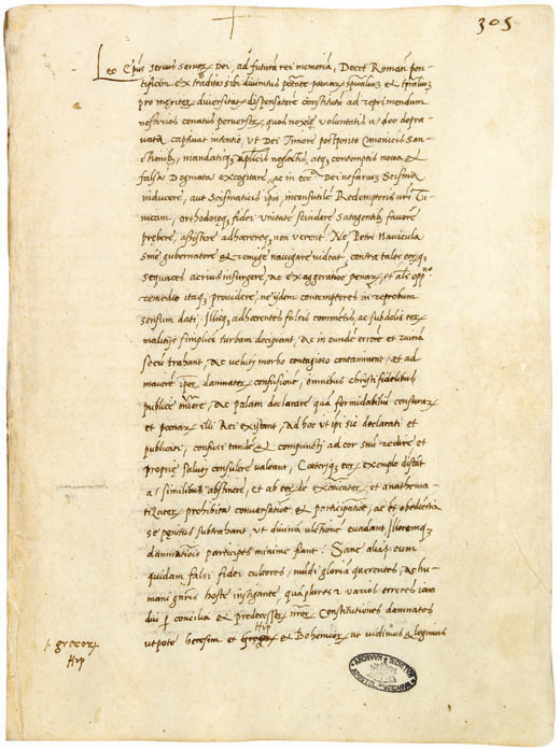
2.8 Decet Romanum Pontificem

Not to be confused with Romanum decet pontificem.

Decet Romanum Pontificem (English: It Befits the Roman Pontiff) (1521) is the papal bull excommunicating Martin Luther, bearing the title of the first three Latin words of the text.[1] It was issued on January 3, 1521, by Pope Leo X to effect the excommunication threatened in his earlier papal bull *Exsurge Domine* (1520) since Luther failed to recant.[2] Luther had burned his copy of *Exsurge Domine* on December 10, 1520, at the Elster Gate in Wittenberg, indicating his response to it.

There are at least two other important papal bulls with the title *Decet Romanum Pontificem*: one dated February 23, 1596, issued by Pope Clement VIII, and one dated March 12, 1622, issued by Pope Gregory XV.

Toward the end of the 20th century, Lutherans in dialogue with the Catholic Church requested the lifting of this excommunication; however, the Vatican's response was that its practice is to lift excommunications only on those still living. Roland Bainton in "*Here I Stand* after a Quarter of a Century," his preface for the 1978 edition of his Luther biography, concludes: "I am happy that the Church of Rome has allowed some talk of removing the excommunication of Luther. This might well be done. He was never a heretic. He might better be called, as one has phrased it, 'a reluctant rebel.'" Luther's rehabilitation



Decet Romanum Pontificem

has been denied however by the Vatican: "Rumors that the Vatican is set to rehabilitate Martin Luther, the 16th-century leader of the Protestant Reformation, are groundless," said the Vatican spokesman, Jesuit Father Federico Lombardi.[3]

The Lutherans of the Missouri Synod have shown little if any willingness to engage in reciprocity, as they continue to maintain that the Pope is "the very anti-Christ."[4]

2.8.1 Notes

[1] Papal Encyclicals Online. "The Bull *"Decet Romanum Pontificem"* - Leo X Excommunicates Martin Luther - Rome, 1521 January 3rd". Retrieved 2012-10-30.

[2] Doak (2006) p. 12

[3] Vatican spokesman calls rumors of rehabilitation of Luther groundless Catholic News Service, March 10 2008

[4] http://www.lcms.org/doctrine/doctrinalposition#anti-christ

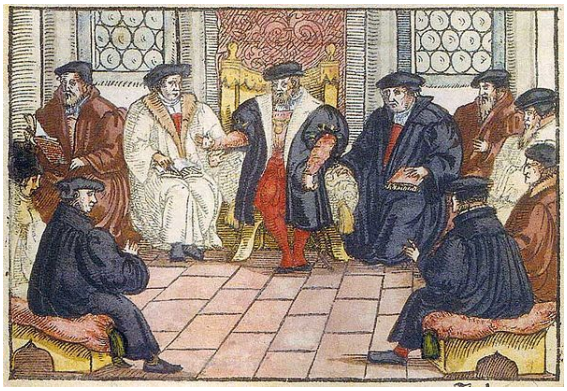
2.8.2 References

- Doak, Robin (2006). *Pope Leo X*. Minneapolis: Compass Point Books. ISBN 0-7565-1594-7.

2.8.3 External links

- Papal Encyclicals Online. "The Bull *"Decet Romanum Pontificem"* - Leo X Excommunicates Martin Luther - Rome, 1521 January 3rd". Retrieved 2012-10-30.
- Text of *Decet Romanum Pontificem* (Microsoft Word format)

2.9 Marburg Colloquy



Anonymous woodcut, 1557

The **Marburg Colloquy** was a meeting at Marburg Castle, Marburg, Hesse, Germany which attempted to solve a disputation between Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli over the Real Presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper. It took place between 1 October and 4 October 1529. The leading Protestant reformers of the time attended at the behest of Philipp I of Hessen. Philipp's primary motivation for this conference was political; he wished to unite the Protestant states in political alliance, and to this end, religious harmony was an important consideration.

After the Diet of Speyer had confirmed the edict of Worms, Philipp I felt the need to reconcile the diverging views of Martin Luther and Ulrich Zwingli in order to develop a unified Protestant theology. Besides Luther and Zwingli, the reformers Stephan Agricola, Johannes Brenz, Martin Bucer, Caspar Hedio, Justus Jonas, Philipp Melanchthon, Johannes Oecolampadius, and Andreas Osiander participated in the meeting.

2.9.1 Background

See also: The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ—Against the Fanatics

Philipp hoped that rapport with Luther would lead to an alliance with Protestant princes and so strengthen his position against the Roman Catholic forces threatening him.[1]

2.9.2 The Colloquy

Although the two prominent reformers, Luther and Zwingli, found a consensus on fourteen theological points,[1] they kept differing on the last one pertaining to the Eucharist: Luther maintained that by Sacramental Union, the consecrated bread and wine in the Lord's Supper were united to the true body and blood of Christ for all communicants to eat and drink; whereas, Zwingli considered bread and wine only symbols of the body and blood of Christ. On this issue they parted without having reached an agreement.

Underlying this disagreement was their theology of Christ. Luther believed that the human body of Christ was ubiquitous (present in all places) and so present in the bread and wine. This was possible because the attributes of God infused Christ's human nature. Luther emphasized the oneness of Christ's person. Zwingli, who emphasized the distinction of the natures, believed that while Christ in his deity was omnipresent, Christ's human body could only be present in one place, that is, at the right hand of the Father.[2] Because of the differences Luther initially refused to acknowledge Zwingli and his followers as Christians,[3] though following the colloquy the two Reformers showed relatively more mutual respect in their writings.[4]

Near the end of the colloquy when it was clear an agreement would not be reached, Philipp asked Luther to draft a list of doctrines all that both sides agreed upon.[1] The Marburg Articles, based on what would become the Articles of Schwabach, had 15 points, and every person at the colloquy could agree on the first 14.[1]

2.9.3 Aftermath

At the later Diet of Augsburg the Zwinglians and Lutherans again explored the same territory as that covered in the Marburg Colloquy, and presented separate statements which showed the differences in opinion.

2.9.4 See also

- First war of Kappel (1529)

2.9.5 References

[1] "Colloquy of Marburg". *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Retrieved December 25, 2016.

[2] Phillip Cary, *Luther: Gospel, Law and Reformation*, [sound recording], Lecture 14

[3] *Huldreich Zwingli, the Reformer of German Switzerland* edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson et al., 1903, page 316

[4] G. R. Potter, 'Zwingli, *Cambridge University Press, 1976*

2.9.6 External links

- *Huldreich Zwingli, the Reformer of German Switzerland* edited by Samuel Macauley Jackson et al., 1903. Online from Google Books
- Phillip Cary. *Luther: Gospel, Law and Reformation*, [sound recording], Lecture 14. 2004, The Teaching Company Limited Partnership

2.10 Augsburg Confession

The **Augsburg Confession**, also known as the "Augustana" from its Latin name, *Confessio Augustana*, is the primary confession of faith of the Lutheran Church and one of the most important documents of the Lutheran Reformation. The Augsburg Confession was written in both German and Latin and was presented by a number of German rulers and free-cities at the Diet of Augsburg on 25 June 1530. The Holy Roman Emperor Charles V had called on the Princes and Free Territories in Germany to explain their religious convictions in an attempt to restore religious and political unity in the Holy Roman Empire and rally support against the Turkish invasion. It is the fourth document contained in the Lutheran *Book of Concord*.

2.10.1 Background

A stained glass window, Confessio Augustana

On 21 January 1530, Emperor Charles V issued letters from Bologna, inviting the Imperial Diet to meet in Augsburg on 8 April for the purpose of discussing and deciding various important questions. Although the writ of invitation was couched in very peaceful language, it was received with suspicion by some of the Protestants. Landgrave Philip of Hesse hesitated to attend the diet, but the Elector John of Saxony, who received the writ 11 March, on 14 March directed Martin Luther, Justus Jonas, Johannes Bugenhagen and Philipp Melanchthon to meet in Torgau, where he was, and present a summary of the Lutheran faith to be laid before the Holy Roman Emperor at the diet.

This summary has received the name of the "Torgau Articles". On 3 April, the elector and reformers started from Torgau, and reached Coburg on 23 April. There, Luther was left behind because he was an outlaw according to the Diet of Worms. The rest reached Augsburg on 2 May. On the journey, Melanchthon worked on an "apology", using the Torgau articles, and sent his draft to Luther at Coburg on 11 May, who approved it. Several alterations were suggested to Melanchthon in his conferences with Jonas, the Saxon chancellor Christian Beyer, the conciliatory Christopher von Stadion, bishop of Augsburg, and the imperial secretary Alfonso de Valdes.

Diet of Augsburg *by Christian Beyer*.

On 23 June, the final form of the text was adopted in the presence of the Elector John of Saxony, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Margrave George of Brandenburg, the Dukes Ernest and Francis of Lüneburg, the representatives of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, and other counselors, besides twelve theologians. After the reading, the confession was signed by the Elector John of Saxony, Margrave George of Brandenburg, Duke Ernest of Lüneburg, the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, the Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the representatives of Nuremberg and Reutlingen, and probably also the electoral prince John Frederick and Duke Francis of Lüneburg.

During the diet, the cities of Weißenburg in Bayern, Heilbronn, Kempten, and Windesheim also expressed their concurrence with the confession. The emperor had ordered the confession to be presented to him at the next session, 24 June; but when the Protestant princes asked that it be read in public, their petition was refused, and efforts were made to prevent the public reading of the document altogether. The Protestant princes, however, declared that they would not part with the confession until its reading should be allowed. The 25th was then fixed for

the day of its presentation. In order to exclude the people, the little chapel of the episcopal palace was appointed in place of the spacious city hall, where the meetings of the diet were held. The two Saxon chancellors Christian Beyer and Gregor Bruck, the former with the plain German copy, the other in traditional Latin language, against the wish of the emperor stepped into the middle of the assembly. The reading of the German version of the text by Christian Beyer lasted two hours and was so distinct that every word could be heard outside. The reading being over, the copies were handed to the emperor. The German he gave to the imperial chancellor, the Elector of Mainz, the Latin he took away. Neither of the copies is now extant.

The first official publication (*Editio princeps*) was edited by Philipp Melanchthon, a professor at the University of Wittenberg and a close colleague and friend of Martin Luther.

2.10.2 Contents

The 28 articles

The Augsburg Confession consists of 28 articles presented by Lutheran princes and representatives of "free cities" at the Diet of Augsburg that set forward what the Lutherans believed, taught and confessed in positive (theses) and negative (antitheses) statements. The theses are 21 Chief Articles of Faith describing the normative principles of Christian faith held by the Lutherans; the antitheses are seven statements describing what they viewed as abuses of the Christian faith present in the Roman church.

The chief articles of faith (theses)

Abuses corrected

Conclusion

"That in doctrine and ceremonies nothing has been received on our part against Scripture or the Church Catholic." Signatures of several secular leaders in Saxony.

2.10.3 Influence of the Augsburg Confession

The Augsburg Confession became the primary confessional document for the Lutheran movement, even without the contribution of Martin Luther. Following the public reading of the Augsburg Confession in June 1530, the expected response by Charles V and the Vatican representatives at the Diet of Augsburg was not immediately forthcoming. Following debate between the court of Charles V and the Vatican representatives, the official response known as the Pontifical Confutation of the Augsburg Confession was produced to the Diet, though the document was so poorly prepared that the document was never published for widespread distribution, nor presented to the Lutherans at the Diet.

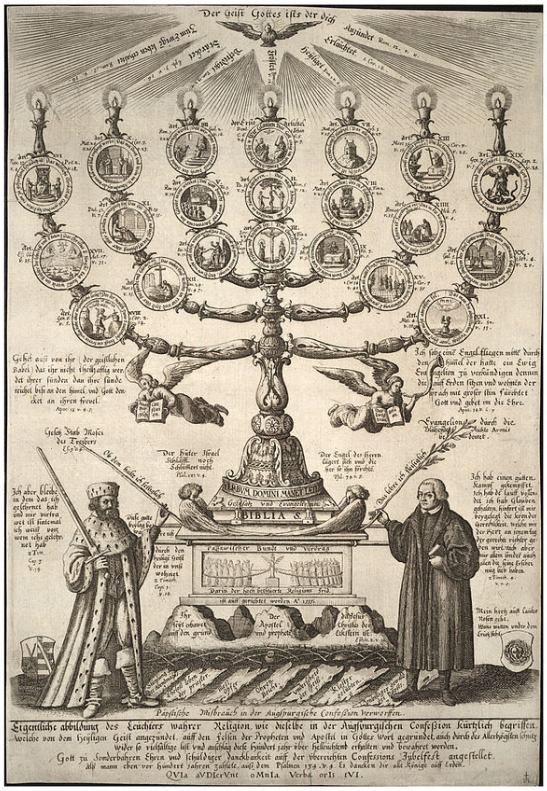


Illustration of the first 21 articles by Wenceslas Hollar

However, in September, Charles V declared the response to be sufficient and gave the Lutheran princes until 15 April 1531, to respond to the demands of the Confutation. In response, Phillipp Melancthon wrote a lengthy and sustained argument both supporting the Augsburg Confession and refuting the arguments made in the Confutation. This document became known as the Apology of the Augsburg Confession and was soon translated into German and was widely distributed and read throughout Germany.

The Lutheran princes at the diet concurrently agreed to a military alliance in the event of action by Charles V known as the Schmalkaldic League. By 1535, the League admitted any city or state to the alliance that gave official assent to the Augsburg Confession and the Apology. Significantly, the Confession was translated into English in 1536, and King Henry VIII was given opportunity to sign the confession and join the league, but theological and political disputes would prevent the English church from joining. The English translation of the Augsburg Confession and German Lutheran theologians would influence

the composition of the first of the Anglican articles of faith started in the latter 1530s and culminating with the Thirty-Nine Articles in 1563. In Scandinavia the Danish-Norwegian king Christian III marched into Copenhagen on 6 August 1536 and six days later he carried out a coup that established the Reformation in Denmark and Norway. The three bishops who dwelt in Copenhagen were arrested and the rest were tracked down and likewise arrested. The official reason was their hesitation to elect Christian as king and other alleged criminal acts. The real reason was, however, that Christian wanted to kill two birds with one stone: carrying through a Lutheran Reformation and confiscating the bishops' properties, the profits from which was needed to cover the expenses of the recently ended civil war.

In 1540, Philipp Melanchthon produced a revised edition, the *Variata*, which was signed by John Calvin. Many Lutheran churches specify in their official documents that they subscribe to the "Unaltered Augsburg Confession", as opposed to the *Variata*.

The political tensions between the Schmalkaldic League and the forces of Charles V and the Vatican eventually led to the Schmalkaldic War in 1546–1547, which was won convincingly by Charles V. The war, however, did not resolve the religious and political situation. Eight years later, the Lutheran princes and Charles V agreed to the Peace of Augsburg, which granted Lutheranism legal status within the Holy Roman Empire.

Theological disputes within the expanding sphere of Lutheranism to other territories in the latter half of the 16th century led to the compilation of a definitive set of Lutheran Confessions in the *Book of Concord* in 1580. The *Book of Concord* includes the Augsburg Confession and the Apology of the Augsburg Confession as the foundational confessions of the Lutheran faith.

Confessio Augustana, Augsburg 1530

In music

Felix Mendelssohn's Symphony No. 5 (actually his second symphony in order of composition) was composed to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the Augsburg Confession and thus bears the title *The Reformation Symphony*. The symphony, however, was not commissioned for the celebrations, because of either the composer's Jewish origins or the inappropriateness of a symphony for the celebrations. Instead, Eduard Grell's work for four men's voices *a capella* was commissioned.

2.10.4 See also

- Augsburg Confession Variata
- Confessio Catholica

2.10.5 References

- This article incorporates text from a publication now in the public domain: Kolde, T. (1914). "Augsburg Confession And Its Apology". In Jackson, Samuel Macauley. *New Schaff–Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (third ed.). London and New York: Funk and Wagnalls. pp. 361–363.

2.10.6 Further reading

- May, Gerhard. "Augsburg Confession." In *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, edited by Erwin Fahlbusch and Geoffrey William Bromiley, 157–159. Vol. 1. Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1999. ISBN 0802824137
- Reu, Johann Michael, *The Augsburg Confession: A Collection of Sources with an Historical Introduction*. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1983.

2.10.7 External links

- The full text of Augsburg Confession at Wikisource
- The Augsburg Confession (1530) in Latin with a parallel English translation and with notes on the differences in the 1540 edition (Articles I — VII); from Philip Schaff's *Creeds of the Evangelical Protestant Churches* at the Christian Classics Ethereal Library
- Augsburg Confession (1530), including articles XXII — XXVIII
- The Roman Confutation (1530), in an English translation, compares each articles of the confession to Catholic beliefs.
- Audio recording of the first part of the Augsburg Confession in Latin with text
- A Chronicle of the Augsburg Confession by Charles Porterfield Krauth, Philadelphia: J. Fredrick Smith, 1878.

- Augsburg Confession in The Lutheran Cyclopedia (1899) edited by Henry Eyster Jacobs
- Augsburg Confession in the Concordia Cyclopedia (page 1)(page 2)
- Augsburg Confession in the Christian Cyclopedia
- An Orthodox Response – Summary of Orthodox Patriarch Jeremias II's letter of 15 May 1576, in which he compares each article of the confession to Orthodox Christian beliefs
- The Roman Catholic Reception of the Augsburg Confession by Robert Kress (JSTOR)

2.11 Diet of Worms

For other uses, see Diet of Worms (disambiguation).

The **Diet of Worms 1521** (German: *Reichstag zu*

Luther at the Diet of Worms, *by Anton von Werner, 1877*

Worms, [ˈʁaɪçsta:k tsu: ˈvɔʁms]) was an imperial diet (assembly) of the Holy Roman Empire held at the Heylshof Garden in Worms, then an Imperial Free City of the Empire. An imperial diet was a formal deliberative assembly of the whole Empire. This one is most memorable for the **Edict of Worms** (*Wormser Edikt*), which addressed Martin Luther and the effects of the Protestant Reformation. It was conducted from 28 January to 25 May 1521, with the Emperor Charles V presiding.

Other imperial diets took place at Worms in the years 829, 926, 1076, 1122, 1495, and 1545, but unless plainly qualified, the term "Diet of Worms" usually refers to the assembly of 1521.

2.11.1 Background

In June of the previous year, 1520, Pope Leo X issued the Papal bull *Exsurge Domine* ("Arise, O Lord"), outlining forty-one purported errors found in Martin Luther's Ninety-five Theses and other writings related to or written by him. Luther was summoned by the emperor. Prince Frederick III, Elector of Saxony obtained an agreement that if Luther appeared he would be promised safe passage to and from the meeting. This guarantee was essential after the treatment of Jan Hus, who was tried and executed at the Council of Constance in 1415 despite a promise of safe conduct.

Emperor Charles V commenced the Imperial Diet of Worms on 23 January 1521. Luther was summoned to renounce or reaffirm his views. When he appeared before the assembly on 16 April, Johann Eck, an assistant of the Archbishop of Trier (Richard von Greiffenklau zu Vollrads at that time), acted as spokesman for the emperor.

2.11.2 Martin Luther

Luther in Worms, colourized woodcut, 1577

The main events of the Diet of Worms relating to Luther took place from 16 to 18 April 1521.

On 16 April, Luther arrived in Worms. Luther was told to appear the following day before the Diet at 4 p.m. Dr. Jeromee Schurff, Wittenberg professor in Canon Law, was to act as Luther's lawyer before the Diet.

On 17 April, the imperial marshal, Ulrich von Pappenheim, and the herald, Caspar Sturm came for Luther.[1] Pappenheim reminded Luther that he should speak only in answer to direct questions from the presiding officer, Johann Eck. Eck asked if a collection of books was Luther's and if he was ready to revoke their heresies. Dr. Schurff said, "Please have the titles read." There were 25 of them, probably including *The 95 Theses*, *Resolutions Concerning the 95 Theses*, *On the Papacy at Rome*, *Address to the Christian Nobility*, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, and *On the Freedom of a Christian*. Luther requested more time for a proper answer, so he was given until the next day at 4 p.m.

On 18 April, Luther, stating he'd prayed for long hours, consulted with friends and mediators, presented himself before the Diet. When the counselor put the same questions to him, Luther first apologized that he lacked the etiquette of the court. Then he answered, "They are all mine, but as for the second question, they are not all of one sort." Luther went on to place the writings into three categories: (1) Works which were well received by even his enemies: those he would not reject. (2) Books which attacked the abuses, lies and desolation of the Christian

world and the papacy: those, Luther believed, could not safely be rejected without encouraging abuses to continue. To retract them would be to open the door to further oppression.[2] "If I now recant these, then, I would be doing nothing but strengthening tyranny".[2] (3) Attacks on individuals: he apologized for the harsh tone of these writings but did not reject the substance of what he taught in them; if he could be shown from the Scriptures that he was in error, Luther continued, he would reject them. Luther concluded by saying

> Unless I am convinced by the testimony of the Scriptures or by clear reason (for I do not trust either in the pope or in councils alone, since it is well known that they have often erred and contradicted themselves), I am bound by the Scriptures I have quoted and my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and will not recant anything, since it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience. May God help me. Amen.[3]

According to tradition, Luther is said to have declared, "Here I stand, I can do no other," before concluding with "God help me. Amen."[4] However, there is no indication in the transcripts of the Diet or in eyewitness accounts that he ever said this, and most scholars now doubt these words were spoken.

Luther statue in Worms

Eck informed Luther that he was acting like a heretic:

> "'Martin,' said he, 'there is no one of the heresies which have torn the bosom of the church, which has not derived its origin from the various interpretation of the Scripture. The Bible itself is the arsenal whence each innovator has drawn his deceptive arguments. It was with biblical texts that Pelagius and Arius maintained their doctrines. Arius, for instance, found the negation of the eternity of the Word—an eternity which you admit, in this verse of the New Testament—*Joseph knew not his wife till she had brought forth her first-born son*; and he said, in the same way that you say, that this passage enchained him. When the fathers of the council of Constance condemned this proposition of John Huss—*The church of Jesus Christ is only the community of the elect*, they condemned an error; for the church, like a good mother, embraces within her arms all who bear the name of Christian, all who are called to enjoy the celestial beatitude.'"[5]

Private conferences were held to determine Luther's fate. Before a decision was reached, Luther fled. During his return to Wittenberg, he disappeared.

2.11.3 Edict of Worms

The Edict of Worms was a decree issued on 25 May 1521 by Emperor Charles V, declaring:

> For this reason we forbid anyone from this time forward to dare, either by words or by deeds, to receive, defend, sustain, or favour the said Martin Luther. On the contrary, we want him to be apprehended and punished as a notorious heretic, as he deserves, to be brought personally before us, or to be securely guarded until those who have captured him inform us, whereupon we will order the appropriate manner of proceeding against the said Luther. Those who will help in his capture will be rewarded generously for their good work.

The Papal nuncio at the diet, Girolamo Aleandro, drew up and proposed the denunciations of Luther that were embodied in the Edict of Worms, promulgated on 25 May. The Edict declared Luther to be an obstinate heretic and banned the reading or possession of his writings.

It was the culmination of an ongoing struggle between Martin Luther and the Catholic Church over reform, especially in practice of donations for indulgences. However, there were other deeper issues that revolved around both theological concerns:

- On a theological level, Luther had challenged the absolute authority of the Pope over the Church by maintaining that the doctrine of indulgences, as authorized and taught by the Pope, was wrong.[6]

- Luther maintained that salvation was by faith alone (*sola fide*) without reference to good works, alms, penance, or the Church's sacraments. Luther maintained that the sacraments were a "means of grace," meaning that while grace was imparted through the Sacraments, the credit for the action belonged to God and not to the individual.[7]

- He had also challenged the authority of the Church by maintaining that all doctrines and dogmata of the Church not found in Scripture should be discarded (*sola scriptura*).

To protect the authority of the Pope and the Church, as well as to maintain the doctrine of indulgences, ecclesiastical officials convinced Charles V that Luther was a threat and persuaded him to authorize his condemnation by the Holy Roman Empire. Luther escaped arrest and remained in seclusion at Wartburg castle for several months where he continued to write and translate the New Testament into German.

2.11.4 Aftermath

Despite the agreement that he could return home safely, it was privately understood that Luther would soon be arrested and punished. To protect him from this fate, Prince Frederick seized him on his way home and hid him in Wartburg Castle. It was during his time in Wartburg that Luther began his German translation of the Bible. Martin Luther's powerful testimony of faith at the Diet of Worms in 1521 made an indelible impression upon the mind of George, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach, who turned his eyes to the new faith earlier than any other German prince or any other member of the House of Hohenzollern. Moreover, Luther entered into correspondence with him, discussing with him the most important problems of faith. The edict was temporarily suspended at the Diet of Speyer 1526 but then reinstated in 1529.

When Luther eventually emerged from the Wartburg, the emperor, distracted with other matters, did not press for Luther's arrest. Ultimately, because of rising public support for Luther among the German people and the protection of certain German princes, the Edict of Worms was never enforced in Germany. However, in the Low Countries (comprising modern-day Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands), the Edict was initially enforced against Luther's most active supporters. This could be done because these countries were under the direct reign of Emperor Charles V and his appointed regent, Margaret of Austria, Duchess of Savoy (and Charles's aunt). In December 1521, Jacob Probst, prior of the Augustinian monastery in Antwerp, was the first Luther-supporting cleric to be arrested and prosecuted under the terms of the Worms Edict. In February 1522, Probst was compelled to make public recantation and repudiation of Luther's teachings. Later that year, additional arrests were made among the Augustinians in Antwerp. Two monks, Johann Esch and Heinrich Voes, refused to recant; on 1 July 1523, they were burned at the stake in Brussels.[8]

2.11.5 References

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[2] Oberman, Heiko, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006, ISBN 0-300-10313-1.

[3] Brecht, Martin. *Martin Luther*. tr. James L. Schaaf, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985–93, 1:460.

[4] Elesha Coffman. "'Hier Stehe Ich!'". *ChristianityToday.com*.

[5] Martin Luther. "Life of Luther (Luther by Martin Luther)".

[6] Noll, Mark A. (2000) [1997]. *Turning Points: Decisive Moments in the History of Christianity*. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic. p. 160. ISBN 978-0-8010-1159-7.

[7] Graebner, Augustus Lawrence. "Outlines of Doctrinal Theology". Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 161. Archived from the original on 21 January 2012. Retrieved 15 February 2012.

[8] Brecht, Martin. Martin Luther. tr. James L. Schaaf, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985–93, 2:102ff.

2.11.6 External links

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- Diet of Worms on *In Our Time* at the BBC. (listen now)
- Luther's Statement at Worms from Bartleby
- The Diet of Worms by Charles Beard Chapter IX of *Luther and the Reformation in Germany* 1896

2.12 Radical Reformation

The **Radical Reformation** was the response to what was believed to be the corruption in both the Roman Catholic Church and the expanding Magisterial Protestant movement led by Martin Luther and many others. Beginning in Germany and Switzerland in the 16th century, the Radical Reformation gave birth to many radical Protestant groups throughout Europe. The term covers both radical reformers like Thomas Müntzer, Andreas Karlstadt, groups like the Zwickau prophets and Anabaptist groups like the Hutterites and Mennonites.

In parts of Germany, Switzerland and Austria, a majority sympathized with the Radical Reformation despite intense persecution.[1] Although the surviving proportion of the European population that rebelled against Catholic, Lutheran and Zwinglian churches was small, Radical Reformers wrote profusely and the literature on the Radical Reformation is disproportionately large, partly as a result of the proliferation of the Radical Reformation teachings in the United States.[2]

2.12.1 Characteristics

Unlike the Catholics and the more Magisterial Lutheran and Reformed (Zwinglian and Calvinist) Protestant movements, some of the Radical Reformation abandoned the idea that the "Church visible" was distinct from the "Church invisible."[3] Thus, the Church only consisted of the tiny community of believers, who accepted Jesus Christ and demonstrated this by adult baptism, called "believer's baptism".

While the magisterial reformers wanted to substitute their own learned elite for the learned elite of the Catholic Church, the radical Protestant groups rejected the authority of the institutional "church" organization, almost entirely, as being unbiblical. As the search for original Christianity was carried further, it was claimed that the tension between the church and the Roman Empire in the first centuries of Christianity was normative, that the church is not to be allied with government sacralism, that a true church is always subject to be persecuted, and that the conversion of Constantine I was therefore the Great Apostasy that marked a deviation from pure Christianity.[4]

2.12.2 Non-Anabaptist Radical reformers

Though most of the Radical Reformers were Anabaptist, some did not identify themselves with the mainstream Anabaptist tradition. Thomas Müntzer was involved in the German Peasants' War. Andreas Karlstadt disagreed theologically with Huldrych Zwingli and Martin Luther, teaching nonviolence and refusing to baptize infants while not rebaptizing adult believers.[5] Kaspar Schwenkfeld and Sebastian Franck were influenced by German mysticism and spiritualism.

2.12.3 Early forms of Anabaptism

Some early forms of the Radical Reformation were millenarian, focusing on the imminent end of the world. This was particularly notable in the rule of John of Leiden over the city of Münster in 1535, which was ultimately crushed by the combined forces of the Catholic Bishop of Münster and the Lutheran Landgrave of Hesse. After the Munster rebellion, the small group of the Batenburgers continued to adhere to militant Anabaptist beliefs. Nonviolent Anabaptist groups also had millenarian beliefs.

The early Anabaptists believed that their reformation must purify not only theology but also the actual lives of Christians, especially their political and social relationships.[6] Therefore, the church should not be supported by the state, neither by tithes and taxes, nor by the use of the sword; Christianity was a matter of individual conviction, which could not be forced on anyone, but rather required a personal decision for it.[6]

Many groups were influenced by biblicism (like the Swiss Brethren), spiritualism (like the South German Anabaptists) and mainly absolute pacifism (like the Swiss Brethren, the Hutterites and the Mennonites from Northern Germany and the Netherlands). The Hutterites also practiced community of goods. In the beginning most of them were strongly missionary.

2.12.4 Later forms of Anabaptism

Later forms of Anabaptism were much smaller, and focused on the formation of small, separatist communities. Among the many varieties to develop were Mennonites, Amish, and Hutterites. Typical among the new leaders of the later Anabaptist movement, and certainly the most influential of them, was Menno Simons (1496–1561), a Dutch Catholic priest who early in 1536 decided to join the Anabaptists.[7]

Simons had no use for the violence advocated and practiced by the Münster movement, which seemed to him to pervert the very heart of Christianity.[7] Thus, Mennonite pacifism is not merely a peripheral characteristic of the movement, but rather belongs to the very essence of Menno's understanding of the gospel; this is one of the reasons that it has been a constant characteristic of all Mennonite bodies through the centuries.[7]

2.12.5 Other movements

In addition to the Anabaptists, other Radical Reformation movements have been identified. Notably, George Huntston Williams, the great categorizer of the Radical Reformation, considered early forms of Unitarianism (such as that of the Socinians, and exemplified by Michael Servetus as well as the Polish Brethren), and other trends that disregarded the Nicene christology still accepted by most Christians, as part of the Radical Reformation. With Michael Servetus (1511–1553) and Faustus Socinus (1539–1604) anti-Trinitarianism came to the foreground.[8]

2.12.6 See also

- Religious Society of Friends, a later group influenced by the Radical Reformation

- Christian anarchism
- Justus Velsius
- Martyrs Mirror
- Restorationism (Christian primitivism)

2.12.7 References

[1] Horsch, John (1995). *Mennonites in Europe*. Herald Press. p. 299. ISBN 978-0836113952.

[2] Euan Cameron (1991). *The European Reformation*. New York: Oxford University Press. ISBN 0-19-873093-4.

[3] Maseko, Achim N. (2008), *Church Schism & Corruption*, South Africa: Lulu.com, p. 236, ISBN 9781409221869

[4] Justo L. Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought* (Abingdon: Nashville, 1975)

[5] Hein, Gerhard. "Karlstadt, Andreas Rudolff-Bodenstein von (1486-1541).". *Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online*. Retrieved 19 April 2014.

[6] Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought*, 88.

[7] Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought*, 96.

[8] Gonzalez, *A History of Christian Thought*, 101.

2.12.8 Further reading

- Williams, George H., *The Radical Reformation*, 3rd ed (Truman State Univ Press, 2000). Estep, William R., *The AnaBaptist Story*.

2.12.9 External links

- Radical Reformation at Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online
- 16th Century Reformation Reading Room, Tyndale Seminary

2.13 German Peasants' War

For other peasant revolts, see List of peasant revolts.

The **German Peasants' War**, **Great Peasants' War** or **Great Peasants' Revolt** (German: *Deutscher Bauernkrieg*) was a widespread popular revolt in the German-speaking areas of Central Europe from 1524 to 1525. It failed because of the intense opposition of the aristocracy, who slaughtered up to 100,000 of the 300,000 poorly armed peasants and farmers.[1] The survivors were fined and achieved few if any of their goals. The war consisted, like the preceding Bundschuh movement and the Hussite Wars, of a series of both economic and religious revolts in which peasants and farmers, often supported by Protestant clergy, took the lead. The German Peasants' War was Europe's largest and most widespread popular uprising prior to the French Revolution of 1789. The fighting was at its height in the middle of 1525.

The war began with separate insurrections, beginning in the southwestern part of what is now Germany and neighboring Alsace, and spread in subsequent insurrections to the central and eastern areas of Germany and present-day Austria.[2] After the uprising in Germany was suppressed, it flared briefly in several Swiss Cantons.

In mounting their insurrection, peasants faced insurmountable obstacles. The democratic nature of their movement left them without a command structure and they lacked artillery and cavalry. Most of them had little, if any, military experience. In combat they often turned and fled, and were massacred by their pursuers. The opposition had experienced military leaders, well-equipped and disciplined armies, and ample funding.

The revolt incorporated some principles and rhetoric from the emerging Protestant Reformation, through which the peasants sought freedom and influence. Historians have interpreted the economic aspects of the German Peasants' War differently, and social and cultural historians continue to disagree on its causes and nature.

2.13.1 Background

In the sixteenth century, many parts of Europe had common political links within the Holy Roman Empire, a decentralized entity in which the Holy Roman Emperor himself had little authority outside of his own dynastic lands, which covered only a small fraction of the whole. At the time of the Peasants' War, Charles V, King of Spain, held the position of Holy Roman Emperor (elected in 1519). Aristocratic dynasties ruled hundreds of largely independent territories (both secular and ecclesiastical) within the framework of the empire, and several dozen others operated as semi-independent city-states. The princes of these dynasties were taxed by the Roman Catholic church. The princes could only gain, economically, by breaking away from the Roman church and establishing a German church under their own control, which would then not be able to tax them as the Roman church did. Most German princes broke with Rome using the nationalistic slogan of "German money for a German church".[3]

Roman civil law

Princes often attempted to force their freer peasants into serfdom by increasing taxes and introducing Roman civil law. Roman civil law advantaged princes who sought to consolidate their power because it brought all land into

their personal ownership and eliminated the feudal concept of the land as a trust between lord and peasant that conferred rights as well as obligations on the latter. By maintaining the remnants of the ancient law which legitimized their own rule, they not only elevated their wealth and position in the empire through the confiscation of all property and revenues, but increased their power over their peasant subjects.

During the Knights' Revolt the "knights", the lesser landholders of the Rhineland in western Germany, rose up in rebellion in 1522–1523. Their rhetoric was religious, and several leaders expressed Luther's ideas on the split with Rome and the new German church. However, the Knights' Revolt was not fundamentally religious. It was conservative in nature and sought to preserve the feudal order. The knights revolted against the new money order, which was squeezing them out of existence.[4]

Luther and Müntzer

Twelve Articles of the Peasants pamphlet of 1525

Martin Luther, the dominant leader of the Reformation in Germany, took a middle course in the Peasants' War. He criticized both the injustices imposed on the peasants, and the rashness of the peasants in fighting back. He also tended to support the centralization and urbanization of the economy. This position alienated the lesser nobles, but shored up his position with the burghers. Luther argued that work was the chief duty on earth; the duty of the peasants was farm labor and the duty of the ruling classes was upholding the peace. He could not support the Peasant War because it broke the peace, an evil he thought greater than the evils the peasants were rebelling against. Therefore, he encouraged the nobility to swiftly and violently take out the rebelling peasants. Later, Luther also criticized the ruling classes for their merciless suppression of the insurrection. Luther has often been sharply criticized for his position.[5]

Thomas Müntzer was the most prominent radical reforming preacher who supported the demands of the peasantry, including political and legal rights. Müntzer's theology had been developed against a background of social upheaval and widespread religious doubt, and his call for a new world order fused with the political and social demands of the peasantry. In the final weeks of 1524 and the beginning of 1525, Müntzer travelled into south-west Germany, where the peasant armies were gathering; here he would have had contact with some of their leaders, and it is argued that he also influenced the formulation of their demands. He spent several weeks in the Klettgau area, and there is some evidence to suggest that he helped the peasants to formulate their grievances. While the famous Twelve Articles of the Swabian peasants were certainly not composed by Müntzer, at least one important supporting document, the *Constitutional Draft*, may well have originated with him.[6] Returning to Saxony and Thuringia in early 1525, he assisted in the organisation of the various rebel groups there and ultimately led the rebel army in the ill-fated Battle of Frankenhausen on 15 May 1525. [7] Müntzer's role in the Peasant War has been the subject of considerable controversy, some arguing that he had no influence at all, others that he was the sole inspirer of the uprising. To judge from his writings of 1523 and 1524, it was by no means inevitable that Müntzer would take the road of social revolution. However, it was precisely on this same theological foundation that Müntzer's ideas briefly coincided with the aspirations of the peasants and plebeians of 1525: viewing the uprising as an apocalyptic act of God, he stepped up as 'God's Servant against the Godless' and took his position as leader of the rebels. [8]

Luther and Müntzer took every opportunity to attack each other's ideas and actions. Luther himself declared against the moderate demands of the peasantry embodied in the twelve articles. His article *Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants* appeared in May 1525 just as the rebels were being defeated on the fields of battle.

Social classes in the 16th century Holy Roman Empire

In this era of rapid change, modernizing princes tended to align with clergy burghers against the lesser nobility and peasants.

Ein new lied / wie es vor Rastat mit den Pauren ergangen · ist Im thon Es geet ein frischer summer daher.

Nun wölt jr hören ein newes gedicht/ vnd was vor Rastat geschehenn ist/ woll von den kropffren pawren/ im Pinggaw habenns sy s angefanngen/ so gar an alles trawren ja trawren.

Nun merckt jr herren der pauren rad die Rastatter lanndtschaft handt aufbracht/ seind für die stat gezogen/ sy haben tag vñ nacht geschantzt/ ist war vnd nit erlogen ja logen.

Die pauren vorderten auf die Stat/ in dreyen stunden was jr radt/ solt man die stat aufgebenn/ vnnd wa das nit geschehen wurd/ so gult es jn ir leben.

Was hetten jn die paurenn erdacht/ vonn lörchem holtz ein Byrenn bracht/ mit eysenn rayffenn vmb bundenn/ sy war wol achtgehen schüch lanng/ die maur hats nit entpfunden ja pfunden.

Die paurē theten einen sturm/ mit langē laytern das het keyn furm/ die maur was nit beschossen/ merckent was das für kriegsleüt seind/ es thet jr lebē kosten.

Ein Hauptman heyßt der Setzenwein/ er sprach zum pauren an der gemeyn/ die maur laßt sich nit vmbstossen/ so kan ich nit mit dem kopf hindurch/ wir werden legen ein plossen ja plossen.

Wolt jr das ich die Stat bestürm/ solegt mir zů gschütz vnd schürm/ das ich die stat müg bschiessen/ wo jrs nit thut so ists vmb sonst/ das thet die paurn verdriessen ja driessen.

Die pauren gaben jm den lon/ deßgleich en dem Prouosen schon/ es galt jr bedleben/ ja wer sich vnder die pauren mischt/ dem wirt sein lon auch geben ja geben.

Die pauren begerten weyb vnnd kind/ hyn auß fürs thor nur alsd gschwind/ sy woltens also machē/ wol mit den burgern in d stat/ das sys nit wurden lachen ja.

Sy woltens vber die maur auß werffen/ wol nach der leng vnd nach d scharffen die burger waren weise/ sy theten als fromb redlich lewt/ jr lob thun ich da preisen.

Es ist der pauren maynung gewesenn/ keyn langknecht solt vor jn genesen/ sy woltens all erhencken/ darüb jr liche langknecht gůt/ thůts den paurē eintrenckē.

Der Schitter auff der jenickaw/ d hatt zwelff sold vñ groß vertraw/ ein obrister ist er gewesen/ er hat die lantschaft wol geregiert/ das sicht man yetzgar eben.

Ein hauptman heyßt der Lienhart Heyd/ er hat seyn reyl was manchem leyd an sant Johanns tag ists geschehen/ sy wurden geschossen vnnd geschlagen/ hat mancher langknecht gesehen ja gsehen.

Der Michel Gayßmayr was ein hauptman / er mocht mit eeren nit bestan/ er ist ein schalck für trauren/ er hat das Etschland aufrürig gemacht darzu der Pintzgar pauren ja pauren.

Ein Edler herr zu Rastatt wont/ mit namen graff Christoff ist er gnannt/ ein rettter ist er geborn/ er hat die stat gar wol behůt/ thet den pauren zoren ja zoren.

Noch eins jr pauren nempt für gůt/ Behalt ewern leyb in gůter hůt/ thůt fürbas daheim beleiben/ gebt ewern herrenn was jn zůsteet/ so thůt man ewch nit vertreiben ja treiben.

Nun welt jr pauren zufriden sein/ so bleibt jr billich wol daheim/ bey ewern kindē vnnd weibenn/ dasselb laßt ewch zu hertzen gan/ man thůt ewch vberwindenn.

Flyer from the time of the Peasants' War

Princes Many rulers of Germany's various principalities functioned as autocratic rulers who recognized no other authority within their territories. Princes had the right to levy taxes and borrow money as they saw fit. The growing costs of administration and military upkeep impelled them to keep raising demands on their subjects.[9] The princes also worked to centralize power in the towns and estates.[10] Accordingly, princes tended to gain economically from the ruination of the lesser nobility, by acquiring their estates. This ignited the Knights' Revolt that occurred from 1522 through 1523 in the Rhineland. The revolt was "suppressed by both Catholic and Lutheran princes who were satisfied to cooperate against a common danger".[9]

To the degree that other classes, such as the bourgeois,[11] might gain from the centralization of the economy and the elimination of the lesser nobles' territorial controls on manufacture and trade,[12] the princes might unite with the burghers on the issue.[9]

Lesser nobility The evolving military technology of the Late Medieval period began to render the lesser nobility (the knights) militarily obsolete.[12] The introduction of military science and the growing importance of gunpowder and infantry lessened the importance of heavy cavalry and of castles. Their luxurious lifestyle drained what little income they had as prices kept rising. They exercised their ancient rights in order to wring income from their territories.[11]

In the north of Germany many of the lesser nobles had already been subordinated to secular and ecclesiastical lords.[12] Thus, their dominance over serfs was more restricted. However, in the south of Germany their powers were more intact. Accordingly, the harshness of the lesser nobles' treatment of the peasantry provided the immediate cause of the uprising. The fact that this treatment was worse in the south than in the north was the reason that the war began in the south.[9]

The knights became embittered as their status and income fell and they came increasingly under the jurisdiction of the princes, putting the two groups in constant conflict. The knights also regarded the clergy as arrogant and superfluous, while envying their privileges and wealth. In addition, the knights' relationships with the patricians in the towns was strained by the debts owed by the knights.[13] At odds with other classes in Germany, the lesser nobility was the least disposed to change.[11]

The lesser nobility and the clergy paid no taxes and often supported their local prince.[9]

Clergy The clergy in 1525 were the intellectuals of their time. Not only were they literate, but in the Middle Ages they had produced most books. Some clergy were supported by the nobility and the rich, while others appealed to the masses. However, the clergy was beginning to lose its overwhelming intellectual authority. The progress of printing (especially of the Bible) and the expansion of commerce, as well as the spread of renaissance humanism, raised literacy rates, according to Engels.[14] Engels held that the Catholic monopoly on higher education was accordingly reduced. However, despite the secular nature of nineteenth century humanism, three centuries earlier Renaissance humanism had still been strongly connected with the Church: its proponents had attended Church schools.

Over time, some Catholic institutions had slipped into corruption. Clerical ignorance and the abuses of simony and pluralism (holding several offices at once) were rampant. Some bishops, archbishops, abbots and priors were as ruthless in exploiting their subjects as the regional princes.[15] In addition to the sale of indulgences, they set up prayer houses and directly taxed the people. Increased indignation over church corruption had led the monk Martin Luther to post his 95 Theses on the doors of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, Germany, in 1517, as well as impelling other reformers to radically re-think church doctrine and organization.[16][17] The clergy who did not follow Luther tended to be the aristocratic clergy, who opposed all change, including any break with the Roman Church.[18]

The poorer clergy, rural and urban itinerant preachers

who were not well positioned in the church, were more likely to join the Reformation.[19] Some of the poorer clergy sought to extend Luther's equalizing ideas to society at large.

Patricians Many towns had privileges that exempted them from taxes, so that the bulk of taxation fell on the peasants. As the guilds grew and urban populations rose, the town patricians faced increasing opposition. The patricians consisted of wealthy families who sat alone in the town councils and held all the administrative offices. Like the princes, they sought to secure revenues from their peasants by any possible means. Arbitrary road, bridge, and gate tolls were instituted at will. They gradually revoked the common lands and made it illegal for peasants to fish or to log wood from these lands. Guild taxes were exacted. No revenues collected were subject to formal administration, and civic accounts were neglected. Thus embezzlement and fraud became common, and the patrician class, bound by family ties, became wealthier and more powerful.

Burghers The town patricians were increasingly criticized by the growing burgher class, which consisted of well-to-do middle-class citizens who held administrative guild positions or worked as merchants. They demanded town assemblies made up of both patricians and burghers, or at least a restriction on simony and the allocation of council seats to burghers. The burghers also opposed the clergy, whom they felt had overstepped and failed to uphold their principles. They demanded an end to the clergy's special privileges such as their exemption from taxation, as well as a reduction in their numbers. The burgher-master (guild master, or artisan) now owned both his workshop and its tools, which he allowed his apprentices to use, and provided the materials that his workers needed.[20] F. Engels cites: "To the call of Luther of rebellion against the Church, two political uprisings responded, first, the one of lower nobility, headed by Franz von Sickingen in 1523, and then, the great peasant's war, in 1525; both were crushed, because, mainly, of the indecisiveness of the party having most interest in the fight, the urban bourgeoisie". (Foreword to the English edition of: 'From Utopy Socialism to Scientific Socialism', 1892)

Plebeians The plebeians comprised the new class of urban workers, journeymen, and peddlers. Ruined burghers also joined their ranks. Although technically potential burghers, most journeymen were barred from higher positions by the wealthy families who ran the guilds.[12] Thus their "temporary" position devoid of civic rights tended to become permanent. The plebeians did not have property like ruined burghers or peasants.

Peasants The heavily taxed peasantry continued to occupy the lowest stratum of society. In the early 16th century, no peasant could hunt, fish, or chop wood freely, as they previously had, because the lords had recently taken control of common lands. The lord had the right to use his peasants' land as he wished; the peasant could do nothing but watch as his crops were destroyed by wild game and by nobles galloping across his fields in the course of chivalric hunts. When a peasant wished to marry, he not only needed the lord's permission but had to pay a tax. When the peasant died, the lord was entitled to his best cattle, his best garments and his best tools. The justice system, operated by the clergy or wealthy burgher and patrician jurists, gave the peasant no redress. Generations of traditional servitude and the autonomous nature of the provinces limited peasant insurrections to local areas.

Military organizations

Bauernjörg, Georg, Truchsess von Waldburg, the Scourge of the Peasants

Army of the Swabian League The Swabian League fielded an army commanded by Georg, Truchsess von Waldburg, later known as "Bauernjörg" for his role in the suppression of the revolt.[21] He was also known as the "Scourge of the Peasants".[lower-alpha 1] The league headquarters was based in Ulm, and command was exercised through a war council which decided the troop contingents to be levied from each member. Depending on their capability, members contributed a specific number of mounted knights and foot soldiers, called a contingent, to the league's army. The Bishop of Augsburg, for exam-

ple, had to contribute 10 horse (mounted) and 62 foot soldiers, which would be the equivalent of a half-company. At the beginning of the revolt the league members had trouble recruiting soldiers from among their own populations (particularly among peasant class) due to fear of them joining the rebels. As the rebellion expanded many nobles had trouble sending troops to the league armies because they had to combat rebel groups in their own lands. Another common problem regarding raising armies was that while nobles were obligated to provide troops to a member of the league, they also had other obligations to other lords. These conditions created problems and confusion for the nobles as they tried to gather together forces large enough to put down the revolts.[22]

Foot soldiers were drawn from the ranks of the *landsknechte*. These were mercenaries, usually paid a monthly wage of four guilders, and organized into regiments (*haufen*) and companies (*fähnlein* or little flag) of 120–300 men, which distinguished it from others. Each company, in turn, was composed of smaller units of 10 to 12 men, known as *rotte*. The *landsknechte* clothed, armed and fed themselves, and were accompanied by a sizable train of sutlers, bakers, washerwomen, prostitutes and sundry individuals with occupations needed to sustain the force. Trains (*tross*) were sometimes larger than the fighting force, but they required organization and discipline. Each *landsknecht* maintained its own structure, called the *gemein*, or community assembly, which was symbolized by a ring. The *gemein* had its own leader (*schultheiss*), and a *provost* officer who policed the ranks and maintained order.[21] The use of the landsknechte in the German Peasants' War reflects a period of change between traditional noble roles or responsibilities towards warfare and practice of buying mercenary armies, which became the norm throughout the 16th century.[23]

The league relied on the armored cavalry of the nobility for the bulk of its strength; the league had both heavy cavalry and light cavalry, (*rennfahne*), which served as a vanguard. Typically, the *rehnnfahne* were the second and third sons of poor knights, the lower and sometimes impoverished nobility with small land-holdings, or, in the case of second and third sons, no inheritance or social role. These men could often be found roaming the countryside looking for work or engaging in highway robbery.[24]

To be effective the cavalry needed to be mobile, and to avoid hostile forces armed with pikes.

Peasant armies The peasant armies were organized in bands (*haufen*), similar to the *landsknecht*. Each *haufen* was organized into *unterhaufen*, or *fähnlein* and *rotten*. The bands varied in size, depending on the number of insurgents available in the locality. Peasant *haufen* divided along territorial lines, whereas those of the *landsknecht* drew men from a variety of territories. Some bands could number about 4,000; others, such as the peasant force at Frankenhausen, could gather 8,000. The Alsatian peasants who took to the field at the Battle of Zabern (now Saverne) numbered 18,000.[25]

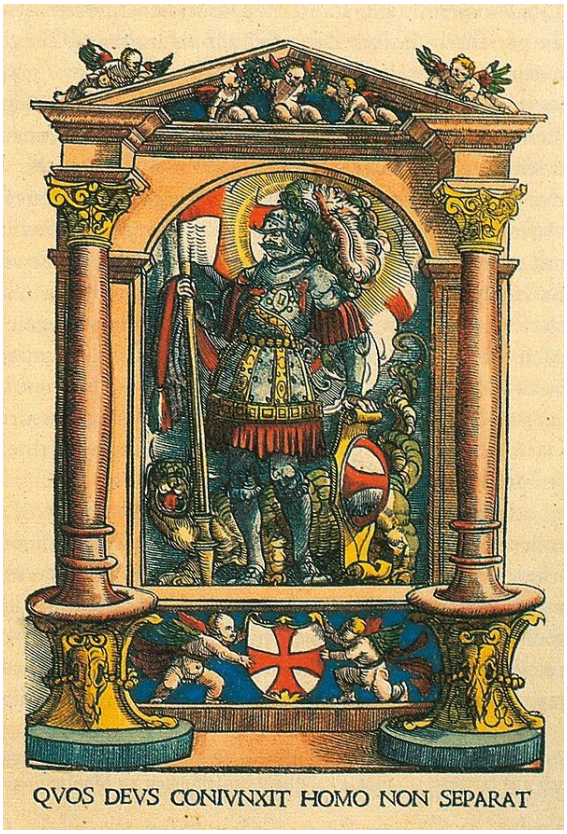
Haufen were formed from companies, typically 500 men per company, subdivided into platoons of 10 to 15 peasants each. Like the *landsknechts*, the peasant bands used similar titles: *Oberster feldhauptmann*, or supreme commander, similar to a colonel, and lieutenants, or *leutinger*. Each company was commanded by a captain and had its own *fähnrich*, or ensign, who carried the company's standard (its ensign). The companies also had a sergeant or *feldweibel*, and squadron leaders called *rottmeister*, or masters of the *rotte*. Officers were usually elected, particularly the supreme commander and the *leutinger*.[25]

The peasant army was governed by a so-called *ring*, in which peasants gathered in a circle to debate tactics, troop movements, alliances, and the distribution of spoils. The ring was the decision-making body. In addition to this democratic construct, each band had a hierarchy of leaders including a supreme commander and a marshal (*schultheiss*), who maintained law and order. Other roles included lieutenants, captains, standard-bearers, master gunner, wagon-fort master, train master, four watchmasters, four sergeant-majors to arrange the order of battle, a *weibel* (sergeant) for each company, two quartermasters, farriers, quartermasters for the horses, a communications officer and a pillage master.[26]

Peasant resources The peasants possessed an important resource, the skills to build and maintain field works. They used the wagon-fort effectively, a tactic that had been mastered in the Hussite Wars of the previous century.[27] Wagons were chained together in a suitable defensive location, with cavalry and draft animals placed in the center. Peasants dug ditches around the outer edge of the fort and used timber to close gaps between and underneath the wagons. In the Hussite Wars, artillery was usually placed in the center on raised mounds of earth that allowed them to fire over the wagons. Wagon forts could be erected and dismantled quickly. They were quite mobile, but they also had drawbacks: they required a fairly large area of flat terrain and they were not ideal for offense. Since their earlier use, artillery had increased in range and power.[28]

Peasants served in rotation, sometimes for one week in four, and returned to their villages after service. While the men served, others absorbed their workload. This sometimes meant producing supplies for their opponents, such as in the Archbishopric of Salzburg, where men worked to extract silver, which was used to hire fresh contingents of *landsknechts* for the Swabian League.[26]

However, the peasants lacked the Swabian League's cavalry, having few horses and little armour. They seem to have used their mounted men for reconnaissance. The lack of cavalry with which to protect their flanks, and with which to penetrate massed *landsknecht* squares, proved to



Coat of arms of the Swabian League, with a flag of St. George. Two putti support a red cross in a white field; the motto: What God has joined let man not separate*; coloured woodcut by Hans Burgkmair, 1522.*

be a long-term tactical and strategic problem.[29]

2.13.2 Causes

Historians disagree on the nature of the revolt and its causes, whether it grew out of the emerging religious controversy centered on Luther; whether a wealthy tier of peasants saw their own wealth and rights slipping away, and sought to weave them into the legal, social and religious fabric of society; or whether peasants objected to the emergence of a modernizing, centralizing nation state.

Threat to prosperity

One view is that the origins of the German Peasants' War lay partly in the unusual power dynamic caused by the agricultural and economic dynamism of the previous decades. Labor shortages in the last half of the 14th century had allowed peasants to sell their labor for a higher price; food and goods shortages had allowed them to sell their products for a higher price as well. Consequently, some peasants, particularly those who had limited allodial requirements, were able to accrue significant economic, social, and legal advantages.[30] Peasants were more concerned to protect the social, economic and legal gains they had made than about seeking further gains.[31]

Serfdom

Their attempt to break new ground was primarily seeking to increase their liberty by changing their status from serfs,[32] such as the infamous moment when the peasants of Mühlhausen refused to collect snail shells around which their lady could wind her thread. The renewal of the signeurial system had weakened in the previous half century, and peasants were unwilling to see it restored.[33]

Luther's Reformation

Rebellious peasants surrounding a knight.

People in all layers of the social hierarchy—serfs or city dwellers, guildsmen or farmers, knights and aristocrats—started to question the established hierarchy. The so-called *Book of One Hundred Chapters*, for example, written between 1501 and 1513, promoted religious and economic freedom, attacking the governing establishment and displaying pride in the virtuous peasant.[34] The Bundschuh revolts of the first 20 years of the century offered another avenue for the expression of anti-authoritarian ideas, and for the spread of these ideas from one geographic region to another.

Luther's revolution may have added intensity to these movements, but did not create them; the two events, Luther's Protestant Reformation and the German Peasants' War, were separate, sharing the same years but occurring independently.[35] However, Luther's doctrine of the "priesthood of all believers" could be interpreted as proposing greater social equality than Luther intended. Luther vehemently opposed the revolts, writing the pamphlet *Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants*, in which he remarks "Let everyone who can, smite, slay, and stab, secretly or openly ... nothing can be more poisonous, hurtful, or devilish than a rebel. It is just as one must kill a mad dog; if you do not strike him he will strike you."

Historian Roland Bainton saw the revolt as a struggle that began as an upheaval immersed in the rhetoric of Luther's

Protestant Reformation against the Catholic Church but which really was impelled far beyond the narrow religious confines by the underlying economic tensions of the time.[36][37]

Class struggle

The Communist philosopher Friedrich Engels interpreted the war as a case in which an emerging proletariat (the urban class) failed to assert a sense of its own autonomy in the face of princely power and left the rural classes to their fate.[38]

2.13.3 Outbreak in the southwest

During the 1524 harvest, in Stühlingen, south of the Black Forest, the Countess of Lupfen ordered serfs to collect snail shells for use as thread spools after a series of difficult harvests. Within days, 1,200 peasants had gathered, created a list of grievances, elected officers, and raised a banner.[39] Within a few weeks most of southwestern Germany was in open revolt.[39] The uprising stretched from the Black Forest, along the Rhine river, to Lake Constance, into the Swabian highlands, along the upper Danube river, and into Bavaria[40] and the Tyrol.[41]

Insurgency expands

On 16 February 1525, 25 villages belonging to the city of Memmingen rebelled, demanding of the magistrates (city council) improvements in their economic condition and the general political situation. They complained of peonage, land use, easements on the woods and the commons as well as ecclesiastical requirements of service and payment.

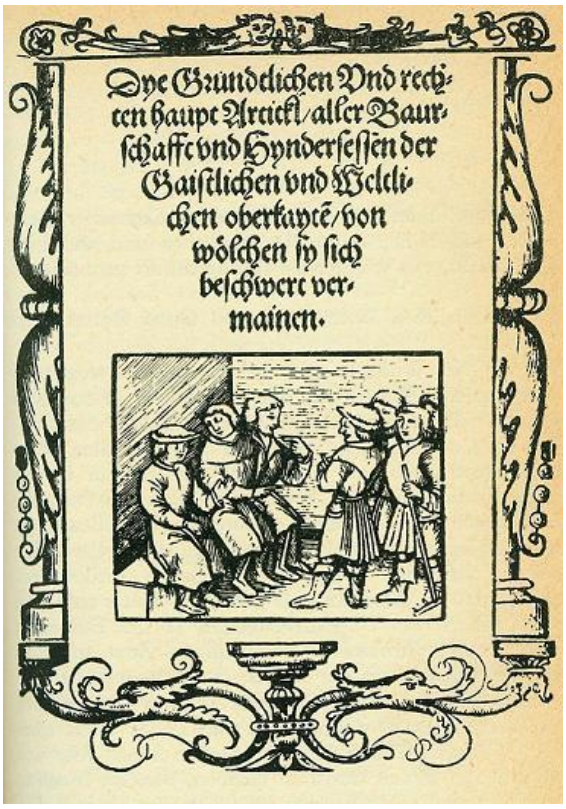
The city set up a committee of villagers to discuss their issues, expecting to see a checklist of specific and trivial demands. Unexpectedly, the peasants delivered a uniform declaration that struck at the pillars of the peasant-magisterial relationship. Twelve articles clearly and consistently outlined their grievances. The council rejected many of the demands. Historians have generally concluded that the articles of Memmingen became the basis for the Twelve Articles agreed on by the Upper Swabian Peasants Confederation of 20 March 1525.

A single Swabian contingent, close to 200 horse and 1,000 foot soldiers, however, could not deal with the size of the disturbance. By 1525, the uprisings in the Black Forest, the Breisgau, Hegau, Sundgau, and Alsace alone required a substantial muster of 3,000 foot and 300 horse soldiers.[21]

Twelve Articles (statement of principles)

Main article: Twelve Articles

On 6 March 1525, some 50 representatives of the Up-



The title page of the 12 Articles. On browned paper, an illustration shows men seated in a circle talking.

per Swabian Peasants Haufen (troops)—the Baltringer Haufen, the Allgäuer Haufen, and the Lake Constance Haufen (Seehaufen)—met in Memmingen to agree a common cause against the Swabian League.[42] One day later, after difficult negotiations, they proclaimed the establishment of the Christian Association, an Upper Swabian Peasants' Confederation.[43] The peasants met again on 15 and 20 March in Memmingen and, after some additional deliberation, adopted the Twelve Articles and the Federal Order (*Bundesordnung*).[43] Their banner, the *Bundschuh*, or a laced boot, served as the emblem of their agreement.[43] The Twelve Articles were printed over 25,000 times in the next two months, and quickly spread throughout Germany, an example of how modernization came to the aid of the rebels.[43]

The Twelve Articles demanded the right for communities to elect and depose clergymen and demanded the utilization of the "great tithe" for public purposes after subtraction of a reasonable pastor's salary.[44] (The "great tithe" was assessed by the Catholic Church against the peasant's wheat crop and the peasant's vine crops. The great tithe often amounted to more than 10% of the peasant's income.[45]) The Twelve Articles also demanded the abolition of the "small tithe" which was assessed against the

peasant's other crops. Other demands of the Twelve Articles included the abolition of serfdom, death tolls, and the exclusion from fishing and hunting rights; restoration of the forests, pastures, and privileges withdrawn from the community and individual peasants by the nobility; and a restriction on excessive statute labor, taxes and rents. Finally, the Twelve Articles demanded an end to arbitrary justice and administration.[44]

2.13.4 Course of the war

Kempten Insurrection

A finely detailed drawing of an old city, with church towers, thick defensive walls, moats, and lots of houses. The Iller river divided the Free Imperial City of Kempten and Kempten Abbey.

Kempten im Allgäu was an important city in the Allgäu, a region in what became Bavaria, near the borders with Württemberg and Austria. In the early eighth century, Celtic monks established a monastery there, Kempten Abbey. In 1213, Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II declared the abbots members of the *Reichsstand*, or imperial estate, and granted the abbot the title of duke. In 1289, King Rudolf of Habsburg granted special privileges to the urban settlement in the river valley, making it a free imperial city. In 1525 the last property rights of the abbots in the Imperial City were sold in the so-called "Great Purchase", marking the start of the co-existence of two independent cities bearing the same name next to each other. In this multi-layered authority, during the Peasants' War, the abbey-peasants revolted, plundering the abbey and moving on the town.[lower-alpha 2]

Battle of Leipheim

48°26′56″N 10°13′15″E / 48.44889°N 10.22083°E

On 4 April 1525, 5,000 peasants, the *Leipheimer Haufen* (literally: the Leipheim Bunch) gathered near Leipheim to rise against the city of Ulm. A band of five companies, plus approximately 25 citizens of Leipheim, assumed positions west of the town. League reconnaissance reported to the Truchsess that the peasants were well-armed. They had cannons with powder and shot and they numbered 3,000–4,000. They took an advantageous position on the east bank of the Biber. On the left stood a wood, and on their right, a stream and marshland; behind them, they had erected a wagon fortress, and they were armed with arquebuses and some light artillery pieces.[46]

As he had done in earlier encounters with the peasants, the Truchsess negotiated while he continued to move his troops into advantageous positions. Keeping the bulk of his army facing Leipheim, he dispatched detachments of horse from Hesse and Ulm across the Danube to Elchingen. The detached troops encountered a separate group of 1,200 peasants engaged in local requisitions, and entered into combat, dispersing them and taking 250 prisoners. At the same time, the Truchsess broke off his negotiations, and received a volley of fire from the main group of peasants. He dispatched a guard of light horse and a small group of foot soldiers against the fortified peasant position. This was followed by his main force; when the peasants saw the size of his main force—his entire force was 1,500 horse, 7,000 foot, and 18 field guns—they began an orderly retreat. Of the 4,000 or so peasants who had manned the fortified position, 2,000 were able to reach the town of Leipheim itself, taking their wounded with them in carts. Others sought to escape across the Danube, and 400 drowned there. The Truchsess' horse units cut down an additional 500. This was the first important battle of the war.[lower-alpha 3]

Weinsberg Massacre

49°9′1.90″N 9°17′0.20″E / 49.1505278°N 9.2833889°E

Illustration of the castle at Weinsberg, surrounded by vineyards. At Weinsberg, the peasants overwhelmed the castle, and slaughtered the aristocratic landlords.

An element of the conflict drew on resentment toward some of the nobility. The peasants of Odenwald had already taken the Cistercian Monastery at Schöntal, and were joined by peasant bands from Limpurg (near Schwäbisch Hall) and Hohenlohe. A large band of peasants from the Neckar valley, under the leadership of Jack Rohrbach, joined them and from Neckarsulm, this expanded band, called the "Bright Band" (in German, *Heller Haufen*), marched to the town of Weinsberg, where the

Count of Helfenstein, then the Austrian Governor of Württemberg, was present.[lower-alpha 4] Here, the peasants achieved a major victory. The peasants assaulted and captured the castle of Weinsberg; most of his own soldiers were on duty in Italy, and he had little protection. Having taken the count as their prisoner, the peasants took their revenge a step further: They forced him, and approximately 70 other nobles who had taken refuge with him, to run the gauntlet of pikes, a popular form of execution among the *landsknechts*. Rohrbach ordered the band's piper to play during the running of the gauntlet. [47][48]

This was too much for many of the peasant leaders of other bands; they repudiated Rohrbach's actions. He was deposed and replaced by a knight, Götz von Berlichingen, who was subsequently elected as supreme commander of the band. At the end of April, the band marched to Amorbach, joined on the way by some radical Odenwald peasants out for Berlichingen's blood. Berlichingen had been involved in the suppression of the Poor Conrad uprising 10 years earlier, and these peasants sought vengeance. In the course of their march, they burned down the Wildenburg castle, a contravention of the Articles of War to which the band had agreed.[49]

The massacre at Weinsberg was also too much for Luther; this is the deed that drew his ire in *Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants* in which he castigated peasants for unspeakable crimes, not only for the murder of the nobles at Weinsberg, but also for the impertinence of their revolt.[50]

Massacre at Frankenhausen

For more details on this topic, see Battle of Frankenhausen.

51°21′21″N 11°6′4″E / 51.35583°N 11.10111°E

On 29 April the peasant protests in Thuringia culminated in open revolt. Large sections of the town populations joined the uprising. Together they marched around the countryside and stormed the castle of the Counts of Schwarzburg. In the following days, a larger number of insurgents gathered in the fields around the town. When Müntzer arrived with 300 fighters from Mühlhausen on 11 May, several thousand more peasants of the surrounding estates camped on the fields and pastures: the final strength of the peasant and town force was estimated at 6,000. The Landgrave, Philip of Hesse and Duke George of Saxony were on Müntzer's trail and directed their *Landsknecht* troops toward Frankenhausen. On 15 May joint troops of Landgraf Philipp I of Hesse and George, Duke of Saxony defeated the peasants under Müntzer near Frankenhausen in the County of Schwarzburg. [51]

*The burning of Little Jack (*Jacklein*) Rohrbach, a leader of the peasants during the war, in Neckargartach.*

The Princes' troops included close to 6,000 mercenaries, the *Landsknechte*. As such they were experienced, well-equipped, well-trained and of good morale. The peasants, on the other hand, had poor, if any, equipment, and many had neither experience nor training. Many of the peasants disagreed over whether to fight or negotiate. On 14 May, they warded off smaller feints of the Hesse and Brunswick troops, but failed to reap the benefits from their success. Instead the insurgents arranged a ceasefire and withdrew into a wagon fort.

The next day Philip's troops united with the Saxon army of Duke George and immediately broke the truce, starting a heavy combined infantry, cavalry and artillery attack. The peasants were caught off-guard and fled in panic to the town, followed and continuously attacked by the public forces. Most of the insurgents were slain in what turned out to be a massacre. Casualty figures are unreliable but estimates range from 3,000 to 10,000 while the *Landsknecht* casualties were as few as six (two of whom were only wounded). Müntzer was captured, tortured and executed at Mühlhausen on 27 May.

Battle of Böblingen

The Battle of Böblingen (12 May 1525) had the greatest losses of the war. When the peasants learned that the Truchsess (Seneschal) of Waldburg had pitched camp at Rottenburg, they marched towards him and took the city of Herrenberg on 10 May. Avoiding the advances of the Swabian League to retake Herrenberg, the Württemberg band set up three camps between Böblingen and Sindelfingen. There they formed four units, standing upon the slopes between the cities. Their 18 artillery pieces stood on a hill called Galgenberg, facing the hostile armies. The peasants were overtaken by the

League's horse, which encircled and pursued them for kilometres.[52] While the Württemberg band lost approximately 3,000 peasants (estimates range from 2000 to 9000), the League lost no more than 40 soldiers.[53]

Battle of Königshofen

At Königshofen, on 2 June, peasant commanders Wendel Hipfler and Georg Metzler had set camp outside of town. Upon identifying two squadrons of League and Alliance horse approaching on each flank, now recognized as a dangerous Truchsess strategy, they redeployed the wagon-fort and guns to the hill above the town. Having learned how to protect themselves from a mounted assault, peasants assembled in four massed ranks behind their cannon, but in front of their wagon-fort, intended to protect them from a rear attack. The peasant gunnery fired a salvo at the League advanced horse, which attacked them on the left. The Truchsess' infantry made a frontal assault, but without waiting for his foot soldiers to engage, he also ordered an attack on the peasants from the rear. As the knights hit the rear ranks, panic erupted among the peasants. Hipler and Metzler fled with the master gunners. Two thousand reached the nearby woods, where they re-assembled and mounted some resistance. In the chaos that followed, the peasants and the mounted knights and infantry conducted a pitched battle. By nightfall only 600 peasants remained. The Truchsess ordered his army to search the battlefield, and the soldiers discovered approximately 500 peasants who had feigned death. The battle is also called the Battle of the Turmberg, for a watch-tower on the field.[54]

Siege of Freiburg im Breisgau

Freiburg, which was a Habsburg territory, had considerable trouble raising enough conscripts to fight the peasants, and when the city did manage to put a column together and march out to meet them, the peasants simply melted into the forest. After the refusal by the Duke of Baden, Margrave Ernst, to accept the 12 Articles, peasants attacked abbeys in the Black Forest. The Knights Hospitallers at Heitersheim fell to them on 2 May; Haufen to the north also sacked abbeys at Tennenbach and Ettenheimmünster. In early May, Hans Müller arrived with over 8,000 men at Kirzenach, near Freiburg. Several other bands arrived, bringing the total to 18,000, and within a matter of days, the city was encircled and the peasants made plans to lay a siege.[55]

Second Battle of Würzburg (1525)

After the peasants took control of Freiburg in Breisgau, Hans Müller took some of the group to assist in the siege at Radolfzell. The rest of the peasants returned to their farms. On 4 June, by Würzburg, Müller and his small group of peasant-soldiers joined with the Franconian farmers of the Hellen Lichten Haufen. Despite this union, the strength of their force was relatively small. At Waldburg-Zeil near Würzburg they met the army of Götz von Berlichingen ("Götz of the Iron Hand"). An imperial knight and experienced soldier, although he had a relatively small force himself he easily defeated the peasants. In approximately two hours, more than 8,000 peasants were killed.

Closing stages

Several smaller uprisings were also put down. For example, on 23/24 June 1525 in the Battle of Pfeddersheim the rebellious *haufens* in the Palatine Peasants' War were decisively defeated. By September 1525 all fighting and punitive action had ended. Emperor Charles V and Pope Clemens VII thanked the Swabian League for its intervention.

2.13.5 Ultimate failure of the rebellion

The peasant movement ultimately failed, with cities and nobles making a separate peace with the princely armies that restored the old order in a frequently harsher form, under the nominal control of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, represented in German affairs by his younger brother Ferdinand. The main causes of the failure of the rebellion was the lack of communication between the peasant bands because of territorial divisions, and because of their military inferiority.[56] While Landsknechts, professional soldiers and knights joined the peasants in their efforts (albeit in fewer numbers), the Swabian League had a better grasp of military technology, strategy and experience.

The aftermath of the German Peasants' War led to an overall reduction of rights and freedoms of the peasant class, effectively pushing them out of political life. Certain territories in upper Swabia such as Kempton, Weissenau, and Tyrol saw peasants create territorial assemblies (Landschaft), sit on territorial committees as well as other bodies which dealt with issues that directly affected the peasants like taxation.[56] However the overall goals of change for these peasants, particularly looking through the lens of the Twelve Articles, had failed to come to pass and would remain stagnant, real change coming centuries later.

2.13.6 Historiography

Marx and Engels

The cofounder of Communism Friedrich Engels wrote *The Peasant War in Germany* (1850), which opened up the issue of the early stages of German capitalism on later bourgeois "civil society" at the level of peasant

economies. Engels' analysis was picked up in the middle 20th century by the French Annales School, and Marxist historians in East Germany and Britain.[57] Using Karl Marx's concept of historical materialism, Engels portrayed the events of 1524–1525 as prefiguring the 1848 Revolution. He wrote, "Three centuries have passed and many a thing has changed; still the Peasant War is not so impossibly far removed from our present struggle, and the opponents who have to be fought are essentially the same. We shall see the classes and fractions of classes which everywhere betrayed 1848 and 1849 in the role of traitors, though on a lower level of development, already in 1525."[58] Engels ascribed the failure of the revolt to its fundamental conservatism.[59] This led both Marx and Engels to conclude that the communist revolution, when it occurred, would be led not by a peasant army but by an urban proletariat.

Later historiography

Stamp of Thomas Müntzer

Historians disagree on the nature of the revolt and its causes, whether it grew out of the emerging religious controversy centered on Martin Luther; whether a wealthy tier of peasants saw their wealth and rights slipping away, and sought to re-inscribe them in the fabric of society; or whether it was peasant resistance to the emergence of a modernizing, centralizing political state. Historians have tended to categorize it either as an expression of economic problems, or as a theological/political statement against the constraints of feudal society.[60]

After the 1930s, Günter Franz's work on the peasant war dominated interpretations of the uprising. Franz understood the Peasants' War as a political struggle in which social and economic aspects played a minor role. Key to Franz's interpretation is the understanding that peasants had benefited from the economic recovery of the early 16th century and that their grievances, as expressed in such documents as the Twelve Articles, had little or no economic basis. He interpreted the uprising's causes as essentially political, and secondarily economic: the assertions by princely landlords of control over the peasantry through new taxes and the modification of old ones, and the creation of servitude backed up by princely law. For Franz, the defeat thrust the peasants from view for centuries.[61]

The national aspect of the Peasants' Revolt was also utilised by the Nazis. For example, an SS cavalry division (the 8th SS Cavalry Division Florian Geyer) was named after Florian Geyer, a knight who led a peasant unit known as the Black Company.

A new economic interpretation arose in the 1950s and 1960s. This interpretation, informed by economic data on harvests, wages and general financial conditions. It suggested that in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, peasants saw newly achieved economic advantages slipping away, to the benefit of the landed nobility and military groups. The war was thus an effort to wrest these social, economic and political advantages back.[61]

Meanwhile, historians in East Germany engaged in major research projects to support the Marxist viewpoint.[62]

Starting in the 1970s, research benefited from the interest of social and cultural historians. Using sources such as letters, journals, religious tracts, city and town records, demographic information, family and kinship developments, historians challenged long-held assumptions about German peasants and the authoritarian tradition.

This view held that peasant resistance took two forms. The first, spontaneous (or popular) and localized revolt drew on traditional liberties and old law for its legitimacy. In this way, it could be explained as a conservative and traditional effort to recover lost ground. The second was an organized inter-regional revolt that claimed its legitimacy from divine law and found its ideological basis in the Reformation.

Later historians refuted both Franz's view of the origins of the war, and the Marxist view of the course of the war, and both views on the outcome and consequences. One of the most important was Peter Blickle's emphasis on communalism. Although Blickle sees a crisis of feudalism in the latter Middle Ages in southern Germany, he highlighted political, social and economic features that originated in efforts by peasants and their landlords to cope with long term climate, technological, labor and crop changes, particularly the extended agrarian crisis and its drawn-out recovery.[12] For Blickle, the rebellion required a parliamentary tradition in southwestern Germany and the coincidence of a group with significant political, social and economic interest in agricultural production and distribution. These individuals had a great deal to lose.[63]

This view, which asserted that the uprising grew out of the participation of agricultural groups in the economic recovery, was in turn challenged by Scribner, Stalmetz and Bernecke. They claimed that Blickle's analysis was based on a dubious form of the Malthusian principle, and that

the peasant economic recovery was significantly limited, both regionally and in its depth, allowing only a few peasants to participate. Blickle and his students later modified their ideas about peasant wealth. A variety of local studies showed that participation was not as broad based as formerly thought.[64][65]

The new studies of localities and social relationships through the lens of gender and class showed that peasants were able to recover, or even in some cases expand, many of their rights and traditional liberties, to negotiate these in writing, and force their lords to guarantee them.[66]

The course of the war also demonstrated the importance of a congruence of events: the new liberation ideology, the appearance within peasant ranks of charismatic and military-trained men like Müntzer and Gaismair, a set of grievances with specific economic and social origins, a challenged set of political relationships and a communal tradition of political and social discourse.

2.13.7 See also

- List of peasant revolts
- Popular revolt in late-medieval Europe
- Melchior Rink, who was accused by Lutherans of being an instigator of the war

2.13.8 Notes

[1] Born in Waldsee (25 January 1488 – 29 May 1531), the son of Johann II von Waldburg-Wolfegg († 19. October 1511) and of Helena von Hohenzollern, he married Appolonia von Waldburg-Sonnenberg in 1509; and, secondly, Maria von Oettingen (11 April 1498 – 18 August 1555). Marek, Miroslav. "Waldburg genealogical table". Genealogy.EU. Retrieved October 2009. Check date values in: |access-date= (help))

[2] More conflict arose after the Imperial City converted to Protestantism in direct opposition to the Catholic monastery (and Free City) in 1527.

[3] In 1994, a mass grave was discovered near Leipheim; linked by coins to the time period, archaeologists discovered that most of the occupants had died of head wounds (Miller 2003, p. 21).

[4] The count, much despised by his subjects, was the son-in-law of the previous Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian.(Miller 2003, p. 35)

[1] Blickle 1981, p. 165.

[2] Klassen 1979, p. 59.

[3] Bainton 1978, p. 76.

[4] Wolf 1962, p. 47.

[5] Donald K. McKim (2003). *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther*. Cambridge University Press. pp. 184–6.

[6] Scott 1989, p. 132ff.

[7] Scott 1989, p. 164ff.

[8] Scott 1989, p. 183.

[9] Wolf 1962, p. 147.

[10] Engels 1978, p. 402.

[11] Klassen 1979, p. 57.

[12] Engels 1978, pp. 400.

[13] Engels 1978, pp. 403–404.

[14] Engels 1978, p. 687, Note 295.

[15] Lins 1908, Cologne.

[16] Rines, George Edwin, ed. (1920). "Chapter". *Encyclopedia Americana*.," New York, 1918, p. 514

[17] (German) Ennen, pp. 291–313.

[18] Engels 1978, p. 404.

[19] Engels 1978, p. 405.

[20] Engels 1978, pp. 407.

[21] Miller 2003, p. 7.

[22] Sea, Thomas F. (2007). "The German Princes' Response to the German Peasants' Revolt of 1525". *Cambridge University Press, Central European History*. JSTOR 20457227.

[23] Moxey, Keith (1989). *Peasants Warriors and Wives*. London: The University of Chicago Press. p. 71. ISBN 0-226-54391-9.

[24] Miller 2003, p. 6.

[25] Miller 2003, p. 8.

[26] Miller 2003, p. 10.

[27] Wilhelm 1907, Hussites.

[28] Miller 2003, p. 13.

[29] Miller 2003, p. 11.

[30] Zagorín 1984, pp. 187–188.

[31] Zagorín 1984, p. 187.

[32] Zagorín 1984, p. 188.

[33] Bercé 1987, p. 154.

[34] Strauss 1971, p. .

[35] Zagorín 1984, p. 190.

[36] Bainton 1978, p. 208.

[37] Engels 1978, pp. 411–412 & 446.

[38] Engels 1978, pp. 59–62.

[39] Engels 1978, p. 446.

[40] Miller 2003, p. 4.

[41] Hannes Obermair, "Logiche sociali della rivolta tradizionalista. Bolzano e l'impatto della "Guerra dei contadini" del 1515," *Studi Trentini. Storia,* 92#1 (2013), pp. 185–194.

[42] Bainton 1978, p. 210.

[43] Bainton 1978, p. 211-212.

[44] Engels 1978, p. 451.

[45] Engels 1978, p. 691, Note 331.

[46] Miller 2003, pp. 20–21.

[47] Menzel 1848–49, p. 239.

[48] Miller2003, p. 35.

[49] Miller 2003, p. 34.

[50] Blickle 1981, p. xxiii.

[51] Scott 1989, p. 158ff.

[52] Miller 2003, p. 33.

[53] Wald 2010, Böblingen.

[54] Miller 2003, p. 37.

[55] Scott, pp. 204–209.

[56] Blickle, Peter (1981). *the revolution of 1525: the German Peasants' War from a new perspective*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press. pp. 181–182. ISBN 0-8018-2472-9.

[57] Eric R. Wolf, "The Peasant War in Germany: Friedrich Engels as Social Historian," Science and Society *(1987) 51:1 pp82-92.*

[58] Engels 1978, p. 399.

[59] Engels 1978, pp. 397,482.

[60] Ozment 1980, p. 279.

[61] Ozment 1980, p. 250.

[62] Tom Scott, "The Peasants' War: A Historiographical Review," *Historical Journal* (1979) 22#3, pp. 693-720 in JSTOR

[63] Peter Blickle, *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants War from a New Perspective* (1981).

[64] Tom Scott and Robert W. Scribner, eds. *The German peasants' war: a history in documents* (Humanities Press International, 1991).

[65] Govind P. Sreenivasan, "The social origins of the Peasants' War of 1525 in Upper Swabia." *Past & Present* 171 (2001): 30-65. in JSTOR

[66] Keith Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors, and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (U of Chicago Press, 2004).

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2.13.11 Further reading

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Chapter 3

Works

3.1 To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation

To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation (German: *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*) is the first of three tracts written by Martin Luther in 1520. In this work, he defined for the first time the signature doctrines of the priesthood of all believers and the two kingdoms. The work was written in the vernacular language German and not in Latin.

3.1.1 History

The Disputation of Leipzig (1519) brought Luther into contact with the humanists, particularly Melanchthon, Reuchlin, Erasmus, and associates of the knight Ulrich von Hutten, who, in turn, influenced the knight Franz von Sickingen.[1] Von Sickingen and Silvester of Schauenburg wanted to place Luther under their protection by inviting him to their fortresses in the event that it would not be safe for him to remain in Saxony because of the threatened papal ban. Between the Edict of Worms in April 1521 and Luther's return from the Wartburg in March 1522 a power struggle developed of who was to lead the Reformation through its competing possibilities and how the Reformers should follow their teachings. In Wittenberg each interested party – prince, town council and commune – wished to expand its influence on the governance of the church in accord with its own values and needs.[2] Through this the question of authority appeared. The church made a strong attempt at drawing distinct lines on saying who had authority in the spiritual sphere and its matters. This division of Christians into spheres motivated Luther to write on the "three walls" the "Romanists" created to protect themselves from reform, this was the letter "to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation"

Under these circumstances, complicated by the crisis then confronting the German nobles, Luther issued his *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (Aug. 1520), committing to the laity, as spiritual priests, the reformation required by God but neglected by the pope and the clergy.[3] This treatise, which has been called a "cry from the heart of the people" and a "blast on the war trumpet," was the first publication Luther produced after he was convinced that a break with Rome was both inevitable and unavoidable.[4] In it he attacked what he regarded as the "three walls of the Romanists": (1) that secular authority has no jurisdiction over them; (2) that only the pope is able to explain Scripture; (3) that nobody but the Pope himself can call a general church council.[5]

The First Wall: Spiritual Power over Temporal

The first wall of the "Romanists" that Luther criticized was that of the division of the spiritual and temporal state. Through this criticism Luther states how there is no difference among these states beyond that of office. He elaborates further by quoting Saint Peter and the Book of Revelation stating that through baptism we were consecrated as priests. Through this statement he attempts to diminish the Church's authority significantly and describes priests as nothing more than "functionaries". Luther provides the example of "if ten brothers, coheirs as king's sons, were to choose one from among them to rule over their inheritance, they would all still remain kings and have equal power, although one is ordered to govern."[6] From this statement Luther calls for religious office to be held by elected officials, stating that "if a thing is common to all, no man may take it to himself without the wish and command of the community." Therefore, through this criticism of the first wall one can see Luther taking authority from the Church by saying that everyone is a priest and giving more authority to govern to the temporal sphere. The problem that arises out of this can be found in a letter written by an anonymous Nürnberger, "Whether Secular Government has the Right to Wield the Sword in Matters of Faith." This article raises the question of how much governing control was acceptable for the temporal authorities to have over the spiritual sphere. From Luther's letter temporal authorities took too much control and were executing and banishing for reasons of faith, but at the same time the papists were burning and hanging "everyone who is not of their faith." [7] Thus, the question of who was to have authority to govern the spiritual sphere.

The Second Wall: Authority to Interpret Scripture

In the second part of the letter to the Christian nobility of the German nation, Luther debates the point that it is the Pope's sole authority to interpret, or confirm interpretation of, scriptures, the large problem being that there is no proof announcing this authority is the Pope's alone and thus assuming this authority for themselves.[8] Through this criticism, Luther allows the laity to have a standard to base their faith on and not an official's interpretation, thus detracting more from the Church's control over the sphere. This criticism, unlike in the first wall, supported a strong base of the reformation, the break away from the rules and traditions of the Catholic Church. The Reformation was based on setting the standard on the Scriptures, not on church dogma. Through this reformers were able to have a standard to look to for laws and regulations concerning their faith.[9]

The Third Wall: Authority to Call a Council

This final part to Luther's letter is the largest demonstration of his desire to see authority in control over the spiritual sphere shift to the temporal sphere. The Church was able to protect itself by preventing anyone other than the Pope from calling a council to discuss spiritual affairs. To this, Luther states that anyone should have the ability to call a council if they find a problem or issue of the spiritual sphere. Further, Luther delegates the "temporal authorities" to be best suited for calling a council as they are "fellow-Christians, fellow-priests, sharing one spirit and one power in all things, and [thus] they should exercise the office that they received from God." [10] This shift in power to the temporal authorities in faith matters became a larger problem later in the Reformation. Confrontations arose as to who had the right to interfere in matters of faith, such as at what point is it acceptable for the government to stop a new religion from forming. An example of this confrontation can be found in a document by an unknown Nürnberger entitled "Whether Secular Government has the Right to Wield the Sword in Matters of Faith." This document asked if military force employed to stop uprising violence, whether applied by the government or the church, is the Christian thing to do. Some believed that violence begot more violence, that "those that lived by the sword would die by the sword;" [11] others believed it was the secular sphere's duty to protect its people and stop new faiths from forming. They made use of the Old Testament as proof for their statements, thus relying on old tradition and papal interpretation.[12]

Therefore, it was through criticisms of these walls that Luther broke down the spiritual sphere's influence as a separate sphere that was more important than the temporal sphere; thus he was able to shift its power to the temporal authorities. This letter broke down the barrier between the spiritual and the temporal sphere and thus had a large impact on the laity, giving them control over their own faith and detracted control from the pope and the church. The statement that everyone was their own priest sent shock waves through the reformation which gave Luther his push for a faith based on the standard of the scripture which allowed people to interpret the scripture themselves. There were reactions to the shift of power to the temporal authorities, and questions of how much governing power they should receive, but this shift was the beginning of a new reformation controlled by the state and based on accessible scripture that every Christian was able to interpret.

3.1.2 Further reading

- Johannes Brenz: An Answer to the Memorandum that Deals with this Question: Whether Secular Government has the Right to Wield the Sword in Matters of Faith. May 8, 1530
- James M. Estes: Whether Secular Government has the Right to Wield the Sword in Matters of Faith: a controversy in Nürnberg, 1530, Toronto: Victoria University, 1994
- Carter Lindberg: *The European Reformations*, Boston: Blackwell Publishing, 2006
- Martin Luther: Letter to the Princes of Saxony Concerning the Rebellious Spirit July, 1524
- Martin Luther: The Ninety-five Theses, in *Martin Luther: Documents of Modern History*, ed. Benjamin Drewery and E. G. Rupp. London: Edward Arnold, 1970
- E. G. Rupp and Benjamin Drewery: *Martin Luther, Documents of Modern History*. London: Edward Arnold, 1970
- Unknown Author (Linck, Wenceslaus or Osiander, Andreas?). Whether a Secular Government may Regulate Spiritual Matters, Restrain False Teaching, and Put Down Ungodly Abuses. 1530
- Unknown Author (Wenceslaus Linck or Andeas Osiander). Whether Secular Christian Government Has the Power to Ban False Preachers or Erring Sects and to Establish Order in Ecclesiastical Affairs. 1530

3.1.3 Notes

[1] The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson and George William Gilmore, (New York, London, Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1908-1914; Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1951) s.v. "Luther, Martin," hereafter cited in notes as Schaff-Herzog,71.

[2] Carter Linderg, The European Reformations (Boston: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 96-97

[3] Schaff-Herzog, "Luther, Martin," 71.

[4] Lewis W. Spitz, The Renaissance and Reformation Movements, Revised Ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1987), 338.

[5] Spitz, 338.

[6] E.G. Rupp & Benjamin Drewery, Martin Luther, Documents of Modern History (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), 42-45

[7] James M. Estes Whether Secular Government has the Right to Wield the Sword in Matters of Faith: a controversy in Nürnberg, 1530 (Toronto: Victoria University, 1994), 41

[8] E.G. Rupp & Benjamin Drewery, Martin Luther, Documents of Modern History (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), 42-45

[9] Carter Linderg, The European Reformations (Boston: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 5

[10] E.G. Rupp & Benjamin Drewery, Martin Luther, Documents of Modern History (London: Edward Arnold, 1970), 42-45

[11] James M. Estes Whether Secular Government has the Right to Wield the Sword in Matters of Faith: a controversy in Nürnberg, 1530 (Toronto: Victoria University, 1994), 44

[12] James M. Estes Whether Secular Government has the Right to Wield the Sword in Matters of Faith: a controversy in Nürnberg, 1530 (Toronto: Victoria University, 1994), 56

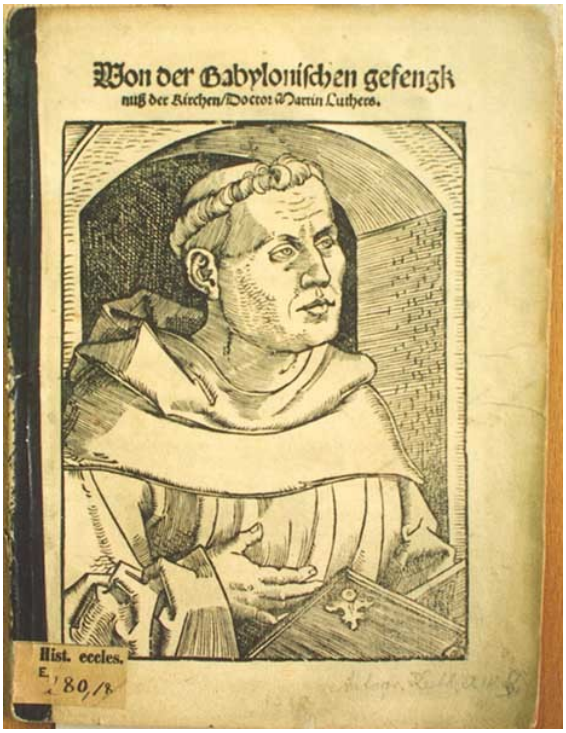
3.1.4 External links

- *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* public domain audiobook at LibriVox

3.2 On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church

For other uses, see Babylonian captivity (disambiguation).

Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church (October 1520) was the second of the three major treatises published by Martin Luther in 1520, coming after the *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (August 1520) and before *On the Freedom of a Christian* (November 1520). It was a theological treatise, and as such was published in Latin as well as German, the language in which the treatises were written.



Frontispiece

3.2.1 Content

In this work Luther examines the seven sacraments of the Catholic Church in the light of his interpretation of the Bible. With regard to the Eucharist, he advocates restoring the cup to the laity, dismisses the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation but affirms the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, and rejects the teaching that the Mass is a sacrifice offered to God.

With regard to baptism, he writes that it brings justification only if conjoined with saving faith in the recipient; however, it remains the foundation of salvation even for those who might later fall[1] and be reclaimed.

As for penance, its essence consists in the words of promise (absolution) received by faith. Only these three can be regarded as sacraments because of their divine institution and the divine promises of salvation connected with them; but strictly speaking, only Baptism and the Eucharist are sacraments, since only they have "divinely instituted visible sign[s]": water in Baptism and bread and wine in the Eucharist.[2] Luther claimed that Confirmation, Matrimony, Holy Orders, and Extreme Unction are not sacraments.

The titular "captivity" is firstly the withholding the cup in the Lord's Supper from the laity, the second the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the third, the Roman Catholic Church's teaching that the Mass *was* a sacrifice and a good work.[3]

The work is angry in tone, attacking the papacy. Although Luther had made a link tentatively in the address

To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, this was the first time he forthrightly accused the pope of being the Antichrist. It certainly heralded a radicalisation of Luther's views — only a year before he had defended the validity of the sacraments, yet was now attacking them fiercely.

Although published in Latin, a translation of this work was quickly published in German by Luther's opponent, the Strasbourg Franciscan Thomas Murner. He hoped that by making people aware of the radical nature of Luther's beliefs, they would realise their foolishness in supporting him. In fact, the opposite proved true, and Murner's translation helped to spread Luther's views across Germany. The virulence of Luther's language however, was off-putting to some. After the publication of this work, with its harsh condemnation of the papacy, the renowned humanist Erasmus, who had previously been cautiously supportive of Luther's activities, became convinced that he should not support Luther's calls for reform.

3.2.2 References

[1] Schaff-Herzog, "Luther, Martin," 71.

[2] Schaff-Herzog, "Luther, Martin," 71.

[3] Spitz, 338.

- Pelikan, Jaroslav and Lehmann, Helmut T, Luther's Works, 55 vols, (Saint Louis, Philadelphia, 1955–76), Vol 36

3.2.3 External links

- Another source of the full text
- *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* public domain audiobook at LibriVox

3.3 On the Freedom of a Christian

On the Freedom of a Christian (Latin: *"De Libertate Christiana"*; German: *"Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen"*), sometimes also called ***"A Treatise on Christian Liberty"*** (November 1520), was the third of Martin Luther's major reforming treatises of 1520, appearing after his *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (August 1520) and the work *Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (October 1520). This work was originally written in Latin then translated into German and developed the concept that as fully forgiven children of God, Christians are no longer compelled to keep God's law; however, they freely and willingly serve God and their neighbors. Luther also further develops the concept of justification by faith. In the treatise, Luther stated, "A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all." [1]

3.3.1 See also

- Antinomianism
- Biblical law in Christianity

3.3.2 Notes

[1] Albrecht Beutel, "Luther's Life," tr. Katharina Gustavs, in The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther, ed. Donald K. McKim (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 11.

3.3.3 External links

- Online Edition in the Internet Modern History Sourcebook
- *Concerning Christian Liberty* public domain audiobook at LibriVox

3.4 Sola fide

"Justification by faith" redirects here. For other uses, see Justification (theology).

Sola fide (Latin: by faith alone), also known as **justification by faith alone**, is a Christian theological doctrine that distinguishes most Protestant denominations from the Catholic Church, the Eastern Orthodox Church, and some parts of the Restoration Movement.

The doctrine of *sola fide* asserts God's pardon for guilty sinners is granted to and received through faith alone, excluding all "works". All mankind, it is asserted, is fallen and sinful, under the curse of God, and incapable of saving itself from God's wrath and curse. But God, on the basis of the life, death, and resurrection of his Son, Jesus Christ alone (*solus Christus*), grants sinners judicial pardon, or justification, which is received solely through faith. Faith is seen as passive, merely receiving Christ and all his benefits, among which benefits are the active and passive righteousness of Jesus Christ. Christ's righteousness, according to the followers of "sola fide," is imputed (or attributed) by God to the believing sinner (as opposed to infused or imparted), so that the divine verdict and pardon of the believing sinner is based not upon anything in the sinner, nor even faith itself, but upon Jesus Christ and his righteousness alone, which are received through faith alone. Justification is by faith alone and is distinguished from the other graces of salvation. See the Protestant

ordo salutis for more detail on the doctrine of salvation considered more broadly than justification by faith alone.

Historic Protestantism (both Lutheran and Reformed) has held to sola-fide justification in opposition to Roman Catholicism especially, but also in opposition to significant aspects of Eastern Orthodoxy. Protestants exclude all human works (except the works of Jesus Christ, which form the basis of justification) from the legal verdict (or pardon) of justification. In the General Council of Trent the Catholic Church stated in canon XIV on justification that "If any one saith, that man is truly absolved from his sins and justified, because that he assuredly believed himself absolved and justified; or, that no one is truly justified but he who believes himself justified; and that, by this faith alone, absolution and justification are effected; let him be anathema (excommunicated)." Thus, "faith alone" is foundational to Protestantism, and distinguishes it from other Christian denominations. According to Martin Luther, justification by faith alone is the article on which the church stands or falls.

Christian theologies answer questions about the nature, function, and meaning of justification quite differently. These issues include: Is justification an event occurring instantaneously or is it an ongoing process? Is justification effected by divine action alone (*monergism*), by divine and human action together (*synergism*), or by human action? Is justification permanent or can it be lost? What is the relationship of justification to sanctification, the process whereby sinners become righteous and are enabled by the Holy Spirit to live lives pleasing to God?

3.4.1 Justification in Lutheranism

From 1510 to 1520, Luther lectured on the Psalms and the books of Hebrews, Romans, and Galatians. As he studied these portions of the Bible, he came to view the use of terms such as penance and righteousness by the Roman Catholic Church in new ways. (See Romans 4:1-5, Galatians 3:1-7, and Genesis 15:6.) He became convinced that the church was corrupt in its ways and had lost sight of what he saw as several of the central truths of Christianity, the most important of which, for Luther, was the doctrine of justification—God's act of declaring a sinner righteous—by faith alone through God's grace. He began to teach that salvation or redemption is a gift of God's grace, attainable only through faith in Jesus.[1]

"This one and firm rock, which we call the doctrine of justification," insisted Martin Luther, "is the chief article of the whole Christian doctrine, which comprehends the understanding of all godliness."[2] He also called this doctrine the *articulus stantis et cadentis ecclesiae* ("article of the standing and falling of the church"): "…if this article stands, the Church stands; if it falls, the Church falls."[3] Lutherans follow Luther in this when they call this doctrine "the material principle" of theology in relation to the Bible, which is "the formal principle."[4] They believe justification by grace alone through faith alone in Christ's righteousness alone is the gospel, the core of the Christian faith around which all other Christian doctrines are centered and based.

Luther came to understand justification as entirely the work of God. When God's righteousness is mentioned in the gospel, it is God's action of declaring righteous the unrighteous sinner who has faith in Jesus Christ.[5] The righteousness by which the person is justified (declared righteous) is not his own (theologically, *proper* righteousness) but that of another, Christ (*alien* righteousness). "That is why faith alone makes someone just and fulfills the law," said Luther. "Faith is that which brings the Holy Spirit through the merits of Christ."[6] Thus faith, for Luther, is a gift from God, and "...a living, bold trust in God's grace, so certain of God's favor that it would risk death a thousand times trusting in it."[7] This faith grasps Christ's righteousness and appropriates it for the believer. He explained his concept of "justification" in the Smalcald Articles:

> The first and chief article is this: Jesus Christ, our God and Lord, died for our sins and was raised again for our justification (Romans 3:24-25). He alone is the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world (John 1:29), and God has laid on Him the iniquity of us all (Isaiah 53:6). All have sinned and are justified freely, without their own works and merits, by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, in His blood (Romans 3:23-25). This is necessary to believe. This cannot be otherwise acquired or grasped by any work, law or merit. Therefore, it is clear and certain that this faith alone justifies us ... Nothing of this article can be yielded or surrendered, even though heaven and earth and everything else falls (Mark 13:31).[8]

Traditionally, Lutherans have taught *forensic* (or legal) justification, a divine verdict of acquittal pronounced on the believing sinner. God declares the sinner to be "not guilty" because Christ has taken his place, living a perfect life according to God's law and suffering for his sins. For Lutherans, justification is in no way dependent upon the thoughts, words, and deeds of those justified through faith alone in Christ. The new obedience that the justified sinner renders to God through sanctification follows justification as a consequence, but is not part of justification.[9]

Lutherans believe that individuals receive this gift of salvation through faith alone.[10] Saving faith is the knowledge of,[11] acceptance of,[12] and trust[13] in the promise of the Gospel.[14] Even faith itself is seen as a gift of God, created in the hearts of Christians[15] by the work of the Holy Spirit through the Word[16] and Baptism.[17] Faith is seen as an instrument that receives the gift of salvation, not something that causes salvation.[18] Thus, Lutherans

reject the "decision theology" which is common among modern evangelicals.

For Lutherans, justification provides the power by which Christians can grow in holiness. Such improvement comes about in the believer only after he has become a new creation in Christ through Holy Baptism. This improvement is not completed in this life: Christians are always "saint and sinner at the same time" (*simul iustus et peccator*)[19]—saints because they are holy in God's eyes, for Christ's sake, and do works that please him; sinners because they continue to sin until death.

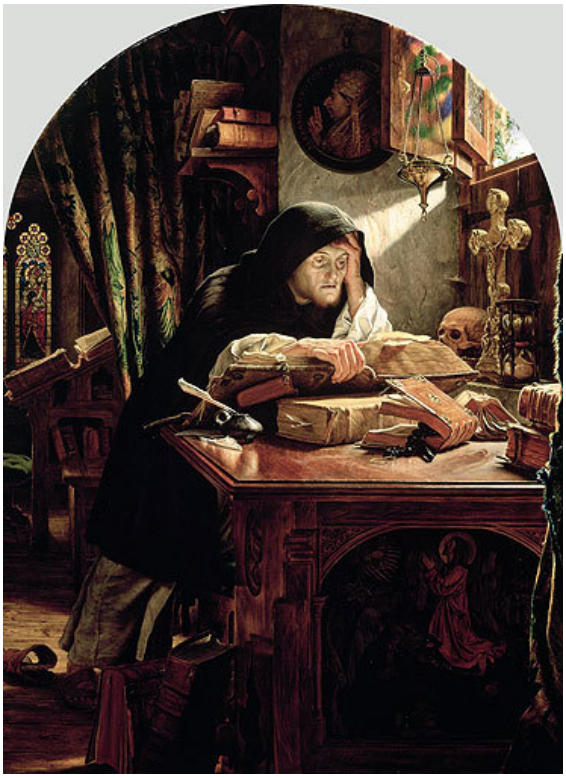
Epistle of James

Lutheran Confessions reject the Catholic position that the Epistle of James contradicts the Lutheran teaching on Justification.[20][21] They interpret the verses in James 2: "we are justified/declared righteous by people when they see the good works we do as a result of our faith and they conclude that our faith is sincere."[22] They conclude:

> Paul is writing to people who said that faith in Jesus alone does not save a person, but one has to also obey God's law in order to be justified (Gal 3:3, 5:4). To counter the false idea that what we do in keeping the law must be added to faith in what Christ did for us. Paul often emphasizes in his letters (esp. Galatians, Romans, Colossians) that we are saved by grace through faith alone. James is writing to people who felt that believing in Jesus saved a person, but that having faith did not mean that a person necessarily would keep God's commandments out of love for God (James 2:14, 17). To show that faith is not really faith unless it leads a person to thank God for salvation in a life of glad and willing obedience to God's holy will. James emphasized that a faith which did not show that it was living faith was really not faith at all.[23]

A Lutheran exegesis further points out that James is simply reaffirming Jesus' teaching in Matthew 7:16 regarding works as a *fruit* of salvation, instead of a *cause*,[24] and that in the tenth verse of the same chapter, James too denies works as a means to obtain forgiveness:

> James here (verse 10) also shoots down the false doctrine of work-righteousness. The only way to be free of sin is to keep the law perfectly and in its entirety. If we offend it in the slightest, tiniest little way, we are guilty of all. Thank God that He sent Jesus to fulfill the Law in its entirety for us[25]



1861 painting of Luther discovering the Sola fide *doctrine at Erfurt*

3.4.2 Origin of the term

Martin Luther elevated *sola fide* to the principal cause of the Protestant Reformation, the rallying cry of the Protestant cause, and the chief distinction between Protestant Christianity and Roman Catholicism. John Calvin, also a proponent of this doctrine, taught that "every one who would obtain the righteousness of Christ must renounce his own." According to Calvin, it is only because the sinner is able to obtain the good standing of the Son of God, through faith in him, and union with him, that sinners have any hope of pardon from, acceptance by, and peace with God.

While this precise terminology—"by faith alone"—does not appear in English Bible translations other than in James 2:24 where it has been claimed that the author seems to reject the notion that a person is justified by God solely on account of faith,[26] other Catholic authorities also used "alone" in their translation of Romans 3:28 or exegesis of salvation by faith passages,[27][28] and it is claimed to summarize the teaching of the New Testament, and especially the Pauline epistles such as Romans 4, which systematically reject the proposition that justification before God is obtained due to the merit of one's obedience to the Law of Moses (see also Biblical law in Christianity), or Abraham's circumcision and works.

Protestants base this on the fact that the New Testament contains almost two hundred statements that appear to imply that faith or belief is sufficient for salvation, for ex-

ample: "Jesus said unto her, I am the resurrection, and the life: he that believe in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live." (John 11:25, emphasis added) and especially Paul's words in Romans, "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." (Romans 3:28) "Now to him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt. But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness." (Romans 4:4-5)

3.4.3 The place of works

The position that justification is by faith alone has often been charged with promoting antinomianism, in which salvific faith need *not* be a type that will produce works of obedience to Christ, which is a view most who hold to *sola fide* reject, invoking many authorities from the past and present in concurrence.

Martin Luther, who opposed antinomianism, is recorded as stating, "Works are necessary for salvation but they do not cause salvation; for faith alone gives life."[29]

In his Introduction to Romans, Luther stated that saving faith is,

> a living, creative, active and powerful thing, this faith. Faith cannot help doing good works constantly. It doesn't stop to ask if good works ought to be done, but before anyone asks, it already has done them and continues to do them without ceasing. Anyone who does not do good works in this manner is an unbeliever...Thus, it is just as impossible to separate faith and works as it is to separate heat and light from fire! [30]

Scottish theologian John Murray of Westminster Theological Seminary in Philadelphia, asserted,

> "Faith alone justifies but a justified person with faith alone would be a monstrosity which never exists in the kingdom of grace. Faith works itself out through love (Gal. 5:6). And Faith without works is dead (James 2:17-20)."

> "It is living faith that justifies and living faith unites to Christ both in the virtue of his death and in the power of his resurrection. No one has entrusted himself to Christ for deliverance from the guilt of sin who has not also entrusted himself to him for deliverance from the power of sin."[31][32]

Contemporary evangelical theologian R. C. Sproul writes,

> The relationship of faith and good works is one that may be distinguished but never separated...if good works do not follow from our profession of faith, it is a clear indication that we do not possess justifying faith. The Reformed formula is, "We are justified by faith alone but not by a faith that is alone."[33]

Michael Horton concurs by saying,

> This debate, therefore, is not over the question of whether God renews us and initiates a process of gradual growth in holiness throughout the course of our lives. 'We are justified by faith alone, but not by a faith that is alone,' Luther stated, and this recurring affirmation of the new birth and sanctification as necessarily linked to justification leads one to wonder how the caricatures continue to be perpetuated without foundation.[34]

3.4.4 Status of the doctrine

The doctrine proposes that faith in Christ is sufficient for sinners to be accepted by God, to count them among his people, and to equip them with the motive of trust, gratitude, and love toward God from which good works are to be done. Some Christian groups such as Catholics believe that faith is necessary for salvation but not sufficient; that is, they assert that *sola fide* is an error because, in addition to believing, God also requires obedience and acts of love and charity as a prerequisite for acceptance into his kingdom, and for the reward of eternal life. This is in line with the traditional view of faith as faithfulness [to God] in the Old Testament. See also Christian view of the Old Testament Law.

The precise relationship between faith and good works remains as an area of controversy in some Protestant traditions (see also Law and Gospel). Even at the outset of the Reformation, subtle differences of emphasis appeared. For example, because the Epistle of James emphasizes the importance of good works, Martin Luther sometimes referred to it as the "epistle of straw." Calvin on the other hand, while not intending to differ with Luther, described good works as a consequence or 'fruit' of faith. The Anabaptists tended to make a nominal distinction between faith and obedience. Recent meetings of scholars and clergy have attempted to soften the antithesis between Protestant and Catholic conceptions of the role of faith in salvation, which, if they were successful, would have far reaching implications for the relationship between most Protestants and the Catholic Church. These attempts to form a consensus are not widely accepted among either Protestants or Catholics, so *sola fide* continues to be a doctrinal distinctive of the Reformation churches, including Lutherans, Reformed, and many Evangelicals.

Nevertheless, some statements of the doctrine are interpreted as a denial of the doctrine as understood by other groups. There is a semantic component to this debate as well, which has gained new attention in the past century. Both Latin and English have two words to describe convictions: one is more intellectual (English *belief*, Latin verb *credo*) and one carries implications of "faithfulness" (English *faith*, Latin *fides*). But Greek and German have only one (German *Glaube*, Greek *pistis*). Some historians have suggested that this semantic issue caused some of the disagreement: Perhaps Luther's supporters may have understood "salvation by faith alone" to mean "salvation by being faithful to Christ," while his opponents understood him to mean "salvation by intellectual belief in Christ." Since there are passages in Luther's works that could be taken to support either of these meanings, both sides were able to quote passages from Luther defending their interpretation of what he meant.

3.4.5 *Sola fide* and Scripture

Various Biblical passages have been used to support and oppose the doctrine of *sola fide*.

Passages used to defend *sola fide*

Genesis 15:6: Abram believed the Lord, and he credited it to him as righteousness.

Isaiah 55:1: Come, all you who are thirsty, come to the waters; and you who have no money, come, buy and eat! Come, buy wine and milk without money and without cost.

John 3:36: Whoever believes in the Son has eternal life; whoever does not obey the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God remains on him. (English Standard Version)

- And he who believes in (has faith in, clings to, relies on) the Son has (now possesses) eternal life. But whoever disobeys (is unbelieving toward, refuses to trust in, disregards, is not subject to) the Son will never see (experience) life, but [instead] the wrath of God abides on him. [God's displeasure remains on him; His indignation hangs over him continually.] (Amplified Version)
- He who believes in the Son has everlasting life; and he who does not believe the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abides on him. (New King James Version)

Matthew 7:22-23: Many will say to me in that day, 'Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works?' And then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.

Luke 5:20: And when he saw their faith, he said unto them, Man, thy sins are forgiven thee.

Luke 18:10-14: Two men went up to the temple to pray, one a Pharisee and the other a tax collector. The Pharisee stood up and prayed about himself: 'God, I thank you that I am not like other men—robbers, evildoers, adulterers—or even like this tax collector. I fast twice a week and give a tenth of all I get.' But the tax collector stood at a distance. He would not even look up to heaven, but beat his breast and said, 'God, have mercy on me, a sinner.' I tell you that this man, rather than the other, went home justified before God.

Luke 23:40-43:But the other criminal rebuked him. 'Don't you fear God,' he said, 'since you are under the same sentence? We are punished justly, for we are getting what our deeds deserve. But this man has done nothing wrong.' Then he said, 'Jesus, remember me when you come into your kingdom.' Jesus answered him, 'I tell you the truth, today you will be with me in paradise.'

John 3:16: For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, so that whoever believes in Him shall not perish, but have eternal life.

John 3:18: Whoever believes in him is not condemned, but whoever does not believe stands condemned already because he has not believed in the name of God's one and only Son.

John 6:28-29: Then they said unto him, 'What shall we do, that we might work the works of God?' Jesus answered and said unto them, 'This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent.'

John 5:24: Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life.

John 6:40: And this is the will of him that sent me, that every one which seeth the Son, and believeth on him, may have everlasting life, and I will raise him up at the last day.

John 6:47: Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.

Acts 10:43: Of Him all the prophets bear witness that through His name everyone who believes in Him receives forgiveness of sins.

Acts 16:31: Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and you shall be saved.

John 14:6: Jesus saith unto him, I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh to the Father, but by me.

Acts 26:18: ...that they may receive forgiveness of sins and an inheritance among those who are sanctified by faith in me...

Romans 1:17-18: Therefore the just shall live by faith. The wrath of God is indeed being revealed from heaven against every impiety and wickedness of those who suppress the truth by their wickedness.

Romans 3:28: Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.

Romans 4:5: But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.

Romans 5:1: Therefore being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.

Romans 6:23: For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Romans 10:9: That if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.

Romans 11:6: And if by grace, then is it no more of works: otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then is it no more grace: otherwise work is no more work.

Romans 14:23: ...for whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

Corinthians 1:21: For since, in the wisdom of God, the world through wisdom did not know God, it pleased God through the foolishness of the message preached to save those who believe.

Galatians 2:16: Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law: for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.

Galatians 2:21: I do not frustrate the grace of God: for if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain.

Galatians 3:1-3; Galatians 3:9-14; Galatians 3:21-25: O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that ye should not obey the truth, before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth, crucified among you? This only would I learn of you, Receive ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by hearing of faith? Are you so foolish? having begun in the Spirit, are ye now made perfect by the flesh? ... So then they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham. For as many as are of the works of the law are under the curse: for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them. But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident: for, The just shall live by faith. And the law is not of faith: but, The man that doeth them shall live in them. Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree. That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; so that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith.... Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid: for if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe. But before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed. Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But after that faith is come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster.

Galatians 5:4-5: Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace. For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith.

Ephesians 1:13-14: In Him you also trusted, after you heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation; in whom also, having believed, you were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise, who is the guarantee of our inheritance until the redemption of the purchased possession, to the praise of His glory.

Ephesians 2:8-10: For by grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: Not of works, lest any man should boast. For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath before ordained that we should walk in them.

Philippians 3:9: And be found in him, not having mine own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith.

Galatians 3:8: The Scripture foresaw that God would justify the Gentiles by faith...

1 Timothy 1:16: However, for this reason I obtained mercy, that in me first Jesus Christ might show all long suffering, as a pattern to those who are going to believe on Him for everlasting life.

Titus 3:5: Not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost.

James 2:10: For whoever keeps the whole law and yet stumbles at just one point is guilty of breaking all of it.[35]

Passages used to argue against *sola fide*

- Psalms 15: A Psalm of David. O LORD, who may abide in Your tent? Who may dwell on Your holy hill? He who walks with integrity, and works righteousness, And speaks truth in his heart. He does not slander with his tongue, Nor does evil to his neighbor, Nor takes up a reproach against his friend; In whose eyes a reprobate is despised, But who honors those who fear the LORD; He swears to his own hurt and does not change; He does not put out his money at interest, Nor does he take a bribe against the innocent. He who does these things will never be shaken.
- Psalms 106:28-31: They yoked themselves to the Baal of Peor and ate sacrifices offered to lifeless gods; they aroused the Lord's anger by their wicked deeds, and a plague broke out among them. But Phinehas stood up and intervened, and the plague was checked. This was credited to him as righteousness for endless generations to come.
- Matthew 5:16: "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven."
- Matthew 5:48: (part of the Expounding of the Law within the Sermon on the Mount): "Be perfect, therefore, as your heavenly Father is perfect." (Compare Imitatio dei)
- Matthew 7:21: (part of the Sermon on the Mount): "Not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' will enter the kingdom of heaven, but only he who does the will of my Father who is in heaven."
- Matthew 7:24-27: (part of the Sermon on the Mount): "Therefore everyone who hears these words of mine and puts them into practice is like a wise man who built his house on the rock. The rain came down, the streams rose, and the winds blew and beat against that house; yet it did not fall, because it had its foundation on the rock. But everyone who hears these words of mine and does not put them into practice is like a foolish man who built his house on sand. The rain came down, the streams rose, and the winds blew and beat against that house, and it fell with a great crash."
- Matthew 12:36-37: "I tell you, on the day of judgment you will have to give an account for every careless word you utter; For by your words you will be justified, and by your words you will be condemned."
- Matthew 16:27: "For the Son of Man is going to come in his Father's glory with his angels, and then he will reward each person according to what he has done."
- Matthew 19:16-21: "And behold, one came to him and said, Teacher, what good thing shall I do, that I may have eternal life? And he said unto him, Why askest thou me concerning that which is good? One there is who is good: but if thou wouldest enter into life, keep the commandments. He saith unto him, Which? And Jesus said, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Honor thy father and mother; and, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. The young man saith unto him, All these things have I observed: what lack I yet? Jesus said unto him, If thou wouldest be perfect, go, sell that which thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow me."
- Matthew 21:28-31: "'But what do you think? A certain man had two sons, and he came to the first and said: "Son, go work today in my vineyard." He answered: "I will not," but afterwards he repented and went. So he came to the second and said likewise, and he answered and said: "I go, sir," but did not go. Which of the two has done the will of his father?' They said to him: 'The first.' Jesus said to them: 'Verily, I say to you: The publicans and the harlots go into the kingdom of God before you.'"
- Matthew 24:10-20: (part of the Olivet discourse): "Then many will fall away, and they will betray one another and hate one another. And many false prophets will arise and lead many astray. And because of the increase of lawlessness, the love of many will grow cold. But the one who endures to the end will be saved."
- Matthew 25:31-46: (part of The Sheep and the Goats): "When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the angels with him, he will sit on his throne in heavenly glory. All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate the people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats. He will put the sheep on his right and the goats on his left. Then the King will say to those on his right, 'Come, you who are blessed by my Father; take your inheritance, the kingdom prepared for you

since the creation of the world. For I was hungry and you gave me something to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me something to drink, I was a stranger and you invited me in, I needed clothes and you clothed me, I was sick and you looked after me, I was in prison and you came to visit me.' Then the righteous will answer him, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry and feed you, or thirsty and give you something to drink? When did we see you a stranger and invite you in, or needing clothes and clothe you? When did we see you sick or in prison and go to visit you?' The King will reply, 'I tell you the truth, whatever you did for one of the least of these brothers of mine, you did for me.' Then he will say to those on his left, 'Depart from me, you who are cursed, into the eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels. For I was hungry and you gave me nothing to eat, I was thirsty and you gave me nothing to drink, I was a stranger and you did not invite me in, I needed clothes and you did not clothe me, I was sick and in prison and you did not look after me.' They also will answer, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry or thirsty or a stranger or needing clothes or sick or in prison, and did not help you?' He will reply, 'I tell you the truth, whatever you did not do for one of the least of these, you did not do for me.' Then they will go away to eternal punishment, but the righteous to eternal life."

- Matthew 28:19-20a: (part of the Great Commission): "Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything I have commanded you."

- Luke 8:21: "But He answered and said to them, 'My mother and My brothers are these who hear the word of God and do it.' "

- Luke 10:25-28: "On one occasion an expert in the law stood up to test Jesus. 'Teacher,' he asked, 'what must I do to inherit eternal life?' 'What is written in the Law?' he replied. 'How do you read it?' He answered: 'Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength and with all your mind'; and, 'Love your neighbor as yourself.' 'You have answered correctly,' Jesus replied. 'Do this and you will live.'"

- John 5:29: "And will come out, those who have done good, to the resurrection of life, and those who have done evil, to the resurrection of condemnation."

- John 13:35 "By this everyone will know that you are my disciples, if you love one another."

- Acts 26:20: "First to those in Damascus, then to those in Jerusalem and in all Judea, and to the Gentiles also, I preached that they should repent and turn to God and prove their repentance by their deeds."

- Romans 2:6-16: For he will render to every man according to his works: to those who by patience in well-doing seek for glory and honor and immortality, he will give eternal life; but for those who are factious and do not obey the truth, but obey wickedness, there will be wrath and fury. There will be tribulation and distress for every human being who does evil, the Jew first and also the Greek, but glory and honor and peace for every one who does good, the Jew first and also the Greek. For God shows no partiality. All who have sinned without the law will also perish without the law, and all who have sinned under the law will be judged by the law. For it is not the hearers of the law who are righteous before God, but the doers of the law who will be justified. When Gentiles who have not the law do by nature what the law requires, they are a law to themselves, even though they do not have the law. They show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, while their conscience also bears witness and their conflicting thoughts accuse or perhaps excuse them on that day when, according to my gospel, God judges the secrets of men by Christ Jesus.

- Galatians 6:7b-9: "A man reaps what he sows. The one who sows to please his sinful nature, from that nature will reap destruction; the one who sows to please the Spirit, from the Spirit will reap eternal life. Let us not become weary in doing good, for at the proper time we will reap a harvest if we do not give up."

- 1 Corinthians 6:9-10: "Do you not know that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind; nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God."

- 1 Corinthians 7:19: "Circumcision means nothing and uncircumcision means nothing; what matters is keeping God's commandments."

- 1 Corinthians 10:12: "Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall."

- 1 Corinthians 13:2-3: "And if I have prophetic powers, and understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but do not have love, I am nothing. If I give away all my possessions, and if I hand over my body so that I may boast, but do not have love, I gain nothing."

- 1 Corinthians 13:13: "And now faith, hope, and love abide, these three; and the greatest of these is love."

- 2 Corinthians 5:10: "For we must all appear before the judgement seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done is his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad."

- Philippians 2:12b-13: "Work out your salvation with fear and trembling, For God is one who, for his good purpose, works in you both to desire and to work."
- 1 Timothy 4:16: "Attend to yourself and to your teaching; persevere in both tasks, for by doing so you will save both yourself and those who listen to you."
- 1 Timothy 6:18-19: "That they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate; Laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life."
- Hebrews 10:24: "And let us consider how we may spur one another on toward love and good deeds."
- James 1:22: "Do not merely listen to the word, and so deceive yourselves. Do what it says."
- James 2:14-26: What does it profit, my brethren, if someone says he has faith but does not have works? Can faith save him? If a brother or sister is naked and destitute of daily food, and one of you says to them, "Depart in peace, be warmed and filled," but you do not give them the things which are needed for the body, what does it profit? Thus also faith by itself, if it does not have works, is dead. But someone will say, "You have faith, and I have works." Show me your faith without your works, and I will show you my faith by my works. You believe that there is one God. You do well. Even the demons believe—and tremble! But do you want to know, O foolish man, that faith without works is dead? Was not Abraham our father justified by works when he offered Isaac his son on the altar? Do you see that faith was working together with his works, and by works faith was made perfect? And the Scripture was fulfilled which says, "Abraham believed God, and it was accounted to him for righteousness." And he was called the friend of God. You see then that a man is justified by works, and not by faith only. Likewise, was not Rahab the harlot also justified by works when she received the messengers and sent them out another way? For as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also.
- 1 Peter 1:17: "Now if you invoke as Father him who judges impartially according to each one's works, conduct yourselves with reverence during the time of your sojourning."
- 1 Peter 2:12: "Having your conversation honest among the Gentiles: that, whereas they speak against you as evildoers, they may by your good works, which they shall behold, glorify God in the day of visitation."
- 1 John 2:3-7: "We know that we have come to know him if we obey his commands. The man who says, 'I know him,' but does not do what he commands is a liar, and the truth is not in him. But if anyone obeys his word, God's love is truly made complete in him. This is how we know we are in him: Whoever claims to live in him must walk as Jesus did. Dear friends, I am not writing you a new command but an old one, which you have had since the beginning. This old command is the message you have heard."
- 1 John 3:17-18: "If anyone has material possessions and sees a brother or sister in need but has no pity on them, how can the love of God be in that person? Dear children, let us not love with words or speech but with actions and in truth."
- Revelation 2:23: "Then all the churches will know that I am he who searches hearts and minds, and I will repay each of you according to your deeds."
- Revelation 14:12-13: "Here is a call for the endurance of the saints, those who keep the commandments of God and hold fast to the faith of Jesus. And I heard a voice from heaven saying, 'Write this: Blessed are the dead who from now on die in the Lord.' 'Yes,' says the Spirit, 'they will rest from their labours, for their deeds follow them.'"
- Revelation 20:13: "All the dead were judged according to their deeds."
- Revelation 22:12-15: "Behold, I am coming soon. I bring with me the recompense I will give to each according to his deeds. I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last. Blessed are they who do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and may enter through the gates into the city. For without are dogs, sorcerers, whoremongers, murderers, idolaters, and whosoever loves and makes a lie."

Works of the Law

Many Catholics see the exclusion of "works of the law" as only referring to works done for salvation under the Mosaic law, versus works of faith which are held as meritorious for salvation.

Adherents of sola fide respond that Jesus was not instituting keeping a higher moral code as means of salvation, and tend to see the exclusion of "works of the law" (as the means of obtaining justification) as referring to any works of the Mosaic law, and by implication, any "works of righteousness which we have done" (Titus 3:5) or any system in which one earns eternal life on the basis of the merit of works.

However, most understand that the "righteousness of the law" is to be fulfilled by those who are justified by faith (Romans 8:4). The Mosaic law and the principles of the Gospel (such as the Sermon on the Mount and the Last

Judgment of Matthew 25) are seen as being in correspondence, with the latter fulfilling, clarifying, and expanding on the former, centering on God's love for us, and love to others. Thus a Protestant believer can claim that "the law is holy, and the commandment holy, and just, and good," (Romans 7:12) harmonizing the two principles of the same Bible.[36]

3.4.6 *Sola fide* and the Early Church Fathers

There are several Church Fathers whom Protestant apologists believe taught the doctrine of Sola Fide (although Catholic and Orthodox apologists quote the same fathers as supporting a justification that includes works). Here are some of them:

Clement of Rome (c. 30-100) "And we [Christians], too, being called by His will in Christ Jesus, are not justified by ourselves, nor by our own wisdom, or understanding, or godliness, or works which we have wrought in holiness of heart; but by that faith through which, from the beginning, Almighty God has justified all men; to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen."[37]

Justin Martyr (d. 165) in his Dialogue with Trypho: "No longer by the blood of goats and of sheep, or by the ashes of a heifer . . . are sins purged, but by faith, through the blood of Christ and his death, who died on this very account."[38]

Didymus the Blind (c. 313-398) "…a person is saved by grace, not by works but by faith. There should be no doubt but that faith saves and then lives by doing its own works, so that the works which are added to salvation by faith are not those of the law but a different kind of thing altogether."[39]

Hilary of Poitiers (c 315-67) on Matthew 20:7 "Wages cannot be considered as a gift, because they are due to work, but God has given free grace to all men by the justification of faith."[40]

Basil of Caesarea (329-379) "Let him who boasts boast in the Lord, that Christ has been made by God for us righteousness, wisdom, justification, redemption. This is perfect and pure boasting in God, when one is not proud on account of his own righteousness but knows that he is indeed unworthy of the true righteousness and is (or has been) justified solely by faith in Christ."[41]

Ambrose (c. 339-97) "Therefore let no one boast of his works, because no one can be justified by his works; but he who is just receives it as a gift, because he is justified by the washing of regeneration. It is faith, therefore, which delivers us by the blood of Christ, because blessed is he whose sins are forgiven, and to whom pardon is granted."[42]

Jerome (347-420) on Romans 10:3 "God justifies by faith alone." (*Deus ex sola fide justificat*).[43]

Chrysostom (349-407) For Scripture says that faith has saved us. Put better: Since God willed it, faith has saved us. Now in what case, tell me, does faith save without itself doing anything at all? Faith's workings themselves are a gift of God, lest anyone should boast. What then is Paul saying? Not that God has forbidden works but that he has forbidden us to be justified by works. No one, Paul says, is justified by works, precisely in order that the grace and benevolence of God may become apparent.[44]

Augustine (354-430) If Abraham was not justified by works, how was he justified? … Abraham believed God, and it was reckoned to him as righteousness (Rom. 4:3; Gen. 15:6). Abraham, then, was justified by faith. Paul and James do not contradict each other: good works follow justification.

Augustine (354-430) Although it can be said that God's commandments pertain to *faith alone*, if it is not dead [faith], but rather understood as that live faith, which works through love.[27][28]

Augustine (354-430) "When someone believes in him who justifies the impious, that faith is reckoned as justice to the believer, as David too declares that person blessed whom God has accepted and endowed with righteousness, independently of any righteous actions (Rom 4:5-6). What righteousness is this? The righteousness of faith, preceded by no good works, but with good works as its consequence."[45]

Ambrosiaster (4th century), on Rom. 3:24 "They are justified freely because they have not done anything nor given anything in return, but by faith alone they have been made holy by the gift of God."

Cyril of Alexandria (412-444) For we are justified by faith, not by works of the law, as Scripture says (Gal. 2:16). By faith in whom, then, are we justified? Is it not in him who suffered death according to the flesh for our sake? Is it not in one Lord Jesus Christ?[46]

Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274) Therefore the hope of justification is not found in them [the moral and ceremonial requirements of the law], but *in faith alone*, Rom 3:28: We consider a human being to be justified by faith, without the works of the law.[27][28]

3.4.7 Catholic view

The Catholic view excludes *sola fide* as the sole grounds for justification, holding instead that grace, specifically, the form of grace known as "sanctifying grace", and which first floods the soul at baptism, which empowers both one's ability to believe and perform good works, is

essential as the gateway to salvation, but not the only element needed for salvation (Eph 2:8-10). God's freely given grace is offered and also empowers both one's ability to believe and perform good works, both then becoming meritorious because they are joined to Christ's saving power of the Cross. (Phil 2:12-13) (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1987-2029) A Christian must respond to this free gift of Grace from God given first, ordinarily, in Baptism (1 Pet 3:21) by both having faith and by living in the light of Christ through love (Jn 3:16; 1 Jn 1:7)(Galatians 5:6)which perfects the Christian throughout their life (James 2:22). The Catholic position is best summed up in John 3:16, if one has the proper, contextual understanding of the word "believe". "Believe", in context and in ancient Judaism, meant more than an intellectual assent. "To believe" also meant to obey, which is seen, in context, in Jn 3:36, 1 Jn 2:3ff, and 1 Jn 5:1ff. Without our positive response to grace offered, salvation is not possible.

As expounded in the Catechism of the Catholic Church, the Catholic Church's teaching is that it is the grace of God, "the free and undeserved help that God gives us to respond to his call", that justifies us,[47] a grace that is a prerequisite for our free response of "collaboration in justification through faith, and in sanctification through charity",[48] "With regard to God, there is no strict right to any merit on the part of man",[49] so that "we can have merit in God's sight only because of God's free plan to associate man with the work of his grace. Merit is to be ascribed in the first place to the grace of God, and secondly to man's collaboration. Man's merit is due to God."[50] "No one can merit the initial grace which is at the origin of conversion. Moved by the Holy Spirit, we can merit for ourselves and for others all the graces needed to attain eternal life, as well as necessary temporal goods."[51]

According to the Catechism of the Catholic Church justification is conferred in baptism, the sacrament of faith.[52] The sacrament of reconciliation enables recovery of justification, if lost through committing a mortal sin.[53] A mortal sin makes justification lost, even if faith is still present.[54]

The Council of Trent sought to clarify the Catholic Church's teaching on justification and the manner in which it differed from that proposed by Protestants. It stated: "Faith is the beginning of human salvation, the foundation and root of all justification, without which it is impossible to please God (ESV) and to come to the fellowship of His sons; and we are therefore said to be justified gratuitously, because none of those things that precede justification, whether faith or works, merit the grace of justification."[54] "Faith, unless hope and charity be added to it, neither unites man perfectly with Christ nor makes him a living member of His body. For which reason it is most truly said that faith without works is dead (James 2:17-20) and of no profit, and in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything nor uncircumcision, but faith that worketh by charity (Galatians 5:6)."[54] After being justified, "to those who work well unto the end and trust in God, eternal life is to be offered, both as a grace mercifully promised to the sons of God through Christ Jesus, and as a reward promised by God himself, to be faithfully given to their good works and merits. ... Since Christ Jesus Himself, as the head into the members and the vine into the branches (John 15:1-6), continually infuses strength into those justified, which strength always precedes, accompanies and follows their good works, and without which they could not in any manner be pleasing and meritorious before God, we must believe that nothing further is wanting to those justified to prevent them from being considered to have, by those very works which have been done in God, fully satisfied the divine law according to the state of this life and to have truly merited eternal life, to be obtained in its [due] time, provided they depart [this life] in grace".[54]

In its canons, the Council condemned the following propositions:

- man can be justified before God by his own works, whether done by his own natural powers or through the teaching of the law,[110] without divine grace through Jesus Christ (canon 1);
- the sinner is justified by faith alone, meaning that nothing else is required to cooperate in order to obtain the grace of justification, and that it is not in any way necessary that he be prepared and disposed by the action of his own will (canon 9);
- the commandments of God are, even for one that is justified and constituted in grace, impossible to observe (canon 18);
- the justice received is not preserved and also not increased before God through good works, but those works are merely the fruits and signs of justification obtained, but not the cause of its increase (canon 24);
- the good works of the one justified are in such manner the gifts of God that they are not also the good merits of him justified; or the one justified by the good works that he performs by the grace of God and the merit of Jesus Christ, whose living member he is, does not truly merit an increase of grace, eternal life, and in case he dies in grace, the attainment of eternal life itself and also an increase of glory (canon 32).

In response to sola fide, Robert Sungenis argues in his book *Not by Faith Alone* that:

> 1) Protestants have devised many and varied explanations to neutralize the clear and unambiguous statement in Jm 2:24 that "man is justified by works and not by faith alone." Each of these explanations concludes that James is

not teaching that man is justified by works in the same sense that Paul says man is justified by faith. Puzzled by James's language, Martin Luther even concluded that the epistle of James was a spurious book and should not be canonically authoritative for New Testament teaching.

2) Countering the Protestant explanation of the epistle of James which states that James means that "men" witness Abraham's works, the Genesis text (Genesis 22) does not include any men as witness to Abraham's works, but only God himself.

3) Countering the Protestant explanation of James which holds that the word "justified" as James uses the term refers to a "vindication," rather than to a salvific justification, as Paul uses the term, are the following arguments:

a) If James were teaching a concept of "vindication," he would have said, with the proper Greek word, "you see, a person is vindicated by works." Moreover, since James adds the clause "and not by faith alone" we know that he is correcting a false notion concerning the solitude of faith in justification, not suggesting that Abraham was vindicated by works.

b) If James were attempting to teach a vindication of Abraham, the specific argumentation he used would make sense only if James's opponents had claimed that Abraham was "vindicated by faith alone." In other words, if the vindication hypothesis were true, syntactical requirements would have forced James to use the meaning of "vindicated" in the first part of his argument (Jm 2:20-21) in order also to use it in the latter part (Jm 2:24). Since the grammatical structure of the verse would then require that the phrase "not by faith alone" have its referent in the phrase "is vindicated," this would force the meaning of the verse to be, "a person is vindicated...not by faith alone" — a meaning that has no relevance to James's discussion.

c) The New Testament does not use the word "justified" in the sense of "vindicated" in contexts which are soteriological, i.e., contexts which discuss salvation or damnation. Moreover, such passages as Mt 11:19 where one could plausibly interpret the Greek word dikaioo as referring to a vindication do so only in a metaphorical sense; therefore they do not use dikaioo in the same way that James, and even Paul, use the term, which is historical and literal.

d) James's discussion of the events surrounding the justification of Rahab preclude assigning the meaning of "vindicated" to the word justified. Rahab's justification, as described in Jm 2:25, is a salvific justification, not a vindication, yet James specifies that Rahab was justified "in the same way" that Abraham was justified. Therefore, one cannot understand Abraham's justification as a vindication.

e) Since James and Paul use the same Greek noun dikaiosune ("righteous") in reference to Abraham, and interpret the word in the same way (cf. Gn 15:6, Rm 4:3, Jm 2:23), it would be totally incongruous for one of them to use a different meaning of its verbal cognate dikaioo in reference to Abraham.

f) The Protestant position assumes that Abraham's justification is a once-for-all event. James's all important question "Can faith save him?" (Jm 2:14), however, includes Abraham within its purview. Hence we must conclude that if Abraham's works were not of the quality that James prescribes in the context (Jm 2:15), then Abraham would not be justified. Abraham could not be justified in a "once-for-all" event in Gn 15:6 and at the same time have that justification put in jeopardy by disobedience to James's requirement of works for justification. If this could happen, the question in Jm 2:14 would have no meaning.

4) Abraham's acts in Genesis 12, 15, and 22 were acts of faith and works. We should not misconstrue Paul's stress on Abraham's faith in his view of Gn 15:6 to say that Abraham performed no works of loving obedience to God at this time or prior, nor should we misconstrue James's view of works in Genesis 22 to say that Abraham's attempted sacrifice of Isaac was not a supreme act of faith. Similarly, Abraham's departure from his homeland in Genesis 12 also couples his faith and works in regard to justification. Throughout his life, in the periods recorded in Genesis 13-14, 16-21, and 23-25 which are between the times of his recorded faith and obedience in the New Testament, Abraham continued to live in faith and obedience, with only what we may call minor lapses along the way. Genesis 22's importance is its detailing of Abraham's quintessential act of the faith-and-works which allowed God to swear an oath of blessing to him and for all his future descendants. Abraham's act in Genesis 22, not Gn 15:6, was the most important act in Abraham's life. The act in Genesis 22 was just as much a crediting of righteousness to Abraham as that in Gn 15:6.

5) The entire context of the book of James concerns what one must do to be saved. He concentrates on obedience to the law as the means of salvation, and judgment for those who disobey that law.

6) James includes sins of commission as

well as omission in his warning against disobedience to the law. The supreme law, or "royal law," that James has in view is the law of love.

7) James assumes that the audience to whom he writes already has faith in God. The main question that James poses to them is whether they have added works to their faith. James does not suggest that works will immediately or inevitably flow from one who has faith, even though he may have a greater disposition towards good works once he has faith. James teaches that one who has faith must make a daily, conscious decision to do good works, just as he must decide each day to refrain from sin. In fact, if he chooses not to do good works when the opportunity arises, he has sinned (Jm 4:17).

8) James does not support the Protestant concept that one can be saved as long as he has "saving faith." James is not so much attempting to qualify the faith needed for justification as he is saying that one must consciously add works to faith in order to be justified. A person, to be justified, must persevere to his last breath in this conscious decision to add works to faith.

9) One of the most heinous in the catalogue of sins that James specifies is sin of the tongue. What is "said" to God and man is of the utmost importance to James and a major criterion on how the individual will be judged.

10) Both Paul and James speak of the works of love that one must add to his faith in order to be justified.

11) Like Paul, James concludes that if one chooses the system of law and desires God to evaluate him on that basis without the benefit of grace, he must then obey the whole law without fault. For one fault, the law will utterly condemn him.[55]

3.4.8 Methodist view

Methodism, unlike the Lutheran and Reformed branches of Protestant Christianity, emphasizes the importance of the pursuit of holiness in salvation.[56] Bishop Scott J. Jones in *United Methodist Doctrine* writes that in Methodist theology:

> Faith is necessary to salvation unconditionally. Good works are necessary only conditionally, that is if there is time and opportunity. The thief on the cross in Luke 23:39-43 is Wesley's example of this. He believed in Christ and was told, "Truly I tell you, today you will be with me in Paradise." This would be impossible if the good works that are the fruit of genuine repentance and faith were unconditionally necessary for salvation. The man was dying and lacked time; his movements were confined and he lacked opportunity. In his case, faith alone was necessary. However, for the vast majority of human beings good works are necessary for continuance in faith because those persons have both the time and opportunity for them.[57]

Bishop Jones concludes that "United Methodist doctrine thus understands true, saving faith to be the kind that, give time and opportunity, will result in good works. Any supposed faith that does not in fact lead to such behaviors is not genuine, saving faith."[57] Furthermore, while "faith is essential for a meaningful relationship with God, our relationship with God also takes shape through our care for people, the community, and creation itself."[58]

Richard P. Bucher, contrasts this position with the Lutheran one, discussing an analogy put forth by the founder of the Methodist Church, John Wesley:

> Whereas in Lutheran theology the central doctrine and focus of all our worship and life is justification by grace through faith, for Methodists the central focus has always been holy living and the striving for perfection. Wesley gave the analogy of a house. He said repentance is the porch. Faith is the door. But holy living is the house itself. Holy living is true religion. "Salvation is like a house. To get into the house you first have to get on the porch (repentance) and then you have to go through the door (faith). But the house itself--one's relationship with God--is holiness, holy living" (Joyner, paraphrasing Wesley, 3).[59]

3.4.9 Excerpts from confessions and creeds which support *sola fide*

Anglican

> *Article XI*
>
> Of the Justification of Man
>
> We are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort; as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.
>
> *Thirty-nine Articles of Religion (1571)*

However, certain Anglican and Episcopal theologians (especially Anglo-Catholics) argue for a faith character-

ized by *faithfulness*, where good works and the Sacraments play an important role in the life of the Christian believer. (See New Perspective on Paul)

Lutheran

Article IV Of Justification

Our churches by common consent...teach that men cannot be justified before God by their own strength, merits, or works, but are freely justified for Christ's sake, through faith, when they believe that they are received into favor, and that their sins are forgiven for Christ's sake, who, by His death, has made satisfaction for our sins. This faith God imputes for righteousness in His sight. Rom. 3 and 4.

Augsburg Confession, 1530

Southern Baptist

Baptist Faith and Message - 2000

Article IV, sub-article B.

Justification is God's gracious and full acquittal upon principles of His righteousness of all sinners who repent and believe in Christ. Justification brings the believer unto a relationship of peace and favor with God.

Reformed Baptist

XXVIII.

That those which have union with Christ, are justified from all their sins, past, present, and to come, by the blood of Christ; which justification we conceive to be a gracious and free acquittance of a guilty, sinful creature, from all sin by God, through the satisfaction that Christ hath made by his death; and this applied in the manifestation of it through faith.

'First' London Baptist Confession (1644)

Chapter XI of the London Baptist Confession of Faith 1689 is the same as the Westminster Confession of Faith.

Mennonite

Confession of Faith in a Mennonite Perspective (1995)—copyrighted

Summary:

A typical Anabaptist confession of faith.

Salvation is variously expressed, sometimes as "justification by faith," in which case it means that the just person has accepted the offer of a covenantal relationship, and lives according to that covenant.

Reformed (Continental)

Article 23: The Justification of Sinners

We believe that our blessedness lies in the forgiveness of our sins because of Jesus Christ, and that in it our righteousness before God is contained, as David and Paul teach us when they declare that man blessed to whom God grants righteousness apart from works.

And the same apostle says that we are justified "freely" or "by grace" through redemption in Jesus Christ. And therefore we cling to this foundation, which is firm forever, giving all glory to God, humbling ourselves, and recognizing ourselves as we are; not claiming a thing for ourselves or our merits and leaning and resting on the sole obedience of Christ crucified, which is ours when we believe in him.

That is enough to cover all our sins and to make us confident, freeing the conscience from the fear, dread, and terror of God's approach, without doing what our first father, Adam, did, who trembled as he tried to cover himself with fig leaves.

In fact, if we had to appear before God relying—no matter how little—on ourselves or some other creature, then, alas, we would be swallowed up.

Therefore everyone must say with David: "Lord, do not enter into judgment with your servants, for before you no living person shall be justified."

Belgic Confession 1561 (French revision, 1619)

Question 86: Since then we are delivered from our misery, merely of grace, through Christ, without any merit of ours, why must we still do good works?

Answer: Because Christ, having redeemed and delivered us by his blood, also renews us by his Holy Spirit, after his own image; that so

we may testify, by the whole of our conduct, our gratitude to God for his blessings, and that he may be praised by us; also, that every one may be assured in himself of his faith, by the fruits thereof; and that, by our godly conversation others may be gained to Christ.

Question 87: Cannot they then be saved, who, continuing in their wicked and ungrateful lives, are not converted to God?

Answer: By no means; for the holy scripture declares that no unchaste person, idolater, adulterer, thief, covetous man, drunkard, slanderer, robber, or any such like, shall inherit the kingdom of God.

Heidelberg Catechism 1563

Reformed (Presbyterian)

I. Those whom God effectually calls, He also freely justifies; not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous; not for any thing wrought in them, or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; nor by imputing faith itself, the act of believing, or any other evangelical obedience to them, as their righteousness; but by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them, they receiving and resting on Him and His righteousness by faith; which faith they have not of themselves, it is the gift of God.

Chapter XI. Of Justification—Westminster Confession of Faith (1647)

United Methodist

We believe we are never accounted righteous before God through our works or merit, but that penitent sinners are justified or accounted righteous before God only by faith in our Lord Jesus Christ.

Article IX—Justification and Regeneration (The Discipline of The Evangelical United Brethren Church 1963)

We are accounted righteous before God only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by faith, and not for our own works or deservings. Wherefore, that we are justified by faith, only, is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort.

Article IX—Of the Justification of Man (The Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Discipline of 1808)

We believe good works are the necessary fruits of faith and follow regeneration but they do not have the virtue to remove our sins or to avert divine judgment. We believe good works, pleasing and acceptable to God in Christ, spring from a true and living faith, for through and by them faith is made evident.

Article X-Good Works (The Confession of Faith)

Non-denominational Evangelicals

The justification of the sinner solely by the grace of God through faith in Christ crucified and risen from the dead.

British Evangelical Alliance Statement of Faith

We believe in...the Salvation of lost and sinful man through the shed blood of the Lord Jesus Christ by faith apart from works, and regeneration by the Holy Spirit...

World Evangelical Alliance Statement of Faith

3.4.10 Additional Ecumenical statements

Evangelicals

The New Testament makes it clear that the gift of salvation is received through faith. "By grace you have been saved through faith; and this is not your own doing, it is the gift of God" (Ephesians 2:8). By faith, which is also the gift of God, we repent of our sins and freely adhere to the gospel, the good news of God's saving work for us in Christ. By our response of faith to Christ, we enter into the blessings promised by the gospel. Faith is not merely intellectual assent but an act of the whole persons involving the mind, the will, and the affections, issuing in a changed life. We understand that what we here affirm is in agreement with what the Reformation traditions have meant by justification by faith alone (*sola fide*).

The Gift of Salvation (1997)

Lutheran World Federation and the Roman Catholic Church

> *4.3 Justification by Faith and through Grace*
>
> 25. We confess together that sinners are justified by faith in the saving action of God in Christ. By the action of the Holy Spirit in Baptism, they are granted the gift of salvation, which lays the basis for the whole Christian life. They place their trust in God's gracious promise by justifying faith, which includes hope in God and love for him. Such a faith is active in love and thus the Christian cannot and should not remain without works. But whatever in the justified precedes or follows the free gift of faith is neither the basis of justification nor merits it.
>
> *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification (1997)*

Lutheran-Orthodox Joint Commission

> 5. Regarding the way in which salvation is appropriated by the believers, Lutherans, by teaching that justification and salvation are by grace alone through faith (*sola gratia, sola fide*), stress the absolute priority of divine grace in salvation. When they speak about saving faith they do not think of the dead faith which even the demons have (cf. James 2:19), but the faith which Abraham showed and which was reckoned to him as righteousness (cf. Gen. 15:6, Rom. 4:3,9). The Orthodox also affirm the absolute priority of divine grace. They underline that it is God's grace which enables our human will to conform to the divine will (cf. Phil 2:13) in the steps of Jesus praying, "not as I will but as You will" (Matthew 26:39), so that we may work out our salvation in fear and trembling (cf. Phil. 2:12). This is what the Orthodox mean by "synergy" (working together) of divine grace and the human will of the believer in the appropriation of the divine life in Christ. The understanding of synergy in salvation is helped by the fact that the human will in the one person of Christ was not abolished when the human nature was united in Him with the divine nature, according to the Christological decisions of the Ecumenical Councils. While Lutherans do not use the concept of synergy, they recognize the personal responsibility of the human being in the acceptance or refusal of divine grace through faith, and in the growth of faith and obedience to God. Lutherans and Orthodox both understand good works as the fruits and manifestations of the believer's faith and not as a means of salvation.[60]

3.4.11 See also

- Antinomianism
- Belief in Jesus
- Double imputation
- Expounding of the Law
- Justification from eternity

3.4.12 References

[1] Wriedt, Markus. "Luther's Theology," in *The Cambridge Companion to Luther*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, 88–94.

[2] Selected passages from Martin Luther, "Commentary on Galatians (1538)" as translated in Herbert J. A. Bouman, "The Doctrine of Justification in the Lutheran Confessions," Concordia Theological Monthly 26 (November 1955) No. 11:801. ctsfw.edu

[3] In XV Psalmos graduum 1532-33; WA 40/III.352.3

[4] Herbert J. A. Bouman, *ibid.*, 801-802.

[5] Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut Lehmann, eds., *Luther's Works*, 55 vols. (St. Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia Publishing House and Fortress Press, 1955-1986), 34:337

[6] Martin Luther's Definition of Faith

[7] "Preface to Romans by Martin Luther".

[8] Luther, Martin. "The Smalcald Articles," in *Concordia: The Lutheran Confessions*. Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2005, 289, Part two, Article 1.

[9] Herbert J. A. Bouman, *ibid.*, 805.

[10] "Augsburg Confession - Book of Concord".

[11] John 17:3, Luke 1:77,Galatians 4:9, Philippians 3:8, and 1 Timothy 2:4 refer to faith in terms of knowledge.

[12] John 5:46 refers to acceptance of the truth of Christ's teaching, while John 3:36 notes the rejection of his teaching.

[13] John 3:16,36, Galatians 2:16, Romans 4:20-25, 2 Timothy 1:12 speak of trust, confidence, and belief in Christ. John 3:18 notes belief in the name of Christ, and Mark 1:15 notes belief in the gospel.

[14] Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934. pp. 54-5, Part XIV. "Sin"

[15] Ps. 51:10, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934, p.57 Part XV. "Conversion", paragraph 78.

[16] John 17:20, Rom. 10:17, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934, p.101 Part XXV. "The Church", paragraph 141.

[17] Titus 3:5, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934, p.87 Part XXIII. "Baptism", paragraph 118.

[18] Eph. 2:8, Engelder, T.E.W., Popular Symbolics. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1934, p.57 Part XV. "Conversion", paragraph 78.

[19] "daily we sin, daily we are justified" from the Disputation Concerning Justification (1536) ISBN 0-8006-0334-6

[20] The Defense of the Augsburg Confession, III, *Reply to the Arguments of the Adversaries*, 123-132

[21] The Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord, III, Paragraph 42

[22] "Errors of Catholicism - Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod (WELS)".

[23] "Welcome to WELS". Archived from the original on 6 June 2014.

[24] Meier, Edward P. (1978), The Nature of True Faith: An Exegesis of James 2, p8, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, saying: "*James talks as if he were from Missouri, "Show me!" He says to the objector, "I can show you faith by my works." His works proved that his faith was active. But can the objector show faith without works? James knew what Matthew had said in the seventh chapter, "Ye shall know them by their fruits."*""

[25] Meier, Edward P. (1978), The Nature of True Faith: An Exegesis of James 2, p5, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary

[26] "History of the Christian Church, book 7, chapter 4".; Philip Schaff's *The Protestant Spirit of Luther's Version*: "The most important example of dogmatic influence in Luther's version is the famous interpolation of the word *alone* in Romans 3:28 (allein durch den Glauben), by which he intended to emphasize his solifidian doctrine of justification, on the plea that the German idiom required the insertion for the sake of clearness. But he thereby brought Paul into direct verbal conflict with James, who says (James 2:24), "by works a man is justified, and not only by faith" ("nicht durch den Glauben allein"). It is well known that Luther deemed it impossible to harmonize the two apostles in this article, and characterized the Epistle of James as an "epistle of straw," because it had no evangelical character ("keine evangelische Art")."

[27] Joseph A. Fitzmyer Romans, "A New Translation with introduction and Commentary," The Anchor Bible Series (New York: Doubleday, 1993) 360-361

[28] "Luther Added The Word "Alone" to Romans 3:28". beggarsallreformation.blogspot.com.

[29] Ewald M. Plass, "What Luther says," page 1509

[30] "Luther, An Introduction to St. Paul's Letter to the Romans". *Luther's German Bible of 1522 by Martin Luther, 1483-1546*. iclnet.org. Translated by Rev. Robert E. Smith from *Dr. Martin Luther's vermischte deutsche Schriften*. Johann K. Irmischer, ed. Vol. 63 (Erlangen: Heyder and Zimmer, 1854), pp.124-125. [EA 63:124-125] August 1994

[31] "Redemption Accomplished and Applied."

[32] "The Monstrosity of a Faith that is Alone". *Defending. Contending*.

[33] *Essential Truths of the Christian Faith*. p. 191.

[34] "Are we justified by faith alone?". mountainretreatorg.net.

[35] Meier, Edward P. (1978), The Nature of True Faith: An Exegesis of James 2, p5, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary, saying: *James here also shoots down the false doctrine of work-righteousness. The only way to be free of sin is to keep the law perfectly and in its entirety. If we offend it in the slightest, tiniest little way, we are guilty of all. Thank God that He sent Jesus to fulfill the Law in its entirety for us*

[36] "Is salvation by keeping the law?".

[37] Clement Alexandria. *Epistle to the Corinthians*.

[38] Justin Martyr. *Dialogue with Trypho*.

[39] Didymus the Blind. *Commentary on James, 2:26b*.

[40] Finch, George. *A Sketch of the Romish Controversy*. p. 230.

[41] Chemnitz, Martin. *Examination of the Council of Trent*. 1:505.

[42] Finch. *A Sketch of the Romish Controversy*. p. 220.

[43] Jerome. *Epistolam Ad Romanos*. Caput X, v. 3, PL 30:692D.

[44] Chrysostom. *Homily on Ephesians*. 4.2.9.

[45] Augustine. *Expositions of the Psalms 1-32*. Exposition 2 of Psalm 31.

[46] Russell, Norman. *Against Nestorius (Cyril of Alexandria)*. p. 165.

[47] Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1996

[48] Catechism of the Catholic Church, 2001–2002

[49] Catechism of the Catholic Church, 2007

[50] Catechism of the Catholic Church, 2025

[51] Catechism of the Catholic Church, 2027

[52] *Catechism of the Catholic Church No. 1992*. Vatican City-State. Justification is conferred in Baptism, the sacrament of faith.

[53] *Catechism of the Catholic Church No. 1446*. The Vatican. Christ instituted the sacrament of Penance for all sinful members of his Church: above all for those who, since Baptism, have fallen into grave sin, and have thus lost their baptismal grace and wounded ecclesial communion. It is to them that the sacrament of Penance offers a new possibility to convert and to recover the grace of justification. The Fathers of the Church present this sacrament as "the second plank [of salvation] after the shipwreck which is the loss of grace."

[54] "Paul III Council of Trent-6".

[55] Sungenis, Robert A. (1997). *Not By Faith Alone The Biblical Evidence for the Catholic Doctrine of Justification*. Santa Barbra, CA: Queenship Publishing. pp. 172–175. ISBN 1-57918-008-6.

[56] Joyner, F. Belton (2007). *United Methodist Answers*. Westminster John Knox Press. p. 80. ISBN 9780664230395. Jacob Albright, founder of the movement that led to the Evangelical Church flow in The United Methodist Church, got into trouble with some of his Lutheran, Reformed, and Mennonite neighbors because he insisted that salvation not only involved ritual but meant a change of heart, a different way of living.

[57] Jones, Scott J. (2002). *United Methodist Doctrine*. Abingdon Press. p. 190. ISBN 9780687034857.

[58] Langford, Andy; Langford, Sally (2011). *Living as United Methodist Christians: Our Story, Our Beliefs, Our Lives*. Abingdon Press. p. 45. ISBN 9781426711930.

[59] Bucher, Richard P. (2014). "Methodism". Lexington: Lutheran Church Missouri Synod.

[60] "Salvation: Grace, Justification, and Synergy". *9th Plenary of the Lutheran-Orthodox Joint Commission*. Sigtuna: helsinki.fi. 7 August 1998.

3.4.13 External links

- "By Faith Alone" and James (a Confessional Lutheran perspective)
- Importance of *Sola Fide* (a Confessional Lutheran perspective)
- Good Works (a Confessional Lutheran perspective)
- Essays on *Sola Fide*, Page 1& Page 2, Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary
- Bible Verses on *Sola Fide* (a Catholic perspective)
- Is There a Contradiction Between Faith and Works? (Article stating that faith without works is impossible)

3.5 Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants

Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants (German: *Wider die Mordischen und Reubischen Rotten der Bawren*) is a piece written by Martin Luther, related to the German Peasants' War. Beginning in 1524 and ending in 1526, the Peasants' War was a result of a tumultuous collection of grievances in many different spheres: political, economic, social, and theological. Martin Luther is often considered to be the foundation for the Peasants' Revolt; however, he maintained allegiance to the Princes against the violence of the rebels. *Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants* typifies Luther's reaction to the Peasants' War, and alludes to Luther's concern that he might be seen to be responsible for their rebellion.

3.5.1 Context

The Peasants' War

Ignited in 1524, the Peasants' War spread across the Germanic regions of the Holy Roman Empire during 1525 until its suppression in 1526. Many factors, including changes in social and economic structures, played a role in inciting the peasants to revolt. The move from an entirely agrarian economic base during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries served as a backdrop to the development of new social classes, ones that could not and did not coincide with the traditional feudal hierarchy. Although initially the grievances cited by the peasants were essentially based on individual abuses on the part of government of the Church, this shifted as time went on, and would come to encompass these minor issues within a general dissatisfaction for the entire feudal order.[1]

Luther and the Peasants: Reluctant Inspiration

The relationship between the Protestant Reformation and the Peasants' War has long been a subject of debate. A traditional understanding in this matter is that the Peasants' Revolt stemmed from Martin Luther's doctrine of spiritual freedom and the application of his ideas as religious justification for social and political upheaval. It is true that Luther offered useful tools to the peasants: his focus on *Sola Scriptura* put emphasis upon the priesthood of all believers. This strengthened the idea of 'Godly law', that social constructs counter to Godly law could not command the allegiance of the people and justified rebellion. Perhaps also influential to the revolt was the example of Luther, as his work was a rebellion against the two most significant authorities of the era when he opposed both the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor.[2] It is likely that Luther's views simply coincided with the desires of the peasants, and were used for that reason.

Other religious personalities such as Huldrych Zwingli and Thomas Müntzer also influenced the peasants. Zwingli taught from 1523 onwards that in order for the gospel to be successful, secular laws needed to be transformed according to the law of God, something which corresponded neatly with what the peasants wanted. Müntzer, who would lead a peasants' army until its defeat at Frankenhausen (15 May 1525) by Imperial troops, was able to encourage them by citing scriptural passages that seemed to support rebellion against lawful authority: Luke 22:35–38 and Matthew 10:34. To a peasantry op-

pressed in so many ways on so many levels, the leadership of men like Müntzer and the inspiration of scripture that appeared to justify violence would make rebellion seem very tempting indeed.

Furthermore, Luther's attacks on the Roman Catholic church can be said to have inspired various groups to raise arms in revolution. Peasants related to Luther's appeals against the clergy and ideas about Christian freedom, and wished to 'wreak vengeance upon all their oppressors'.[3] More powerful members of society, including burghers and lesser nobility sought to break the power of the clergy, escape the clutches of Rome, and find monetary gains in the confiscation of church property.

When pressure built around these revolutionary ideas, Luther had to choose a side, and he joined with the burghers, nobility, and princes. In siding with lawful authority, Luther preached peaceful progress and passive resistance in such documents as *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* in 1520.[4] He believed that there were no circumstances under which violence should be used on behalf of the Gospel with the exception of efforts against the work of Satan.

Luther and Müntzer: contrasts in leadership

Luther stated that he did "not wish the Gospel defended by force and bloodshed. The world was conquered by the Word, the Church is maintained by the Word, and the Word will also put the Church back into its own, and Antichrist, who gained his own without violence, will fall without violence".[3] Around the same time as Luther preached peaceful resistance, Müntzer attacked the priesthood in violent sermons, calling for the people to rise up in arms. He too cited biblical references to justify his perspective, and asked "does not Christ say, 'I came not to send peace, but a sword'? What must you do with that sword? Only one thing if you wish to be the servants of God, and that is to drive out and destroy the evil ones who stand in the way of Gospel".[5]

While Luther's reform ideals grew more popular by the day, Müntzer's bold ideas were politically agitating and dangerous. Müntzer argued that the Bible was not infallible and definitive, that the Holy Spirit had ways of communicating directly through the gift of reason.

The Twelve Articles of the Christian Union of Upper Swabia

The Twelve Articles of the Christian Union of Upper Swabia, also known as *The Twelve Articles of the Black Forest*, serves as a manifesto for the Peasants' Rebellion, although not the only one behind it. *The Twelve Articles* are a summary composed by Sebastian Lotzer of hundreds of other articles and grievances with the biblical references that support each point. On the surface they seem quite pedestrian and include: the wish to be able to elect their own pastors; the collection of tithes for use only within their own communities; an end to serfdom with a promise to obey elected and appointed rulers; the right to fish or hunt without limitation; the right to take wood as necessary; a limitation on labour due to lords; an end to traditional peasant services; reasonable rents paid to lords; fair judgements in legal cases; common lands returned to the peasants for common use; an end to the custom of heriot (the right of a lord to seize a peasant's best chattel upon his or her death); and lastly, if any of these demands can be demonstrated to be unsupported by scripture, they are null and void. The peasants wanted to hear the Gospel and live their lives accordingly, and those who could be considered enemies of the gospel were the enemies of the peasants. The idea of 'pure gospel' served as their justification.[6] *The Twelve Articles* succinctly called for the end of feudalism and the strengthening of the commons, a system of communal usufruct that stood in the way of nascent capitalism.

3.5.2 Luther's writings

Admonition to Peace

The peasants had used the Bible to support their grievances, and in turn, to justify their rebellion, and Luther would turn it against them. He spoke out against the peasants, specifically rebutting *The Twelve Articles of the Christian Union of Upper Swabia*, joining with Roman Catholics to combat the angry horde. Luther's *Admonition to Peace* was written to serve several functions, initially to prevent bloodshed at the hands of armed peasant mobs, but also to remove the misinterpretation of scripture as justification for violence, and finally as a response to several appeals that called for his counsel.[7]

The first section of the *Admonition* addresses the princes and lords, urging them to recognise the threat that the peasants represented, "not to make light of this rebellion"[8] and asking them to be more considerate in order to avoid confrontation. He reproaches the princes, making it clear that they are to blame, stating that "we have no one on earth to thank for this disastrous rebellion except you princes and lords... as temporal rulers you do nothing but cheat and rob the people so that you may lead a life of luxury and extravagance. The poor common people cannot bear it any longer".[8]

The second part addresses the peasants, and although Luther recognizes their demands as reasonable as presented in *The Twelve Articles*, he clearly states that they are wrong for using force in order to amend the situation. He takes particular issue with their use of Gospel as justification. The third section acknowledges that both princes and peasants have not been acting as good Christians, reproaching them both, for if war were to ensue both groups would lose their immortal souls.

Luther's *Admonition to Peace*, and the later publication of

Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants were written in response to *The Twelve Articles of the Christian Union of Upper Swabia* and saw wide circulation throughout Germany. Although it is not known when Luther actually first read the *Twelve Articles*, it was certainly prior to 16 April 1525.[9]

Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants

Luther remained largely ignorant of the extent to which the unrest permeated the peasantry until he embarked on a tour of Thuringia with Philipp Melanchthon. It was at this time that he was able to observe firsthand the severity of the situation, peasants doing "the devil's work".[10] He attempted to prevent further violence by preaching against it, but recognised that this had little, if any impact.

In May 1525, he wrote *Against the Rioting Peasants*, a title which would be harshened by printers in other cities without Luther's approval. In this publication, he upbraided the peasants on three charges: that they had violated oaths of loyalty, which makes them subject to secular punishment; they had committed crimes that went against their faith; and that their crimes were committed using Christ's name which was blasphemy:

> The peasants have taken upon themselves the burden of three terrible sins against God and man; by this they have merited death in body and soul... they have sworn to be true and faithful, submissive and obedient, to their rulers... now deliberately and violently breaking this oath... they are starting a rebellion, and are violently robbing and plundering monasteries and castles which are not theirs... they have doubly deserved death in body and soul as highwaymen and murderers... they cloak this terrible and horrible sin with the gospel... thus they become the worst blasphemers of God and slanderers of his holy name"[10]

Luther goes so far as to justify the actions of the Princes against the peasants, even when it involves acts of violence. He feels that they can be punished by the lords on the basis that they have "become faithless, perjured, disobedient, rebellious, murderers, robbers, and blasphemers, whom even a heathen ruler has the right and authority to punish".[10] He even venerates those who fight against the peasants, stating that "anyone who is killed fighting on the side of the rulers may be a true martyr in the eyes of God".[10] He closes with a sort of disclaimer, "if anyone thinks this too harsh, let him remember that rebellion is intolerable and that the destruction of the world is to be expected every hour".[10] One of the reasons why Luther urged that the secular authorities crush the peasant rebellion was because of St. Paul's teaching of the doctrine of Divine Right of Kings in his epistle to the Romans 13:1–7, which says that all the authorities are appointed by God, and should not therefore be resisted.

Open Letter on the Harsh Book Against the Peasants

Following the defeat of Müntzer's forces on 15 May 1525 at Frankenhausen, the peasants' war was all but over, as they now lacked leaders with political and military strengths.[11] They felt that they had been betrayed by Luther, and criticised him accordingly for the publication of *Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants*. The Catholics pointed out that *Admonition of Peace* vindicated the peasants, by stating that their grievances were legitimate, but when it became clear that the peasants would lose, he deserted them in his writing *Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants*. He was urged by his friends to make a retraction, something that he steadfastly refused to do.

After a few months he decided to write a formal explanation, in an open letter to Caspar Muller, entitled *An Open Letter on the Harsh Book Against the Peasants*. He defends his previous writings, and states that it is the duty of a Christian to "suffer injustice, not to seize the sword and take to violence".[12] He defends the 'harshness' that he used stating that "a rebel is not worth rational arguments, for he does not accept them. You have to answer people like that with a fist, until the sweat drips off their noses".[13]

He also states that the princes were too severe in their punishment of the peasants and that they would be punished by God for their behaviour. With this document it became clear that Luther was a socially conservative man, who would not threaten secular authority.

3.5.3 Aftermath: Luther and Protestantism

Luther saw that violent upheaval would alienate the princes, nobility and certain towns, and would likely be crushed by Catholic or Imperial opposition.[14] Since the majority of towns wanted moderate reform, and many of the princes were committed to it, it was a logical move. Luther would be chastised for this move, seen as a shill to the princes, and was even stoned in Orlamünde.[15]

Luther not only instilled an increased sense of power within the Princes, but he also insisted that it was their 'Godly duty' to introduce Reformation. This forced the various princes to commit to Protestantism, and saw reform proceed in a more directed and effective fashion, than could have been achieved if led by the peasants. All grievances aside, the social order of the day would not tolerate a peasant-engineered realignment of society, economics, religion and politics; and the full weight of Church and secular authority would inevitably be used to crush this movement.

3.5.4 References

[1] Blickle, Peter, ed. *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981, p. xiv.

[2] Blickle, Peter ed. *The Revolution of 1525: The German Peasants' War from a New Perspective*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981, p. xxiii.

[3] Engels, Frederick. *The Peasants War in Germany*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956. p. 63.

[4] Luther, Martin. *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*.

[5] Engels, Frederick. *The Peasants War in Germany*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956, p. 70.

[6] Scott, Tom and Bob Scribner eds. *The German Peasants' War: A History in Documents*. New Jersey: Humanities Press International, 1991, pp. 253–257.

[7] Tappert, Theodore G., ed. *Selected Writings of Martin Luther: 1523–1526*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967, p. 307.

[8] Luther, Martin. *Admonition to Peace* (1525)

[9] Tappert, Theodore G., ed. *Selected Writings of Martin Luther: 1523–1526*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967, p. 306.

[10] Luther, Martin. *Against the Murderous, Thieving Hordes of Peasants*. (1525)

[11] Tappert, Theodore G., ed. *Selected Writings of Martin Luther: 1523–1526*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967, p. 359.

[12] Tappert, Theodore G., ed. *Selected Writings of Martin Luther: 1523–1526*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967, p. 361.

[13] Luther, *Open Letter on the Harsh Book*. (1525)

[14] Engels, Frederick. *The Peasants War in Germany*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956, pp. 64–65.

[15] Engels, Frederick. *The Peasants War in Germany*. Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1956, p. 65.

3.5.5 Further reading

Primary sources

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- Martin Luther (1525). *Admonition to Peace*.
- Martin Luther (1525). *An Open Letter on the Harsh Book Against the Peasants*.
- Sebastian Lotzer (1525). *The Twelve Articles of Upper Swabia*.

Secondary sources

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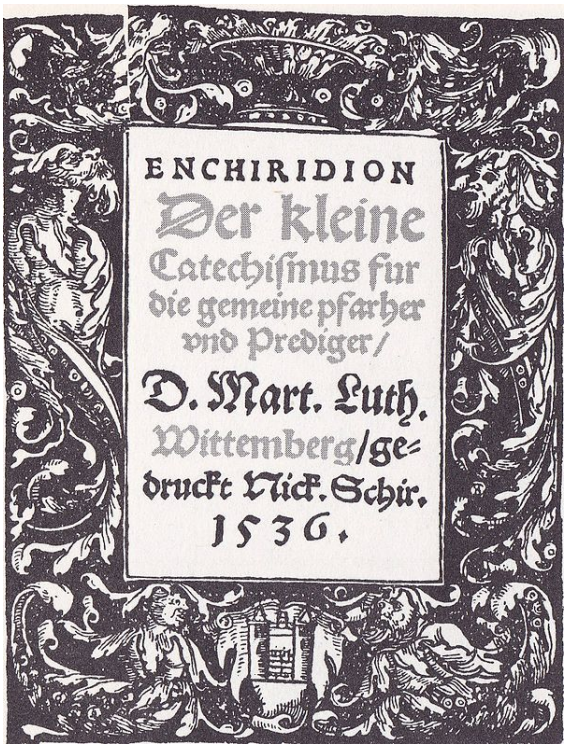
- Tappert, Theodore G., ed. *Selected Writings of Martin Luther: 1523–1526*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967.

3.6 Luther's Small Catechism

Luther's Small Catechism (*Der Kleine Katechismus*) was written by Martin Luther and published in 1529 for the training of children. Luther's Small Catechism reviews the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacrament of Holy Baptism, the Office of the Keys and Confession and the Sacrament of the Eucharist. It is included in the *Book of Concord* as an authoritative statement of what Lutherans believe. The Small Catechism is widely used today in Lutheran churches as part of youth education and Confirmation.

3.6.1 See also

- Lutheranism portal
- Luther's Large Catechism


ENCHIRIDION
Der kleine
Catechismus fur
die gemeine pfarher
vnd Prediger/
D. Mart. Luth.
Wittemberg/ge-
druckt Nick. Schir.
1536.

Title page of Luther's Small Catechism (1536, originally published in 1529)

3.6.2 External links

- Works related to Luther's Small Catechism at Wikisource
- Media related to Luther's Small Catechism at Wikimedia Commons
- Luther's Small Catechism (1921 Triglotta version)
- Project Wittenberg version
- LCMS version
- Schwan Catechism, German and English side-by-side
- WELS version
- ELS version
- CLC version
- Luther's version in German
- *The Small Catechism* public domain audiobook at LibriVox

3.7 Luther's Large Catechism

Luther's Large Catechism consisted of works written by Martin Luther and compiled Christian canonical texts, published in April 1529. This book was addressed particularly to clergymen to aid them in teaching their congregations. Luther's Large Catechism is divided into five parts: The Ten Commandments, The Apostles' Creed, The Lord's Prayer, Holy Baptism, and The Sacrament of the Eucharist. It and related documents was published in the *Book of Concord* in 1580.

The Large Catechism typifies the emphasis which the churches of the Augsburg Confession placed on the importance of knowledge and understanding of the articles of the Christian faith. Primarily intended as instruction to teachers, especially to parents, the Catechism consists of a series of exhortations on the importance of each topic of the Catechism. It is meant for those who have the capacity to understand, and is not meant to be memorized but to be repeatedly reviewed so that the Small Catechism could be taught with understanding. For example, the author stipulates in the preface:

> Therefore it is the duty of every father of a family to question and examine his children and servants at least once a week and to ascertain what they know of it, or are learning and, if they do not know it, to keep them faithfully at it. The catechism, Luther wrote, should consist of instruction in the rule of conduct, which always accuses us because we fail to keep it (Ten Commandments), the rule of faith (Apostles' Creed), the rule of prayer (Lord's Prayer), and the sacraments (Baptism, Confession, and Communion).

Luther adds:

> However, it is not enough for them to comprehend and recite these parts according to the words only, but the young people should also be made to attend the preaching, especially during the time which is devoted to the Catechism, that they may hear it explained and may learn to understand what every part contains, so as to be able to recite it as they have heard it, and, when asked, may give a correct answer, so that the preaching may not be without profit and fruit.

3.7.1 External links

- Luther's Large Catechism (bookofconcord.org version)
- Luther's Large Catechism, translated by Bente and Dau (Project Gutenberg)
- Original version in German
- *The Large Catechism* public domain audiobook at LibriVox

3.8 On the Bondage of the Will

On the Bondage of the Will (Latin: ***De Servo Arbitrio***, literally, "On Un-free Will", or "Concerning Bound Choice"), by Martin Luther, was published in December 1525. It was his reply to Desiderius Erasmus' *De libero arbitrio diatribe sive collatio* or *On Free Will*, which had appeared in September 1524 as Erasmus' first public attack on Luther after Erasmus had been wary about the methods of Luther for many years. At issue was whether human beings, after the Fall of Man, are free to choose good or evil. The debate between Luther and Erasmus is one of the earliest of the Reformation over the issue of free will and predestination.

3.8.1 Erasmus' argument

Despite his own criticisms of the Roman Catholic Church, Erasmus believed that the church needed reformation from within and that Luther had gone too far. Erasmus had asserted that all humans possessed free will and that the doctrine of predestination was not in accord with the teachings contained in the Bible. He argued against the belief that God's foreknowledge of events was the cause of events, and held that the doctrines of repentance, baptism, and conversion depended on the existence of free will. He likewise contended that grace simply helped humans come to a knowledge of God and supported them as they used their free will to choose between good and evil - choices which would lead to salvation through the atonement of Jesus Christ.

3.8.2 Content of Luther's response

Luther's response was to reason that sin incapacitates human beings from working out their own salvation, and that they are completely incapable of bringing themselves to God. As such, there is no free will for humanity because any will they might have is overwhelmed by the influence of sin. Central to his analysis, both of the doctrines under discussion and of Erasmus' specific arguments, are Luther's beliefs concerning the power and complete sovereignty of God.

Luther concluded that unredeemed human beings are dominated by obstructions; Satan, as the prince of the mortal world, never lets go of what he considers his own unless he is overpowered by a stronger power, i.e. God. When God redeems a person, he redeems the entire person, including the will, which then is liberated to serve God. No one can achieve salvation or redemption through their own choices—people do not choose between good or evil, because they are naturally dominated by evil, and salvation is simply the product of God unilaterally changing a person's heart and turning them to good ends. Were it not so, Luther contended, God would not be omnipotent and would lack total sovereignty over creation, and Luther held that arguing otherwise was insulting to the glory of God. As such, Luther concluded that Erasmus was not actually a Christian.

3.8.3 Erasmus' rebuttal

In early 1526, Erasmus replied to this work with the first part of his two volume *Hyperaspistes*, but this was a long and complex work which did not gain much popular recognition.

3.8.4 Luther's later views on his writings

Luther was proud of his *On the Bondage of the Will* so much so that in a letter to Wolfgang Capito written 9 July 1537, he said:

> Regarding [the plan] to collect my writings in volumes, I am quite cool and not at all eager about it because, roused by a Saturnian hunger, I would rather see them all devoured. For I acknowledge none of them to be really a book of mine, except perhaps the one *On the Bound Will* and the Catechism.[1]

3.8.5 Notes

[1] *LW* 50:172-173. Luther compares himself to Saturn, a figure from Ancient Greek mythology who devoured most of his children. Luther wanted to get rid of many of his writings except for the two mentioned.

Back to: Portal:Rhetoric

3.8.6 English translations

- Luther, Martin. *The Bondage of the Will*: A New Translation of *De Servo Arbitrio* (1525), *Martin Luther's Reply to Erasmus of Rotterdam*. J.I. Packer and O. R. Johnston, trans. Old Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1957.

- Erasmus, Desiderius and Martin Luther. Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation. The Library of Christian Classics: Ichthus Edition. Rupp, E. Gordon; Marlow, A.N.; Watson, Philip S.; and Drewery, B. trans. and eds. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1969. (This volume provides an English translation of both Erasmus' De Libero Arbitrio and Luther's De Servo Arbitrio.)

- *Career of the Reformer III. Luther's Works*, Vol. 33 of 55. Watson, Philip S. and Benjamin Drewery, trans. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972.

3.8.7 External links

- *Bondage of the Will*, by Martin Luther, translated by Henry Cole, London, March, 1823.
- *The Bondage of the Will* public domain audiobook at LibriVox

3.9 Luther Bible

The **Luther Bible** is a German language Bible translation from Hebrew and ancient Greek by Martin Luther. The New Testament was first published in 1522 and the complete Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments and Apocrypha, in 1534.

The project absorbed Luther's later years.[4] Thanks to the then recently invented printing press,[5] the result was widely disseminated and contributed significantly to the development of today's modern High German language.

3.9.1 Luther's New Testament translation

While he was sequestered in the Wartburg Castle (1521–22) Luther began to translate the New Testament from Koine Greek into German in order to make it more accessible to all the people of the "Holy Roman Empire of the German nation." He translated from the Greek text, using Erasmus' second edition (1519) of the Greek New Testament, known as the *Textus Receptus*. Luther did not translate from the Latin Vulgate translation, which is the Latin translation officially used by the Roman Catholic Church. Like Erasmus, Luther had learned Greek at the Latin schools led by the Brethren of the Common Life (Erasmus in Deventer, the Netherlands, and Luther in Magdeburg). These lay brothers added Greek as a new subject to their curriculum in the late 15th century. At that time Greek was seldom taught even at universities.

To help him in translating into contemporary German, Luther would make forays into nearby towns and markets to listen to people speaking. He wanted to ensure their comprehension by translating as closely as possible to their contemporary language usage. His translation was published in September 1522, six months after he had returned to Wittenberg. In the opinion of the 19th century theologian and church historian Philip Schaff,

> The richest fruit of Luther's leisure in the Wartburg, and the most important and useful work of his whole life, is the translation of the New Testament, by which he brought the teaching and example of Christ and the Apostles to the mind and heart of the Germans in life-like reproduction. It was a republication of the gospel. He made the Bible the people's book in church, school, and house.[6]

3.9.2 Publication of the complete Bible translation

The translation of the entire Bible into German was published in a six-part edition in 1534, a collaborative effort of Luther and many others such as Johannes Bugenhagen, Justus Jonas, Caspar Creuziger, Philipp Melanchthon, Matthäus Aurogallus, and Georg Rörer. Luther worked on refining the translation up to his death in 1546: he had worked on the edition that was printed that year.

There were 117 original woodcuts included in the 1534 edition issued by the Hans Lufft press in Wittenberg. They reflected the recent trend (since 1522) of including artwork to reinforce the textual message.[7]

3.9.3 Theology

Luther added the word "alone" (*allein* in German) to Romans 3:28 controversially so that it read: "So now we hold, that man is justified without the help of the works of the law, **alone** through faith"[8] The word "alone" does not appear in the Greek texts,[9] but Luther defended his translation by maintaining that the adverb "alone" was required both by idiomatic German and the apostle Paul's intended meaning,[10] and that *sola* was used in theological tradition before him.

Apologist James Swan lists numerous Catholic sources that also translated Romans 3:28 with the word "alone," or testified to others doing so before Luther.[11] A Bible commentary published in 1864 reports that

3.9.4 View of canonicity

Initially Luther had a low view of the Old Testament book of Esther and of the New Testament books of Hebrews, James, Jude, and the Revelation of John. He called the Letter of James "an epistle of straw," finding little in it that pointed to Christ and His saving work. He also had harsh words for the Revelation of John, saying that he could "in no way detect that the Holy Spirit produced it."[13] In his translation of the New Testament, Luther moved Hebrews and James out of the usual order, to join Jude and the Revelation at the end, and differentiated these from the other books which he considered "the true and certain chief books of the New Testament. The four which follow have from ancient times had a different reputation."[14] His views on some of these books changed in later years, and became more positive.[15]

Luther chose to place the Biblical apocrypha between the Old and New Testaments. These books and addenda to Biblical canon of the Old Testament are found in the ancient Greek Septuagint but not in the Hebrew Masoretic text. Luther left the translating of them largely to Philipp Melanchthon and Justus Jonas.[16] They were not listed in the table of contents of his 1532 Old Testament, and

in the 1534 Bible they were given the well-known title: "Apocrypha: These Books Are Not Held Equal to the Scriptures, but Are Useful and Good to Read".[16] See also Biblical canon, Development of the Christian Biblical canon, and Biblical Apocrypha.

3.9.5 Influence

The Luther Bible was not the first German Bible translation, but it was the most influential.

Luther's German Bible and its widespread circulation facilitated the emergence of a standard, modern German language for the German-speaking peoples throughout the Holy Roman Empire, an empire extending through and beyond present-day Germany. It is also considered a landmark in German literature, with Luther's vernacular style often praised by modern German sources for the forceful vigor (*"kraftvolles Deutsch"*)[17][18][19][20][21][22][23][24][25] with which he translated the Holy Scripture.

A large part of Luther's significance was his influence on the emergence of the German language and national identity. This stemmed predominantly from his translation of the Bible into the vernacular, which was potentially as revolutionary as canon law and the burning of the papal bull.[26] Luther's goal was to equip every German-speaking Christian with the ability to hear the Word of God, and his completing his translation of the Old and New Testaments from Hebrew and Greek into the vernacular by 1534 was one of the most significant acts of the Reformation.[27] Although Luther was not the first to attempt such a translation, his was superior to all its predecessors. Previous translations had contained poor German, and had been from the Vulgate Latin translation, i.e. translations of a translation rather than a direct translation into German from the originals.[26] Luther sought to translate as closely to the original text as possible, but at the same time his translation was guided by how people spoke in the home, on the street and in the marketplace.[26] Luther's faithfulness to the language spoken by the common people was to produce a work which they could relate to.[28] This led German writers such as Goethe and Nietzsche to praise Luther's Bible.[29] Moreover, the fact that the vernacular Bible was printed also enabled it to spread rapidly and be read by all. Hans Lufft, the Bible printer in Wittenberg, printed over one hundred thousand copies between 1534 and 1574, which went on to be read by millions.[30] Luther's vernacular Bible was present in virtually every German-speaking Protestant's home; and there can be no doubts regarding the Biblical knowledge attained by the German common masses.[31] Luther even had large-print Bibles made for those who had failing eyesight.[29] German humanist Johann Cochlaeus complained that

> Luther's New Testament was so much multiplied and spread by printers that even tailors and shoemakers, yea, even women and ignorant persons who had accepted this new Lutheran gospel, and could read a little German, studied it with the greatest avidity as the fountain of all truth. Some committed it to memory, and carried it about in their bosom. In a few months such people deemed themselves so learned that they were not ashamed to dispute about faith and the gospel not only with Catholic laymen, but even with priests and monks and doctors of divinity."[32]

The spread of Luther's Bible translation had implications for the German language. The German language had developed into so many dialects that German speakers from different states could barely understand each other. This led Luther to conclude that "I have so far read no book or letter in which the German language is properly handled. Nobody seems to care sufficiently for it; and every preacher thinks he has a right to change it at pleasure and to invent new terms."[33] Scholars preferred to write in the Latin which they all understood. Luther popularized the *Saxon dialect* of German and adapted it for theology and religion; which subsequently made it the common literary language used in books. He enriched the vocabulary with that of German poets and chroniclers.[33] For this accomplishment a contemporary of Luther's, Erasmus Alberus, labeled him the German Cicero, as he reformed not only religion but the German language also. Luther's Bible has been hailed as the first German 'classic', comparable to the English King James version of the Bible, which became one of the first English classics. German-speaking Protestant writers and poets such as Klopstock, Herder and Lessing owe stylistic qualities to Luther's vernacular Bible.[34] Luther adapted words to the capacity of the German public and through the pervasiveness of his German Bible created and spread the modern German language.[34]

Luther's vernacular Bible also had a role in the creation of a German national identity. Because it penetrated every German-speaking Protestant home, the language of his translation became part of a German national heritage.[35] Luther's program of exposure to the words of the Bible was extended into every sphere of daily life and work, illuminating moral considerations for Germans. It gradually became infused into the blood of the whole nation and occupied a permanent space in a German history.[35] The popularity and influence of his translation gave Luther confidence to act as a spokesperson of a nation and as the leader of an anti-Roman movement throughout Germany.[36] It made it possible for him to be a prophet of a new German national identity[37] and helped form the spirit of a new epoch in German history.[38]

In a sense the vernacular Bible also empowered and liberated all Protestants who had access to it. The existence of the translation was a public affirmation of reform, such

as might deprive any elite or priestly class of exclusive control over words, as well as over the word of God.[26] Through the translation Luther was intending to make it easier for "simple people" to understand what he was teaching. In some major controversies of the time, even some evangelicals, let alone the commoners, did not understand the reasons for disagreement; and Luther wanted to help those who were confused to see that the disagreement between himself and the Roman Catholic Church was real and had significance. So translation of the Bible would allow the common people to become aware of the issues at hand and develop an informed opinion.[39] The common individual would thus be given the right to have a mind, spirit and opinion, to exist not as an economic functionary but as subject to complex and conflicting aspirations and motives. In this sense, Luther's vernacular Bible acted as a force towards the liberation of the German people. The combination of Luther's social teachings and the vernacular Bible undoubtedly had a role in the slow emancipation of western European society from a long phase of clerical domination.[40] Luther gave men a new vision of perhaps the exaltation of the human self.[41] Luther's vernacular Bible broke the domination and unity of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Europe. He had claimed Holy Scripture to be the sole authority, and through his translation every individual would be able to abide by its authority, and might nullifying his or her need for a monarchical pope. As Bishop Fisher put it, Luther's Bible had "stirred a mighty storm and tempest in the church" empowering the no longer clerically dominated public.[42]

Although not as significantly as on German linguistics, Luther's Bible also made a large impression on educational reform throughout Germany. Luther's goal of a readable, accurate translation of the Bible became a stimulus towards universal education, since everyone should be able to read in order to understand the Bible.[26] Luther believed that mankind had fallen from grace and was ruled by selfishness, but had not lost moral consciousness: all were sinners and needed to be educated. Thus his vernacular Bible could become a means of establishing a form of law, order and morality which everyone could abide by, if all could read and understand it. The possibility of understanding the vernacular Bible allowed Luther to found a State Church and educate his followers into a law-abiding community.[43] The Protestant states of Germany became educational states, which encouraged the spirit of teaching which was ultimately fueled by Luther's vernacular Bible.

Finally, Luther's translated Bible also had international significance in the spread of Christianity. Luther's translation influenced the English translations by William Tyndale and Myles Coverdale who in turn inspired many other translations of the Bible such as the Bishops' Bible of 1568, the Douay–Rheims Bible of 1582–1609, and the King James Version of 1611.[29] It also inspired translations as far as Scandinavia and the Netherlands. In a metaphor, it was Luther who 'broke the walls' of translation in western Europe and once such walls had fallen, the way was open to all, including some who were quite opposed to Luther's beliefs.[44] Luther's Bible spread its influence for the remolding of Western European culture in the ferment of the sixteenth century. The worldwide implications of the translation far surpassed the expectations of even Luther himself.[45]

In the United States of America, the Luther Bible is still in use by the Amish, who are more fluent in German than English.

3.9.6 Excerpted examples

New Testament titlepage from a Luther Bible printed in 1769

3.9.7 See also

- Elector Bible
- German Bible translations
- Permanent Exhibition *Luther and the Bible* at Lutherhaus Eisenach

3.9.8 References

Notes

[1] Mathesius, Johannes (1906). "Die dreyzehnde predig, vom viertzigsten jare in Doctor Luthers historien. [Thirteenth Sermon: About the Fortieth Year of Doctor Luthers Biography]". In Georg Loesche. *Ausgewählte Werke* [*Selected Works*] (in Early New High German). Dritter Band: Luthers Leben in Predigten [Third Volume: Luthers Life in Sermons] (2nd ed.). Prague: J.G. Calvesche k.u.k. Hof- u. Universitäts-Buchhandlung (Joseph Koch). p. 316. OCLC 12595454. *Wenn nun Doctor [Luther] zuvor die außgangen Bibel vbersehen und darneben bey Juden vnnd frembden sprachkündigen sich erlernet vnd sich bey alten Deutschen von guten worten erfragt hatte, Wie er ihm etlich Schöps abstechen ließ, damit jn ein Deutscher Fleischer berichtet, wie man ein jedes am Schaf nennete, kam Doctor in das Consistorium mit seiner alten Lateinischen und newen Deutschen Biblien, darbey er auch stettigs den Hebreischen text hatte. Herr Philippus bracht mit sich den Greckischen text, Doctor Creuziger neben dem Hebreischen die Chaldeische Bibel. Die Professores hatten bey sich jre Rabinen, D. Pommer het auch ein Lateinischen text für sich, darinn er sehr wol bekant war. Zuvor hat sich ein jeder auff den text gerüst, davon man rathschlagen solte, Greckische unnd Lateinische neben den Jüdischen außlegern vbersehen. Darauff proponirt diser President [Luther] ein text und ließ die stimm herumb gehen und höret was ein jeder darzu zu reden hette, nach eygenschaft der sprache oder nach der alten Doctorn außlegung.* [Rough translation: After Doctor Luther had translated the original Bible, learning from Jews, from foreign language scholars, and from old Germans in the process (for example, he asked a German butcher to slaughter some wethers for him so he could tell him how the different entrails are called), he came to the consistory with his old Latin Bible and with his new German Bible. He also always carried the Hebrew text with him. Herr Philippus contributed the Greek text, Doctor Creuziger contributed the Hebrew text and the Chaldaic Bible. The Professors also brought their Rabbinic Bibles, and Doctor Pommer had a Latin text which he knew very well. Before the meetings, everyone of them studied the text that was to be translated, to discuss the translation of the Greek and Latin version along with the Hebrew exegesis. Luther then proposed a text and asked and listened to what everyone had to say concerning the language or the interpretation.]

[2] Luther, Martin (1545). "Genesis 1:1–3". *Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch* [*The German Holy Scriptures*] (in Early New High German) (5th ed.). Wittenberg: Hans Lufft. ISBN 978-3-933070-56-2.

[3] Luther, Martin (1545). "John 3:16". *Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch* [*The German Holy Scriptures*] (in Early New High German) (5th ed.). Wittenberg: Hans Lufft. ISBN 978-3-933070-56-2.

[4] Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521–1532*, Minneapolis: Fortress, p. 46.

[5] Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (1994).

[6] Schaff, Philip, "4. Luther's Translation of the Bible", *History of the Christian Church*, **7**, New York: CCEL, p. xxx, 8 vols.

[7] Carl C. Christensen, "Luther and the Woodcuts to the 1534 Bible," *Lutheran Quarterly,* Winter 2005, Vol. 19 Issue 4, pp 392–413

[8] "Romans 3:28", *Testament*, 1522, So halten wyrs nu, das der mensch gerechtfertiget werde, on zu thun der werck des gesetzs, **alleyn** durch den glawben (emphasis added to the German word for 'alone.').

[9] *New testament* (in Greek), York, λογιζόμεθα γάρ δικαιοῦσθαι πίστει ἄνθρωπον χωρὶς ἔργων νόμου ("for we reckon a man to be justified by faith without deeds of law").

[10] Martin Luther, *On Translating: An Open Letter* (1530), Luther's Works, 55 vols. (St. Louis and Philadelphia: Concordia Publishing House and Fortress Press), 35:187–189, 195; cf. also Heinz Bluhm, *Martin Luther Creative Translator* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1965), 125–137.

[11] Swan, James. "Luther Added The Word "Alone" to Romans 3:28?". *February 05, 2006*. Retrieved 29 March 2014.

[12] Hodge, Charles, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (New Edition), 1864, p100

[13] "Martin Luther – Questions and Answers". Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Archived from the original on 2009-04-15.

[14] http://www.bible-researcher.com/antilegomena.html

[15] Montgomery, John Warwick (1974). *God's Inerrant Word*. Chapter 3: Canadian Institute for Law, Theology & Public Policy, Inc. pp. 79–80.

[16] Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther*, James L. Schaaf, trans., 3 vols., (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1985-1993), 3:98.

[17] Schreiber, Mathias (2006). *Deutsch for sale*, Der Spiegel, no. 40, October 2, 2006 (*"So schuf er eine Hochsprache aus Volkssprache, sächsischem Kanzleideutsch (aus der Gegend von Meißen), Predigt und Alltagsrede, eine in sich widersprüchliche, aber bildhafte und* ***kraftvolle*** *Mischung, an der die deutschsprachige Literatur im Grunde bis heute Maß nimmt."*)

[18] Köppelmann, K. (2006) . *Zwischen Barock und Romantik: Mendelssohns kirchliche Kompositionen für Chor* ("Between Baroque and Romanticism: Mendelssohn's ecclesiastic choir compositions"), Mendelssohn-Programm 2006, p. 3 (*"Martin Luthers* ***kraftvolle deutsche Texte*** *werden durch Mendelssohns Musik mit emotionalen Qualitäten versehen, die über die Zeit des Bachschen Vorbildes weit hinaus reicht und das persönlich empfindende romantische Selbst stark in den Vordergrund rückt."*)

[19] Werth, Jürgen. *Die Lutherbibel* ("The Luther Bible"), in *Michaelsbote: Gemeindebrief der Evangelischen Michaeliskirchengemeinde* ("St. Michael's Messenger: Parish newsletter of the Protestant Community of St. Michael's Church"), no. 2, May/June/July, 2007, p. 4. (*"Gottes Worte für die Welt. Kaum einer hat diese Worte so* ***kraftvoll in die deutsche Sprache*** *übersetzt wie Martin Luther."*)

[20] Lehmann, Klaus-Dieter (2009). *Rede von Klaus-Dieter Lehmann zur Ausstellungseröffnung von "die Sprache Deutsch"* ("Speech held by Klaus-Dieter Lehmann upon the opening of the exposition 'The German language'"), Goethe-Institut (*"Und so schuf der Reformator eine Sprache, indem er, wie er selbst sagt, 'dem Volk auf's Maul schaut', **kraftvoll**, bildhaft und Stil prägend wie kein anderes Dokument der deutschen Literatur."*)

[21] Weigelt, Silvia (2009). *Das Griechlein und der Wagenlenker - Das kommende Jahr steht ganz im Zeichen Philip Melanchtons* ("The Greek writer and the charioteer: 2010 to be the official Philipp Melanchthon year"), mitteldeutsche-kirchenzeitungen.de, online portal of the two print church magazines *Der Sonntag* and *Glaube und Heimat* (*"Wenn auch die **kraftvolle und bilderreiche Sprache** des Bibeltextes zu Recht als Luthers Verdienst gilt, so kommt Melanchthon ein gewichtiger Anteil am richtigen sprachlichen Verständnis des griechischen Urtextes und an der sachlichen Genauigkeit der Übersetzung zu."*)

[22] Hulme, David (2004). *Die Bibel - ein multilinguales Meisterwerk* ("The Bible: A multi-lingual masterpiece"), visionjournal.de, no. 2, 2006, the German version of the spiritual magazine *Vision: Insights and New Horizons* published by Church of God, an International Community available in English at www.vision.org (*"Luthers Bibelübersetzung mit ihrer **kraftvollen**, aus ostmitteldeutschen und ostoberdeutschen Elementen gebildeten Ausgleichssprache hatte auf die Entwicklung der neuhochdeutschen Sprache großen Einfluss."*)

[23] Salzmann, Betram; Schäfer, Rolf (2009). *Bibelübersetzungen, christliche deutsche* ("Bible translations, Christian and German"), *www.wibilex.de: Das wissenschaftliche Bibellexikom im Internet* (*"die Orientierung an der mündlichen Volkssprache, die zu **besonders kräftigen und bildhaften Formulierungen** führt"*)

[24] Schmitsdorf, Joachim (2007). *Deutsche Bibelübersetzungen: Ein Überblick* ("German Bible translations: An overview") (*"**Kraftvolle**, melodische Sprache, die gut zum Auswendiglernen geeignet, aber auch oft schwer verständlich und altertümelnd ist"*)

[25] *Lutherdeutsch* ("Luther's German") (*"Luthers Sprache ist saft- und **kraftvoll**."*)

[26] Carter Lindberg, The European Reformations (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 91

[27] A.G. Dickens, The German Nation and Martin Luther (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1974), 206

[28] Mark Antliff, The Legacy of Martin Luther (Ottawa, McGill University Press, 1983), 11

[29] Carter Lindberg, The European Reformations (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1996), 92

[30] Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 5

[31] A.G. Dickens, The German Nation and Martin Luther (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1974), 134

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[35] Gerhard Ritter, Luther: His life and Work (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1963), 216

[36] Hartmann Grisar, Luther: Volume I (London: Luigi Cappadelta, 1914), 402

[37] V.H.H Green. Luther and the Reformation (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1964), 193

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[42] V.H.H Green. Luther and the Reformation (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1964), 10

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- Ritter, Gerhard. Luther: His life and Work. New York: Harper & Row, 1963

3.9.9 External links

- Luther's Biblia Germanica 1545, Last Hand Edition.
- Luther's Translation of the Bible in Philip Schaff's History of the Christian Church.
- Works by or about Luther Bible at Internet Archive
- Works by Luther Bible at LibriVox (public domain audiobooks)

3.10 List of hymns by Martin Luther

A **list of hymns by Martin Luther** has information about their incipit, liturgical context, text bases and their language, publishing hymnal and time of publication, related texts, music, number in the Protestant hymnal *Evangelisches Gesangbuch* (EG) and the Catholic hymnal *Gotteslob* (GL), and notes.

The reformer Martin Luther, a prolific hymnodist, regarded music and especially hymns in German as important means for the development of faith. Luther wrote songs for occasions of the liturgical year (Advent, Christmas, Purification, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, Trinity), hymns on topics of the catechism (Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, creed, baptism, confession, Eucharist), paraphrases of psalms, and other songs. Whenever Luther went out from existing texts, here listed as "text source" (bible, Latin and German hymns), he widely expanded, transformed and personally interpreted them.[1][2]

Luther worked on the tunes, sometimes modifying older tunes, in collaboration with Johann Walter. Hymns were published in the *Achtliederbuch*, in Walter's choral hymnal *Eyn geystlich Gesangk Buchleyn* (Wittenberg) and the Erfurt *Enchiridion* (Erfurt) in 1524, and in the *Klugsches Gesangbuch* (Klug hymnal) in 1535, second edition in 1543 (Klug II), among others.

3.10.1 References

[1] Squire, William Barclay (1900). *A Dictionary of Music and Musicians/Luther, Martin*. Grove.

[2] Albrecht, Christoph Albrecht (1995). *Einführung in die Hymnologie* (in German). Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. pp. 17–18. ISBN 3-52-557178-X.

3.10.2 Literature

- Otto Schlißke, Handbuch der Lutherlieder, Göttingen 1948

3.10.3 External links

- Kirchenlieder von Martin Luther – numbered by Evangelisches Gesangbuch (German)

3.11 The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ—Against the Fanatics

The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ—Against the Fanatics is a book by Martin Luther, published in late September or early October 1526 to aid Germans confused by the spread of new ideas from the Sacramentarians. At issue was whether Christ's true body and blood were present in the Lord's Supper, a doctrine that came to be known as the sacramental union.

3.11.1 Historical background

The real presence of Christ's true body and blood in the Lord's Supper was a controversial issue at the time of Luther. The Sacramentarians Andreas Karlstadt,[2] Valentine Krautwald, Caspar Schwenckfeld,[3] Huldrych Zwingli, and Johannes Oecolampadius were open combatants against Luther on this topic.[4] Martin Bucer, while translating Johannes Bugenhagen's commentary on

A note about the real presence in Mikael Agricola Church, Helsinki.

the Psalms, fraudulently replaced Bugenhagen's statements on the Lord's Supper with commentary aligning with Zwingli's views.[5] Since this work included forewords from both Luther and Philipp Melanchthon, it gave the appearance that the Wittenberg faculty agreed with Zwingli.[6] Later, Bucer, in the middle of translating Luther's sermons for publication, inserted his own comments rebutting Luther's teaching on the sacrament into the published book.[4] Inspired by Bucer's tactics,[7] Leo Jud put forth an essay in Zürich claiming that Luther agreed with the Swiss understanding of the Lord's Supper.[4]

As a result of all these adversaries, Luther found it necessary to respond to them. However, he was both too busy to produce a new work[4] and did not want to. Luther judged his opponents weak and felt he would have time to oppose them later.[8] Instead of writing a new essay, he sent three sermons that he had preached the preceding March to a printer.[4] The first one, dealing with the Lord's Supper, was from the Wednesday of Holy Week. One each of the second two from Maundy Thursday dealt with the Lord's Supper and Confession.[2][8] After editing them and apparently adding extra material[9] without Luther's involvement,[8] the printer published them sometime in late September or early October 1526 under the name *The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ–Against the Fanatics*.[2][8] Today, scholars have been able to compare this printed text with two records of notes taken down while Luther actually preached the original sermons.

3.11.2 Summary

Part I: Biblical teaching of the Sacrament

The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ opens with a two part exposition of the Christian faith as applied to the Lord's Supper. First, one must consider the object of faith, "what one should believe".[10] Then, one may consider how one may make use of this object, which in this case refers to how one should use the sacrament.[11] A large portion of this opening section[12] is devoted to logical refutations of logical arguments built up by Zwingli and those who agreed with him. These rational arguments are not intended to persuade his opponents, who in Luther's view do not accept God's Word and therefore may believe as they please apart from the church,[13] but instead to help the "reasonable souls" who are still willing to "concern themselves" with God's Word.[14]

Martin Luther (left) and Huldrych Zwingli (right) disagreed about the real presence of Christ's true body, blood and souls.

What one must believe is explained by "the clear text and the plain words of Christ" in the Words of Institution.[15] Whoever does not believe these words has fallen into a mind trick devised by the devil[13] and has a perspective distorted by "colored glass".[16] The word "is" means "is" in the literal way that one uses for common speaking at the dinner table.[17] Christ distributes his body and blood in the sacrament in a way similar to how he distributes himself across the entire world.[18]

To those who claim that there must be a location for Christ's body to be present under the bread, Luther responds that the soul is also illocal, yet is still really present throughout the body.[19] Lest anyone think that the real presence is too great a miracle to be present in all the churches all the time, Luther cites the sprouting of seeds and the power of words to persuade as common, great, proliferating miracles.[20] When objectors cite the incompatibility of non-living objects with Christ, Luther reminds them that the presence of Christ in the hearts of faithful is an even a greater miracle.[18] Against the lack of an entry site for Christ's body to enter the bread, Luther notes that the Christ entered into the Virgin Mary solely through the power of the Word, without any noticeable

Martin Bucer

Bugenhagen in 1537 by Lucas Cranach

physical entry.[21]

Luther noticed an inherent danger in his appeal to Christ's

Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, portrait 1541/42

Johannes Oecolampadius

ubiquity to assert his real presence. If Christ is in all things, then perhaps he can be found in all things, similar to pantheism. Luther prevents pantheism from joining the discussion table by limiting the search for Christ to what God's Word alone has authorized. Any searching for Christ apart from the Word is idolatry.[22]

Part II: Use of the Sacrament

This second of the three sermons is less controversial than the first. In it, Luther rejects the papal use of the sacraments as good works that humans could perform

Caspar Schwenckfeld

Prior to this exchange of publications between Luther and Zwingli, Leo Jud, pictured above, argued that Luther held to the view of Zwingli.

to merit salvation[23] or as a means of raising money.[24] Although he rejects the symbolical interpretation of the Lord's Supper,[25] he advocates that the sacrament be conducted along with general preaching and proclamation in the lives of ordinary Christians.[24] In this way, Christians would be blessed so that "their number may increase".[24]

Part of this proclamation consisted in resistance to the demands of the Pope. By rejecting the Pope's command's regarding the sacrament, they bore witness to the Gospel, showing that the believer, in Christ, was "free from death, devil, and hell…a son of God, a lord of heaven and earth".[26] The Lord's Supper is a possession of ordinary Christians that gives the great comfort to those individually given the assurance of salvation.[27] Through the sacrament Christians may "strengthen [their] faith and make [their] consciences secure".[27] But this building up in the faith was not an end in itself. Instead, it in turn led to the proclamation of the Gospel by all the Christians edified through it.

Two Principles of Christian Doctrine Faith and love, states Luther, are the two principles of Christian doctrine. Justification through faith is taught by the Word. In God's Word, it is easy to see Christ's work on the cross, which was a single payment for sin that lasts for all eternity. In contrast to this faith in Christ, which is formed at once from the word, the second principle of Christian doctrine can be learned for an entire lifetime without completely mastering it. This second principle is love, or sanctification in the narrow sense. From Christ's sacrifice proclaimed in the Lord's Supper, Christians learn the ultimate expression of love.[28]

Another aspect of this second principle is the proclamation of communion within the church.[28] Both the individual grains and the individual grapes lose their identity to become one in the products of bread and wine. They mystically reflect the gathering together of Christians as one in the church. Indeed, this application is so rich in meaning that, along with faith, love, and patience, it provides so much for a Christian to strive for that there is no need to indulge in obscure studies to prove academic greatness. Love is greater than knowledge and is above petty academic competition. Instead of lending superiority to a select few, this sacrament teaches a lesson that can be learned during one's entire live without ever finishing it.[29]

Part III: Concerning Confession

Luther distinguishes between three kinds of confession in this last of the three sermons that make up this book. The first is confession before God,[30] the second is confession before one's neighbor,[31] and the third is private confession with one's priest.[32] Before the Reformation, the devil confused people about confession by making it a burden and a requirement instead of a gift and opportunity.[33] The purpose of these distinctions is to do away with the confusion that existed when confession was placed as a burden upon the people.[30] Confession

is useful in drawing attention to the social responsibilities Christians have toward their fellow brothers in need.[31]

Private confession is not to be eliminated, because it retained its value through the giving of individual comfort to troubled souls and the providing of an opportunity for spiritual growth. Confession afforded an opportunity both to teach otherwise ignorant laypeople the right path to follow and for them to seek advice when they desired it. However, it was not obligatory for those who already confessed their sins before God and were reconciled with their neighbor.[32] Private confession, instead of being instituted by God as a requirement in the Bible, was only historically derived from the other two forms of confession.[34] These two forms of confession alone sufficed as a means for the forgiveness of sins without private confession.[32]

3.11.3 Response by Zwingli

Zwingli responded by writing the *Friendly Rejoinder and Rebuttal to the Sermon of the Eminent Martin Luther against the Fanatics.*[35] In his *Friendly Exposition*, written at the same time, Zwingli found *The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ* to be "forgettable".[36] Between these two works, Zwingli concluded that he had destroyed Luther's singular authority and replaced Luther's view on the Sacrament of the Altar with the correct one.[37] Zwingli wrote that he was not placing reason over the Scriptures, but instead properly distinguishing between the human and divine natures of Christ. Since Christ's human nature could not participate in the omnipresent attribute of the divine nature, his body and blood could not be truly present in the bread and wine. Luther's characterization of him as placing reason over Scripture was therefore a straw-man argument.[38]

Luther's custom of referring to those who opposed him in non-Christian terms in *The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ* sounds unusual to modern ears and therefore merits discussion. However strange-sounding today, this practice was consistent with what evangelicals at this early stage in the Reformation believed about the Reformation and the church. From 1520 and continuing through 1529, evangelicals thought the Reformation would unite rather than divide the church. Jews and misled Christians under Rome would convert to the true faith, while everyone else was a false Christian.[39]

In Zwingli's view, Luther was only a Christian as any other and his talents as a theologian did not give him the right to make tyrannical judgments,[40] for example, terming him a heretic, fanatic, and sacramentarian. Zwingli also rejected Luther's claim that the Swiss Reformers relied upon him in their preaching about Christ's death,[38] claiming instead to follow Augustine and Erasmus. Although he admitted that Luther began the Reformation, he claimed that Luther was actually further behind him in the work of reforming. He considered Luther unscholarly and demanded that he retract his published views on the Lord's Supper going back 1519. Instead of condemning Luther, Zwingli found him in need of brotherly prayer.[40]

3.11.4 Result

Historically, both this work by Luther and the responses by Zwingli resulted in an impasse. Instead of resolving their differences, both sides became more firmly entrenched into their positions.[37]

3.11.5 References

[1] Edwards, Mark U. Luther and the False Brethren Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1975. p. 93

[2] LW 36:331

[3] Bomkamm, Heinrich. Luther in Mid-Career. trans. Bachmann, E. Theodore. Philadelphia, Fortress Press, 1979. p. 514

[4] LW 36:332

[5] Bornkamm, 524

[6] Bornkamm, 525

[7] Bornkamm, 526

[8] Brecht, Martin. Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation 1521-1532. trans. Schaaf, James L. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994. p. 306

[9] LW 36:333

[10] LW 36:335

[11] LW 36:346-7

[12] LW 36:335-45

[13] LW:36 336

[14] LW:36 345

[15] LW:36 335

[16] LW:36 337

[17] LW:36 336-7

[18] LW:36 340

[19] LW:36 338-9

[20] LW:36 339

[21] LW:36 341

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[23] LW:36 347

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[28] LW:36 352

[29] LW:36 353

[30] LW 36:354

[31] LW 36:356

[32] LW 36:359

[33] LW 36:360

[34] LW 36:358

[35] Brecht, 309-10

[36] Brecht 308

[37] Brecht, 310

[38] Brecht, 308

[39] Wandel, Lee Palmer. The Eucharist in the Reformation. New York: Cambridge, 2006. p.101

[40] Brecht, 309

English translations

- Luther, Martin. *The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ–Against the Fanatics*, 1526, in Word and Sacrament II (ed. Wentz, Abdel Ross and Lehmann, Helmut T.); trans. Ahrens, Frederick C.; vol. 36 of Luther's Works, American Edition, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1955, p. 331ff.

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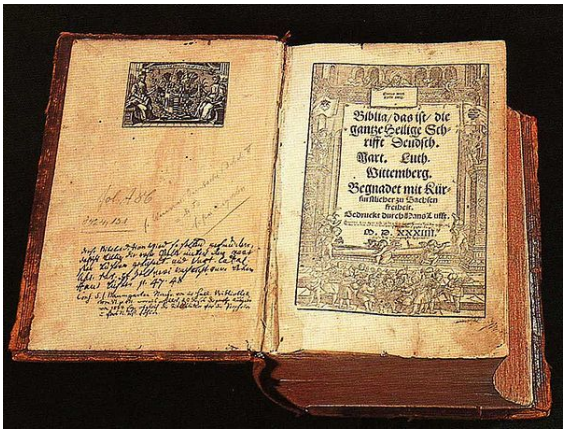
- Luther, Martin. *Sakrament des Leibes and Blutes Christi wider die Schwarmgeister*. Weimar edition of Luther's Works Vol. 19. Weimar:Hermann Böhlaus Nachsolger, 1897, p. 474ff. (Google Books)

3.12 Luther's canon

Luther's canon is the biblical canon attributed to Martin Luther, which has influenced Protestants since the 16th-century Protestant Reformation. While the Lutheran Confessions specifically did not define a canon, it is widely regarded as the canon of the Lutheran Church. It differs from the 1546 Roman Catholic canon of the Council of Trent in that it rejects the Deuterocanon and questions the seven New Testament books, called "Luther's Antilegomena",[1] four of which are still ordered last in German-language Luther Bibles to this day.[2][3]



Luther's 1534 Bible

3.12.1 Deuterocanonical books

Main articles: Deuterocanonical books and Biblical apocrypha

Luther did not include the deuterocanonical books in his Old Testament, terming them "Apocrypha, that are books which are not considered equal to the Holy Scriptures, but are useful and good to read."[4] He also argued unsuccessfully for the relocation of the Book of Esther from the canon to the Apocrypha, because without the deuterocanonical additions to the Book of Esther, the text of Esther never mentions God. As a result, Protestants and Catholics continue to use different canons, which differ both in respect to the Old Testament and in the concept of the Antilegomena of the New Testament.

3.12.2 Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation

Main article: Antilegomena

Luther made an attempt to remove the books of Hebrews, James, Jude and Revelation from the canon (notably, he perceived them to go against certain Protestant doctrines such as *sola gratia* and *sola fide*), but this was not generally accepted among his followers. However, these books are ordered last in the German-language Luther Bible to this day.[5]

"If Luther's negative view of these books were based only upon the fact that their canonicity was disputed in early times, 2 Peter might have been included among them, because this epistle was doubted more than any other in ancient times."[1] However, the prefaces that Luther affixed to these four books makes it evident "that his low view of them was more due to his theological reservations than with any historical investigation of the canon."[1]

In his book *Basic Theology*, Charles Caldwell Ryrie countered the claim that Luther rejected the Book of James

as being canonical.[6] In his preface to the New Testament, Luther ascribed to several books of the New Testament different degrees of doctrinal value: "St. John's Gospel and his first Epistle, St. Paul's Epistles, especially those to the Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and St. Peter's Epistle-these are the books which show to thee Christ, and teach everything that is necessary and blessed for thee to know, even if you were never to see or hear any other book of doctrine. Therefore, St. James' Epistle is a perfect straw-epistle compared with them, for it has in it nothing of an evangelic kind." Thus Luther was comparing (in his opinion) doctrinal value, not canonical validity.

However, Ryrie's theory is countered by other biblical scholars, including William Barclay, who note that Luther stated plainly, if not bluntly: "I think highly of the epistle of James, and regard it as valuable although it was rejected in early days. It does not expound human doctrines, but lays much emphasis on God's law. …I do not hold it to be of apostolic authorship."[7]

3.12.3 Sola fide doctrine

Main article: Sola fide

In *The Protestant Spirit of Luther's Version*, Philip Schaff asserts that:

> The most important example of dogmatic influence in Luther's version is the famous interpolation of the word *alone* in Rom. 3:28 (allein durch den Glauben), by which he intended to emphasize his solifidian doctrine of justification, on the plea that the German idiom required the insertion for the sake of clearness. But he thereby brought Paul into direct verbal conflict with James, who says (James 2:24), "by works a man is justified, and not only by faith" ("nicht durch den Glauben allein"). It is well known that Luther deemed it impossible to harmonize the two apostles in this article, and characterized the Epistle of James as an "epistle of straw," because it had no evangelical character ("keine evangelische Art").[8]

Martin Luther's description of the Epistle of James changes. In some cases, Luther argues that it was not written by an apostle; but in other cases, he describes James as the work of an apostle.[9] He even cites it as authoritative teaching from God[10] and describes James as "a good book, because it sets up no doctrines of men but *vigorously promulgates the law of God*."[11] Lutherans hold that the Epistle is rightly part of the New Testament, citing its authority in the Book of Concord,[12] however it remains part of the Lutheran antilegomena.[13]

Lutheran teachings resolve James' and Paul's verbal conflict regarding faith and works in alternate ways from the Catholics and Orthodox:

> Paul was dealing with one kind of error while James was dealing with a different error. The errorists Paul was dealing with were people who said that works of the law were needed to be added to faith in order to help earn God's favor. Paul countered this error by pointing out that salvation was by faith alone apart from deeds of the law (Galatians 2:16; Romans 3:21-22). Paul also taught that saving faith is not dead but alive, showing thanks to God in deeds of love (Galatians 5:6 ['...since in Christ Jesus it is not being circumcised or being uncircumcised that can effect anything - only faith working through love.']). James was dealing with errorists who said that if they had faith they didn't need to show love by a life of faith (James 2:14-17). James countered this error by teaching that faith is alive, showing itself to be so by deeds of love (James 2:18,26). James and Paul both teach that salvation is by faith alone and also that faith is never alone but shows itself to be alive by deeds of love that express a believer's thanks to God for the free gift of salvation by faith in Jesus.[14]

3.12.4 Similar canons of the time

In his book *Canon of the New Testament*, Bruce Metzger notes that in 1596 Jacob Lucius published a Bible at Hamburg which labeled Luther's four as "Apocrypha"; David Wolder the pastor of Hamburg's Church of St. Peter published in the same year a triglot Bible which labeled them as "non canonical"; J. Vogt published a Bible at Goslar in 1614 similar to Lucius'; Gustavus Adolphus of Stockholm in 1618 published a Bible with them labeled as "Apocr(yphal) New Testament."[15]

3.12.5 Protestant laity and clergy

There is some evidence that the first decision to omit these books entirely from the Bible was made by Protestant laity rather than clergy. Bibles dating from shortly after the Reformation have been found whose tables of contents included the entire Roman Catholic canon, but which did not actually contain the disputed books, leading some historians to think that the workers at the printing presses took it upon themselves to omit them. However, Anglican and Lutheran Bibles usually still contained these books until the 20th century, while Calvinist Bibles did not. Several reasons are proposed for the omission of these books from the canon. One is the support for Catholic doctrines such as Purgatory and Prayer for the dead found in 2 Maccabees. Another is that the Westminster Confession of Faith of 1646, during

the English Civil War, actually excluded them from the canon. Luther himself said he was following Jerome's teaching about the *Veritas Hebraica*.

3.12.6 Modern Evangelical use

Evangelicals tend not to accept the Septuagint as the inspired Hebrew Bible, though many of them recognize its wide use by Greek-speaking Jews in the first century.

Many modern Protestants point to four "Criteria for Canonicity" to justify the books that have been included in the Old and New Testament, which are judged to have satisfied the following:

1. Apostolic Origin – attributed to and based on the preaching/teaching of the first-generation apostles (or their close companions).
2. Universal Acceptance – acknowledged by all major Christian communities in the ancient world (by the end of the fourth century).
3. Liturgical Use – read publicly when early Christian communities gathered for the Lord's Supper (their weekly worship services).
4. Consistent Message – containing a theological outlook similar or complementary to other accepted Christian writings.

3.12.7 References

[1] Luther's Antilegomena at bible-researcher.com

[2] "Gedruckte Ausgaben der Lutherbibel von 1545". note order: …Hebräer, Jakobus, Judas, Offenbarung

[3] "German Bible Versions".

[4] The Popular and Critical Bible Encyclopædia and Scriptural Dictionary, Fully Defining and Explaining All Religious Terms, Including Biographical, Geographical, Historical, Archæological and Doctrinal Themes, p.521, edited by Samuel Fallows et al, The Howard-Severance company, 1901,1910. - Google Books

[5] http://www.bibelcenter.de/bibel/lu1545/ note order: ... Hebr►er, Jakobus, Judas, Offenbarung; see also http://www.bible-researcher.com/links10.html

[6] Ryrie, Charles Caldwell. *Basic Theology*.

[7] Martin Luther, as quoted by William Barclay, The Daily Study Bible Series, The Letters of James and Peter, Revised Edition, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, KY, 1976, p. 7

[8] "History of the Christian Church, book 7, chapter 4".

[9] *Die deutsche Bibel* 41:578-90

[10] *Luther's Large Catechism*, IV 122-24

[11] *Luther's Works* (American Edition) 35:395

[12] The Lutheran Study Bible, Concordia Publishing House, 2009, p2132

[13] Lutheran Cyclopedia: Antilegomena

[14] "Faith and Works". *WELS Topical Q&A*. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Archived from the original on 20 Dec 2013. Retrieved 30 Sep 2015.

[15] Metzger, Bruce. *Canon of the New Testament*.

3.13 Deutsche Messe

This article is about the early Lutheran liturgy. For the Schubert work, see Deutsche Messe (Schubert). For the trade fair operator, see Deutsche Messe AG.

Deutsche Messe, or The German Mass, (*Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdiensts*) was published by Martin Luther in 1526. It followed his Latin mass, *Formula missae* (1523). Both of these masses were meant only as a suggestion made on request and were not expected to be used exactly as they were, but could be altered. The function of the mass, according to Luther, is to make people hear the word.

The German Mass was completely chanted, except for the sermon.

3.13.1 Order of Luther's *Deutsche Messe*

A Spiritual Song or a Psalm in German

Kyrie eleison (three fold)

Collect (read facing the altar)

Epistle (read facing the people)

A German Hymn (by the whole choir)

Gospel (read facing the people)

Creed sung in German

Sermon (on the Gospel)

Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer

Exhortation to those who will commune

Consecration of the Bread.[1]

Elevation of the Body of Christ

Distribution of the Body of Christ

Sanctus paraphrased in German (or the Hymn "Gott sei Gelobet" or Huss' Hymn "Jesus Christus unser Heiland")

Consecration of the Wine

Distribution of the Blood of Christ

Sanctus or Agnus Dei in German (or the Hymn "Gott sei Gelobet" or Huss' Hymn "Jesus Christus unser Heiland")

Thanksgiving Collect

Aaronic Benediction

3.13.2 References

[1] Geoffrey Wainwright, Karen B. Westerfield Tucker *The Oxford History of Christian Worship* 0195138864 2006 p.345 "Luther's preference in the Deutsche Messe is to consecrate the bread and then administer it to the people, then to consecrate the wine and administer the cup to the people."

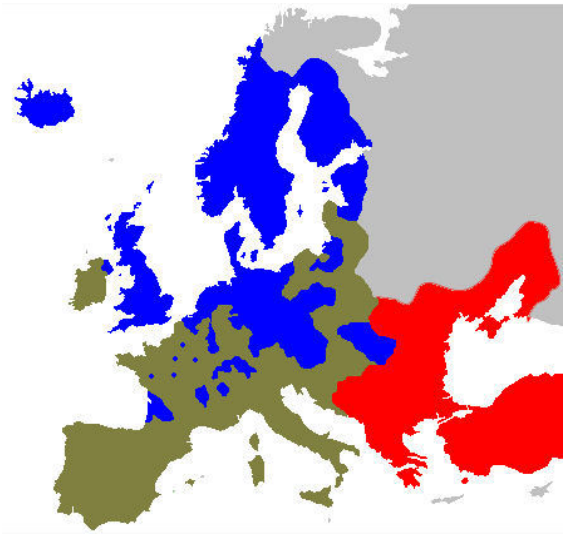
3.13.3 External links

- Luther, Martin (1483-1546): Deutsche Messe, 1526 as an original German text
- The German Mass and Order of Divine Service (Hanover Historical Texts Project)
- Luther, Liturgies of, article from Christian Cyclopedia
- Luther's Liturgical Reforms a comparison of Luther's Latin Mass and his German Mass at the WorshipConcord Project.

Chapter 4

Other Religions

4.1 Protestantism and Islam



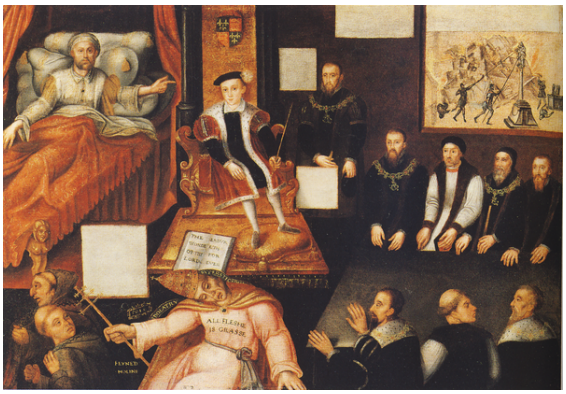
Catholic areas (olive), Protestant areas (blue) and Muslim areas (red), before the Counter-Reformation. The Muslim Ottoman Empire shared the boundary with Christian Europe to the southeast.

Protestantism and Islam entered into contact during the 16th century, at a time when Reformed (or Calvinist) Protestants in present-day Hungary and Transylvania coincided with the expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. As both were in conflict with the Austrian Holy Roman Emperor and his Catholic allies, numerous exchanges occurred, exploring religious similarities and the possibility of trade and military alliances.

As Protestantism is divided into a few distinguishable branches and multiple denominations within the former, it is hard to determine the relations specifically. Many of these denominations can have a different approachment to this matter. Islam is divided as well into various denominations. This article focuses on Protestant-Muslim relations, but should be taken with caution.

Relations became more conflictual in the early modern and modern periods, although recent attempts have been made at rapprochement. In terms of comparative religion, there are interesting similarities especially with Sunni Muslims, while Catholics are often noted for similarities with Shi'ites,[1][2][3][4][5][6] as well as differences, in both religious approaches.

4.1.1 Historical background



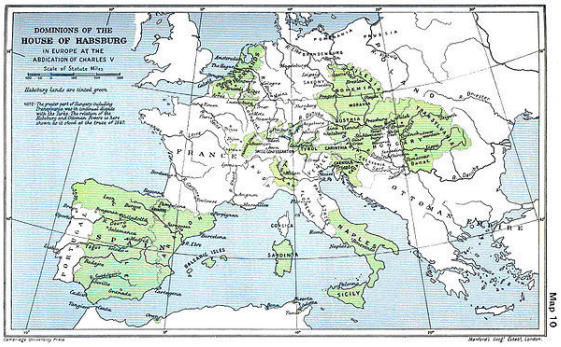
Anti-Papal painting showing the enmity between Edward VI of England and the Pope.

Following the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453 by Mehmet II and the unification of the Middle East under Selim I, Suleiman the Magnificent, the son of Selim, managed to expand Ottoman rule to the Balkans. The Habsburg Empire thus entered into direct conflict with the Ottomans.

At the same time the Protestant Reformation was taking place in numerous areas of northern and central Europe, in harsh opposition to Papal authority and the Holy Roman Empire led by Emperor Charles V. This situation led the Protestants to consider various forms of cooperation and rapprochement (religious, commercial, military) with the Muslim world, in opposition to their common Habsburg enemy.

4.1.2 Early religious accommodation (15th–17th centuries)

Further information: Reception of Islam in Early Modern Europe



A map of the dominion of the Habsburgs following the Battle of Mühlberg (1547) as depicted in The Cambridge Modern History Atlas *(1912); Habsburg lands are shaded green. Not shaded are the lands of the Holy Roman Empire over which the Habsburgs presided.*

During the development of the Reformation, Protestantism and Islam were considered closer to each other than they were to Catholicism: "Islam was seen as closer to Protestantism in banning images from places of worship, in not treating marriage as a sacrament and in rejecting monastic orders".[7]

Mutual tolerance

The Sultan of the Ottoman Empire was known for his tolerance of the Christian and Jewish faiths within his dominions, whereas the King of Spain did not tolerate the Protestant faith.[8] The Ottoman Empire was indeed known at that time for its religious tolerance. Various religious refugees, such as the Huguenots, some Anglicans, Quakers, Anabaptists or even Jesuits or Capuchins were able to find refuge at Istanbul and in the Ottoman Empire,[9] where they were given right of residence and worship.[10] Further, the Ottomans supported the Calvinists in Transylvania and Hungary but also in France.[11] The contemporary French thinker Jean Bodin wrote:[12]

> "The great emperor of the Turks does with as great devotion as any prince in the world honour and observe the religion by him received from his ancestors, and yet detests he not the strange religions of others; but on the contrary permits every man to live according to his conscience: yes, and that more is, near unto his palace at Pera, suffers four diverse religions viz. that of the Jews, that of the Christians, that of the Grecians, and that of the Mahometans"
> — Jean Bodin.[11]

Martin Luther, in his 1528 pamphlet, *On War against the Turk*, calls for the Germans to resist the Ottoman invasion of Europe, as the catastrophic Siege of Vienna was lurking, but expressed views of Islam which, compared with his virulent anti-Semitism, are relatively mild.[13] On the one hand, Luther extensively criticized the principles of Islam; on the other hand, he also expressed tolerance for the Islamic faith:

> *"Let the Turk believe and live as he will, just as one lets the papacy and other false Christians live."*
> — Excerpt from *On war against the Turk*, 1529.[14]

However, this statement mentions "Turks", and it is not clear whether the meaning was of "Turks" as a representation of the specific rule of the Ottoman Empire, or as a representation of Islam in general.

Martin Luther's ambivalence also appears in one of his other comments, in which he said that *"A smart Turk makes a better ruler than a dumb Christian"*.[15]

Efforts at doctrinal rapprochement

Protestant iconoclasm: the Beeldenstorm *during the Dutch reformation.*

Martin Luther also took note of the similarities between Islam and Protestantism in the rejection of idols, although he noted Islam was much more drastic in its complete rejection of images. In *On War against the Turk*, Luther is actually less critical of the Turks than he is of the Pope, whom he calls an anti-Christ, or the Jews, whom he describes as "the Devil incarnate".[16] He urges his contemporaries to also see the good aspects in the Turks, and refers to some who were favourable to the Ottoman

Iconoclasm: The organised destruction of Catholic images swept through Netherlands churches in 1566.

Empire, and *"who actually want the Turk to come and rule, because they think that our German people are wild and uncivilized - indeed that they are half-devil and half-man"*.[17]

The Ottomans also felt closer to the Protestants than to the Catholics. At one point, a letter was sent from Suleiman the Magnificent to the "Lutherans" in Flanders, claiming that he felt close to them, "since they did not worship idols, believed in one God and fought against the Pope and Emperor".[18][19]

This notion of religious similarities was again taken up in epistolary exchanges between Elizabeth I of England and Sultan Murad III.[20] In one correspondence, Murad entertained the notion that Islam and Protestantism had "much more in common than either did with Roman Catholicism, as both rejected the worship of idols", and argued for an alliance between England and the Ottoman Empire.[21]

In a 1574 letter to the "Members of the Lutheran sect in Flanders and Spain", Murad III made considerable efforts to highlight the similarities between Islamic and Protestants principles. He wrote:

> "As you, for your part, do not worship idols, you have banished the idols and portraits and "bells" from churches, and declared your faith by stating that God Almighty is one and Holy Jesus is His Prophet and Servant, and now, with heart and soul, are seeking and desirous of the true faith; but the faithless one they call Papa does not recognize his Creator as One, ascribing divinity to Holy Jesus (upon him be peace!), and worshiping idols and pictures which he has made with his own hands, thus casting doubt upon the oneness of God and instigating how many servants to that path of error"
> — 1574 letter of Murad III to the "Members of the Lutheran sect in Flanders and Spain".[22]

Such claims seem to have been politically inspired as well, with the Ottomans trying to establish religious common ground as a way to secure a political alliance.[22] Elizabeth I herself however made efforts to adjust her own religious rhetoric in order to minimize differences with the Ottomans and facilitate relations.[23] In her correspondence with Murad, she stresses the monotheism and the anti-idolatry of her religion, by uniquely describing herself as:

> "Elizabeth, by the grace of the most mighty God, the three part and yet singular Creator of Heaven and Earth, Queen of England, France and Ireland, the most invincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all the idolatry of those unworthy ones that live amongst Christians, and falsely profess the name of Christ"
> — Letter of Elizabeth I to Murad III.[24]

4.1.3 Military collaboration

Military cooperation between the Ottoman Empire and European powers started in earnest with the Franco-Ottoman alliance of 1535. The alliance provided strategic support to, and effectively protected, the kingdom of France from the ambitions of Charles V. It also gave the opportunity for the Ottoman Empire to become involved in European diplomacy and gain prestige in its European dominions. Side effects included a lot of negative propaganda against the actions of France and its "unholy" alliance with a Muslim power. According to historian Arthur Hassall the consequences of the Franco-Ottoman alliance were far-reaching: *"The Ottoman alliance had powerfully contributed to save France from the grasp of Charles V, it had certainly aided Protestantism in Germany, and from a French point of view, it had rescued the North German allies of Francis I."*[25]

Even after the 1571 Battle of Lepanto Ottoman support for France would continue however, as well as support for the Dutch and the English after 1580, and support for Protestants and Calvinists,[18] as a way to counter Habsburg attempts at supremacy in Europe.[18] Various overtures were made by Ottoman rulers to the Protestants, who were also fighting against a common enemy, the Catholic House of Habsburg. Suleiman the Magnificent is known to have sent at least one letter to the "Lutherans" in Flanders, offering troops at the time they would request,[26] Murad III is also known to have advocated to Elizabeth I an alliance between England and the Ottoman Empire.[21]

Overall, the military activism of the Ottoman Empire on the southern European front probably was the reason why

Suleiman the Magnificent offered military support to the "Lutherans" of Flanders.

Lutheranism was able to survive in spite of the opposition of Charles V and reach recognition at the Peace of Augsburg in September 1555:[15] "the consolidation, expansion and legitimization of Lutheranism in Germany by 1555 should be attributed to Ottoman imperialism more than to any other single factor".[27]

The Dutch Revolt and Islam

See also: Turco-Calvinism

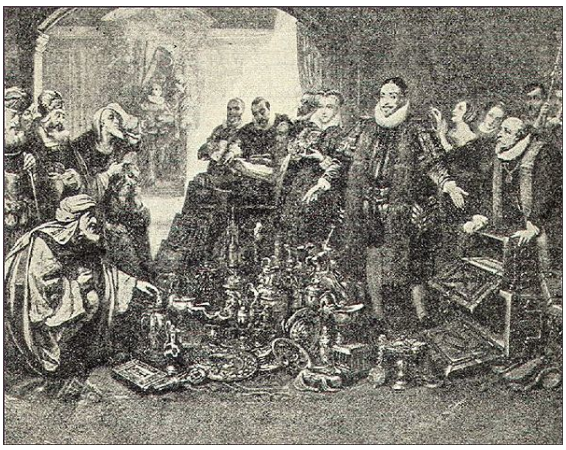
Fundamentally, the Protestant Dutch had strong antagonisms to both the Catholics and the Muslims. In some cases however, alliances, or attempts at alliance between the Dutch and the Muslims were made possible, as when the Dutch allied with the Muslims of the Moluccas to oust the Portuguese,[28] and the Dutch became rather tolerant of the Islamic religion in their colonial possessions after the final subjugation of Macassar in 1699.[29]

During the Dutch Revolt, the Dutch were under such a desperate situation that they looked for help from every nationality, and "indeed even a Turk", as wrote the secretary of Jan van Nassau.[30] The Dutch saw Ottoman successes against the Habsburgs with great interest, and saw Ottoman campaigns in the Mediterranean as an indicator of relief on the Dutch front. William wrote around 1565:

A Dutch crescent-shaped Geuzen medal at the time of the anti-Spanish Dutch Revolt, with the slogan "Liver Turcx dan Paus" ("Rather Turkish than Pope (i.e. Papist)"), 1570.

> "The Turks are very threatening, which will mean, we believe, that the king will not come to the Netherlands this year"
> — Letter of William of Orange to his brother, circa 1565.[31]

The Dutch looked expectantly at the development of the Siege of Malta (1565), hoping that the Ottomans "were in Valladolid already", and used it as a way to obtain concessions from the Spanish crown.[32]



"William of Orange pledges his jewels for the defence of his country".

Contacts soon became more direct. William of Orange sent ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire for help in 1566. When no other European power would help, "the Dutch cause was offered active support, paradoxically enough, only by the Ottoman Turks".[32] One of the Sultan principal advisers Joseph Miques, Duke of Naxos, delivered a letter to the Calvinists in Antwerp pledging that "the forces of the Ottomans would soon hit Philip II's affairs so hard that he would not even have the time to think of Flanders".[33] The death of Suleiman the Magnificent

later in 1566 however, meant that the Ottoman were unable to offer support for several years after.[33] In 1568, William of Orange again sent a request to the Ottomans to attack Spain, without success. The 1566-1568 revolt of the Netherlands finally failed, largely due to the lack of foreign support.[33]

The Ottoman fleet in the Capture of Tunis in 1574.

In 1574, William of Orange and Charles IX of France, through his pro-Huguenot ambassador François de Noailles, Bishop of Dax, tried again to obtain the support of the Ottoman ruler Selim II.[34] Selim II sent his support through a messenger, who endeavoured to put the Dutch in contact with the rebellious Moriscos of Spain and the pirates of Algiers.[34][35] Selim also sent a great fleet which conquered Tunis in October 1574, thus succeeding in reducing Spanish pressure on the Dutch, and leading to negotiations at the Conference of Breda.[34] After the death of Charles IX in May 1574 however, contacts weakened, although the Ottomans are said to have supported the 1575-1576 revolt, and establish a Consulate in Antwerp (*De Griekse Natie*). The Ottomans made a truce with Spain, and shifted their attention to their conflict with Persia, starting the long Ottoman–Safavid War (1578–1590).[34]

The British author William Rainolds (1544–1594) wrote a pamphlet entitled "Calvino-Turcismus" in criticism of these rapprochements.[36]

The phrase *Liever Turks dan Paaps* ("Rather a Turk than a Papist"), was a Dutch slogan during the Dutch Revolt of the end of the 17th century. The slogan was used by the Dutch mercenary naval forces (the "Sea Beggars") in their fight against Catholic Spain.[37] The banner of the Sea Beggars was also similar to that of the Turks, with a crescent on a red background.[38] The phrase "Liever Turks dan Paaps" was coined as a way to express that life under the Ottoman Sultan would have been more desirable than life under the King of Spain.[8] The Flemish noble D'Esquerdes wrote to this effect that he:

> "would rather become a tributary to the Turks than live against his conscience and be treated according to those [anti-heresy] edicts"
> — Letter of Flemish noble D'Esquerdes.[8]

The slogan *Liever Turks dan Paaps* seems to have been largely rhetorical however, and the Dutch hardly contemplated life under the Sultan at all. Ultimately, the Turks were infidels, and the heresy of Islam alone disqualified them from assuming a more central (or consistent) role in the rebels' program of propaganda.[8]

During the early 17th century the Dutch trading ports housed many Muslims, according to a Dutch traveler to Persia there would be no use in describing the Persians as 'they are so numerous in Dutch cities'. Dutch paintings from that time often show Turks, Persians and Jews strolling through the city. Officials that were sent to the Netherlands included Zeyn-Al-Din Beg of the Saffavid empire in 1607 and Ömer Aga of the Ottoman Empire in 1614. Like the Venetians en Genoese before them, the Dutch and English established a trade network in the eastern Mediterranean and had regular interactions with the ports of the Persian Gulf. Many Dutch painters even went to work in Isfahan, central Iran.[39]

Rembrandt 1635: Man in Oriental Costume.

From 1608, Samuel Pallache served as an intermediary to discuss an alliance between Morocco and the Low Countries. In 1613, the Moroccan Ambassador Al-Hajari discussed in La Hague with the Dutch Prince Maurice of Orange the possibility of an alliance between the Dutch Republic, the Ottoman Empire, Morocco and the Moriscos, against the common enemy Spain.[40] His book mentions the discussion for a combined offensive on Spain,[41] as

well as the religious reasons for the good relations between Islam and Protestantism at the time:

> Their teachers [Luther and Calvin] warned them [Protestants] against the Pope and the worshippers of Idols; they also told them not to hate the Muslims because they are the sword of God in the world against the idol-worshippers. That is why they side with the Muslims.
> — Al-Hajari, *The Book of the Protector of Religion against the Unbelievers*[42]

During the Thirty Years War (1618–1648), the Dutch would strengthen contacts with the Moriscos against Spain.[43]

French Huguenots and Islam

Further information: Moriscos

French Huguenots were in contact with the Moriscos in plans against Spain in the 1570s.[35] Around 1575, plans were made for a combined attack of Aragonese Moriscos and Huguenots from Béarn under Henri de Navarre against Spanish Aragon, in agreement with the king of Algiers and the Ottoman Empire, but these projects foundered with the arrival of John of Austria in Aragon and the disarmament of the Moriscos.[44][45] In 1576, a three-pronged fleet from Constantinople was planned to disembark between Murcia and Valencia while the French Huguenots would invade from the north and the Moriscos accomplish their uprising, but the Ottoman fleet failed to arrive.[44]

Alliance between the Barbary states and England

Main article: Anglo-Moroccan alliance

Following the sailing of *The Lion* of Thomas Wyndham in 1551,[47] and the 1585 establishment of the English Barbary Company, trade developed between England and the Barbary states, and especially Morocco.[48][49] Diplomatic relations and an alliance were established between Elizabeth and the Barbary states.[50] England entered in a trading relationship with Morocco detrimental to Spain, selling armour, ammunition, timber, metal in exchange for Moroccan sugar, in spite of a Papal ban,[51] prompting the Papal Nuncio in Spain to say of Elizabeth: *"there is no evil that is not devised by that woman, who, it is perfectly plain, succoured Mulocco (Abd-el-Malek) with arms, and especially with artillery"*.[52]

In 1600, Abd el-Ouahed ben Messaoud, the principal secretary to the Moroccan ruler Mulai Ahmad al-Mansur, visited England as an ambassador to the court of Queen Elizabeth I.[53][54] Abd el-Ouahed ben Messaoud spent

Abd el-Ouahed ben Messaoud, Moorish ambassador of the Morocco to the Court of Queen Elizabeth I in 1600.[46]

6 months at the court of Elizabeth, in order to negotiate an alliance against Spain.[46][55] The Moroccan ruler wanted the help of an English fleet to invade Spain, Elizabeth refused, but welcomed the embassy as a sign of insurance, and instead accepted to establish commercial agreements.[50][55] Queen Elizabeth and king Ahmad continued to discuss various plans for combined military operations, with Elizabeth requesting a payment of 100,000 pounds in advance to king Ahmad for the supply of a fleet, and Ahmad asking for a tall ship to be sent to get the money. Elizabeth "agreed to sell munitions supplies to Morocco, and she and Mulai Ahmad al-Mansur talked on and off about mounting a joint operation against the Spanish".[56] Discussions however remained inconclusive, and both rulers died within two years of the embassy.[57]

Collaboration between the Ottoman Empire and England

Diplomatic relations were established with the Ottoman Empire during the reign of Elizabeth, with the chartering of the Levant Company and the dispatch of the first English ambassador to the Porte, William Harborne, in 1578.[56] Numerous envoys were dispatched in both directions and epistolary exchanges occurred between Elizabeth and Sultan Murad III.[20] In one correspondence, Murad entertained the notion that Islam and Protestantism had "much more in common than either did with Roman Catholicism, as both rejected the worship of

Ottoman carpets were a fashionable items in English painting in the 17th century. Richard Sackville, 3rd Earl of Dorset by William Larkin, 1613, standing on a Lotto carpet.

idols", and argued for an alliance between England and the Ottoman Empire.[21] To the dismay of Catholic Europe, England exported tin and lead (for cannon-casting) and ammunition to the Ottoman Empire, and Elizabeth seriously discussed joint military operations with Murad III during the outbreak of war with Spain in 1585, as Francis Walsingham was lobbying for a direct Ottoman military involvement against the common Spanish enemy.[58]

English writers of the period often expressed admiration towards the "Turks" and the "Ottoman Empire", describing it as endowed with "Majestical and August form and features" and being the "Powerfullest nation in Europe", saying that the Turks were "the only modern people, great in action- he who would behold these times in their greatest glory, could not find a better scene than Turky" and that they had "incredible civility".[59]

Anglo-Turkish piracy

Main article: Anglo-Turkish piracy

After peace was made with Catholic Spain in 1604, English pirates nevertheless continued to raid Christian shipping in the Mediterranean, this time under the protection of the Muslim rulers of the Barbary States, and often converting to Islam in the process, in what has been described as Anglo-Turkish piracy.[60][61][62]

Transylvania and Hungary

Further information: Ottoman Hungary

In eastern Central Europe, particularly in Transylvania,

King John Sigismund of Hungary with Suleiman the Magnificent in 1556.

tolerant Ottoman rule meant that the Protestant communities there were protected from Catholic persecutions by the Habsburg. In the 16th century, the Ottomans supported the Calvinists in Transylvania and Hungary and practised religious toleration, giving almost complete freedom, although heavy taxation was imposed. Suleiman the Magnificent in particular supported John Sigismund of Hungary, allowing him to establish the Unitarian Church in Transylvania. By the end of the century, large parts of the population in Hungary thus became either Lutheran or Calvinist, to become the Reformed Church in Hungary.[11][63]

In the 17th century Protestant communities again asked for Ottoman help against the Habsburg Catholics. When in 1606 Emperor Rudolph II suppressed religious liberty, Prince István Bocskay (1558–1606) of Transylvania, allied with the Ottoman Turks, achieved autonomy for Transylvania, including guaranteeing religious freedom in the rest of Hungary for a short time. In 1620, the Transylvanian Protestant prince Bethlen Gabor, fearful of the Catholic policies of Ferdinand II, requested a protectorate by Sultan Osman II, so that "the Ottoman Empire became the one and only ally of great-power status which

The Hungarian leader Imre Thököly (1657-1705) requested and obtained Ottoman intervention to help defend Protestantism against the repression of the Catholic Habsburg.

the rebellious Bohemian states could muster after they had shaken off Habsburg rule and had elected Frederick V as a Protestant king",[64] Ambassadors were exchanged, with Heinrich Bitter visiting Istanbul in January 1620, and Mehmed Aga visiting Prague in July 1620. The Ottomans offered a force of 60,000 cavalry to Frederick and plans were made for an invasion of Poland with 400,000 troops in exchange for the payment of an annual tribute to the Sultan.[65] The Ottomans defeated the Poles, which were supporting the Habsburg in the Thirty Years' War, at the Battle of Cecora in September–October 1620,[66] but were not able to further intervene efficiently before the Bohemian defeat at the Battle of the White Mountain in November 1620.[67]

At the end of the century, the Hungarian leader Imre Thököly, in resistance to the anti-Protestant policies of the Habsburg,[64] asked and obtained, the military help of the Ottoman Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa, leading to the 1683 Ottoman attack on the Habsburg Empire and the Battle of Vienna.[68]

In the 16th century Hungary had become almost entirely Protestant, with first Lutheranism, then soon afterwards Calvinism, but following the Habsburg policy of Counter-Reformation the western part of the country finally returned to Catholicism, while the eastern part has managed to this day to remain strongly Protestant: "although the Habsburg succeeded in re-Catholicising Royal Hungary, east of the Tisza the Reformation remained almost intact in the spirit of peaceful coexistence between the three recognized nations and respect for their diverse creeds".[69]

Rich Protestant Transylvanian Saxon merchants traded with the Ottoman Empire and often donated Anatolian rugs to their churches as a wall decoration more according to their iconoclastic beliefs than the images of the saints used by the Catholics and the Orthodox. Churches like the Black Church of Brașov still hold collections of rugs.

Relations with Persia

The English and the Persian formed an alliance against the Portuguese in the 1622 Capture of Ormuz (1622).

Robert Shirley and his Circassian wife Teresia, c.1624–1627. Robert Shirley modernized the Persian army, and led the 1609-1615 Persian embassy to Europe.

At about the same time England also maintained a significant relationship with Persia. In 1616, a trade agreement was reached between Shah Abbas and the East India Company and in 1622 "a joint Anglo-Persian force expelled the Portuguese and Spanish traders from the Persian Gulf" in the Capture of Ormuz.[70]

A group of English adventurers, led by Robert Shirley

had a key role in modernizing the Persian army and developing its contacts with the West. In 1624, Robert Shirley led an embassy to England in order to obtain trade agreements.[71]

4.1.4 Later relations

President Barack Obama, a Protestant with Muslim ancestry, stated in April 2009 that "the United States is not and will never be at war with Islam".[72]

These unique relations between Protestantism and Islam mainly took place during the 16th and 17th century. The ability of Protestant nations to disregard Papal bans, and therefore to establish freer commercial and other types of relations with Muslim and pagan countries, may partly explain their success in developing influence and markets in areas previously discovered by Spain and Portugal.[73] Progressively however, Protestantism became able to consolidate itself and became less dependent on external help. At the same time, the power of the Ottoman Empire waned from its 16th century peak, making attempts at alliance and conciliation less relevant.

Eventually, relations between Protestantism and Islam have often tended to become conflicted. In the context of the United States, Protestant missionaries seem to have been active in portraying Islam in an unfavourable light, representing it as "the epitome of antichristian darkness and political tyranny", in a way that helped construct in opposition an American national identity as "modern, democratic and Christian".[74] Some famous Protestants have criticized Islam like Pat Robertson [75] Jerry Falwell,[76] Jerry Vines,[77] R. Albert Mohler, Jr.[78] and Franklin Graham.[79][80][81] The Jyllands-Posten Muhammad cartoons controversy happened in Denmark, a mostly Protestant country.

Modern history

In modern history, recent events such as Islamic terrorism the Persian Gulf War and the Iraq War have encouraged perceptions of unavoidable civilization conflicts between Islam and the rest of the world, giving rise to the theory of The Clash of Civilizations, as opposed to the Dialogue Among Civilizations. In 2009 however, the new United States President Barack Obama attempted to defuse this long period of conflict by stating:

> "Let me say this as clearly as I can: the United States is not and will never be at war with Islam. In fact, our partnership with the Muslim world is critical in rolling back a fringe ideology that people of all faiths reject."
> — Barack Obama in Turkey, April 2009.[72]

4.1.5 Comparative elements

Besides the obvious differences between the two religious, there are also many similarities in their outlooks and attitudes to faith (especially with Sunni Islam),[82] especially in respect to textual criticism, iconoclasm, tendencies to fundamentalism, rejection of marriage as a sacrament, or the rejection of monastic orders.

Textual criticism

Islam and Protestantism have in common a reliance on textual criticism of the Book.[83] This historical precedence combines to fact that Islam incorporates to a certain extent the Jewish and Christian traditions, recognizing the same God and defining Jesus as a prophet, as well as recognizing Hebrew prophets, thus having a claim to encompassing all the religions of the Book.[83]

It should be noted that the Quran itself regards the Christian Bible as corrupt, and holds that Jesus was not physically crucified (Sura 4:156-159).

Iconoclasm

Further information: Iconoclasm and Islamic influences on Christian art

Left image: Relief statues in the Cathedral of Saint Martin, Utrecht, attacked in Reformation iconoclasm in the 16th century.[84]
Right image: The destruction of icons at the Kaaba by Muhammad, in *L'Histoire Merveilleuse en Vers de Mahomet*, 11th century.

The rejection of images in worship, although more prominent in Islam, is a common point in Protestantism and Islam. This was already extensively recognized from the earliest times, as in the correspondence between Elizabeth I of England and her Ottoman Empire counterparts, in which she implied that Protestantism was closer to Islam than to Catholicism.[85] This is also a point developed by Martin Luther in *On War against the Turk*, in which he praised the Ottomans for their rigorous iconoclasm:

> "It is part of the Turks' holiness, also, that they tolerate no images or pictures and are even holier than our destroyers of images. For our destroyers tolerate, and are glad to have, images on gulden, groschen, rings, and ornaments; but the Turk tolerates none of them and stamps nothing but letters on his coins."
> — *On War against the Turk* 1529 Martin Luther[86]

Rich Protestant Transylvanian Saxon merchants traded with the Ottoman Empire and often donated Anatolian rugs to their churches as a wall decoration more according to their iconoclastic beliefs than the images of the saints used by the Catholics and the Orthodox. Churches like the Black Church of Brasov still hold collections of such rugs.

Fundamentalism

Main articles: Christian fundamentalism and Islamic fundamentalism

Islam and Protestantism have in common that they are both based on a direct analysis of the scriptures (the Bible for Protestantism and the Quran for Islam). This can be contrasted to Catholicism in which knowledge is analysed, formalized and distributed by the existing structure of the Church. Islam and Protestantism are thus both based on "a rhetorical commitment to a universal mission", when Catholicism is based on an international structure. This leads to possibilities of fundamentalism, based on the popular reinterpretation of scriptures by radical elements.[87] The term "fundamentalism" was first used in America in the 1920, to describe "the consciously anti-modernist wing of Protestantism".[88]

Islamic and Protestant fundamentalism also tend to be very normative of individuals' behaviours: "Religious fundamentalism in Protestantism and Islam is very concerned with norms surrounding gender, sexuality, and family",[88] although Protestant fundamentalism tends to focus on individual behaviour, whereas Islamic fundamentalism tends to develop laws for the community.[89]

The most notable trend of Islamic fundamentalism, Salafism is based upon a literal reading of the Qur'an and Sunnah without relying on the interpretations of Islamic jurists or Imams, rejecting the need for Taqlid.[90] Fundamentalist Protestantism is similar, in that the 'traditions of men' and the Church Fathers are rejected in favor of a literalist interpretation of the Bible, which is seen as inerrant.[91] Islamic Fundamentalists and Protestant Fundamentalists both believe their respective holy texts to be inerrant/immutable.

Islamic Protestantism

Parallels have regularly been drawn in the similar attitudes of Islam and Protestantism towards the Scriptures. Some trends in Muslim revival have thus been defined as "Islamic Protestantism".[92] In a sense "Islamization is a political movement to combat Westernization using the methods of Western culture, namely a form of Protestantism within Islam itself".[93]

Vitality

Islam and Protestantism share a common vitality in the modern world: "The two most dynamic religious movements in the contemporary world are what can loosely be called popular Protestantism and resurgent Islam", although their approach to civil society is different.[94]

4.1.6 See also

- Islam in England
- Protestantism in Turkey
- Mormonism and Islam

- Islam and other religions
- Divisions of the world in Islam
- Pallache family

4.1.7 Notes

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[30] Schmidt, p.103

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[32] Parker, p.59

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[50] Nicoll, p.90

[51] *Speaking of the Moor*, Emily C. Bartels p.24

[52] *New Turkes* by Matthew Dimmock p.122 Note 63

[53] Vaughan, p.57

[54] University of Birmingham Collections

[55] Vaughan, p.57

[56] *The Jamestown project* by Karen Ordahl Kupperman

[57] Nicoll, p.96

[58] Kupperman, p.41

[59] *The genius of the English nation* by Anna Suranyi p.58

[60] "The study of Anglo-Turkish piracy in the Mediterranean reveals a fusion of commercial and foreign policy interests embodied in the development of this special relationship" in *New interpretations in naval history* by Robert William Love p.

[61] "At the beginning of the seventeenth century France complained about a new phenomenon: Anglo-Turkish piracy." in *Orientalism in early modern France* by Ina Baghdiantz McCabe p.86*ff*

[62] *Anglo-Turkish piracy in the reign of James I* by Grace Maple Davis, Stanford University. Dept. of History, 1911

[63] *The Encyclopedia of world history* by Peter N. Stearns, p.310

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[65] *The winter king* Brennan C. Pursell p.112-113

[66] History of the Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey by Ezel Kural Shaw p.191

[67] Halil İnalcık, p.424-425

[68] The New Cambridge Modern History by F. L. Carsten p.513

[69] *The Hungarians* by Paul Lendvai, p.113

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[71] Maquerlot, p.17

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[73] *Islam in Europe* by Jack Goody, p.49

[74] *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations* by Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, p.59

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[83] *Eurabia* by Bat Ye'or, p.221

[84] The birth and growth of Utrecht

[85] Islam in Britain, 1558-1685 by Nabil I. Matar p.123

[86] *Works of Martin Luther* by Martin Luther p.101

[87] Fundamentalism by Steve Bruce, p.101

[88] Battleground by Amy Lind, Stephanie Brzuzy, p.488

[89] Kings or people by Reinhard Bendix, p.47

[90] Salafi Publications, "Shaykhul-Islaam Ibn Taymiyyah, rahimahullaah, said: "When a Muslim is faced with a problamatic situation, he should seek a verdict from one whom he believes will give him a verdict based upon what Allaah and His Messenger have legislated; whatever school of thought (madhhab) he belongs to. It is not obligatory upon any Muslim to blindly follow a particular individual from the scholars in all that he says. Nor is it obligatory upon any Muslim to blindly follow a particular madhhab from the scholars in all that it necessitates and informs. Rather, every person's saying is taken or left, except that of the Allaah's Messenger sallallaahu alayhi wa sallam."

[91] The Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy, Article I & XII "We affirm that the Holy Scriptures are to be received as the authoritative Word of God. We deny that the Scriptures receive their authority from the Church, tradition, or any other human source.... We affirm that Scripture in its entirety is inerrant, being free from all falsehood, fraud, or deceit. We deny that Biblical infallibility and inerrancy are limited to spiritual, religious, or redemptive themes, exclusive of assertions in the fields of history and science. We further deny that scientific hypotheses about earth history may properly be used to overturn the teaching of Scripture on creation and the flood."

[92] Islam in the world by Malise Ruthven p.363

[93] Orientalism, postmodernism, and globalism by Bryan S. Turner, p.93

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4.1.9 External links

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4.2 On War Against the Turk

On War Against the Turk (German: *Vom Kriege wider die Türken*) was a book written by Martin Luther in 1528 and published in 1529.[1] It was one of several pamphlets and sermons by Martin Luther about Islam and resistance to the Ottoman Empire, during the critical period of territorial expansion of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, marked by the capture of Buda in 1526 and the Siege of Vienna in 1529.

4.2.1 Content

Initially, in his 1518 *Explanation of the Ninety-five Theses*, Luther had argued against resisting the Turks, whom he presented as a scourge intentionally sent by God to sinning Christians, and that resisting it would have been equivalent to resisting the will of God.[2] This position had been initially shared by Erasmus as well, but was strongly criticized by authors such as Thomas More:

> "It is a gentle holiness to abstain for devotion from resisting the Turk, and in the meanwhile to rise up in routs and fight against Christian men, and destroy as that sect has done, many a good religious house, spoiled, maimed and slain many a good virtuous man, robbed, polluted, and pulled down many a goodly church of Christ."
> — Thomas More.[3]

With the Turkish advance becoming ever more threatening, however, in 1528 Luther modified his stance and wrote *On War against the Turk* and in 1529 *Sermon against the Turk*, encouraging the German people and Emperor Charles V to resist the invasion.[4]

Compared with his anger over what he perceived as the annoying-but-not-incurable stubbornness of Judaism, Luther's positions against Islam portrayed an attitude of hopelessness and acceptance of failure, resulting in milder condemnation.[5] On the one hand Luther extensively criticized the principles of Islam, but on the other hand he also expressed a view that the practice of the Islamic faith was not worth the effort to combat as strongly:

> *"Let the Turk believe and live as he will, just as one lets the papacy and other false Christians live."*
> — Excerpt from *On war against the Turk*, 1529.[6]

In *On War Against the Turk*, Luther is actually less critical of the Turks than he is of the Pope, whom he calls an anti-Christ, or the Jews, whom he describes as "the Devil incarnate".[7] He urges his contemporaries to also see that some Turks, guided by their beliefs, actually had good intentions. He refers to some who were favorable to the Ottoman Empire *"who actually want the Turk to come and rule, because they think that our German people are wild and uncivilized - indeed that they are half-devil and half-man"*.[8]

He also argued that the fight against the Turks should not be a holy war, but only a secular one, made in self-defense, and led by the secular authorities of the Emperor and the Princes, and strongly warned against leading it as a religious war:

> *"...as though our people were an army of Christians against the Turks, who were enemies of Christ. This is absolutely contrary to Christ's doctrine and name"*
> — Excerpt from *On war against the Turk*, 1529.[9]

4.2.2 Notes

[1] Brecht, p. 364.

[2] *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* by Andrew Cunningham p.141

[3] Quoted in Cunningham, p.141

[4] Miller, p.208

[5] *The Ottoman Empire and early modern Europe* by Daniel Goffman, p.109

[6] Quoted in Miller, p.208

[7] Goffman, p.109

[8] Goffman, p.110

[9] Quoted in *The Ten commandments* William P. Brown p.258

4.2.3 External links

- *On War against the Turk* (English translation)

4.2.4 References

- Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Shaping and Defining the Reformation, 1521–1532*, Minneapolis: Fortess Press, 1994, ISBN 0-8006-2814-4.
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4.3 Martin Luther and antisemitism

Martin Luther (1483–1546), a German Reformation leader, had a significant influence on German antisemitism by his virulent anti-Jewish statements and writings.

4.3.1 Evolution of his views

Luther's attitude toward the Jews changed over the course of his life. In the early phase of his career—until around 1536—he expressed concern for their plight in Europe and was enthusiastic at the prospect of converting them to Christianity through his religious reforms. Being unsuccessful in that, in his later career, Luther denounced the Jewish people and urged for their harsh persecution and destruction. In a paragraph from his *On the Jews and Their Lies* he deplores Christendom's failure to expel them.[1] Moreover, he proposed "What shall we Christians do with this rejected and condemned people, the Jews":[1]

- "First, to set fire to their synagogues or schools … This is to be done in honor of our Lord and of Christendom, so that God might see that we are Christians …"
- "Second, I advise that their houses also be razed and destroyed."
- "Third, I advise that all their prayer books and Talmudic writings, in which such idolatry, lies, cursing, and blasphemy are taught, be taken from them."
- "Fourth, I advise that their rabbis be forbidden to teach henceforth on pain of loss of life and limb …"
- "Fifth, I advise that safe-conduct on the highways be abolished completely for the Jews. For they have no business in the countryside …"
- "Sixth, I advise that usury be prohibited to them, and that all cash and treasure of silver and gold be taken from them …"
- "Seventh, I recommend putting a flail, an ax, a hoe, a spade, a distaff, or a spindle into the hands of young, strong Jews and Jewesses and letting them earn their bread in the sweat of their brow … But if we are afraid that they might harm us or our wives, children, servants, cattle, etc., … then let us emulate the common sense of other nations such as France, Spain, Bohemia, etc., … then eject them forever from the country …"

Early years

Luther's first known comment on the Jews is in a letter written to the Reverend Georg Spalatin in 1514:

> Conversion of the Jews will be the work of God alone operating from within, and not of man working — or rather playing — from without. If these offences be taken away, worse will follow. For they are thus given over by the

> wrath of God to reprobation, that they may become incorrigible, as Ecclesiastes says, for every one who is incorrigible is rendered worse rather than better by correction.[2]

In 1519 Luther challenged the doctrine *Servitus Judaeorum* ("Servitude of the Jews"), established in *Corpus Juris Civilis* by Justinian I from 529–534. He wrote: "Absurd theologians defend hatred for the Jews. … What Jew would consent to enter our ranks when he sees the cruelty and enmity we wreak on them—that in our behavior towards them we less resemble Christians than beasts?"[3]

In his 1523 essay *That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew*, Luther condemned the inhuman treatment of the Jews and urged Christians to treat them kindly. Luther's fervent desire was that Jews would hear the Gospel proclaimed clearly and be moved to convert to Christianity. Thus he argued:

> If I had been a Jew and had seen such dolts and blockheads govern and teach the Christian faith, I would sooner have become a hog than a Christian. They have dealt with the Jews as if they were dogs rather than human beings; they have done little else than deride them and seize their property. When they baptize them they show them nothing of Christian doctrine or life, but only subject them to popishness and mockery...If the apostles, who also were Jews, had dealt with us Gentiles as we Gentiles deal with the Jews, there would never have been a Christian among the Gentiles ... When we are inclined to boast of our position [as Christians] we should remember that we are but Gentiles, while the Jews are of the lineage of Christ. We are aliens and in-laws; they are blood relatives, cousins, and brothers of our Lord. Therefore, if one is to boast of flesh and blood the Jews are actually nearer to Christ than we are...If we really want to help them, we must be guided in our dealings with them not by papal law but by the law of Christian love. We must receive them cordially, and permit them to trade and work with us, that they may have occasion and opportunity to associate with us, hear our Christian teaching, and witness our Christian life. If some of them should prove stiff-necked, what of it? After all, we ourselves are not all good Christians either.[4]

Anti-Jewish agitation

Luther successfully campaigned against the Jews in Saxony, Brandenburg, and Silesia. In August 1536 Luther's prince, Elector of Saxony John Frederick, issued a mandate that prohibited Jews from inhabiting, engaging in business in, or passing through his realm. An Alsatian shtadlan, Rabbi Josel of Rosheim, asked a reformer Wolfgang Capito to approach Luther in order to obtain an audience with the prince, but Luther refused every intercession.[5] In response to Josel, Luther referred to his unsuccessful attempts to convert the Jews: "... I would willingly do my best for your people but I will not contribute to your [Jewish] obstinacy by my own kind actions. You must find another intermediary with my good lord."[6] Heiko Oberman notes this event as significant in Luther's attitude toward the Jews: "Even today this refusal is often judged to be the decisive turning point in Luther's career from friendliness to hostility toward the Jews."[7]

Josel of Rosheim, who tried to help the Jews of Saxony, wrote in his memoir that their situation was "due to that priest whose name was Martin Luther — may his body and soul be bound up in hell!! — who wrote and issued many heretical books in which he said that whoever would help the Jews was doomed to perdition."[8] Robert Michael, Professor Emeritus of European History at the University of Massachusetts Dartmouth writes that Josel asked the city of Strasbourg to forbid the sale of Luther's anti-Jewish works; they refused initially, but relented when a Lutheran pastor in Hochfelden argued in a sermon that his parishioners should murder Jews.[9]

4.3.2 Anti-Jewish works

Title page of Martin Luther's On the Jews and Their Lies. *Wittenberg, 1543*

Luther's main works on the Jews were his 65,000-word treatise *Von den Juden und Ihren Lügen* (*On the Jews and Their Lies*) and *Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi* (*Of the Unknowable Name and the Generations of Christ*) — reprinted five times within his lifetime — both written in 1543, three years before his death.[10] It is believed that Luther was influenced by Anton Margaritha's book *Der gantze Jüdisch Glaub* (*The Whole Jewish Belief*).[11] Margaritha, a convert to Christianity who had become a Lutheran, published his antisemitic book in 1530 which was read by Luther in 1539. Margaritha's book was decisively discredited by Josel of Rosheim in a public debate in 1530 before Charles V and his court,[12] resulting in Margaritha's expulsion from the Empire.

On the Jews and Their Lies

Main article: On the Jews and Their Lies

In 1543 Luther published *On the Jews and Their Lies* in which he says that the Jews are a "base, whoring people, that is, no people of God, and their boast of lineage, circumcision, and law must be accounted as filth."[13] They are full of the "devil's feces ... which they wallow in like swine."[14] The synagogue was a "defiled bride, yes, an incorrigible whore and an evil slut ..."[15] He argues that their synagogues and schools be set on fire, their prayer books destroyed, rabbis forbidden to preach, homes razed, and property and money confiscated. They should be shown no mercy or kindness,[16] afforded no legal protection,[17] and these "poisonous envenomed worms" should be drafted into forced labor or expelled for all time.[18] He also seems to advocate their murder, writing "[w]e are at fault in not slaying them".[19] Luther claims that Jewish history was "assailed by much heresy", and that Christ the *logos* swept away the Jewish heresy and goes on to do so, "as it still does daily before our eyes." He stigmatizes Jewish Prayer as being "blasphemous" (sic) and a lie, and vilifies Jews in general as being spiritually "blind" and "surely possessed by all devils." Luther has a special spiritual problem with Jewish circumcision.[20][21] The full context in which Martin Luther advocated that Jews be slain in *On the Jews and Their Lies* is as follows in Luther's own words:

> There is no other explanation for this than the one cited earlier from Moses - namely, that God has struck [the Jews] with 'madness and blindness and confusion of mind' [Deuteronomy 28:28]. So we are even at fault in not avenging all this innocent blood of our Lord and of the Christians which they shed for three hundred years after the destruction of Jerusalem, and the blood of the children they have shed since then (which still shines forth from their eyes and their skin). We are at fault in not slaying them.[22]

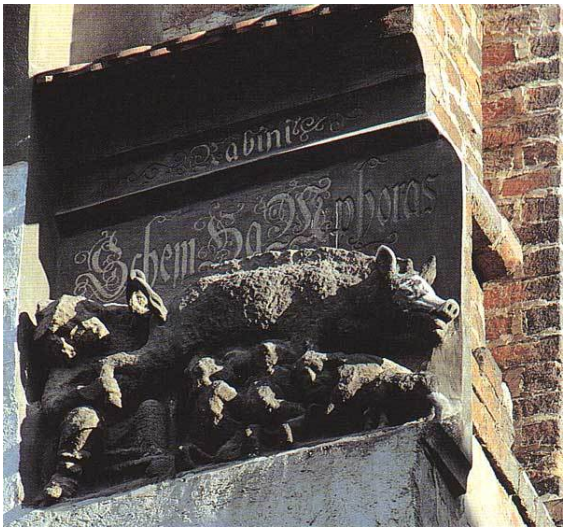
Vom Schem Hamphoras

EFFIGIES
MONVMENTI IN REPROBORVM RABINORVM ET IVDÆORVM APOSTATARVM CONFVSIONEM ET IGNOMINIAM, AD VVITEBERGENSIS Templi oppidani murum, versus ortum antiquitus positi.

RABINI Schemhamphoras.

VVITEBERGÆ, Excusa typis VVolffgangi Meissneri ANNO M. D. XCVI.

Vom Schem Hamphoras



Judensau on the Wittenberg Church, built 1300–1470. The imagery of Jews in contact with pigs or representing the devil was common in Germany.

Main article: Vom Schem Hamphoras

Several months after publishing *On the Jews and Their Lies*, Luther wrote *Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi* (*Of the Unknowable Name and the Generations of Christ*)', in which he equated Jews with the Devil:

> "Here in Wittenburg, in our parish church, there is a sow carved into the stone under which lie young pigs and Jews who are sucking; behind the sow stands a rabbi who is lifting up the right leg of the sow, raises behind the sow, bows down and looks with great effort into the Talmud under the sow, as if he wanted to read and see something most difficult and exceptional; no doubt they gained their Shem Hamphoras from that place."

The English translation of *Vom Schem Hamphoras* is contained in *The Jew in Christian Theology*, by Gerhard Falk (1992).

Warning against the Jews

Shortly before his death on February 18, 1546 Luther preached four sermons in Eisleben.[23] To his second last sermon he appended what he called his "final warning" against the Jews.[24] The main point of this short work is that authorities who could expel the Jews from their lands should do so if they would not convert to Christianity. Otherwise, Luther indicated, such authorities would make themselves "partners in another's sins".[25]

Luther began by saying,

> We want to deal with them in a Christian manner now. Offer them the Christian faith that they would accept the Messiah, who is even their cousin and has been born of their flesh and blood; and is rightly Abraham's Seed, of which they boast. Even so, I am concerned [that] Jewish blood may no longer become watery and wild. First of all, you should propose to them that they be converted to the Messiah and allow themselves to be baptized, that one may see that this is a serious matter to them. If not, then we would not permit them [to live among us], for Christ commands us to be baptized and believe in Him, even though we cannot now believe so strongly as we should, God is still patient with us.[26]

Luther continued, "However, if they are converted, abandon their usury, and receive Christ, then we will willingly regard them our brothers. Otherwise, nothing will come out of it, for they do it to excess."[26]

Luther followed this with accusations,

> They are our public enemies. They do not stop blaspheming our Lord Christ, calling the Virgin Mary a whore, Christ, a bastard, and us changelings or abortions (Mahlkälber: "meal calves"). If they could kill us all, they would gladly do it. They do it often, especially those who pose as physicians—though sometimes they help—for the devil helps to finish it in the end. They can also practice medicine as in French Switzerland. They administer poison to someone from which he could die in an hour, a month, a year, ten or twenty years. They are able to practice this art.[26]

He then said,

> Yet, we will show them Christian love and pray for them that they may be converted to receive the Lord, whom they should honor properly before us. Whoever will not do this is no doubt a malicious Jew, who will not stop blaspheming Christ, draining you dry, and, if he can, killing [you].[26]

This work has been newly translated and published in volume 58 (Sermons V) of *Luther's Works*, pages 458–459.[27]

4.3.3 The influence of Luther's views

In 1543 Luther's Prince, John Frederick I, Elector of Saxony, revoked some of the concessions he gave to Josel of Rosheim in 1539. Luther's influence persisted after his death. John of Brandenburg-Küstrin, Margrave of the New March, repealed the safe conduct of Jews in his territories. Philip of Hesse added restrictions to his *Order Concerning the Jews*. Paul Johnson writes that Luther's followers sacked Berlin in 1572 and the following year the Jews were banned from the entire country.[28] Throughout the 1580s riots saw the expulsion of Jews from several German Lutheran states.[9]

Nevertheless, no ruler enacted all of Luther's anti-Jewish recommendations.[29]

According to Michael, Luther's work acquired the status of Scripture within Germany, and he became the most widely read author of his generation, in part because of the coarse and passionate nature of the writing.[9] In the 1570s Pastor Georg Nigrinus published *Enemy Jew*, which reiterated Luther's program in *On the Jews and Their Lies*, and Nikolaus Selnecker, one of the authors of the *Formula of Concord*, reprinted Luther's *Against the Sabbatarians*, *On the Jews and Their Lies*, and *Vom Schem Hamphoras*.

Luther's treatises against the Jews were reprinted again early in the 17th century at Dortmund, where they were seized by the Emperor. In 1613 and 1617 they were published in Frankfurt am Main in support of the banishment of Jews from Frankfurt and Worms. Vincenz Fettmilch, a Calvinist, reprinted *On the Jews and Their Lies* in 1612 to stir up hatred against the Jews of Frankfurt. Two years later, riots in Frankfurt saw the deaths of 3,000 Jews and the expulsion of the rest. Fettmilch was executed by the Lutheran city authorities, but Michael writes that his execution was for attempting to overthrow the authorities, not for his offenses against the Jews.

These reprints were the last popular publication of these works until they were revived in the 20th century.[30]

4.3.4 Influence on modern antisemitism

The prevailing view[31] among historians is that Luther's anti-Jewish rhetoric contributed significantly to the development of antisemitism in Germany,[32] and in the 1930s and 1940s provided an ideal foundation for the Nazi Party's attacks on Jews.[33] Reinhold Lewin writes that "whoever wrote against the Jews for whatever reason believed he had the right to justify himself by triumphantly referring to Luther." According to Michael, just about every anti-Jewish book printed in the Third Reich contained references to and quotations from Luther. Diarmaid MacCulloch argues that Luther's 1543 pamphlet *On the Jews and Their Lies* was a "blueprint" for the Kristallnacht.[34] Shortly after the Kristallnacht, Martin Sasse, Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Thuringia, published a compendium of Martin Luther's writings ; Sasse "applauded the burning of the synagogues" and the coincidence of the day, writing in the introduction, "On November 10, 1938, on Luther's birthday, the synagogues are burning in Germany." The German people, he urged, ought to heed these words "of the greatest anti-Semite of his time, the warner of his people against the Jews."[35]

Christopher J. Probst, in his book *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany* (2012), shows that a large number of German Lutheran clergy and theologians during the Nazi Third Reich used Luther's hostile publications towards the Jews and their Jewish religion to justify at least in part the anti-Semitic policies of the National Socialists.[36] Published In 1940, Heinrich Himmler wrote admiringly of Luther's writings and sermons on the Jews.[37] The city of Nuremberg presented a first edition of *On the Jews and their Lies* to Julius Streicher, editor of the Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer*, on his birthday in 1937; the newspaper described it as the most radically antisemitic tract ever published.[38] It was publicly exhibited in a glass case at the Nuremberg rallies and quoted in a 54-page explanation of the Aryan Law by Dr. E.H. Schulz and Dr. R. Frercks.[39] On December 17, 1941, seven Lutheran regional church confederations issued a statement agreeing with the policy of forcing Jews to wear the yellow badge, "since after his bitter experience Luther had [strongly] suggested preventive measures against the Jews and their expulsion from German territory."

Michael states "Luther wrote of the Jews as if they were a race that could not truly convert to Christianity. Indeed, like so many Christian writers before him, Luther, by making the Jews the devil's people, put them beyond conversion." He notes that in a sermon of September 25, 1539, "Luther tried to demonstrate through several examples that individual Jews could not convert permanently, and in several passages of *The Jews and Their Lies*, Luther appeared to reject the possibility that the Jews would or could convert."[40]

Franklin Sherman, editor of volume 47 of the American Edition of *Luther's Works* in which *On the Jews and Their Lies* appears,[41] responds to the claim that "Luther's antipathy towards the Jews was religious rather than racial in nature," Luther's writings against the Jews, he explains, are not "merely a set of cool, calm and collected theological judgments. His writings are full of rage, and indeed hatred, against *an identifiable human group*, not just against a religious point of view; it is against that group that his action proposals are directed." Sherman argues that Luther "cannot be distanced completely from modern antisemites". Regarding Luther's treatise, *On the Jews and Their Lies*, the German philosopher Karl Jaspers wrote: "There you already have the whole Nazi program".[42]

Other scholars assert that Luther's antisemitism as expressed in *On the Jews and Their Lies* is based on religion. Bainton asserts that Luther's position was "entirely religious and in no respect racial. The supreme sin for him was the persistent rejection of God's revelation of himself in Christ. The centuries of Jewish suffering were themselves a mark of the divine displeasure. They should be compelled to leave and go to a land of their own. This was a program of enforced Zionism. But if it were not feasible, then Luther would recommend that the Jews be compelled to live from the soil. He was unwittingly proposing a return to the condition of the early Middle Ages, when the Jews had been in agriculture. Forced off the land, they had gone into commerce and, having been expelled from commerce, into money lending. Luther wished to reverse the process and thereby inadvertently would accord the Jews a more secure position than they enjoyed in his day."[43]

Paul Halsall argues that Luther's views had a part in laying the groundwork for the racial European antisemitism of the nineteenth century. He writes that "although Luther's comments seem to be proto-Nazi, they are better seen as part of tradition [sic] of Medieval Christian anti-semitism. While there is little doubt that Christian anti-semitism laid the social and cultural basis for modern anti-semitism, modern anti-semitism does differ in being based on pseudo-scientific notions of race. The Nazis im-

prisoned and killed even those ethnic Jews who had converted to Christianity: Luther would have welcomed their conversions."[44]

In his *Lutheran Quarterly* article, Wallmann argued that Luther's *On the Jews and Their Lies*, *Against the Sabbabitarians*, and *Vom Schem Hamphoras* were largely ignored by antisemites of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He contended that Johann Andreas Eisenmenger and his *Judaism Unmasked*, published posthumously in 1711, was "a major source of evidence for the anti-Semites of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries" and "cast Luther's anti-Jewish writings into obscurity". In this 2000 page tome Eisenmenger makes no mention of Luther at all.[45]

The Lutheran court chaplain to Kaiser Wilhelm I, Adolf Stoecker, founded in 1878 an antisemitic and antiliberal party called the Christian Social Party (Germany). However, this party did not enjoy the mass support which the Nazis received during the 1930s, when the Great Depression hit Germany especially hard.

4.3.5 Debate on influence on Nazis

At the heart of the debate about Luther's influence is whether it is anachronistic to view his work as a precursor of the racial antisemitism of the Nazis. Some scholars see Luther's influence as limited, and the Nazis' use of his work as opportunistic.

The prevailing scholarly view[46] since the Second World War is that the treatise exercised a major and persistent influence on Germany's attitude toward its Jewish citizens in the centuries between the Reformation and the Holocaust. Four hundred years after it was written, the Nazi Party displayed *On the Jews and Their Lies* during Nuremberg rallies, and the city of Nuremberg presented a first edition to Julius Streicher, editor of the Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer*, the newspaper describing it as the most radically antisemitic tract ever published.[47] Against this view, theologian Johannes Wallmann writes that the treatise had no continuity of influence in Germany, and was in fact largely ignored during the 18th and 19th centuries.[45] Hans Hillerbrand argues that to focus on Luther's role in the development of German antisemitism is to underestimate the "larger peculiarities of German history."[48]

Martin Brecht argues that there is a world of difference between Luther's belief in salvation, which depended on a faith in Jesus as the messiah — a belief Luther criticized the Jews for rejecting — and the Nazis' ideology of racial antisemitism.[49] Johannes Wallmann argues that Luther's writings against the Jews were largely ignored in the 18th and 19th centuries, and that there is no continuity between Luther's thought and Nazi ideology.[50] Uwe Siemon-Netto agrees, arguing that it was because the Nazis were already antisemites that they revived Luther's work.[51][52] Hans J. Hillerbrand states that the view that "Luther significantly encouraged the development of German anti-Semitism... puts far too much emphasis on Luther and not enough on the larger peculiarities of German history".[53][54] Other scholars argue that, even if his views were merely anti-Judaic, their violence lent a new element to the standard Christian suspicion of Judaism. Ronald Berger writes that Luther is credited with "Germanizing the Christian critique of Judaism and establishing anti-Semitism as a key element of German culture and national identity."[55] Paul Rose argues that he caused a "hysterical and demonizing mentality" about Jews to enter German thought and discourse, a mentality that might otherwise have been absent.[56]

The line of "anti-semitic descent" from Luther to Hitler is "easy to draw",[57] according to American historian Lucy Dawidowicz. In her *The War Against the Jews, 1933–1945*, she writes that both Luther and Hitler were obsessed by the "demonologized universe" inhabited by Jews, with Hitler asserting that the later Luther, the author of *On the Jews and Their Lies* was the real Luther.[57]

Dawidowicz writes that the similarities between Luther's anti-Jewish writings and modern antisemitism are no coincidence, because they derived from a common history of *Judenhass*, which can be traced to Haman's advice to Ahasuerus. Although modern German antisemitism also has its roots in German nationalism and Christian antisemitism, she argues that a foundation for this was laid by the Roman Catholic Church, "upon which Luther built".[57] Michael has argued that Luther scholars who try to tone down Luther's views on the Jews ignore the murderous implications of his antisemitism. Michael argues that there is a "strong parallel" between Luther's ideas and the antisemitism of most German Lutherans throughout the Holocaust.[58] Like the Nazis, Luther mythologized the Jews as evil, he writes. They could be saved only if they converted to Christianity, but their hostility to the idea made it inconceivable.[58]

Luther's sentiments were widely echoed in the Germany of the 1930s, particularly within the Nazi party. Hitler's Education Minister, Bernhard Rust, was quoted by the *Völkischer Beobachter* as saying that: "Since Martin Luther closed his eyes, no such son of our people has appeared again. It has been decided that we shall be the first to witness his reappearance ... I think the time is past when one may not say the names of Hitler and Luther in the same breath. They belong together; they are of the same old stamp [*Schrot und Korn*]".[59]

Hans Hinkel, leader of the Luther League's magazine *Deutsche Kultur-Wacht*, and of the Berlin chapter of the *Kampfbund*, paid tribute to Luther in his acceptance speech as head of both the Jewish section and the film department of Goebbel's Chamber of Culture and Propaganda Ministry. "Through his acts and his spiritual attitude, he began the fight which we will wage today; with Luther, the revolution of German blood and feeling against alien elements of the Volk was begun. To continue and complete his Protestantism, nationalism must

make the picture of Luther, of a German fighter, live as an example 'above the barriers of confession' for all German blood comrades."[60]

According to Daniel Goldhagen, Bishop Martin Sasse, a leading Protestant churchman, published a compendium of Luther's writings shortly after *Kristallnacht*, for which Diarmaid MacCulloch, Professor of the History of the Church in the University of Oxford argued that Luther's writing was a "blueprint".[34] Sasse "applauded the burning of the synagogues and the coincidence of the day, writing in the introduction, "On November 10, 1938, on Luther's birthday, the synagogues are burning in Germany." The German people, he urged, ought to heed these words "of the greatest antisemite of his time, the warner of his people against the Jews."[61]

William Nichols, Professor of Religious Studies, recounts, "At his trial in Nuremberg after the Second World War, Julius Streicher, the notorious Nazi propagandist, editor of the scurrilous antisemitic weekly *Der Stürmer*, argued that if he should be standing there arraigned on such charges, so should Martin Luther. Reading such passages, it is hard not to agree with him. Luther's proposals read like a program for the Nazis."[62] It was Luther's expression "The Jews are our misfortune" that centuries later would be repeated by Heinrich von Treitschke and appear as motto on the front page of Julius Streicher's *Der Stürmer*.

Some scholars have attributed the Nazi "Final Solution" directly to Martin Luther.[63] Others dispute this point of view, pointedly taking issue with the thesis advanced by William Shirer and others.[64]

Luthertag

In the course of the *Luthertag* (Luther Day) festivities, the Nazis emphasized their connection to Luther as being both nationalist revolutionaries and the heirs of the German traditionalist past. An article in the *Chemnitzer Tageblatt* stated that "[t]he German Volk are united not only in loyalty and love for the Fatherland, but also once more in the old German beliefs of Luther [*Lutherglauben*]; a new epoch of strong, conscious religious life has dawned in Germany." Richard Steigmann-Gall writes in his 2003 book *The Holy Reich: Nazi Conceptions of Christianity, 1919–1945*:

> The leadership of the Protestant League espoused a similar view. Fahrenhorst, who was on the planning committee of the Luthertag, called Luther "the first German spiritual Führer" who spoke to all Germans regardless of clan or confession. In a letter to Hitler, Fahrenhorst reminded him that his "Old Fighters" were mostly Protestants and that it was precisely in the Protestant regions of our Fatherland" in which Nazism found its greatest strength. Promising that the celebration of Luther's birthday would not turn into a confessional affair, Fahrenhorst invited Hitler to become the official patron of the Luthertag. In subsequent correspondence, Fahrenhorst again voiced the notion that reverence for Luther could somehow cross confessional boundaries: "Luther is truly not only the founder of a Christian confession; much more, his ideas had a fruitful impact on all Christianity in Germany." Precisely because of Luther's political as well as religious significance, the Luthertag would serve as a confession both "to church and Volk."[65]

Fahrenhorst's claim that the Nazis found their greatest strength in the Protestant areas of Germany has been corroborated by scholars who have studied the voting patterns of Germany from 1928–1933. Professor Richard (Dick) Geary, Professor of Modern History at the University of Nottingham in England and the author of *Hitler and Nazism* (Routledge 1993) wrote in *History Today* an article on who voted for the Nazis, in which he said that the Nazis gained disproportionately more votes from Protestant than Catholic areas of Germany.[66]

4.3.6 Luther's words and scholarship

In his book *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, William L. Shirer wrote:

> It is difficult to understand the behavior of most German Protestants in the first Nazi years unless one is aware of two things: their history and the influence of Martin Luther. The great founder of Protestantism was both a passionate anti-Semite and a ferocious believer in absolute obedience to political authority. He wanted Germany rid of the Jews. Luther's advice was literally followed four centuries later by Hitler, Goering and Himmler.[67]

Roland Bainton, noted church historian and Luther biographer, wrote with reference to *On the Jews and Their Lies*: "One could wish that Luther had died before ever this tract was written. His position was entirely religious and in no respect racial."[68] Richard Marius contends that in making this "declaration," "Roland Bainton's effort is directed towards trying 'to make the best of Luther,' and 'Luther's view of the Jews.'"[69]

Bainton's view is later echoed by James M. Kittelson writing about Luther's correspondence with Jewish scholar Josel of Rosheim: "There was no anti-Semitism in this response. Moreover, Luther never became an anti-Semite in the modern, racial sense of the term."[70]

Paul Halsall states,[71] "In his Letters to Spalatin, we can already see that Luther's hatred of Jews, best seen in this

1543 letter On the Jews and Their Lies, was not some affectation of old age, but was present very early on. Luther expected Jews to convert to his purified Christianity. When they did not, he turned violently against them."[72]

Gordon Rupp gives this evaluation of *On the Jews and Their Lies*: "I confess that I am ashamed as I am ashamed of some letters of St. Jerome, some paragraphs in Sir Thomas More, and some chapters in the Book of Revelation, and, must say, as of a deal else in Christian history, that their authors had not so learned Christ."[73]

According to Heiko Oberman, "[t]he basis of Luther's anti-Judaism was the conviction that ever since Christ's appearance on earth, the Jews have had no more future as Jews."[74]

Richard Marius views Luther's remarks as part of a pattern of similar statements about various groups Luther viewed as enemies of Christianity. He states:

> Although the Jews for him were only one among many enemies he castigated with equal fervor, although he did not sink to the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition against Jews, and although he was certainly not to blame for Adolf Hitler, Luther's hatred of the Jews is a sad and dishonorable part of his legacy, and it is not a fringe issue. It lay at the center of his concept of religion. He saw in the Jews a continuing moral depravity he did not see in Catholics. He did not accuse papists of the crimes that he laid at the feet of Jews.[75]

Robert Waite, in his psychohistory of Hitler and Nazi Germany, devoted an entire section to Luther's influence on Hitler and Nazi ideology. He noted that in his Mein Kampf, Hitler referred to Martin Luther as a great warrior, a true statesmen, and a great reformer, alongside Richard Wagner and Frederick the Great.[76] Waite cites Wilhelm Röpke, writing after Hitler's Holocaust, who concluded that "without any question, Lutheranism influenced the political, spiritual and social history of Germany in a way that, after careful consideration of everything, can be described only as fateful."[77]

Waite also compared his psychoanalysis with Erik Erikson's own psychohistory of Luther, *Young Man Luther*, and concluded that, had Luther been alive during the 1930s, he most likely would have spoken out against Nazi persecution of Jews, even if this placed his life in danger, as Dietrich Bonhoeffer (a Lutheran pastor) did.[78] Nevertheless, one wonders whether Luther would have spoken out against the Nazis' persecution and attempted genocide of the Jews, when one takes into consideration that Luther wrote that "We are at fault in not slaying them" in his *On the Jews and Their Lies* (1543), which according to the historian Robert Michael amounted to a sanction for genocide.[79]

Martin Brecht in his extensive three-volume biography of Luther writes that "an evaluation of Luther's relationship with the Jews must be made."[80] He observes,

> [Luther's] opposition to the Jews, which ultimately was regarded as irreconcilable, was in its nucleus of a religious and theological nature that had to do with belief in Christ and justification, and it was associated with the understanding of the people of God and the interpretation of the Old Testament. Economic and social motives played only a subordinate role. Luther's animosity toward the Jews cannot be interpreted either in a psychological way as a pathological hatred or in a political way as an extension of the anti-Judaism of the territorial princes. But he certainly demanded that measures provided in the laws against heretics be employed to expel the Jews—similarly to their use against the Anabaptists—because, in view of the Jewish polemics against Christ, he saw no possibilities for religious coexistence. In advising the use of force, he advocated means that were essentially incompatible with his faith in Christ. In addition, his criticism of the rabbinic interpretation of the Scriptures in part violated his own exegetical principles. Therefore, his attitude toward the Jews can appropriately be criticized both for his methods and also from the center of his theology.[81]

Brecht ends his evaluation:

> Luther, however, was not involved with later racial anti-Semitism. There is a world of difference between his belief in salvation and a racial ideology. Nevertheless, his misguided agitation had the evil result that Luther fatefully became one of the "church fathers" of anti-Semitism and thus provided material for the modern hatred of the Jews, cloaking it with the authority of the Reformer.[82]

In 1988, theologian Stephen Westerholm argued that Luther's attacks on Jews were part and parcel of his attack on the Catholic Church—that Luther was applying a Pauline critique of Phariseism as legalistic and hypocritical to the Catholic Church. Westerholm rejects Luther's interpretation of Judaism and his apparent antisemitism but points out that whatever problems exist in Paul's and Luther's arguments against Jews, what Paul, and later, Luther, were arguing *for* was and continues to be an important vision of Christianity.

Michael Berenbaum writes that Luther's reliance on the Bible as the sole source of Christian authority fed his later fury toward Jews over their rejection of Jesus as the messiah.[83] For Luther, salvation depended on the belief

that Jesus was the son of God, a belief that adherents of Judaism do not share. Early in his life, Luther had argued that the Jews had been prevented from converting to Christianity by the proclamation of what he believed to be an impure gospel by the Catholic Church, and he believed they would respond favorably to the evangelical message if it were presented to them gently. He expressed concern for the poor conditions in which they were forced to live, and insisted that anyone denying that Jesus was born a Jew was committing heresy.[83]

Graham Noble writes that Luther wanted to save Jews, in his own terms, not exterminate them, but beneath his apparent reasonableness toward them, there was a "biting intolerance", which produced "ever more furious demands for their conversion to his own brand of Christianity" (Noble, 1–2). When they failed to convert, he turned on them.[84]

In his commentary on the *Magnificat*, Luther is critical of the emphasis Judaism places on the Torah, the first five books of the Old Testament. He states that they "undertook to keep the law by their own strength, and failed to learn from it their needy and cursed state."[85] Yet, he concludes that God's grace will continue for Jews as Abraham's descendants for all time, since they may always become Christians.[86] "We ought...not to treat the Jews in so unkindly a spirit, for there are future Christians among them."[87]

Paul Johnson writes that "Luther was not content with verbal abuse. Even before he wrote his anti-Semitic pamphlet, he got Jews expelled from Saxony in 1537, and in the 1540s he drove them from many German towns; he tried unsuccessfully to get the elector to expel them from Brandenburg in 1543."[28]

Michael writes that Luther was concerned with the Jewish question all his life, despite devoting only a small proportion of his work to it.[88] As a Christian pastor and theologian Luther was concerned that people have faith in Jesus as the messiah for salvation. In rejecting that view of Jesus, the Jews became the "quintessential *other*,"[89] a model of the opposition to the Christian view of God. In an early work, *That Jesus Christ was born a Jew*, Luther advocated kindness toward the Jews, but only with the aim of converting them to Christianity: what was called *Judenmission*.[90] When his efforts at conversion failed, he became increasingly bitter toward them.[39]

4.3.7 Recent Lutheran Church responses

Along with antisemitism itself, Luther's harsh anti-Jewish statements in his *On the Jews and Their Lies* and other writings have been repudiated by various Lutheran churches throughout the world.

Strommen et al.'s 1970 survey of 4,745 North American Lutherans aged 15–65 found that, compared to the other minority groups under consideration, Lutherans were the least prejudiced toward Jews.[91]

Since the 1980s, some Lutheran church bodies have formally denounced and dissociated themselves from Luther's writings on the Jews.

In 1982 the Lutheran World Federation issued a consultation stating that "we Christians must purge ourselves of any hatred of the Jews and any sort of teaching of contempt for Judaism."

In 1983 The Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod denounced Luther's "hostile attitude" toward the Jews.[92] At the same time, the LCMS in convention also rejected the use of Luther's statements to incite "anti-Lutheran sentiment".[93]

The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, in an essay on Lutheran-Jewish relations, observed that "Over the years, Luther's anti-Jewish writings have continued to be reproduced in pamphlets and other works by neo-Nazi and antisemitic groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan."[94]

Writing in *Lutheran Quarterly* in 1987, Dr. Johannes Wallmann stated:

> The assertion that Luther's expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment have been of major and persistent influence in the centuries after the Reformation, and that there exists a continuity between Protestant anti-Judaism and modern racially oriented anti-Semitism, is at present wide-spread in the literature; since the Second World War it has understandably become the prevailing opinion.[45]

In 1994 the Church Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America publicly rejected Luther's antisemitic writings,[95] saying "We who bear his name and heritage must acknowledge with pain the anti-Judaic diatribes contained in Luther's later writings. We reject this violent invective as did many of his companions in the sixteenth century, and we are moved to deep and abiding sorrow at its tragic effects on later generations of Jews."

In 1995 the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada[96] made similar statements, as did the Austrian Evangelical Church in 1998. In the same year, the Land Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria, on the 60th anniversary of Kristallnacht, issued a declaration[97] saying: "It is imperative for the Lutheran Church, which knows itself to be indebted to the work and tradition of Martin Luther, to take seriously also his anti-Jewish utterances, to acknowledge their theological function, and to reflect on their consequences. It has to distance itself from every [expression of] anti-Judaism in Lutheran theology."[98]

A strong position statement was issued by The Lutheran Evangelical Protestant Church (LEPC) (GCEPC) saying, "The Jewish people are God's chosen people. Believers should bless them as scripture says that God will bless those who bless Israel and curse those who curse Israel.

The LEPC/EPC/GCEPC recant and renounce the works and words of Martin Luther concerning the Jewish people. Prayer is offered for the healing of the Jewish people, their peace and their prosperity. Prayer is offered for the peace of Jerusalem. With deep sorrow and regret repentance is offered to the Jewish People for the harm that Martin Luther caused and any contribution to their harm. Forgiveness is requested of the Jewish People for these actions. The Gospel is to the Jew first and then the Gentile. Gentiles (believers in Christ other than Jews) have been grafted into the vine. In Christ there is neither Jew nor Gentile but the Lord's desire is that there be one new man from the two for Christ broke down the wall of separation with His own body (Ephesians 2:14–15). The LEPC/EPC/GCEPC blesses Israel and the Jewish people."[99]

The European Lutheran Commission on the Church and the Jewish People (*Lutherische Europäische Kommission Kirche und Judentum*), an umbrella organization representing twenty-five Lutheran church bodies in Europe, issued on May 12, 2003 *A Response to Dabru Emet*:

> In its Driebergen Declaration (1991), the European Lutheran Commission on the Church and the Jewish People...rejected the traditional Christian "teaching of contempt" towards Jews and Judaism, and in particular, the anti-Jewish writings of Martin Luther, and it called for the reformation of church practice in the light of these insights. Against this background, LEKKJ welcomes the issuance of Dabru Emet: A Jewish Statement on Christians and Christianity. We see in this statement a confirmation of our own work of these past years....We know that we must reexamine themes in Lutheran theology that in the past have repeatedly given rise to enmity towards Jews....Fully aware that Dabru Emet is in the first instance an intra-Jewish invitation to conversation, we see in this statement also an aid to us in expressing and living out our faith in such a way that we do not denigrate Jews, but rather respect them in their otherness, and are enabled to give an account of our own identity more clearly as we scrutinize it in the light of how others see us.

On January 6, 2004, the Consultative Panel on Lutheran-Jewish Relations of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America issued a statement urging any Lutheran church presenting a Passion Play to adhere to their *Guidelines for Lutheran-Jewish Relations*, stating that "the New Testament . . . must not be used as justification for hostility towards present-day Jews," and that "blame for the death of Jesus should not be attributed to Judaism or the Jewish people."[100]

4.3.8 See also

- Christianity and antisemitism
- Christian–Jewish reconciliation

4.3.9 References and notes

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[3] Luther quoted in Elliot Rosenberg, *But Were They Good for the Jews?* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1997), p.65.

[4] Martin Luther, "That Jesus Christ was Born a Jew," Trans. Walter I. Brandt, in *Luther's Works* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962), pp. 200–201, 229.

[5] Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1985–1993), 3:336.

[6] Luther's letter to Rabbi Josel as cited by Gordon Rupp, *Martin Luther and the Jews* (London: The Council of Christians and Jews, 1972), 14. According to , this paragraph is not available in the English edition of Luther's works.

[7] Heiko Oberman, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil* (New York: Image Books, 1989), p.293.

[8] Marcus, Jacob Rader. *The Jew in the Medieval World*, p. 198, cited in Michael, Robert. *Holy Hatred: Christianity, Antisemitism, and the Holocaust*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 110.

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[10] Michael, Robert. *Holy Hatred: Christianity, Antisemitism, and the Holocaust*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 110.

[11] p.18.

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[14] Obermann, Heiko. *Luthers Werke*. Erlangen 1854, 32:282, 298, in Grisar, Hartmann. *Luther*. St. Louis 1915, 4:286 and 5:406, cited in Michael, Robert. *Holy Hatred: Christianity, Antisemitism, and the Holocaust*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 113.

[15] Michael, Robert. *Holy Hatred: Christianity, Antisemitism, and the Holocaust*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 112.

[16] Michael, Robert. "Luther, Luther Scholars, and the Jews," *Encounter* 46:4, (Autumn 1985), p. 342.

[17] Michael, Robert. "Luther, Luther Scholars, and the Jews," *Encounter* 46:4, (Autumn 1985), p. 343.

[18] Luther, Martin. *On the Jews and Their Lies*, *Luthers Werke*. 47:268–271; Trans. Martin H. Bertram, in *Luther's Works*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971).

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[23] Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther*, 3 vols. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 3:371.

[24] *Ibid.*, 3:350.

[25] *Weimar Ausgabe* 51:194–196; J.G. Walch, *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*, 23 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1883), 12:1264–1267.

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] *Luther's Works*, Jaroslav Pelikan, Helmut T. Lehmann, Christopher Boyd Brown, Benjamin T.G. Mayes, eds., 75 vols., (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress Press; Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955–), 58:458–459. A 20 volume extension of the 55 volume collection of *Luther's Works* has been begun by Concordia Publishing House: volumes 58, 60, and 68 have been published.

[28] Johnson, Paul. *A History of the Jews*, p. 242.

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[30] Wallman, p. 78.

[31] "The assertion that Luther's expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment have been of major and persistent influence in the centuries after the Reformation, and that there exists a continuity between Protestant anti-Judaism and modern racially oriented antisemitism, is at present wide-spread in the literature; since the Second World War it has understandably become the prevailing opinion." Johannes Wallmann, "The Reception of Luther's Writings on the Jews from the Reformation to the End of the 19th century", *Lutheran Quarterly*, n.s. 1 (Spring 1987) 1:72–97.

[32] For similar views, see:

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[36] Christopher J. Probst, *Demonizing the Jews: Luther and the Protestant Church in Nazi Germany*, Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2012, ISBN 978-0-253-00100-9

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[38] Ellis, Marc H. Hitler and the Holocaust, Christian Anti-Semitism", (NP: Baylor University Center for American and Jewish Studies, Spring 2004), Slide 14. Archived April 22, 2006, at the Wayback Machine.

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[43] Bainton, Roland. *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1978), 299.

[44] Paul Halsall's introduction of excerpts of *On the Jews and Their Lies*

[45] Wallmann, Johannes. "The Reception of Luther's Writings on the Jews from the Reformation to the End of the 19th Century", *Lutheran Quarterly*, n.s. 1, Spring 1987, 1:72–97.

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- Hillerbrand, Hans J. "Martin Luther," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2007. Hillerbrand writes: "[H]is strident pronouncements against the Jews, especially toward the end of his life, have raised the question of whether Luther significantly encouraged the development of German antisemitism. Although many scholars have taken this view, this perspective puts far too much emphasis on Luther and not enough on the larger peculiarities of German history."

[47] Ellis, Marc H. Hitler and the Holocaust, Christian Anti-Semitism", Baylor University Center for American and Jewish Studies, Spring 2004, slide 14. Also see Nuremberg Trial Proceedings, Vol. 12, p. 318, Avalon Project, Yale Law School, April 19, 1946.

[48] Hillerbrand, Hans J. "Martin Luther," Encyclopædia Britannica, 2007.

[49] Brecht 3:351.

[50] Johannes Wallmann, "The Reception of Luther's Writings on the Jews from the Reformation to the End of the 19th century", *Lutheran Quarterly*, n.s. 1 (Spring 1987) 1:72–97.

[51] Siemon-Netto, *The Fabricated Luther*, 17–20.

[52] Siemon-Netto, "Luther and the Jews," Lutheran Witness 123 (2004) No. 4:19, 21.

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[54] For similar views, see:
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Among them must be counted the great warriors in this world who, though not understood by the present, are nevertheless prepared to carry the fight for their ideas and ideals to their end. They are the men who some day will be closest to the heart of the people; it almost seems as though every individual feels the duty of compensating in the past for the sins which the present once committed against the great. Their life and work are followed with admiring gratitude and emotion, and especially in days of gloom they have the power to raise up broken hearts and despairing souls. To them belong, not only the truly great statesmen, but all other great reformers as well. Beside Frederick the Great stands Martin Luther as well as Richard Wagner.

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4.4 On the Jews and Their Lies

Title page of Martin Luther's On the Jews and Their Lies. *Wittenberg, 1543*

On the Jews and Their Lies (German: *Von den Jüden und iren Lügen*; in modern spelling *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen*) is a 65,000-word antisemitic treatise written in 1543 by the German Reformation leader Martin Luther.

Luther's attitude toward the Jews took different forms during his lifetime. In his earlier period, until 1537 or not much earlier, he wanted to convert Jews to Christianity, but failed. In his later period when he wrote this particular treatise, he denounced them and urged their persecution.[1]

In the treatise, he argues that Jewish synagogues and schools be set on fire, their prayer books destroyed, rabbis forbidden to preach, homes burned, and property and money confiscated. They should be shown no mercy or kindness,[2] afforded no legal protection,[3] and these "poisonous envenomed worms" should be drafted into forced labor or expelled for all time.[4] He also seems to advocate their murder, writing "[W]e are at fault in not slaying them".[5]

4.4.1 Content

In the treatise, Luther describes Jews as a "base, whoring people, that is, no people of God, and their boast of lineage, circumcision, and law must be accounted as filth."[6] Luther wrote that they are "full of the devil's feces ... which they wallow in like swine,"[7] and the synagogue is an "incorrigible whore and an evil slut".[8]

In the first ten sections of the treatise, Luther expounds, at considerable length, upon his views concerning Jews and Judaism and how these compare to Christians and Christianity. Following the exposition, Section XI of the treatise advises Christians to carry out seven remedial actions. These are

1. to burn down Jewish synagogues and schools and warn people against them;
2. to refuse to let Jews own houses among Christians;
3. for Jewish religious writings to be taken away;
4. for rabbis to be forbidden to preach;
5. to offer no protection to Jews on highways;
6. for usury to be prohibited and for all silver and gold to be removed, put aside for safekeeping and given back to Jews who truly convert; and
7. to give young, strong Jews flail, axe, spade, spindle, and let them earn their bread in the sweat of their brow.[9]

4.4.2 Evolution of Luther's views

Main article: Martin Luther and antisemitism

Medieval Church and the Jews

Early in his life, Luther had argued that the Jews had been prevented from converting to Christianity by the proclamation of what he believed to be an impure gospel by the Catholic Church, and he believed they would respond favorably to the evangelical message if it were presented to them gently. He expressed concern for the poor conditions in which they were forced to live, and insisted that anyone denying that Jesus was born a Jew was committing heresy.[10]

Luther's first known comment about the Jews is in a letter written to Reverend Spalatin in 1514:

In 1519, Luther challenged the doctrine *Servitus Judaeorum* ("Servitude of the Jews"), established in *Corpus Juris*

Civilis by Justinian I in 529. He wrote: "Absurd theologians defend hatred for the Jews. ... What Jew would consent to enter our ranks when he sees the cruelty and enmity we wreak on them—that in our behavior towards them we less resemble Christians than beasts?" [12]

In his commentary on the *Magnificat,* Luther is critical of the emphasis Judaism places on the Torah, the first five books of the Old Testament. He states that they "undertook to keep the law by their own strength, and failed to learn from it their needy and cursed state."[13] Yet, he concludes that God's grace will continue for Jews as Abraham's descendants for all time, since they may always become Christians.[14] "We ought...not to treat the Jews in so unkindly a spirit, for there are future Christians among them."[15]

In his 1523 essay *That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew,* Luther condemned the inhuman treatment of the Jews and urged Christians to treat them kindly. Luther's fervent desire was that Jews would hear the Gospel proclaimed clearly and be moved to convert to Christianity. Thus he argued:

Against the Jews

In August 1536, Luther's prince, Elector of Saxony John Frederick, issued a mandate that prohibited Jews from inhabiting, engaging in business in, or passing through his realm. An Alsatian shtadlan, Rabbi Josel of Rosheim, asked a reformer, Wolfgang Capito, to approach Luther in order to obtain an audience with the prince, but Luther refused every intercession.[17] In response to Josel, Luther referred to his unsuccessful attempts to convert the Jews: "... I would willingly do my best for your people but I will not contribute to your [Jewish] obstinacy by my own kind actions. You must find another intermediary with my good lord."[18] Heiko Oberman notes this event as significant in Luther's attitude toward the Jews: "Even today this refusal is often judged to be the decisive turning point in Luther's career from friendliness to hostility toward the Jews;"[19] yet, Oberman contends that Luther would have denied any such "turning point." Rather he felt that Jews were to be treated in a "friendly way" in order to avoid placing unnecessary obstacles in their path to Christian conversion, a genuine concern of Luther.[20]

Paul Johnson writes that "Luther was not content with verbal abuse. Even before he wrote his anti-Semitic pamphlet, he got Jews expelled from Saxony in 1537, and in the 1540s he drove them from many German towns; he tried unsuccessfully to get the elector to expel them from Brandenburg in 1543."[21]

Michael Berenbaum writes that Luther's reliance on the Bible as the sole source of Christian authority fed his later fury toward Jews over their rejection of Jesus as the messiah.[10] For Luther, salvation depended on the belief that Jesus was the Son of God, a belief that adherents of Judaism do not share. Graham Noble writes that Luther wanted to save Jews, in his own terms, not exterminate them, but beneath his apparent reasonableness toward them, there was a "biting intolerance," which produced "ever more furious demands for their conversion to his own brand of Christianity" (Noble, 1-2). When they failed to convert, he turned on them.[22]

4.4.3 History since publication

The prevailing scholarly view since the Second World War is that the treatise exercised a major and persistent influence on Germany's attitude toward its Jewish citizens in the centuries between the Reformation and the Holocaust.[23] Four hundred years after it was written, the Nazis displayed *On the Jews and Their Lies* during Nuremberg rallies, and the city of Nuremberg presented a first edition to Julius Streicher, Roman Catholic editor of the Nazi newspaper *Der Stürmer*, the newspaper describing it, on Streicher's first encounter with the treatise in 1937, as the most radically antisemitic tract ever published.[24] Against this view, theologian Johannes Wallmann writes that the treatise had no continuity of influence in Germany, and was in fact largely ignored during the 18th and 19th centuries.[25] Hans Hillerbrand argues that to focus on Luther's role in the development of German antisemitism is to underestimate the "larger peculiarities of German history."[26]

Since the 1980s, some Lutheran church bodies have formally denounced and dissociated themselves from Luther's vitriol about the Jews. In November 1998, on the 60th anniversary of Kristallnacht, the Lutheran Church of Bavaria issued a statement: "It is imperative for the Lutheran Church, which knows itself to be indebted to the work and tradition of Martin Luther, to take seriously also his anti-Jewish utterances, to acknowledge their theological function, and to reflect on their consequences. It has to distance itself from every [expression of] anti-Judaism in Lutheran theology."[27]

4.4.4 See also

- Martin Luther and antisemitism
- Christianity and antisemitism
- On the Jewish Question
- https://archive.org/stream/TheJewsAndTheirLies1543En1948/LUTHERDr._Martin-The_Jews_and_their_Lies_1948-EN_djvu.txt

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[2] Michael, Robert. "Luther, Luther Scholars, and the Jews," *Encounter* 46:4, (Autumn 1985), p. 342.

[3] Michael, Robert. "Luther, Luther Scholars, and the Jews," *Encounter* 46:4, (Autumn 1985), p. 343.

[4] Luther, Martin. *On the Jews and Their Lies*, *Luthers Werke*. 47:268–271; Trans. Martin H. Bertram, in *Luther's Works*. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971).

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[6] Luther, Martin. *On the Jews and Their Lies*, 154, 167, 229, cited in Michael, Robert. *Holy Hatred: Christianity, Antisemitism, and the Holocaust*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006, p. 111.

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[11] Martin Luther, "Luther to George Spalatin," in *Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporaneous Letters*, trans. Henry Preserved Smith (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1913), 1:29.

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[13] Martin Luther, *The Magnificat*, Trans. A. T. W. Steinhaeuser, in *Luther's Works* (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), 21:354.

[14] Russell Briese, "Martin Luther and the Jews," *Lutheran Forum* 34 (2000) No. 2:32.

[15] Luther, *Magnificat*, 21:354f.

[16] Martin Luther, "That Jesus Christ was Born a Jew," Trans. Walter I. Brandt, in *Luther's Works* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1962), pp. 200-201, 229.

[17] Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1985-1993), 3:336.

[18] Luther's letter to Rabbi Josel as cited by Gordon Rupp, *Martin Luther and the Jews* (London: The Council of Christians and Jews, 1972), 14. According to , this paragraph is not available in the English edition of Luther's works.

[19] Heiko Oberman, *Luther: Man Between God and the Devil* (New York: Image Books, 1989), p.293.

[20] cf. Luther's "Warning Against the Jews" (1546)s:Warning Against the Jews (1546); original German text: *Weimar Ausgabe* 51:194-196; J.G. Walch, *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*, 23 vols. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1883), 12:1264-1267).

[21] Johnson, Paul. *A History of the Jews*, p. 242.

[22] Michael, Robert. "Luther, Luther Scholars, and the Jews," *Encounter* 46 (Autumn 1985) No. 4:343-344.)

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- Wallmann, Johannes. "The Reception of Luther's Writings on the Jews from the Reformation to the End of the 19th Century", *Lutheran Quarterly*, n.s. 1 (Spring 1987) 1:72-97. Wallmann writes: "The assertion that Luther's expressions of anti-Jewish sentiment have been of major and persistent influence in the centuries after the Reformation, and that there exists a continuity between Protestant anti-Judaism and modern racially oriented anti-Semitism, is at present wide-spread in the literature; since the Second World War it has understandably become the prevailing opinion."
- Michael, Robert. *Holy Hatred: Christianity, Antisemitism, and the Holocaust*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006; see chapter 4 "The Germanies from Luther to Hitler," pp. 105-151.
- Hillerbrand, Hans J. "Martin Luther," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2007. Hillerbrand writes: "[H]is strident pronouncements against the Jews, especially toward the end of his life, have raised the question of whether Luther significantly encouraged the development of German antisemitism. Although many scholars have taken this view, this perspective puts far too much emphasis on Luther and not enough on the larger peculiarities of German history."

[24] Ellis, Marc H. Hitler and the Holocaust, Christian Anti-Semitism", Baylor University Center for American and Jewish Studies, Spring 2004, slide 14. Also see Nuremberg Trial Proceedings, Vol. 12, p. 318, Avalon Project, Yale Law School, April 19, 1946.

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4.4.7 External links

- Martin Luther article in *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1906 ed.) by Gotthard Deutsch
- Luther's *Letter to Bernhard, a Converted Jew (1523)*
- On the Jews and Their Lies

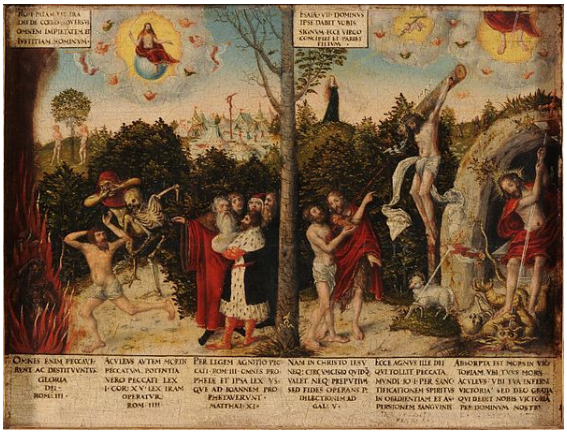
Chapter 5

Theology

5.1 Theology of Martin Luther

The **theology of Martin Luther** was instrumental in influencing the Protestant Reformation, specifically topics dealing with Justification by Faith, the relationship between the Law and the Gospel (also an instrumental component of Reformed theology), and various other theological ideas. Although Luther never wrote a "systematic theology" or a "summa" in the style of St. Thomas Aquinas, many of his ideas were systematized in the Lutheran Confessions.

5.1.1 Justification by Faith



A painting by Lucas Cranach on Lutheran teachings, Lutherhaus

"This one and firm rock, which we call the doctrine of justification," insisted Luther, "is the chief article of the whole Christian doctrine, which comprehends the understanding of all godliness."[1] Lutherans tend to follow Luther in this matter. For the Lutheran tradition, the doctrine of salvation by grace alone through faith alone for Christ's sake alone is the material principle upon which all other teachings rest.[2]

Luther came to understand justification as being entirely the work of God. Against the teaching of his day that the believers are made righteous through the infusion of Gods grace into the soul, Luther asserted that Christians receive that righteousness entirely from outside themselves; that righteousness not only comes from Christ, it actually *is* the righteousness of Christ, and remains outside of us but is merely imputed to us (rather than infused into us) through faith. "That is why faith alone makes someone just and fulfills the law," said Luther. "Faith is that which brings the Holy Spirit through the merits of Christ".[3] Thus faith, for Luther, is a gift from God, and ". . .a living, bold trust in God's grace, so certain of God's favor that it would risk death a thousand times trusting in it."[4] This faith grasps Christ's righteousness and appropriates it for itself in the believer's heart.

Luther's study and research led him to question the contemporary usage of terms such as penance and righteousness in the Roman Catholic Church. He became convinced that the church had lost sight of what he saw as several of the central truths of Christianity — the most important being the doctrine of justification by faith alone. He began to teach that salvation is a gift of God's grace through Christ received by faith alone.[5] As a result of his lectures on the Psalms and Paul's letter to the Romans, from 1513–1516, Luther "achieved an exegetical breakthrough, an insight into the all-encompassing grace of God and all-sufficient merit of Christ."[6] It was particularly in connection with Romans 1:17 "For therein is the righteousness of God is revealed from faith, to faith: as it is written: 'The just shall live by faith.'" Luther came to one of his most important understandings, that the "righteousness of God" was not God's active, harsh, punishing wrath demanding that a person keep God's law perfectly in order to be saved, but rather Luther came to believe that God's righteousness is something that God gives to a person as a gift, freely, through Christ.[7] "Luther emerged from his tremendous struggle with a firmer trust in God and love for him. The doctrine of salvation by God's grace alone, received as a gift through faith and without dependence on human merit, was the measure by which he judged the religious practices and official teachings of the church of his day and found them wanting."[7]

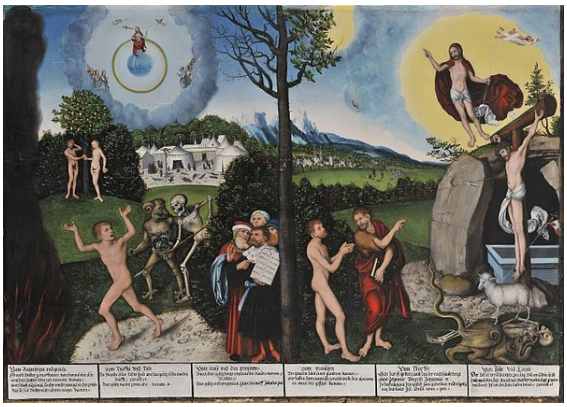
Luther explained justification this way in his Smalcald Articles:

> The first and chief article is this: Jesus Christ, our God and Lord, died for our sins and was raised again for our justification (Romans

> 3:24-25). He alone is the Lamb of God who takes away the sins of the world (John 1:29), and God has laid on Him the iniquity of us all (Isaiah 53:6). All have sinned and are justified freely, without their own works and merits, by His grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus, in His blood (Romans 3:23-25). This is necessary to believe. This cannot be otherwise acquired or grasped by any work, law, or merit. Therefore, it is clear and certain that this faith alone justifies us...Nothing of this article can be yielded or surrendered, even though heaven and earth and everything else falls (Mark 13:31).[8]

See also: Theology of the Cross

5.1.2 Law and Gospel



Law and Grace *painting by Lucas Cranach*

Another essential aspect of his theology was his emphasis on the "proper distinction"[9] between Law and Gospel. He believed that this principle of interpretation was an essential starting point in the study of the scriptures and that failing to distinguish properly between Law and Gospel was at the root of many fundamental theological errors.[10]

5.1.3 Universal priesthood of the baptized

Main article: Priesthood of all believers

According to some interpreters, especially Philipp Jakob Spener, Luther developed the notion of all believers being "part of one body" as a means to claim **the priesthood of all believers**. While the notion and meaning is somewhat unclear, this concept was clearly developed in opposition against a prevailing medieval division of Christians into "spiritual" (the hierarchy) and "temporal" Christians (the laity). In this view all Christians are "priests" in the eyes of God. This notion is common to all Christian denominations generally labeled as "protestant".

5.1.4 *Simul justus et peccator*

(Latin simul, "simultaneous" + Latin justus, "righteous" + Latin et, "and" + Latin peccator, "sinner")[11]

Roman Catholic theology maintains that baptism washes away original sin. However, "concupiscence" remains as an inclination to sin, which is not sin unless actualized.[12] Luther and the Reformers, following Augustine, insisted that what was called "concupiscence" was actually sin. While not denying the validity of baptism, Luther maintains that the inclination to sin is truly sin.[13]

"Simul justus et peccator" means that a Christian is at the same time both righteous and a sinner. Human beings are justified by grace alone, but at the same time they will always remain sinners, even after baptism. The doctrine can be interpreted in two different ways. From the perspective of God, human beings are at the same time totally sinners and totally righteous in Christ (totus/totus). However, it would also be possible to argue that human beings are partly sinful and partly righteous (partim/partim). The doctrine of "simul justus" is not an excuse for lawlessness, or a license for continued sinful conduct; rather, properly understood, it comforts the person who truly wishes to be free from sin and is aware of the inner struggle within him. Romans 7 is the key biblical passage for understanding this doctrine.

Luther also does not deny that the Christian may ever "improve" in his conduct. Instead, he wishes to keep Christians from either relying upon or despairing because of their own conduct or attitude.

5.1.5 Sacraments and the Means of Grace

See also: The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ—Against the Fanatics

5.1.6 The Two Kingdoms

Martin Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms (or two reigns) of God teaches that God is the ruler of the whole world and that he rules in two ways, both by the law and by the gospel.

God rules the earthly or kingdom through secular government, by means of law and the sword. As Creator God would like to promote social justice, and this is done through the political use of the law. At the same time God rules his spiritual kingdom, in order to promote human righteousness before God. This is done through the gospel, according to which all humans are justified by God's grace alone.

This distinction has in Lutheran theology often been related to the idea that there is no particular Christian contribution to political and economic ethics. Human reason is enough to understand what is a right act in political and

economic life. The gospel does not give any contribution to the content of social ethics. From this perspective Lutheran theology has often supported those in political and economic power.

5.1.7 New Finnish School

Finnish scholarship in recent years has presented a distinctive view of Luther. Tuomo Mannermaa at the University of Helsinki led the "The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther" that presents Luther's views on salvation in terms much closer to the Eastern Orthodox doctrine of theosis rather than established interpretations of German Luther scholarship.[14]

Mannermaa's student Olli-Pekka Vainio has argued that Luther and other Lutherans in the sixteenth century (especially theologians who later wrote the Formula of Concord) continued to define justification as participation in Christ rather than simply forensic imputation. Vainio concludes that the Lutheran doctrine of justification can deny merit to human actions, "only if the new life given to the sinner is construed as participation in the divine Life in Christ. . . . The faith that has Christ as its object, and which apprehends Him and His merit, making Him present as the form of faith, is reckoned as righteousness"[15]

The Finnish approach argues that it is due to a much later interpretation of Luther that he is popularly known as centering his doctrine of human salvation in the belief that people are saved by the imputation to them of a righteousness not their own, Christ's own ("alien") righteousness. This is known as the theological doctrine of forensic justification. Rather, the Finnish School asserts that Luther's doctrine of salvation was similar to that of Eastern Orthodoxy, theosis (divinization). The Finnish language is deliberately borrowed from the Greek Orthodox tradition, and thus it reveals the intention and context of this theological enterprise: it is an attempt by Lutherans to find common ground with Orthodoxy, an attempt launched amid the East-West détente of the 1970s, but taking greater impetus in a post-1989 world as such dialogue appears much more urgent for churches around the Baltic.[16]

The New Finnish Interpretation has been challenged because it ignores Luther's roots and theological development in Western Christendom, and it characterizes Luther's teaching on Justification as based on Jesus Christ's righteousness which indwells the believer rather than his righteousness as imputed to the believer.[17] Kolb and Arand (2008) argue that, "These views ignore the radically different metaphysical base of Luther's understanding and that of the Eastern church, and they ignore Luther's understanding of the dynamic, re-creative nature of God's Word."[18] In the anthology *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther* the topic of Osiandrianism is addressed because the Finnish School is perceived as a repristination of Andreas Osiander's doctrine of salvation through Christ's indwelling the believer with his divine nature.

5.1.8 See also

- Apology of the Augsburg Confession
- Augsburg Confession
- Book of Concord
- Consubstantiation
- Formula of Concord
- Luther's Large Catechism
- Luther's Small Catechism
- Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope
- Martin Luther's views on Mary

5.1.9 Further reading

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5.1.10 Notes

[1] Herbert Bouman, "The Doctrine of Justification in the Lutheran Confessions," Concordia Theological Monthly 26 (November 1955) No. 11:801.

[2] Herbert J. A. Bouman, "The Doctrine of Justification," 801-802.

[3] Martin Luther's Definition of Faith

[4] Preface to Romans

[5] Markus Wriedt, "Luther's Theology," in The Cambridge Companion to Luther (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 88-94.

[6] Lewis W. Spitz, The Renaissance and Reformation Movements, Revised Ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1987), 332.

[7] Spitz, 332.

[8] Martin Luther, The Smalcald Articles in Concordia: The Lutheran Confessions (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 2005), 289, Part two, Article 1.

[9] Ewald Plass, "Law and Gospel", in What Luther Says: An Anthology (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1959), 2:732, no. 2276

[10] Preus, Robert D. "Luther and the Doctrine of Justification" *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 48 (1984) no. 1:11-12.

[11] http://wordoftheday.reclaimingthemind.org/blogs/2009/06/24/simul-justus-et-peccator/

[12] Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification, 4.4 (30)

[13] Apology of the Augsburg Confession 2.38-41

[14] See Carl E. Braaten and Robert W. Jenson, eds. *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther* (1998); also Ted Dorman, Review of "Union With Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther". *First Things*, 1999. Retrieved 2007-05-31.

[15] Olli-Pekka Vainio, *Justification and Participation in Christ: The Development of Justification from Luther to the Formula of Concord (1580)* Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions (Leiden: Brill, 2008). p 227

[16] Diarmaid MacCulloch, "Protestantism in Mainland Europe: New Directions," *Renaissance Quarterly,* Volume 59, Number 3, Fall 2006, pp. 698-706

[17] William Wallace Schumacher, "'Who Do I Say That You Are?' Anthropology and the Theology of *Theosis* in the Finnish School of Tuomo Mannermaa" (Ph.D. diss., Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, 2003), 260ff.

[18] Robert Kolb and Charles P. Arand, *The Genius of Luther's Theology: A Wittenberg Way of Thinking for the Contemporary Church*, (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Academic, 2008), 48

5.2 Theology of the Cross

Not to be confused with Theology of Glory.

The **theology of the Cross** (Latin: *Theologia Crucis*)[1] or **staurology**[2] (from Greek *stauros*: cross, and *-logy*: "the study of")[3] is a term coined by the theologian Martin Luther[1] to refer to theology that posits the cross as the only source of knowledge concerning who God is and how God saves. It is contrasted with the Theology of Glory[1] (*theologia gloriae*),[1] which places greater emphasis on human abilities and human reason.

Luther in 1533 by Lucas Cranach the Elder

5.2.1 Catholic understanding

Paragraph 2015 of the CCC describes the way of perfection as passing by **way of the Cross**. There is no holiness without renunciation and spiritual battle. Spiritual progress entails the ascesis and mortification that gradually leads to living in the peace and joy of the beatitudes.

5.2.2 As defined by Luther

The term *theologia crucis* is actually used very rarely by Luther. He first uses the term, and explicitly defines it in contrast to the theology of glory, in the Heidelberg Disputation of 1518. During this debate, he represented the Augustinians and presented his theses that later came to define the Reformation movement.

Theses

The pertinent theological theses of the debate are:[4]

1. The law of God, the most salutary doctrine of life, cannot advance man on his way to righteousness, but rather hinders him.
2. Much less can human works, which are done over and over again with the aid of natural precepts, so to speak, lead to that end.
3. Although the works of man always appear attractive and good, they are nevertheless likely to be mortal sins.
4. Although the works of God always seem unattractive and appear evil, they are nevertheless really eternal merits.
5. The works of men are thus not mortal sins (we speak of works that apparently are good), as though they were crimes.
6. The works of God (those he does through man) are thus not merits, as though they were sinless.
7. The works of the righteous would be mortal sins if they would not be feared as mortal sins by the righteous themselves out of pious fear of God.
8. By so much more are the works of man mortal sins when they are done without fear and in unadulterated, evil self-security.
9. To say that works without Christ are dead, but not mortal, appears to constitute a perilous surrender of the fear of God.
10. Indeed, it is very difficult to see how a work can be dead and at the same time not a harmful and mortal sin.
11. Arrogance cannot be avoided or true hope be present unless the judgment of condemnation is feared in every work.
12. In the sight of God sins are then truly venial when they are feared by men to be mortal.
13. Free will, after the fall, exists in name only, and as long as it does what it is able to do, it commits a mortal sin.
14. Free will, after the fall, has power to do good only in a passive capacity, but it can do evil in an active capacity.
15. Nor could the free will endure in a state of innocence, much less do good, in an active capacity, but only in a passive capacity.
16. The person who believes that he can obtain grace by doing what is in him adds sin to sin so that he becomes doubly guilty.
17. Nor does speaking in this manner give cause for despair, but for arousing the desire to humble oneself and seek the grace of Christ.
18. It is certain that man must utterly despair of his own ability before he is prepared to receive the grace of Christ.
19. That person does not deserve to be called a theologian who looks upon the invisible things of God as though they were clearly perceptible in those things that have actually happened.
20. He deserves to be called a theologian, however, who comprehends the visible and manifest things of God seen through suffering and the cross.
21. A theologian of glory calls evil good and good evil. A theologian of the cross calls the things what it actually is.
22. That wisdom that sees the invisible things of God in works as perceived by man is completely puffed up, blinded, and hardened.
23. The law brings the wrath of God, kills, reviles, accuses, judges, and condemns everything that is not in Christ.
24. Yet that wisdom is not of itself evil, nor is the law to be evaded; but without the theology of the cross man misuses the best in the worst manner.
25. He is not righteous who does much, but he who, without work, believes much in Christ.
26. The law says “Do this”, and it is never done. Grace says, “believe in this” and everything is already done.
27. Actually one should call the work of Christ an acting work and our work an accomplished work, and thus an accomplished work pleasing to God by the grace of the acting work.
28. The love of God does not find, but creates, what is pleasing to it. The love of man comes into being through what is pleasing to it.

...man's will has some liberty to choose civil righteousness, and to work things subject to reason. But it has no power, without the Holy Ghost, to work the righteousness of God, that is, spiritual righteousness... –Augsburg Confession, Art. 18: Of Free Will[5]

Tenets

By reading the theses, one can see that Luther insists on the complete inability of humanity to fulfill God's law. As one would find consistent with his Evangelical breakthrough, he emphasizes the grace of God in the role of salvation. Works of the law cannot improve one's standing.

According to Luther, the theologian of the cross preaches what seems foolish to the world (1 Cor. 1:18). In particular, the theologian of the cross preaches that (1) humans can in no way earn righteousness, (2) humans cannot add to or increase the righteousness of the cross, and (3) any righteousness given to humanity comes from outside of us (*extra nos*).

In contrast, in Luther's view, the theologian of glory preaches that (1) humans have the ability to do the good that lies within them (*quod in se est*), (2) there remains, after the fall, some ability to choose the good, and (3) humans cannot be saved without participating in or cooperating with the righteousness given by God.

As Luther understood it, these two theologies had two radically different starting points: they had different epistemologies, or ways of understanding how people know about God and the world. For the theologian of glory, reason and personal perceptions should be employed to increase knowledge about God and the world. Thus, because an action appears to be good, it must be good. For the theologian of the cross, it is only from the self-revelation of God that people can learn about God and their relation to God—and the most perfect self-revelation of God is God's Word become flesh, Jesus the Christ. Thus, even if an action appears good, still Christ died on the cross for human sins and sinfulness, so the action is not as good as it appears.

In Martin Luther's sermon on the *Two Kinds of Righteousness*, he refers to theology of the cross as "alien righteousness" and theology of glory as "proper righteousness", owing to its origin in the person who presumes that he or she justifies himself or herself by works.

5.2.3 See also

- Antinomianism
- Free will in theology
- *Incurvatus in se*
- Justification
- Lutheranism
- Meaning of Jesus' death
- Theology of Martin Luther

5.2.4 References

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[2] *Ibid.*, p. 251.

[3] See occurrences on Google Books.

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[5] See Augsburg Confession, Article XVIII: Of Free Will.

5.2.6 External links

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- Luther on the Theology of the Cross By Robert Kolb. Lutheran Quarterly
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5.3 Universal priesthood (doctrine)

The **universal priesthood** or the **priesthood of all believers** is a Protestant Christian doctrine stating that ordinary Christians share a common priesthood in that they have direct access to God through their prayers without requiring a human mediator. The exact meaning of this belief and its implications vary widely among denominations.[1]

5.3.1 History within Protestantism

The universal priesthood is a foundational concept of Protestantism.[2] While Martin Luther did not use the exact phrase "priesthood of all believers", he adduces a general priesthood in Christendom in his 1520 *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* in order to dismiss the medieval view that Christians in the present life were to be divided into two classes: "spiritual" and "secular". He put forward the doctrine that all baptized Christians are "priests" and "spiritual" in the sight of God:

> That the pope or bishop anoints, makes tonsures, ordains, consecrates, or dresses differently from the laity, may make a hypocrite or an idolatrous oil-painted icon, but it in no way makes a Christian or spiritual human being. In fact, we are all consecrated priests through Baptism, as St. Peter in 1 Peter 2[:9] says, "You are a royal priesthood and a priestly kingdom," and Revelation [5:10], "Through your blood you have made us into priests and kings."[3]

Two months later Luther would write in his *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (1520):

> How then if they are forced to admit that we are all equally priests, as many of us as are baptized, and by this way we truly are; while to them is committed only the Ministry (*ministerium Predigtamt*) and consented to by us (*nostro consensu*)? If they recognize this they would know that they have no right to exercise power over us (*ius imperii*, in what has not been committed to them) except insofar as we may have granted it to them, for thus it says in 1 Peter 2, "You are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a priestly kingdom." In this way we are all priests, as many of us as are Christians. There are indeed priests whom we call ministers. They are chosen from among us, and who do everything in our name. That is a priesthood which is nothing else than the Ministry. Thus 1 Corinthians 4:1: "No one should regard us as anything else than ministers of Christ and dispensers of the mysteries of God."[4]

The Bible passage considered to be the basis of this belief is the First Epistle of Peter, 2:9:

> But you are not like that, for you are a chosen people. You are royal priests, a holy nation, God's very own possession. As a result, you can show others the goodness of God, for he called you out of the darkness into his wonderful light.

(This New Living Translation version reflects the Protestant view, as the universal "royal priesthood" from the Bible Luther cites above has been changed to individual "royal priests".)

Other relevant Scripture passages include Exodus 19:5–6, First Peter 2:4–8, Book of Revelation 1:4–6, 5:6–10, and the Epistle to the Hebrews.

"Scripture...sets before us Christ alone as mediator, atoning sacrifice, high priest, and intercessor."—Augsburg Confession Art. XXI.[5]

In ancient Israel, priests acted as mediators between God and people. They ministered according to God's instruction and they offered sacrifices to God on behalf of the people. Once a year, the high priest would enter the holiest part of the temple and offer a sacrifice for the sins of all the people, including all the priests.

Although many religions use priests, most Protestant faiths reject the idea of a priesthood as a group that is spiritually distinct from lay people. They typically employ professional clergy who perform many of the same functions as priests such as clarifying doctrine, administering communion, performing baptisms, marriages, etc. In many instances, Protestants see professional clergy as servants acting on behalf of the local believers. This is in contrast to the priest, whom some Protestants see as having a distinct authority and spiritual role different from that of ordinary believers.

Most Protestants today recognize only Christ as a mediator between themselves and God (1 Timothy 2:5). The Epistle to the Hebrews calls Jesus the supreme "high priest," who offered himself as a perfect sacrifice (Hebrews 7:23–28). Protestants believe that through Christ they have been given direct access to God, just like a priest; thus the doctrine is called the **priesthood of all believers**. God is equally accessible to all the faithful, and every Christian has equal potential to minister for God. This doctrine stands in opposition to the concept of a spiritual aristocracy or hierarchy within Christianity.

The belief in the priesthood of all believers does not preclude order, authority or discipline within congregations or denominational organizations. For example, Lutheranism maintains the biblical doctrine of "the preaching office" or the "office of the holy ministry" established by God in the Christian Church. The Augsburg Confession states:

> [From Article 4:] Furthermore, it is taught that we cannot obtain forgiveness of sin and righteousness before God through our merit, work, or satisfactions, but that we receive forgiveness of sin and become righteous before God out of grace for Christ's sake through faith when we believe that Christ has suffered for us and that for his sake our sin is forgiven and righteousness and eternal life are given to us ... [From Article 5:] To obtain such faith God instituted the office of preaching, giving the gospel and the sacraments. Through these, as through means, he gives the Holy Spirit who produces faith, where and when he wills, in those who hear the gospel ... [Article 14:] Concerning church government it is taught that no one should publicly teach, preach, or administer the sacraments without a proper [public] call.[6]

The origins of the doctrine within Protestantism are somewhat obscure. The idea was found in a radical form in Lollard thought. Martin Luther adduced it in his writings for the purpose of reforming the Christian Church, and it became a central tenet of Protestantism.

The doctrine is strongly asserted within Methodism and the Plymouth Brethren movement. Within Methodism it can plausibly be linked to the strong emphasis on social action and political involvement within that denomination, and can be seen in the role of Methodist local preachers and lay speakers in Methodist churches. Within the Plymouth Brethren, the concept is most usually evidenced in the lack of distinction between "clergy" and "laity," the refusal to adopt formal titles such as Reverend or Bishop, the denial of formal ordination, and in some cases the refusal to hire any "professional staff" or paid Christian workers at all. Baptist movements, which generally operate on a form of congregational polity, also lean heavily on this concept. The Laestadian pietist movement has a specific interpretation of the doctrine as one of its solemn rites concerning forgiveness of sins.

The vast majority of Protestants nonetheless draw some distinction between their own ordained ministers and lay people. Pastors and ordained ministers are usually regarded as congregational leaders and theologians who are well versed with Christian liturgy, scripture, church teachings and are qualified to lead worship and preach sermons.

Some groups during the Reformation believed that priesthood authority was still needed, but was lost from the earth. Roger Williams believed, "There is no regularly constituted church of Christ on earth, nor any person qualified to administer any church ordinances; nor can there be until new apostles are sent by the Great Head of the Church for whose coming I am seeking." Another group, the Seekers, believed that the Roman Catholic Church had lost its authority through corruption and waited for Christ to restore his true church and authority.

5.3.2 Consequences of Luther's doctrine

Luther's doctrine of the universal priesthood of all believers gave laypersons and the clergy equal rights and responsibilities. It had strong, far-reaching consequences both within the Protestant churches and outside of them with respect to the development of distinct political and societal structures.

Luther had the intention to organize the church in such a way as to give the members of a congregation the right to elect a pastor by majority-decision and, if necessary, to dismiss him again.[7] The Lutheran church would get an institutional framework based on the majoritarian principle, the central characteristic of democracy.[8][9] But mainly due to the strong political and military pressure from the Catholic powers, the developing Lutheran

churches in the German territories had to seek the protection of their worldly rulers who turned them into state churches.[10] In the Scandinavian countries, Lutheran state churches were established, too.[11][12]

Calvin put Luther's intended democratic church polity into effect. The church members elected lay elders from their midst who together with pastors, teachers, and deacons, who were also elected by the parishioners, formed the representative church leadership. To this presbyterian polity, the Huguenots added regional synods and a national synod, whose members, laymen and clergymen alike, were elected by the parishioners as well. This combination of presbyteries and synods was taken over by all Reformed churches, except the Congregationalists, who had no synods.[13]

The Separatist Congregationalists (Pilgrim Fathers) who founded Plymouth Colony in North America in 1620 took the next step in evolving the consequences of Luther's universal priesthood doctrine by combining it with the Federal theology that had been developed by Calvinist theologians, especially Robert Browne, Henry Barrowe, and John Greenwood. On the basis of the Mayflower Compact, a social contract, the Pilgrims applied the principles that guided their congregational democracy also to the administration of the *worldly* affairs of their community. It was, like Massachusetts Bay Colony, founded by Puritans in 1628, *de facto* a small democratic, self-governing republic until 1691, when the two colonies were united under a royal governor.[14] Both colonies had a representative political structure and practiced separation of powers. The General Court functioned as the legislative and the judiciary, the annually elected governor and his assistants were the executive branch of government. These Protestants believed that democracy was the will of God.[15][16][17] In so doing, they followed Calvin, who had, in order to safeguard the rights and liberties of ordinary people, praised the advantages of democracy and recommended that political power should be distributed among several institutions to minimise its misuse. He had, in effect, advocated separation of powers.[18]

In Rhode Island (1636), Connecticut (1636), and Pennsylvania (1682), Baptist Roger Williams, Congregationalist Thomas Hooker, and Quaker William Penn, respectively, gave the democratic concept another turn by linking it with religious freedom, a basic human right that had its origin also in Luther's theology. In his view, faith in Jesus Christ was the free gift of the Holy Spirit and could therefore not be forced on a person.[19][20] Williams, Hooker, and Penn adopted Luther's position. Precondition for granting freedom of conscience in their colonies was the separation of state and church. This had been made possible by Luther's separation of the spiritual and the worldly spheres in his doctrine of the two kingdoms.[21] The inseparable combination of democracy with its civil rights on the one hand and religious freedom and other human rights on the other hand became the backbone of the American Declaration of Independence (1776), Constitution, and Bill of Rights.[22][23] In turn, these documents became models for the constitutions of nations in Europe, Latin America, and other parts of the world, e.g., Japan and South Korea. The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789) was mainly based on the draft of Marquis de Lafayette, an ardent supporter of the American constitutional principles.[24] These are also echoed in the United Nations Charter and Declaration of Human Rights.[25]

When Lutherans from Germany and Scandinavia emigrated to North America, they took over the church polity based on presbyteries and synods which had been developed by the denominations with Calvinist traditions (for example, Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod).[26][27] In Germany, Lutheran churches established the first presbyteries in the second half of the nineteenth century and, after the downfall of the monarchies in 1918, synods were formed which assumed the task of leading the churches. They are made up of both laypersons and clergy. Since 1919, the Anglican church has also had a synod (National Assembly), which has elected laypersons among its members.[28]

5.3.3 Priesthood in non-Protestant faiths

Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox and traditional Anglican Christians traditionally believe that 1 Peter 2:9 gives responsibility to all believers for the preservation and propagation of the Gospel and the Church, as distinct from the liturgical and sacramental roles of the ordained priesthood and consecrated episcopate (see apostolic succession). They and other Christians also see the ministerial priesthood as being necessary in accordance with the words of the eucharistic liturgy: "Do this in memory (*anamnesis*) of me" (Gospel of Luke 22:19–20; First Corinthians 11:23–25).

The dogmatic constitution *Lumen gentium* of the Second Vatican Council specifically highlights the priesthood of all believers. It teaches that the Church's relationship with God is independent of whatever ordination people have received, as evidenced by the guidelines and rubrics for personal prayer when no priest is present. Such Churches have always taught implicitly that a Christian's personal relationship with God is independent of whatever ordination they have received.

Thus, the Catholic Church accepts the 'priesthood of all believers' doctrine – it is not the exclusive domain of Protestantism.[29][30] This is exemplified in 'chaplet of divine mercy' prayer, in which the individual Christian declares: "Eternal Father, I offer you the Body and Blood, Soul and Divinity, of your dearly beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, in atonement for our sins..." The primary difference between the teachings of the Catholic Church and those of the (non-Anglican) Protestant churches that reject the ordained priesthood is that the Catholic Church

believes in three different types of priests:

1. first, the priesthood of all believers (1 Peter 2:5–9);
2. second, the ordained priesthood (Acts 14:23, Romans 15:16, 1 Timothy 5:17, Titus 1:5, James 5:14-15); and
3. third, the high priesthood of Jesus (Hebrews 3:1).[31][32][33]

5.3.4 Problems with translations

Further information: Untranslatable

Much of the doctrinal dispute on this matter is caused by the difference between the Greek words ἱερεύς (*hiereus* meaning "sacred one"; represented in Latin by the word sacerdos) and πρεσβύτερος (*presbyteros* meaning "one with elderhood"), which are usually both translated in English with the word "priest". The former term refers to the sacrificial ritual leaders of Judaism, the kohanim, and to those holding the office of conducting sacrifices in ancient pagan temples, whereas the latter term refers to an acknowledged elder of a community.

The earliest Christianity is not recorded as ever having created an office of *hiereus*, except to acknowledge Jesus in that role, and as in the Greek of 1 Peter 2:9, to recognize the Church as having it in a collective sense. The New Testament records the role of presbyter and/or bishop (or *episkopos* which literally means "overseer") in the earliest Christian churches as the role ordained by the Apostles to the earliest acknowledged leaders of the Church. Saying that all Christians are a "sacred one" (i.e. *hiereus*) is not to say that each Christian is "one with elderhood" (i.e. *presbyteros*).

The Catholic belief of sacerdotalism expresses the belief that only when led by those with true apostolic succession can sacraments be validly performed. This belief also tends to emphasize that *sacerdos* of all baptized Christians is held by all Christians together, not necessarily individually. Catholicism expresses the idea of the priesthood of all baptized Christians in English as the "common priesthood";[34] by parallel, they refer to Catholic clergy as the "ministerial priesthood". They defend this doctrine with the original languages of scripture and its prophecy.[35][36] The Orthodox hold a very similar view.

5.3.5 See also

- Saint: Protestantism
- Lay preacher

5.3.6 Notes

[1] Akin, James. "THE PRIESTHOOD DEBATE". EWTN.

[2] "Protestantism originated in the 16th-century Reformation, and its basic doctrines, in addition to those of the ancient Christian creeds, are justification by grace alone through faith, the priesthood of all believers, and the supremacy of Holy Scripture in matters of faith and order." "The Protestant Heritage" Encyclopædia Britannica. 2007. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. 20 Sept. 2007

[3] Martin Luther, *Weimar Ausgabe*, vol. 6, p. 407, lines 19–25 as quoted in Timothy Wengert, "The Priesthood of All Believers and Other Pious Myths," page 12 .

[4] *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium* [*Prelude concerning the Babylonian Captivity of the church*], *Weimar Ausgabe* 6, 564.6–14 as quoted in Norman Nagel, "Luther and the Priesthood of All Believers," *Concordia Theological Quarterly* 61 (October 1997) 4:283-84.

[5] Augsburg Confession, Article 21, "Of the Worship of the Saints". trans. Kolb, R., Wengert, T., and Arand, C. Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2000.

[6] Articles 4, 5, and 14 of the Augsburg Confession in Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, trans. and eds., *The Book of Concord : The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 39, 40, 46.

[7] Treatise *That a Christian Meeting or Congregation has the Right and the Power to Judge All Doctrines and Call, Install, and Dismiss Teachers, as Grounded on Scriptures* [*Dass eine christliche Versammlung oder Gemeine Recht und Macht habe, alle Lehre zu beurteilen und Lehrer zu berufen, ein- und abzusetzen: Grund und Ursach aus der Schrift*], 1523

[8] Karl Heussi (1957): *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte*, Eleventh Edition, Tübingen (Germany), p. 316

[9] Cf. Jeremy Waldron (2002), *God, Locke, and Equality: Christian Foundations in Locke's Political Thought*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge (UK), pp. 128-136

[10] Friedrich Wilhelm Graf (2010), *Der Protestantismus. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Second, Revised Edition, Munich (Germany), pp. 35-38

[11] Karl Heussi (1957), pp. 330-331

[12] Clifton E. Olmstead (1960), *History of Religion in the United States*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., p. 6

[13] Karl Heussi (1957), p. 325

[14] Nathaniel Philbrick (2006), *Mayflower: A Story of Courage, Community, and War*, New York, N.Y., pp. 6-30, 39-42

[15] Christopher Fennell (1998), *Plymouth Colony Legal Structure*, www.histarch.illinois.edu/plymouth/ccflaw.html

[16] Clifton E. Olmstead (1960), pp.15-16, 64-73

[17] Allen Weinstein and David Rubel (2002), *The Story of America: Freedom and Crisis from Settlement to Superpower*, New York, N.Y., pp. 56-63

[18] Jan Weerda (1958), *Calvin. Sozialethik*, in: *Evangelisches Soziallexikon*, Stuttgart (Germany), col. 210

[19] Martin Ohst [2005), *Toleranz/Intoleranz*, in: *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Fourth Edition, Tübingen (Germany), Vol. 8, col. 364

[20] Heinrich Bornkamm (1962), *Toleranz. In der Geschichte des Christentums*, in: *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Third Edition, Tübingen (Germany), Vol. VI, col. 937

[21] Heinrich Bornkamm (1962), col. 937

[22] Robert Middlekauff (2005), *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789*, Revised and Enlarged Edition, Oxford University Press, pp. 51-52, 136, 627, 670-674

[23] Thomas S. Kidd (2010), *God of Liberty: A Religious History of the American Revolution*, New York, N.Y., pp. 5-10, 54-55, 225

[24] Cf. Heinrich August Winkler (2012), *Geschichte des Westens. Von den Anfängen in der Antike bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Third Edition, Munich (Germany), p. 317

[25] Douglas K. Stevenson (1987), *American Life and Institutions*, Stuttgart (Germany), p. 34

[26] Abdel Ross Wentz (1954), *A Basic History of Lutheranism in America*, Philadelphia, Pa., p. 41

[27] Clifton E. Olmstead (1960), pp. 6, 140

[28] J.R.H. Moorman (1957), *Anglikanische Kirche*, in: *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Third Edition, Tübingen (Germany), Vol. I, col. 379

[29] Catechism of the Catholic Church, #1547

[30] "The year of the Priest Seminar," *The Faith Explained*, http://www.thefaithexplained.com/uncategorized/the-year-of-the-priest/

[31] Catechism of the Catholic Church, #1536–1600

[32] "The Apostolic Priesthood," http://www.catholicapologetics.info/apologetics/general/priesthood.htm

[33] *The Priesthood of All Believers?*, http://answeringprotestants.com/2014/08/12/the-priesthood-of-all-believers/

[34] Catechism of the Catholic Church #1546

[35] Is Ministerial Priesthood Scriptural?

[36] The Priesthood is Both Ministerial and Universal

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- Christopher Fennell (1998), *Plymouth Colony Legal Structure*, www.histarch.Illinois.edu/plymouth/ccflaw.html
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5.3.8 External links

- "The Priesthood of All Believers and Other Pious Myths" by Timothy Wengert
- "Luther and the Priesthood of All Believers" by Norman Nagel
- "What the Priesthood of All Believers Means" by Simon Perry

5.4 Sola scriptura

This article is about the theological concept. For other uses, see Sola scriptura (disambiguation).

Sola scriptura (Latin: by Scripture alone) is a Christian theological doctrine which holds that the Christian Scriptures are the sole infallible rule of faith and practice.

The Scriptures' meaning is mediated through many kinds of secondary authority, such as the ordinary teaching offices of the Church, the ecumenical creeds, the councils of the Christian Church, and so on. However, *sola scriptura* rejects any original infallible authority other than the Bible. In this view, all secondary authority is derived from the authority of the Scriptures and is therefore subject to reform when compared to the teaching of the Bible. Church councils, preachers, Bible commentators, private revelation, or even a message allegedly from an angel or an apostle are not an original authority alongside the Bible in the *sola scriptura* approach.

Sola scriptura is a formal principle of many Protestant Christian denominations, and one of the *five solas*. It was a foundational doctrinal principle of the Protestant Reformation held by the Reformers, who taught that authentication of Scripture is governed by the discernible excellence of the text as well as the personal witness of the Holy Spirit to the heart of each man. Some Evangelical and Baptist denominations state the doctrine of *sola scriptura* more strongly: Scripture is self-authenticating, clear (perspicuous) to the rational reader, its own interpreter ("Scripture interprets Scripture"), and sufficient of itself to be the final authority of Christian doctrine.

By contrast, the Anglican Communion and the Methodist Church, though generally considered a form of Protestantism, uphold the doctrine of *prima scriptura*,[1][2] with Sacred Scripture being illumined by tradition, reason, and in Methodism, experience as well, thus completing the four sides of the Wesleyan Quadrilateral.[3][4] The Eastern Orthodox Church holds that to "accept the books of the canon is also to accept the ongoing Spirit-led authority of the church's tradition, which recognizes, interprets, worships, and corrects itself by the witness of Holy Scripture."[5] The Catholic Church regards the Apostolic preaching and writing (a.k.a. Tradition and Scripture) as equal since both came from the Apostles. The Catholic Church describe this as "one common source ... with two distinct modes of transmission,"[6] while some Protestant authors call it "a dual source of revelation."[7]

5.4.1 Overview

Sola scriptura is one of the five *solas*, considered by some Protestant groups to be the theological pillars of the Reformation.[8] The key implication of the principle is that interpretations and applications of the Scriptures do not have the same authority as the Scriptures themselves; hence, the ecclesiastical authority is viewed as subject to correction by the Scriptures, even by an individual member of the Church.

Luther said, "a simple layman armed with Scripture is greater than the mightiest pope without it". The intention of the Reformation was to correct what he asserted to be the errors of the Catholic Church by appeal to the uniqueness of the Bible's authority and to reject what Catholics considered to be Apostolic Tradition as a source of original authority alongside the Bible, wherever Tradition did not have Biblical support or where it supposedly contradicted Scripture.

Sola scriptura *was one of the main theological beliefs that Martin Luther proclaimed against the Catholic Church during the Protestant Reformation*

Sola scriptura, however, does not ignore Christian history, tradition, or the church when seeking to understand the Bible. Rather, it sees the church as the Bible's interpreter, the regula fidei (embodied in the ecumenical creeds) as the interpretive context, and Scripture as the only final authority in matters of faith and practice.[9] As Luther said, "The true rule is this: God's Word shall establish articles of faith, and no one else, not even an angel can do so."[10]

Characteristics in Lutheranism

Lutheranism teaches that the Bible of the Old and New Testaments is the only divinely inspired book and the only source of divinely revealed knowledge.[11] Scripture alone is the formal principle of the faith in Lutheranism, the final authority for all matters of faith and morals because of its inspiration, authority, clarity, efficacy, and sufficiency.[12]

Inspiration Lutheranism teaches that the Bible does not merely contain the Word of God, but every word of it is, because of verbal inspiration, the direct, immediate word of God.[13] As Lutherans confess in the Nicene Creed, the Holy Spirit "spoke through the prophets". The Apology of the Augsburg Confession identifies Holy Scripture with the Word of God[14] and calls the Holy Spirit the author of the Bible.[15] Because of this, Luther-

ans confess in the Formula of Concord, "we receive and embrace with our whole heart the prophetic and apostolic Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the pure, clear fountain of Israel."[16] The apocryphal books were not written by the prophets, by inspiration; they contain errors[17] were never included in the Palestinian Canon that Jesus used,[18] and therefore are not a part of Holy Scripture.[19] The prophetic and apostolic Scriptures are said by the Lutheran church to be authentic as written by the prophets and apostles, and that a correct translation of their writings is God's Word because it has the same meaning as the original Biblical Hebrew and Koine Greek.[19] A mistranslation is not God's word, and no human authority can invest it with divine authority.[19]

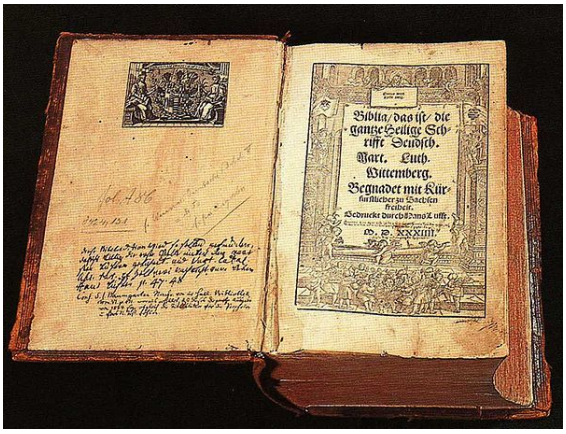
"I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting gospel to preach..."[20] *This illustration is from the title page of Luther's Bible.*

Divine authority Holy Scripture, the Word of God, carries the full authority of God in Lutheranism: every single statement of the Bible calls for instant, unqualified and unrestricted acceptance.[21] Every doctrine of the Bible is the teaching of God and therefore requires full agreement.[22] Every promise of the Bible calls for unshakable trust in its fulfillment;[23] every command of the Bible is the directive of God himself and therefore demands willing observance.[24]

What is said here of "every statement of the Bible" does not represent the faith of all Lutherans: a 2001 survey showed that 72 percent of members of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America do not accept that everything in the Bible is literal, but that it may contain scientific or historical errors or describe events symbolically.[25]

Clarity Main article: Clarity of scripture

Lutheranism teaches that the Bible presents all doctrines and commands of the Christian faith clearly;[26] that God's Word is freely accessible to every reader or hearer of ordinary intelligence, without requiring any special education.[27] It also teaches that readers must understand the language God's Word is presented in, and not be so preoccupied by contrary thoughts so as to prevent understanding.[27] It teaches that, consequently, no one needs to wait for any clergy, and pope, scholar, or ecumenical council to explain the real meaning of any part of the Bible.[28]



Luther's translation of the Bible, from 1534, with four books placed after those Luther considered, "...the true and certain chief books of the New Testament.".[29]

Efficacy Lutheranism teaches that Scripture is united with the power of the Holy Spirit and with it, not only demands, but also creates the acceptance of its teaching.[27] This teaching produces faith and obedience. Holy Scripture is not a dead letter, but rather, the power of the Holy Spirit is inherent in it.[30] Scripture does not compel a mere intellectual assent to its doctrine, resting on logical argumentation, but rather it creates the living agreement of faith.[31] The Smalcald Articles affirm, "...in those things which concern the spoken, outward Word, we must firmly hold that God grants His Spirit or grace to no one, except through or with the preceding outward Word."[32]

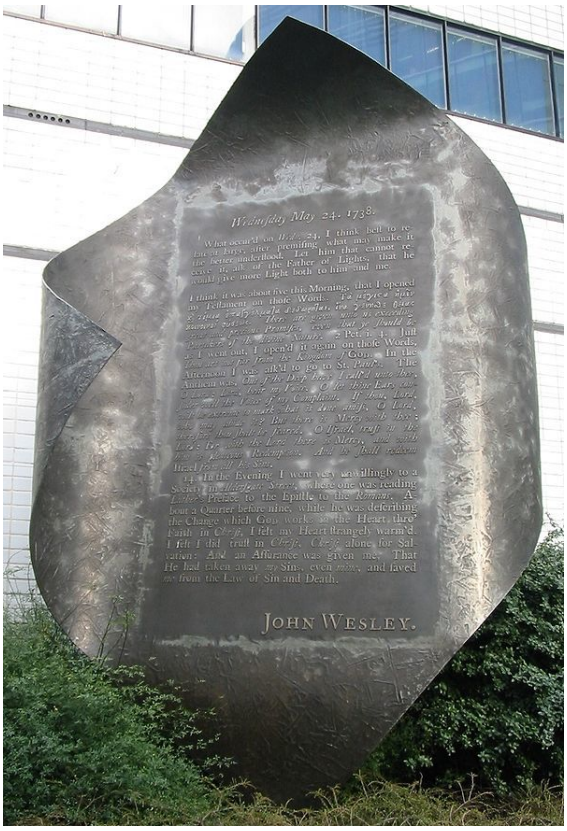
Sufficiency Lutheranism teaches that The Bible contains everything that one needs to know in order to obtain salvation and to live a Christian life.[33] There are no deficiencies in Scripture that need to be filled with by tradition, pronouncements of the Pope, new revelations, or present-day development of doctrine.[34]

Characteristics in the Reformed faith

The Westminster Confession of Faith spoke of the use of "the ordinary means" (such as turning to pastors and teachers) for reaching an understanding of what is contained in Scripture and is necessary to know:

> Chapter 1, Section VII. All things in Scripture are not alike plain in themselves, nor alike clear unto all; yet those things which are necessary to be known, believed, and observed, for salvation, are so clearly propounded and opened in some place of Scripture or other, that not only the learned, but the unlearned, in a due use of the ordinary means, may attain unto a sufficient understanding of them.

5.4.2 *Prima scriptura*



In the Wesleyan Quadrilateral, experience is an additional source of authority. Pictured is a memorial to John Wesley's own experience of the New Birth and Assurance.

Sola scriptura may be contrasted with *Prima scriptura*, which holds that, besides canonical Scripture, there are other guides for what a believer should believe, and how he or she should live. Examples of this include the general revelation in creation, traditions, charismatic gifts, mystical insight, angelic visitations, conscience, common sense, the views of experts, the spirit of the times or something else. *Prima scriptura* suggests that ways of knowing or understanding God and his will, that do not originate from canonized Scripture, are in a second place, perhaps helpful in interpreting that Scripture, but testable by the canon and correctable by it, if they seem to contradict the Scriptures.

Two Christian denominations that uphold the position of *prima scriptura* are the Anglican Communion and the Methodist Church.[1][4] In the Anglican tradition, Sacred Scripture, tradition, and reason form the Anglican triad or "three-legged stool", formulated by the Anglican theologian Richard Hooker.[4][35] "Building on the Anglican theological tradition, Wesley added a fourth emphasis, experience. The resulting four components or "sides" of the [Wesleyan] quadrilateral are (1) Scripture, (2) tradition, (3) reason, and (4) experience. For United Methodists, Scripture is considered the primary source and standard for Christian doctrine. Tradition is experience and the witness of development and growth of the faith through the past centuries and in many nations and cultures. Experience is the individual's understanding and appropriating of the faith in the light of his or her own life. Through reason the individual Christian brings to bear on the Christian faith discerning and cogent thought. These four elements taken together bring the individual Christian to a mature and fulfilling understanding of the Christian faith and the required response of worship and service."[3]

Sola scriptura rejects any original infallible authority, other than the Bible. In this view, all secondary authority is derived from the authority of the Scriptures and is therefore subject to reform when compared to the teaching of the Bible. Church councils, preachers, biblical commentators, private revelation, or even a message allegedly from an angel or an apostle are not an original authority alongside the Bible in the *sola scriptura* approach.

5.4.3 Singular authority of Scripture

The idea of the singular authority of Scripture is the motivation behind much of the Protestant effort to translate the Bible into vernacular languages and distribute it widely. Protestants generally believe each Christian should read the Bible for themselves and evaluate what they have been taught on the basis of it. In the Roman Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Church, both of which teach that authoritative doctrine can also come from tradition, have been more active in translating them as well as the Bible into the vernacular languages. Contrary to a common polemic of the Reformation, many German translations of the bible existed before Martin Luther.[36] Traditions of these non-Protestant churches include the Bible, patristic, conciliar, and liturgical texts. Prior to the Protestant movement, hundreds of vernacular translations of the Bible and liturgical materials were translated throughout the preceding sixteen centuries. Some Bible translations such as the Geneva Bible included annotations and commentary that were anti-Roman Catholic. Before the Protestant Reformation, Latin was almost exclusively utilized in Latin Rite Catholic Churches, but was understood by only the most literate.

According to *sola scriptura*, the Church does not speak infallibly in its traditions, but only in Scripture. John Wesley stated in the 18th century, "In all cases, the Church

is to be judged by the Scripture, not the Scripture by the Church."[37] For this reason, *sola scriptura* is called the formal cause or principle of the Reformation.

Protestants argue that the Scriptures are guaranteed to remain true to their divine source—and thus, only insofar as the Church retains Scriptural faith is it assured of God's favor. They further assert that, if the Church were to fall away from faith through Scripture (a possibility Roman Catholics deny but Protestants affirm), its authority would be negated. Therefore, early Protestants argued for eliminating traditions and doctrines they believed were based on distortions of Scripture, or were contrary to the Bible—but that the Roman Catholic Church considered Scripturally-based aspects of the Christian faith, such as transubstantiation John 6:51, the doctrine of purgatory 1 Cor 3:15, the veneration of images or icons Numbers 21:8, and especially the doctrine that the Pope in Rome is the head of the Church on earth (Papal supremacy) John 21:17.[38]

However, the Reformers believed some tradition to be very seriously in conflict with the Scriptures: especially, with regard to teaching about the Church itself, but also touching on basic principles of the Gospel. They believed that no matter how venerable the traditional source, traditional authority is always open to question by comparison to what the Scriptures say. The individual may be forced to rely on his understanding of Scripture even if the whole tradition were to speak against him. This, they said, had always been implicitly recognized in the Church, and remains a fail-safe against the corruption of the Church by human error and deceit. Corruptions had crept in, they said, which seriously undermined the legitimate authority of the Church, and Tradition had been perverted by wicked men.

Sola scriptura is a doctrine that is not, in the words of the Westminster Confession of Faith 1.6 "expressly set down in Scripture". However, it is claimed that it passes the second test of being part of "the whole counsel of God" because it is "deduced from Scripture" "by good and necessary consequence", citing passages such as Isaiah 8:20: "To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Jesus is also typically understood by Protestants as expressly nullifying unscriptural traditions in the (Jewish) church, when he says, for example in Mark 7:13: "thus making void the word of God by your tradition that you have handed down. And many such things you do."

5.4.4 Scripture and Sacred Tradition

The Catholic Church, from which the Protestant Church broke away, and against which they directed these arguments, did not see Scripture and the Sacred Tradition of the faith as different sources of authority, but that Scripture was handed down as part of Sacred Tradition (see 2 Thessalonians 2:15, 2 Timothy 2:2). Accepted traditions were also perceived by the Church as cohesive in nature. The proper interpretation of the Scriptures was seen as part of the faith of the Church, and seen indeed as the manner in which Biblical authority was upheld (see Book of Acts 15:28-29). The meaning of Scripture was seen as proven from the Faith universally held in the churches (see Phil 2:1, Acts 4:32), and the correctness of that universal Faith was seen as proven from the Scriptures and apostolic Sacred Tradition (see 2 The 2:15, 2 The 3:6, 1 Corinthians 11:2). The Biblical canon itself was thus viewed by the Church as part of the Church's Tradition, as defined by its leadership and acknowledged by its laity.

The Catholic *Dei verbum* and the papal encyclicals *Providentissimus Deus* by Pope Leo XIII and *Divino afflante Spiritu* by Pope Pius XII set out Catholic teaching on tradition versus individual interpretation.[39][40]

The Catholic Church teaches that Christ entrusted the preaching of the Gospel to the apostles, who handed it on orally and in writing, and according to the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, "the apostolic preaching, which is expressed in a special way in the inspired books, was to be preserved in a continuous line of succession until the end of time. This living transmission, accomplished in the Holy Spirit, is called Tradition, since it is distinct from Sacred Scripture, though closely connected to it."[41] "Sacred Tradition and Sacred Scripture make up a single sacred deposit of the Word of God in which, as in a mirror, the pilgrim Church contemplates God, the source of all her riches."[42] For the Eastern Orthodox too, "the Holy Bible forms a part of Holy Tradition, but does not lie outside of it. One would be in error to suppose that Scripture and Tradition are two separate and distinct sources of Christian Faith, as some do, since there is, in reality, only one source; and the Holy Bible exists and found its formulation within Tradition."[43]

Catholics apply to Apostolic Tradition many of the qualities that Protestants and Evangelicals apply to Scripture alone. For example, the 1978 Evangelical declaration *Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy*, states:

> We affirm that inspiration was the work in which God by His Spirit, through human writers, gave us His Word. The origin of Scripture is divine. The mode of divine inspiration remains largely a mystery to us. We deny that inspiration can be reduced to human insight, or to heightened states of consciousness of any kind.[44]

Since the Catholic Church professes that Apostolic Tradition and Scripture are both the word of God, Catholics can affirm that many of these propositions apply equally well to Tradition: It is the work of the Holy Spirit, which cannot be reduced to human insight or heightened consciousness.

This ties in with the question of what constitutes Apostolic Tradition. The Catechism of the Catholic Church

states that this Tradition is given "by the apostles who handed on, by the spoken word of their preaching, by the example they gave, by the institutions they established, what they themselves had received - whether from the lips of Christ, from his way of life and his works, or whether they had learned it at the prompting of the Holy Spirit." [45] This description, while leaving room for debate and refinement, offers sufficient guidelines for evaluating which Catholic teachings are part of the Apostolic Tradition and which teachings come from later centuries.

Despite these guidelines there is plenty of confusion on the matter among both Catholics and non-Catholics. This confusion can be seen in those who quote the work Catholic researcher James Keenan to claim that the doctrines given by Apostolic Tradition have changed. What Keenan actually said is that not only are there "claims of inconsistency, contradiction and even incoherence" in the church's moral teaching tradition but that "continuity with the tradition itself is not the truth guarantor of any particular teaching." He elucidates this by stating that Bernard Hoose "found that claims to a continuous teaching" by the Catholic Church "on matters of life and death, sexuality, and even crime and punishment were simply not true". Keenan makes the case that not all traditions come from the Apostles; not that there are no Traditions that come from the Apostles. He also adds that Mark Jordan "examined seven medieval texts on homosexuality," found them disconnected and inconsistent, and concluded that "tradition's teaching [on the subject is] incoherent." This refers to medieval tradition and not to Apostolic Tradition. Keenan, however, says that studies of "manualists" such as John T. Noonan Jr. has demonstrated that, "despite claims to the contrary, manualists were co-operators in the necessary historical development of the moral tradition." Noonan, according to Keenan, has provided a new way of viewing at "areas where the Church not only changed, but shamefully did not".[46]

5.4.5 Critiques

Following the Protestant Churches separation from the Catholic Church, the relatively new idea of *sola scriptura* came under serious critique by the Catholic and Orthodox Christians. In his *The Shape of Sola Scriptura*, the Reformed Christian writer Keith A. Mathison mentions several recent examples of such critics.[47] In response, Mathison distinguishes what he considers to be the true doctrine of *sola scriptura* from the "subjective and individualistic version" of the doctrine that most Protestants have adopted.[48]

The American Catholic author and television presenter Patrick Madrid wrote that Sola scriptura is self-referentially incoherent, as the Bible itself does not teach *sola scriptura*, and therefore the belief that the Scriptures are the only source of Christian belief is self-contradicting given that it cannot be supported without extra-scriptural doctrine.[49]

In the 2008 book *Catholicism and Science*, the authors Peter M.J. Hess and Paul Allen wrote that *sola scriptura* is "inherently divisive", citing the Marburg Colloquy where Martin Luther and Huldrych Zwingli debated the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist on scriptural grounds but were unable to reach agreement on Sacramental Union. Hess and Allen argue that, when Scripture is seen as the only source of infallible teaching, its interpretation is subject to fallible interpretation, and without an infallible interpreter, a certainty of Christian belief is not possible.[50]

The Catholic *Encyclopedia of Theology* notes that, since the 27 books that make up the New Testament canon of Scripture are not based on a Scriptural list that authenticates them to be inspired, their legitimacy would be impossible to distinguish with certainty without appealing to another infallible source, such as the Magisterium of the Catholic Church, which some have suggested assembled and authenticated this list at the Synod of Rome in 382 A.D (although there is considerable debate surrounding this claim).[51] Before this, a compiled and authenticated Bible as it is now known did not yet exist.[52]

The American Catholic writer Dave Armstrong wrote that there are several examples of Jesus and his Apostles accepting oral and extrabiblical tradition in the New Testament:[53]

- The reference to "He shall be called a Nazarene" cannot be found in the Old Testament, yet it was "spoken by the prophets" (Matthew 2:23). This prophecy, which is considered to be "God's word", was passed down orally rather than through Scripture.
- In Matthew 23:2-3, Jesus teaches that the scribes and Pharisees have a legitimate, binding authority based "on Moses' seat", but this phrase or idea cannot be found anywhere in the Old Testament. It is found in the (originally oral) Mishnah, which teaches a sort of "teaching succession" from Moses.
- In 1 Corinthians 10:4, Paul the Apostle refers to a rock that "followed" the Jews through the Sinai wilderness. The Old Testament says nothing about such miraculous movement. But, this critic writes, rabbinic tradition does.
- "As Jannes and Jambres opposed Moses" (2 Timothy 3:8). These two men cannot be found in the related Old Testament passage (cf. Exodus 7:8ff.) or anywhere else in the Old Testament.
- In 1 Peter 3:19, the Apostle Peter describes Jesus' descent into Hell, drawing directly from a Jewish apocalyptic book, the *Book of Enoch*, which is not part of the Biblical canon in Catholic or Protestant churches (but is in Ethiopian and Eritrean Orthodox Churches).

- In the Epistle of Jude 9, a dispute is mentioned between the Archangel Michael and Satan over Moses' body, which is not mentioned elsewhere in the Bible, and is drawn from oral Jewish tradition.

- In the Epistle of James 5:17, when recounting the prayers of Elijah described in 1 Kings 17, a lack of rain for three years is mentioned, which is absent from the passage in 1 Kings.

Armstrong argues that since Jesus and the Apostles acknowledge authoritative Jewish oral tradition, Christians can therefore not dispute oral tradition's legitimacy and authority. However, as found in Scripture, Jesus also challenges some Jewish oral tradition therefore Christians, on that basis, *can* dispute *some* of that tradition's authority since they hold that Jesus' authority is greater. None of these stories impact on moral law though.

5.4.6 Legacy

Sola scriptura continues as a doctrinal commitment of conservative branches and offshoots of the Lutheran churches, Reformed churches, and Baptist churches as well as of other Protestants, especially those who describe themselves with the slogan "Bible-believing".

5.4.7 See also

- Biblical criticism
- Bibliolatry
- Cessationism versus Continuationism, where *sola scriptura* is discussed with regard to the issue of charismatic gifts
- Ex cathedra
- Fundamentalist Christianity
- *Ijtihad*, the Islamic concept of interpretation of religion and law not limited by tradition
- Prima scriptura
- Qur'an alone, an Islamic movement influenced in its theory by *sola scriptura*.
- *Sola fide*
- Karaite Judaism
- Nichiren Buddhism
- Wesleyan Quadrilateral

5.4.8 References

[1] "Methodist Beliefs: In what ways are Lutherans different from United Methodists?". Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. 2014. Retrieved 22 May 2014. The United Methodists see Scripture as the primary source and criterion for Christian doctrine. They emphasize the importance of tradition, experience, and reason for Christian doctrine. Lutherans teach that the Bible is the sole source for Christian doctrine. The truths of Scripture do not need to be authenticated by tradition, human experience, or reason. Scripture is self authenticating and is true in and of itself.

[2] Humphrey, Edith M. (15 April 2013). *Scripture and Tradition*. Baker Books. p. 16. ISBN 9781441240484. historically Anglicans have adopted what could be called a prima Scriptura position.

[3] Waltz, Alan K. (1991). "A Dictionary for United Methodists". Abingdon Press. The Wesleyan Quadrilateral: Building on the Anglican theological tradition, Wesley added a fourth emphasis, experience. The resulting four components or "sides" of the quadrilateral are (1) Scripture, (2) tradition, (3) reason, and (4) experience. For United Methodists, Scripture is considered the primary source and standard for Christian doctrine. Tradition is experience and the witness of development and growth of the faith through the past centuries and in many nations and cultures. Experience is the individual's understanding and appropriating of the faith in the light of his or her own life. Through reason the individual Christian brings to bear on the Christian faith discerning and cogent thought. These four elements taken together bring the individual Christian to a mature and fulfilling understanding of the Christian faith and the required response of worship and service.

[4] Schmidt, Richard H. (2002). *Glorious Companions: Five Centuries of Anglican Spirituality*. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing. p. 15. ISBN 9780802822222. A favorite, if overworked, image among Anglicans is that of the three-legged stool, which stands only when all three legs are in place, as a visual way to think of the Anglican view of authority. We acknowledge three sources of authority, and we manage not to fall down when all three are in place. The first and most important of these is the Bible. The Articles of Religion, a Reformation-era statement of Anglican views on questions of the day, says that the Bible "containeth all things necessary to salvation," so that nothing not found in the Bible is to be required as an article of faith.

[5] *Three Views on Eastern Orthodoxy and Evangelicalism*. Zondervan. 5 October 2010. p. 65. ISBN 9780310864363.

[6] "Catechism of the Catholic Church, 80-81".

[7] Johnson, Alan F.; Webber, Robert E. (1993). *What Christians Believe: A Biblical & Historical Summary*. Zondervan. p. 43. ISBN 9780310367215.

[8] Michael Horton (March–April 1994). "Reformation Essentials". *Modern Reformation*. Retrieved 2008-07-10.

[9] Keith A. Mathison, *The Shape of Sola Scriptura* (Canon Press & Book Service 2001 ISBN 978-1-88576774-5), p. 23

[10] Martin Luther, Smalcald Articles II, 15.

[11] For the traditional Lutheran view of the Bible, see Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. pp. 3ff. ISBN 0-524-04891-6. Archived from the original on July 12, 2006.. For an overview of the doctrine of verbal inspiration in Lutheranism, see Inspiration, Doctrine of in the Christian Cyclopedia.

[12] Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. pp. 7ff. ISBN 0-524-04891-6. Archived from the original on July 12, 2006., Engelder, Theodore E.W. (1934). *Popular Symbolics: The Doctrines of the Churches of Christendom and Of Other Religious Bodies Examined in the Light of Scripture*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 29.

[13] 2 Timothy 3:16, 1 Corinthians 2:13, 1 Thessalonians 2:13, Romans 3:2, 2 Peter 1:21, 2 Samuel 23:2, Hebrews 1:1, John 10:35, John 16:13, John 17:17, Engelder, Theodore E.W. (1934). *Popular Symbolics: The Doctrines of the Churches of Christendom and Of Other Religious Bodies Examined in the Light of Scripture*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 26.

[14] "God's Word, or Holy Scripture" from the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, Article II, of Original Sin

[15] "the Scripture of the Holy Ghost." Apology to the Augsburg Confession, Preface, 9

[16] "The Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord".

[17] (Tobit 6, 71; 2 Macc. 12, 43 f.; 14, 411),

[18] See Bible, Canon in the Christian Cyclopedia Archived October 20, 2009, at the Wayback Machine.

[19] Engelder, Theodore E.W. (1934). *Popular Symbolics: The Doctrines of the Churches of Christendom and Of Other Religious Bodies Examined in the Light of Scripture*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 27.

[20] Revelation 14:6

[21] Matthew 4:3, Luke 4:3, Genesis 3:1, John 10:35, Luke 24:25, Psalm 119:140, Psalm 119:167, Engelder, Theodore E.W. (1934). *Popular Symbolics: The Doctrines of the Churches of Christendom and Of Other Religious Bodies Examined in the Light of Scripture*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 27., Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. pp. 8–9. ISBN 0-524-04891-6. Archived from the original on July 12, 2006.

[22] 2 Thessalonians 2:15, Luke 24:25-27, Luke 16:29-31, 2 Timothy 3:15-17, Jeremiah 8:9, Jeremiah 23:26, Isaiah 8:19-20, 1 Corinthians 14:37, Galatians 1:8, Acts 17:11, Acts 15:14-15, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. pp. 8–10. ISBN 0-524-04891-6. Archived from the original on July 12, 2006.

[23] 2 Thessalonians 2:13, 2 Corinthians 1:20, Titus 1:2-3, 2 Thessalonians 2:15, 2 Peter 1:19, Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. pp. 8–9. ISBN 0-524-04891-6. Archived from the original on July 12, 2006.

[24] Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. pp. 8–11. ISBN 0-524-04891-6. Archived from the original on July 12, 2006.

[25] "Bible: Literal or Inspired". The Lutheran. Retrieved 13 October 2012.

[26] Psalm 19:8, Psalm 119:105, Psalm 119:130, 2 Timothy 3:15, Deuteronomy 30:11, 2 Peter 1:19, Ephesians 3:3-4, John 8:31-32, 2 Corinthians 4:3-4, John 8:43-47, 2 Peter 3:15-16, Engelder, Theodore E.W. (1934). *Popular Symbolics: The Doctrines of the Churches of Christendom and Of Other Religious Bodies Examined in the Light of Scripture*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 29., Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. pp. 11–12. ISBN 0-524-04891-6.

[27] Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 11. ISBN 0-524-04891-6. Archived from the original on July 12, 2006.

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[29] "Luther's Antilegomena".

[30] Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. pp. 11–12. ISBN 0-524-04891-6. Archived from the original on July 12, 2006.

[31] Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 12. ISBN 0-524-04891-6. Archived from the original on July 12, 2006.

[32] "Smalcald Articles - Book of Concord".

[33] 2 Timothy 3:15-17, John 5:39, John 17:20, Psalm 19:7-8, Engelder, Theodore E.W. (1934). *Popular Symbolics: The Doctrines of the Churches of Christendom and Of Other Religious Bodies Examined in the Light of Scripture*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 28.

[34] Graebner, Augustus Lawrence (1910). *Outlines Of Doctrinal Theology*. Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House. p. 13. ISBN 0-524-04891-6. Archived from the original on July 12, 2006.

[35] Lewis, Harold T. (1 January 2001). *Christian Social Witness*. Rowman & Littlefield. p. 138. ISBN 9781561011889. It is Hooker to whom we are indebted for the "three-legged stool" of scripture, tradition, and reason on which the ethos and identity of Anglicanism rest.

[36] Bible translations into German#Pre-Lutheran German Bibles

[37] "The Works of the Rev. John Wesley".

[38] Catechism of the Catholics Church

[39] Scott Windsor Sr. "CathApol: Sola Scriptura Self Refuting".

[40] http://www.catholic-legate.com/Apologetics/Scripture/Articles/SolaScripturasSelf-Refutation.aspx Archived January 9, 2014, at the Wayback Machine.

[41] Catechism of the Catholic Church, 75-78

[42] Catechism of the Catholic Church, 97

[43] Orthodox Outreach, "Holy Tradition"

[44] "Chicago Statement on Biblical Inerrancy, Article VII". Alliance of Confessing Evangelicals. Retrieved 1 November 2014.

[45] Catechism of the Catholic Church, 76

[46] James F. Keenan (17 January 2010). *A History of Catholic Moral Theology in the Twentieth Century: From Confessing Sins to Liberating Consciences*. A&C Black. p. 45-46. ISBN 978-0-8264-2929-2.

[47] Robert A. Sungenis, author of *Not by Scripture Alone: A Catholic Critique of the Protestant Doctrine of Sola Scriptura* (Santa Barbara: Queenship Publishing Co., 1997); Mark Shea, author of *By What Authority?* (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 1996); Clark Carlton, *The Way: What Every Protestant Should Know About the Catholic Church* (Salisbury, MA: Regina Orthodox Press, 1997); Patrick Madrid (editor), *Surprised by Truth* (San Diego: Basilica Press, 1994); Scott Hahn and Kimberley Hahn, *Rome, Sweet Home* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993); David Currie, *Born Fundamentalist. Born Again Catholic* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993); Peter Gilquist (editor), *Coming Home: Why Protestant Clergy Are Becoming Orthodox* (Ben Lomond, CA: Conciliar Press, 1992). Cited in Keith A. Mathison, *The Shape of Sola Scriptura* (Canon Press, 2001 ISBN 978-1-88576774-5), p. 13

[48] Keith A. Mathison, *The Shape of Sola Scriptura* (Canon Press & Book Service 2001 ISBN 978-1-88576774-5), pp. 13–14

[49] Patrick Madrid (2012). *Envoy for Christ: 25 Years as a Catholic Apologist*. Servant Books. p. 25.

[50] Peter M.J. Hess and Paul Allen (2008). *Catholicism and Science*. Greenwood Press. pp. 28–29. ISBN 978-0313331909.

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[52] Karl Rahner, ed. (1999). *Encyclopedia of Theology: A Concise Sacramentum Mundi*. Burns & Oates. p. 172. ISBN 978-0860120063.

[53] Dave Armstrong (2004). *The Catholic Verses: 95 Bible Passages That Confound Protestants*. Sophia Institute Press. pp. 43–44. ISBN 978-1928832737.

5.4.9 External links

- WELS Topical Q&A: Sola Scriptura in the Bible? (a Confessional Lutheran perspective)
- WELS Topical Q&A: Sola Scriptura? (a Confessional Lutheran perspective)
- Articles on *sola scriptura* from a Reformed perspective
- Bible verses on *sola scriptura* from a Catholic perspective
- *Scripture & Tradition* from a Catholic perspective
  - *Proving Inspiration* refers to "sola scriptura"
  - *Scripture and Tradition* and *"What's Your Authority?"* argues against "sola scriptura"
- The Shape of Sola Scriptura (2001) by Keith Mathison (himself a Calvinistic evangelical)
- A written debate on *sola scriptura* between Douglas Jones and Gerald Matatics from *Antithesis Magazine*
- A formal written debate on *sola scriptura* between Julie Staples and Apolonio Latar
- A Catholic assessment of *sola scriptura*
- An Orthodox Christian assessment of *sola scriptura*
- Orthodox Christian Responses to Protestant Apologists on *Sola Scriptura*
- "Paradosis: The Handing On of Divine Revelation" from a Catholic perspective
- "A Disputation on Holy Scripture" by Puritan William Whitaker (1588)
- Citations from the Early Church Fathers on "Sola Scriptura"
- Sola Scriptura - The Sufficient and Final Authority of the Scriptures, from the Free Brethren House Churches of Christ, a group in the Anabaptist tradition

5.5 Two kingdoms doctrine

"Two kingdoms" redirects here. For the kingdoms of England and Scotland, see History of the formation of the United Kingdom.

The **two kingdoms doctrine** is a Protestant Christian doctrine that teaches that God is the ruler of the whole world, and that he rules in two ways. The doctrine is held by Lutherans and has historically been the view of Calvinists,[1] though neo-Calvinists have a different view called transformationalism.

According to the doctrine, God rules the worldly or left-hand kingdom through secular (and, though this point is often misunderstood, also churchly) government, by means of law [i.e., the sword or compulsion]) and in the heavenly or right-hand kingdom (his spiritual kingdom, that is, Christians insofar as they are a new creation who spontaneously and voluntarily obey) through the gospel or grace.

The two kingdoms doctrine is simply another form of the distinctive Lutheran teaching of Law and Gospel. The official book that defines Lutheranism, the *Book of Concord* compiled in 1580, references a sermon by Martin Luther on this from 1528 preached on the 19th Sunday after Trinity in Marburg, about the Two Kingdoms or Two Kinds of Righteousness.[2][3]

In that sermon he states that the worldly (left hand) Kingdom includes everything we can see and do in our bodies. This fully and especially includes whatever is done in the church. This is taught so that it is clear that in the Heavenly (right hand) Kingdom, the only thing that is included there is alone faith in Christ. "Christ alone" and "faith alone" are Lutheran slogans that are reflected in this way.

The biblical basis for this doctrine, as with all Law and Gospel modalities is the distinction St Paul makes in Romans 8 between "flesh/body" versus "spirit/Spirit". Martin Luther's breakthrough moment was his break with the traditional scholastic understanding of this passage. The Scholastics understood flesh vs spirit to be the movement from vice to virtue, from the profane/secular/civil to the sacred/churchly.

Luther saw this contrast instead to be a movement from true virtue, which especially included the sacred and churchly and any righteousness we can do or that is visible, to alone the invisible righteousness of faith in Christ, which in the sermon referenced here he says is "meaningless on earth except to God and a troubled conscience."[4]

5.5.1 In Martin Luther's thought

Martin Luther used the phrase "two governments" rather than "two kingdoms." His and Philip Melancthon's doctrine which was later labeled "two kingdoms" was that the church should not exercise worldly government, and princes should not rule the church or have anything to do with the salvation of souls.[5] Augustine's model of the *City of God* was the foundation for Luther's doctrine, but goes farther.[6] Luther was confronted with seemingly contradictory types of statements in the Bible. Some biblical passages exhort Christians to obey rulers placed over them and to repay evil with retribution, but others, such as the sermon on the mount, call for passivity in the face of oppression. Luther reconciled these and in doing so took a middle course between Roman Catholics, who saw the second type of biblical statement as a sort of ideal for a more perfect class of Christian, and radical Christians who rejected any temporal authority. Instead, Luther taught that the world is divided into true Christians and non-Christians, and that the sword is necessary to restrain evil committed by non-Christians. The spiritual kingdom, made up of true Christians, does not need the sword. The biblical passages dealing with justice and retribution, therefore, are only in reference to the first kingdom. Christians, however, should only use the sword against evildoers, and never amongst themselves. Luther also uses this idea to describe the relationship of the church to the state. The temporal kingdom has no authority to coerce in matters pertaining to the spiritual kingdom. Luther had in mind the way in which the Roman Catholic Church had involved itself in secular affairs, and prince's involvement in religious matters, especially the ban on printing the New Testament.[7]

> God has ordained the two governments: the spiritual, which by the Holy Spirit under Christ makes Christians and pious people; and the secular, which restrains the unchristian and wicked so that they are obliged to keep the peace outwardly… The laws of worldly government extend no farther than to life and property and what is external upon earth. For over the soul God can and will let no one rule but himself. Therefore, where temporal power presumes to prescribe laws for the soul, it encroaches upon God's government and only misleads and destroys souls. We desire to make this so clear that every one shall grasp it, and that the princes and bishops may see what fools they are when they seek to coerce the people with their laws and commandments into believing one thing or another.

Luther forbade Christians from allowing temporal rulers to meddle with their hearts in matters of belief, declaring that "if you give into him and let him take away your faith and books, you have truly denied God". However, in all temporal matters, subjects must obey and welcome true Christian suffering:

> We are to be subject to governmental power and do what it bids, as long as it does not bind our conscience but legislates only concerning outward matters… But if it invades the spiritual domain and constrains the conscience, over which God only must preside and rule, we should not obey it at all but rather lose our necks. Temporal authority and government extend no further than to matters which are external and corporeal.

5.5.2 In Reformed theology

Due to the influence of neo-Calvinism, it is commonly believed that the Reformed have historically held a significantly different view, known as transformationalism,

from the two kingdoms doctrine. In fact, however, Calvin as well as later Reformed orthodox figures clearly distinguish between God's redemptive work of salvation and earthly work of providence, they maintain that he works differently in each kingdom, and they see his redemptive work as within the realm of the church while his earthly work is in the realm of civil authorities. Scottish theologian Andrew Melville is especially well known for articulating this doctrine, and the Scottish *Second Book of Discipline* clearly defined the spheres of civil and ecclesiastical authorities. High orthodox theologians such as Samuel Rutherford also used the concepts and terminology of the two kingdoms. Francis Turretin further developed the doctrine significantly by linking the temporal kingdom with Christ's status as eternal God and creator of the World, and the spiritual kingdom with his status as incarnate son of God and redeemer of humanity.[1]

The Reformed application of the doctrine differed from the Lutheran in the matter of the external government of the church. Lutherans were content to allow the state to control the administration of the church, a view in the Reformed world shared by Thomas Erastus. In general, however, the Reformed followed Calvin's lead in insisting that the church's external administration, including the right to excommunicate, not be handed over to the state.[1]

5.5.3 Response and influence

Luther's articulation of the two kingdoms doctrine had little effect on the practical reality of church government in Lutheran territories during the Reformation.[5] With the rise of *cuius regio, eius religio*, civil authorities had extensive influence on the shape of the church in their realm, and Luther was forced to cede much of the power previously granted to church officers starting in 1525.[8] In Geneva, however, Calvin was able, after significant struggle, to establish under the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* a form of church government with much greater power. Most significantly the Genevan Consistory was given the exclusive authority to excommunicate church members.[9]

James Madison, the principal author of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, explicitly credited Martin Luther as the theorist who "led the way" in providing the proper distinction between the civil and the ecclesiastical spheres.[10]

Luther's distinction was adopted by John Milton and John Locke. Milton wrote *A Treatise of Civil Power*. Locke later echoed the "two kingdoms" doctrine:

> There is a twofold society, of which almost all men in the world are members, and from that twofold concernment they have to attain a twofold happiness; viz. That of this world and that of the other: and hence there arises these two following societies, viz. religious and civil.[11]

. Sociologist Max Weber also wrestled with the tensions embedded in Luther's Two Kingdom Doctrine in his essay about the nature of politicians, Politics as a Vocation.

5.5.4 In Roman Catholicism

The Catholic Church has a similar doctrine called the doctrine of the "two swords," in the papal bull *Unam Sanctam*, issued in 1302 by Pope Boniface VIII. In this bull, Boniface teaches that there is only one Kingdom, the Church (here meaning the Catholic Church), and that the Church controls the *spiritual sword*, while the *temporal sword* is controlled by the State, although the temporal sword is hierarchically lower than the spiritual sword, allowing for Church influence in politics and society at large.

5.5.5 In Oriental Orthodoxy

The Coptic Church has traditionally avoided political power, and has never allowed itself to control the government of Egypt.[12]

5.5.6 See also

- Christianity and politics
- Cultural mandate for a centrist position between the one and two kingdoms views
- Law and Gospel
- Opposing perspectives:
  - Caesaropapism
  - Christian Reconstructionism
  - Dominion Theology
  - Postmillennialism
  - Theonomy
- Political Catholicism
- Political theology
- "Render unto Caesar..." for one of the passages from which this theology was derived
- Separation of church and state
- Symphonia (theology) for a parallel theory in Orthodox theology and Byzantine political thought

5.5.7 References

[1] VanDrunen 2007.

[2] "Section 9, Article VI. The Third Use of the Law", *Formula of Concord*.

[3] *Marburg sermon* (full text), OR Lutheran.

[4] Luther (1900), *Werke* [*Works*], **XI** (St. Louis ed.), Third use, p. 1726ff.

[5] MacCulloch 2003, p. 157.

[6] Gritsch 1986, p. 48.

[7] Sockness, Brent W (1992). "Luther's Two Kingdoms Revisited". *Journal of Religious Ethics*. **20** (1): 93. Retrieved November 10, 2013. – via EBSCOhost (subscription required)

[8] MacCulloch 2003, p. 164.

[9] MacCulloch 2003, p. 238.

[10] Madison (1821), *To Schaeffer* (Books) (scan), Google.

[11] Locke, John, *On the Difference between Civil and Ecclesiastical Power* (Books) (scan), Google.

[12] "Encyclopedia Coptica". Egypt: The Christian Coptic Orthodox Church.

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5.5.9 External links

- *The two 'Kingdoms'* (PDF), AU: Lutheran Church, Commission on Social and Bioethical Questions, 2001.

5.6 Law and Gospel

In Protestant Christianity, the relationship between **Law and Gospel**—God's Law and the Gospel of Jesus Christ—is a major topic in Lutheran and Reformed theology. In these traditions, the distinction between the doctrines of Law, which demands obedience to God's ethical will, and Gospel, which promises the forgiveness of sins in light of the person and work of Jesus Christ, is critical. It is used as a hermeneutical principle of biblical interpretation and a guiding principle in homiletics (sermon composition) and pastoral care. It is the supersession of the Old Covenant (including traditional Jewish law, or halakha) by the New Covenant and Christian theology.

Other Christian groups have a view on the issue as well, or more generally views of the Old Covenant, though it has not usually been as hotly debated or rigorously defined as in the Lutheran and Reformed traditions.

Sometimes the issue is discussed under the headings of "Law and Grace," "Sin and Grace," "Spirit and Letter," and "ministry (διακονία, *diakonia*) of death/condemnation" and "ministry of the Spirit/righteousness".[1]

5.6.1 Lutheran view

Martin Luther and Lutheran theologians

A specific formulation of the distinction of Law and Gospel was first brought to the attention of the Christian Church by Martin Luther (1483–1546), and laid down as the foundation of evangelical Lutheran biblical exegesis and exposition in Article 4 of the *Apology of the Augsburg Confession* (1531): "All Scripture ought to be distributed into these two principal topics, the Law and the promises. For in some places it presents the Law, and in others the promise concerning Christ, namely, either when [in the Old Testament] it promises that Christ will come, and offers, for His sake, the remission of sins, justification, and life eternal, or when, in the Gospel [in the New Testament], Christ Himself, since He has appeared, promises the remission of sins, justification, and life eternal.".[2] The Formula of Concord likewise affirmed this distinction in Article V, where it states: "We believe, teach, and confess that the distinction between the Law and the Gospel is to be maintained in the Church with great diligence..."[3]

Martin Luther wrote: "Hence, whoever knows well this art of distinguishing between Law and Gospel, him place at the head and call him a doctor of Holy Scripture."[4] Throughout the Lutheran Age of Orthodoxy (1580–1713) this hermeneutical discipline was considered foundational and important by Lutheran theologians.

This distinction was the first article in *Patrick`s Places* (1528) by Patrick Hamilton.[5]

Carl Ferdinand Wilhelm Walther (1811–1887), who was the first (and third) president of the Lutheran Church - Missouri Synod, renewed interest in and attention to this theological skill in his evening lectures at Concordia Seminary, St. Louis 1884-85.[6]

Book of Concord

The Formula of Concord distinguished three uses, or purposes, in the Law in Article VI. It states: "[T]he Law was given to men for three reasons ..."

1. that "thereby outward discipline might be maintained against wild, disobedient men [and that wild and intractable men might be restrained, as though by certain bars]"
2. that "men thereby may be led to the knowledge of their sins"
3. that "after they are regenerate ... they might ... have a fixed rule according to which they are to regulate and direct their whole life"[7]

The primary concern was to maintain that the Law should continue to be used by Christians after they had been regenerated by the Holy Spirit through the Gospel to counter the doctrine of Johannes Agricola, who taught that the Law was no longer needed by regenerate Christians."[7][8] Confessional Lutheranism teaches that the Law cannot be used to deny the Gospel, neither can the Gospel be used to deny God's Law.[9]

The three *uses* of the Law are:

1. *Curb* - Through fear of punishment, the Law keeps the sinful nature of both Christians and non-Christians under check. This does not stop sin, since the sin is already committed when the heart desires to do what is wrong, yet it does stop the open outbreak of sin that will do even further damage.
2. *Mirror* - The Law serves as a perfect reflection of what God created the human heart and life to be. It shows anyone who compares his/her life to God's requirement for perfection that he/she is sinful.
3. *Guide* - This use of the law that applies only to Christians. The law becomes the believer's helper. Empowered by the gospel truth of forgiveness and righteousness in Christ, the believer's new self eagerly desires to live to please the Triune God.[10][11]

5.6.2 Reformed view

The distinction between law and gospel is a standard formulation in Reformed theology, though in recent years some have characterized it as distinctively Lutheran.[12] Zacharias Ursinus sharply contrasted the law and gospel as "the chief and general divisions of the holy scriptures" in his commentary on the Heidelberg Catechism.[13] Louis Berkhof called the law and the gospel "the two parts of the Word of God as a means of grace." Law and Gospel are found in both testaments.[14]

In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, the Reformer John Calvin distinguished three uses in the Law. Calvin wrote the following: "[T]o make the whole matter clearer, let us survey briefly the function and use of what is called the 'moral law.' Now, so far as I understand it, it consists of three parts."

1. "[W]hile it shows God's righteousness . . . , it warns, informs, convicts, and lastly condemns, every man of his own unrighteousness" (2.7.6).
2. It functions "by fear of punishment to restrain certain men who are untouched by any care for what is just and right unless compelled by hearing the dire threats in the law" (2.7.10).
3. "It admonishes believers and urges them on in well-doing" (2.7.12-13).

This scheme is the same as the Formula of Concord, with the exception that the first and second uses are transposed.

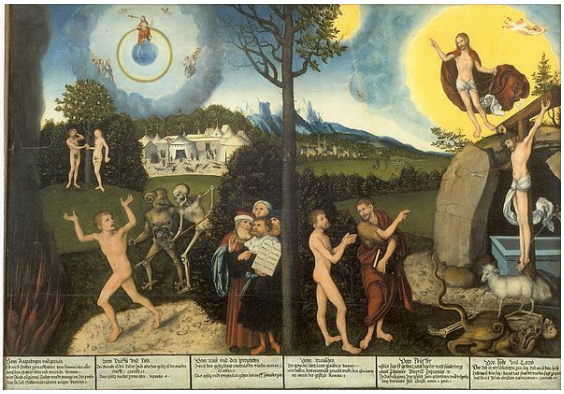
In later Reformed scholasticism the order is the same as for Lutherans. The three uses are called:

1. The *usus politicus sive civilis*, the political or civil use, is a restraint on sin and stands apart from the work of salvation. It is part of God's general revelation or common grace for unbelievers as well as believers.
2. The *usus elenchticus sive paedagogicus*, the elenctical or pedagogical use which confronts sin and points us to Christ.
3. The *usus didacticus sive normativus*, the didactic use, which is solely for believers. It teaches the way of righteousness, but does not have any power to condemn.[15]

5.6.3 Lutheran and Reformed differences

Scholastic Lutheran and Reformed theologians differed primarily on the way in which the third use functions for believers. The Reformed emphasized the third use (*tertius usus legis*) because the redeemed are expected to bear good works. Some Lutherans saw here the danger of works-righteousness, and argued that the third use should always return believers to the second use and again to Christ rather than being the ultimate norm.[15]

Additionally, some have suggested that the third use of the law is not found at all in Luther but comes from



Law and Grace, *by Lucas Cranach the Elder, a Lutheran. The left side of the tree illustrates law, while the right side illustrates grace*

Law and Grace, *a woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder, a Lutheran. The left side of the tree illustrates law, while the right side illustrates grace*

Melanchthon. Although some Lutherans have rejected that view,[16] it has caused others to dispute the validity of the "third use" of the Law entirely. Paul Althaus, for instance, writes in his treatise on Law and Gospel: "This [ethical] guidance by the Holy Spirit implies that God's concrete commanding cannot be read off from a written document, an inherited scheme of law. I must learn afresh every day what God wants of me. For God's commanding has a special character for each individual: it is always contemporary, always new. God commands me (and each person) in a particular way, in a different way than He commands others.... The living and spiritual character of the knowledge of what God requires of men in the present moment must not be destroyed by rules and regulations."[17] Such theologians believe the third use leads to or encourages a form of legalism and is possibly an implicit denial of sola fide. Conversely, Reformed Christians have sometimes seen this two-use scheme of some modern Lutherans as leading to a form of antinomianism.

Some believe that "for Luther the pedagogic use of the Law was primary, while for Calvin this third or didactic use was the principal one; yet [historically] both the Lutheran and the Reformed traditions maintain the threefold conceptualization."[16]

5.6.4 Imperative and indicative

Certain recurring grammatical patterns in the Old Testament[18] and in the New[19] involving the sequencing of imperative and indicative predicates are taken by theologians as central to the relationship between Law and Gospel. Daniel Defoe discusses three pairs of these predicates in his second and final sequel to *Robinson Crusoe*, *Serious Reflections* (1720): "forbear and live", "do and live", "believe and live". According to Defoe, the first was established with Adam in paradise, the second as the Law with the children of Israel, and the third as the Gospel of Jesus Christ[20]

However Luther viewed all imperative commands as law, even the command to believe the Gospel. In The Bondage of the Will he writes,

"[T]he commands exist to show, not our moral ability, but our inability. This includes God's command of all men everywhere to repent and believe the gospel, an impossible act of will apart from a supernatural work of the Holy Spirit uniting us to Christ .." p. 149

5.6.5 See also

- Antinomianism
- Calvinism
- Christian views on the Old Covenant
- Doctrine of the two kingdoms
- Expounding of the Law
- Great Commission
- Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification
- Legalism
- Lutheranism
- Theonomy

5.6.6 Notes

[1] 2 Cor. 3:6-9.

[2] F. Bente and W.H.T. Dau, ed. and trans. Triglot Concordia: The Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), Apology IV (II).5, p. 135

[3] *Triglot Concordia*, FC Epitome V, (II).1, p. 503ff

[4] Martin Luther, *Dr. Martin Luthers Sämmtliche Schriften*, St. Louis ed. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, N.D.), vol. 9, col. 802.

[5] *Patrick`s Places* (1528)

[6] The Proper Distinction Between Law and Gospel: 39 Evening Lectures, W.H.T. Dau tr., 1897.

[7] Triglot Concordia, *Formula of Concord*, Epitome VI.1

[8] F. Bente, *Historical Introductions to the Symbolical Books of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, chapter XVII: The Antinomistic Controversy, (St. Louis, MO: CPH, 1921), 161-172, cf. p. 169.

[9] Bichholz, Jon D. "Jesus canceled your debt!" (PDF). Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary. Retrieved 31 Jan 2015. We embrace a parallel principle in our division of God's word into law and gospel. The law (e.g., "God hates sinners," Psalm 5:5) cannot be used to deny the gospel ("God loves sinners," John 3:16), neither can the gospel be used to deny the law. Law passages teach the law, while gospel passages teach the gospel.

[10] "Uses Of The Law". *WELS Topical Q&A*. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Retrieved 29 Jan 2015.

[11] "Third use of the Law". *WELS Topical Q&A*. Wisconsin Evangelical Lutheran Synod. Retrieved 29 Jan 2015.

[12] Horton, Michael (2010). "The Distinction between Law and Gospel in Reformed Faith and Practice". *Modern Reformation*. **19** (5): 12–14. Retrieved 19 November 2012.

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[15] Muller, Richard A. (2006). *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms: Drawn Principally from Protestant Scholastic Theology* (1st ed.). Baker Book House. pp. 320–321. ISBN 978-0801020643.

[16] "The Third Use of Law" by John Warwick Montgomery in *Present Truth*, vol. 7

[17] Paul Althaus, The Divine Command, pp. 43, 45

[18] The Ten Commandments: the Reciprocity of Faithfulness. William P. Brown. Westminster John Knox Press, 2004 ISBN 0-664-22323-0. pp.133-44.

[19] *The Theology of Paul the Apostle*. James D. G. Dunn. Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2006. ISBN 0-8028-4423-5. p.626-31

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5.6.8 External links

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- The Struggle to Balance Law & Grace, by Bernie L. Gillespie
- The Christian and the Moral Law - Link list at thehighway.com

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- "Law and Grace" by John Murray
- "Calvin & The Law-Gospel Hermeneutic" by Michael Horton
- "What's Really at Stake?", by Michael Horton
- "Calvin's Third Use of the Law: An Assessment of Reformed Explications of the Ten Commandments" by John P. Burgess in PDF
- "Michael Horton, John Calvin, and 'Law & Gospel'", by Bill DeJong
- "Mixing 'Law' and Gospel in the Abrahamic Promise", by Mark Horne
- Law and Liberty, Law and Gospel extensive link list at monergism.com

5.7 Luther's Marian theology

Luther's Marian theology is derived from his views of Mary, the mother of Jesus. It was developed out of the deep Christian Marian devotion on which he was reared, and it was subsequently clarified as part of his mature Christocentric theology and piety.[1] Lutherans hold Mary in high esteem. Luther dogmatically asserted what he considered firmly established biblical doctrines like the divine motherhood of Mary while adhering to pious opinions of the Immaculate Conception and the perpetual virginity of Mary along with the caveat that all doctrine and piety should exalt and not diminish the person and work of Jesus Christ. By the end of Luther's theological development, his emphasis was always placed on Mary as merely a receiver of God's love and favor.[2] His opposition to regarding Mary as a mediatrix of intercession or redemption was part of his greater and more extensive opposition to the belief that the merits of the saints could be added to those of Jesus Christ to save humanity.[3][4]

5.7.1 Overview

Martin Luther

Despite Luther's harsh polemics against his Roman Catholic opponents over issues concerning Mary and the saints, theologians appear to agree that Luther adhered to the Marian decrees of the ecumenical councils and dogmas of the church. He held fast to the belief that Mary was a perpetual virgin and the Theotokos, the Mother of God.[5] Special attention is given to the assertion that Luther, some three-hundred years before the dogmatization of the Immaculate Conception by Pope Pius IX in 1854, was a firm adherent of that view. Others maintain that Luther in later years changed his position on the Immaculate Conception, which at that time was undefined in the Church; however, he maintained belief in Mary's lifelong sinlessness.[6] Regarding the Assumption of Mary, he stated that the Bible did not say anything about it. Important to him was the belief that Mary and the saints do live on after death.[5]

The centerpiece of Luther's Marian views was his 1521 *Commentary on the Magnificat* in which he extolled the magnitude of God's grace toward Mary and her own

legacy of Christian instruction and example demonstrated in her canticle of praise.[7]

5.7.2 Mother of God

Luther believed that the person Jesus is God the Son, the second Person of the Trinity, who was incarnated in the womb of his mother Mary as a human being, and since, as a person, he was "born of the Virgin Mary".[8] He believed that Mary is the Theotokos the God-bearer. Martin Luther said:

> [S]he became the Mother of God, in which work so many and such great good things are bestowed on her as pass man's understanding. For on this there follows all honor, all blessedness, and her unique place in the whole of mankind, among which she has no equal, namely, that she had a child by the Father in heaven, and such a Child.... Hence men have crowded all her glory into a single word, calling her the Mother of God.... None can say of her nor announce to her greater things, even though he had as many tongues as the earth possesses flowers and blades of grass: the sky, stars; and the sea, grains of sand. It needs to be pondered in the heart what it means to be the Mother of God."[9]

This belief was officially confessed by Lutherans in their Formula of Concord, Solid Declaration, article VIII.24:

> On account of this personal union and communion of the natures, Mary, the most blessed virgin, did not conceive a mere, ordinary human being, but a human being who is truly the Son of the most high God, as the angel testifies. He demonstrated his divine majesty even in his mother's womb in that he was born of a virgin without violating her virginity. Therefore she is truly the mother of God and yet remained a virgin.[10]

5.7.3 Perpetual virginity

Luther accepted the idea of the perpetual virginity of Mary. Jaroslav Pelikan noted that the perpetual virginity of Mary was Luther's lifelong belief,[11] and Hartmann Grisar, a Roman Catholic biographer of Luther, concurs that "Luther always believed in the virginity of Mary, even *post partum*, as affirmed in the Apostles' Creed, though afterwards he denied her power of intercession, as well as that of the saints in general, resorting to many misinterpretations and combated, as extreme and pagan, the extraordinary veneration which the Catholic Church showed towards Mary."[12] For this reason even a rigorously conservative Lutheran scholar like

Franz Pieper (June 27, 1852 – June 3, 1931)

Franz Pieper (1852–1931) refuses to follow the tendency among Protestants to insist that Mary and Joseph had marital relations and children after the birth of Jesus. It is implicit in his *Christian Dogmatics* that belief in Mary's perpetual virginity is the older and traditional view among Lutherans.[13] Some American Lutheran groups such as the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod later "found no difficulty with the view that Mary and Joseph themselves together had other children".[14]

5.7.4 Immaculate conception

In 1544 Luther said: 'God has formed the soul and body of the Virgin Mary full of the Holy Spirit, so that she is without all sins, for she has conceived and borne the Lord Jesus.'[15] Elsewhere, "All seed except Mary was vitiated [by original sin]."[16] When concentrating specifically on Mary herself as the Mother of God, Luther acknowledges God's singular action in bringing her into the world, but in making general comments about the universality of human sinfulness, he includes her among all the rest of humanity.

> Mother Mary, like us, was born in sin of sinful parents, but the Holy Spirit covered her, sanctified and purified her so that this child was born of flesh and blood, but not with sinful flesh and blood. The Holy Spirit permitted the Virgin Mary to remain a true, natural human being of flesh and blood, just as we. However, he warded off sin from her flesh and blood so that she became the mother of a pure child, not

> poisoned by sin as we are. For in that moment when she conceived, she was a holy mother filled with the Holy Spirit and her fruit is a holy pure fruit, at once God and truly man, in one person."[17]

5.7.5 Queen of Heaven

Throughout his lifetime, Luther referred to Mary as the "Queen of Heaven", but he warned against people using the term too much.[18]

5.7.6 Mediatrix

Before 1516, Luther's belief that Mary is a mediatrix between God and humanity was driven by his fear of Jesus being the implacable judge of all people.[19] "The Virgin Mary remains in the middle between Christ and humankind. For in the very moment he was conceived and lived, he was full of grace. All other human beings are without grace, both in the first and second conception. But the Virgin Mary, though without grace in the first conception, was full of grace in the second ... whereas other human beings are conceived in sin, in soul as well as in body, and Christ was conceived without sin in soul as well as in body, the Virgin Mary was conceived in body without grace but in soul full of grace."[20]

5.7.7 Veneration

Luther composed a number of venerational poems, which focus on Mary's virginity. He also translated old devotional Latin hymns on Mary into German. They express in various ways the incarnation of God through a virgin:

> *The virgin body was pregnant, but she remained pure*
>
> *Here comes the saviour of the gentiles*
> *Divine grace from heaven came over the virgin*
> and others.[5]

The Lutheran views on the veneration of Mary were interpreted differently by different theologians over time. Key is his interpretation of the Magnificat of Mary, which to some is a relic of the Catholic past, but to others a clear indication that he maintained a Marian piety.[6] Luther states in his Magnificat that one should pray to Mary, so God would give and do, through her will, what we ask. But, he adds, it is God's work alone.[6] Some interpret his Magnificat as a personal supplication to Mary, but not as a prayerful request for mediation. An important indicator of Luther's views on the veneration of Mary are not only his writings but also approved practices of Lutherans during his lifetime. The singing of the Magnificat in Latin was maintained in many German Lutheran communities. The Church Order (Kirchenordnung) of Brandenburg, Bugenhagen Braunschweig and other cities and districts decreed by the royal heads of the Lutheran Church maintained three Marian feast days to be observed as public holidays.[6] It is known that Martin Luther approved of this. He also approved of keeping Marian paintings and statues in the Churches.[5] Luther did, however, say that "Mary prays for the church".[21] He also advocated the use of the first half of the Hail Mary (that is, "Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus.") as a sign of reverence for and devotion to the Virgin.[22]

5.7.8 Comparison to Roman Catholic views

Luther came to criticize Roman Catholics for blurring the distinction between high admiration of the grace of God wherever it is manifested in human beings and religious service offered to them and other mere creatures. In some instances he considered the Roman Catholic practice of making intercessory requests addressed especially to Mary and other departed saints to be idolatry.[23]

> "Furthermore, how will you endure [the Romanists'] terrible idolatries? It was not enough that they venerated the saints and praised God in them, but they actually made them into gods. They put that noble child, the mother Mary, right into the place of Christ. They fashioned Christ into a judge and thus devised a tyrant for anguished consciences, so that all comfort and confidence was transferred from Christ to Mary, and then everyone turned from Christ to his particular saint. Can anyone deny this? Is it not true?"[24]

This distinction separates Lutheran views from Roman Catholic Mariology. It is also significant in the context of Roman Catholic claims that modern Protestants deserted Luther's Mariology. Roman Catholics and Protestants may have held some similar views on Mary in the 16th century, but for Luther it was a "passive" Mariology, while for Roman Catholics it was "active" in suggesting devout veneration ("*hyperdulia*") and constant prayers for intercession. Questions have been raised as to whether the Marian views of Martin Luther could bring separated Christians closer together. There seems to be scepticism on both sides.[25] The eighth "Lutherans and Catholics in Dialogue" addressed these issues.

Throughout Luther's life, he called Mary by the title Theotokos, Mother of God,[26] but at the same time he rejected the active invocation of Mary as formulated in such prayers as the "Hail Mary."[27] Protestantism usually follows the reformers in rejecting the practice of directly

addressing Mary and other saints in prayers of admiration or petition as part of their religious worship of God.[28]

5.7.9 See also

- John Calvin's views on Mary
- Mariology of Petrus Canisius
- Marian doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church
- History of Roman Catholic Mariology
- Ecumenical meetings and documents on Mary

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[2] Gritsch (1992), pp. 236-237

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[5] Bäumer (1994), p. 190

[6] Bäumer (1994), p. 191

[7] Martin Luther, *Luther's Works*, The American Edition, Jaroslav J. Pelikan & Helmut Lehmann, eds., 55 vols., (St. Louis & Philadelphia: CPH & Fortress Press, 1955-1986), 295-358; cf. Anderson, Stafford & Burgess (1992), pp. 236–237

[8] Cf. the Apostles' Creed.

[9] *Luther's Works*, 21:326, cf. 21:346.

[10] Tappert (1959), p. 595

[11] *Luther's Works*, 22:214-215

[12] Grisar (1915), p. 210

[13] Pieper (1950), pp. 308–309

[14] , LCMS FAQ - New Testament

[15] Martin Luther, *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, 61 vols., (Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nochfolger, 1883-1983), 52:39 [hereinafter: *WA*]

[16] *WA*, 39, II:107.

[17] Luther (1996), p. 291

[18] *Luther's Works* 7:573

[19] Brecht (1985), pp. 76–77

[20] Anderson, Stafford & Burgess (1992), p. 238

[21] Apology of the Augsburg Confession, XXI 27

[22] *Luther's Works*, 10 II, 407–409

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Chapter 6

Family

6.1 Katharina von Bora

Katharina von Bora (January 29, 1499 – December 20, 1552), also referred to as **"die Lutherin"** was the wife of Martin Luther, German leader of the Protestant Reformation. Beyond what is found in the writings of Luther and some of his contemporaries, little is known about her. Despite this, Katharina is often considered one of the most important participants of the Reformation because of her role in helping to define Protestant family life and setting the tone for clergy marriages.

6.1.1 Biography

Origin and family background

Katharina von Bora was daughter to a family of Saxon landed gentry.[1] According to common belief, she was born on 29 January 1499 in Lippendorf; however, there is no evidence of this date from contemporary documents. Due to the various lineages within the family and the uncertainty about Katharina's birth name, there were and are diverging theories about her place of birth.[2][3]

Lately, however, a different view upon this matter has been proposed: that she was born in Hirschfeld and that her parents are supposed to have been a Hans von Bora zu Hirschfeld and his wife Anna von Haugwitz.[4] Neither can be historically proven. It is also possible that Katharina was the daughter of a Jan von Bora auf Lippendorf and his wife Margarete, whose family name has not been established. Both were only specifically mentioned in the year 1505.[5]

Life as a nun

It is certain that her father sent the five-year-old Katharina to the Benedictine cloister in Brehna in 1504 for education. This is documented in a letter from Laurentius Zoch to Martin Luther, written on October 30, 1531. This letter is the only evidence for Katharina von Bora's time spent within the monastery.[6] At the age of nine she moved to the Cistercian monastery of Marienthron (Mary's Throne) in Nimbschen, near Grimma, where her maternal aunt was already a member of the community.[7] Katharina is well documented at this monastery in a provision list of 1509/10.[8]

After several years of religious life, Katharina became interested in the growing reform movement and grew dissatisfied with her life in the monastery. Conspiring with several other nuns to flee in secrecy, she contacted Luther and begged for his assistance.

On Easter Eve, 4 April 1523, Luther sent Leonhard Köppe, a city councilman of Torgau and merchant who regularly delivered herring to the monastery. The nuns successfully escaped by hiding in Köppe's covered wagon among the fish barrels, and fled to Wittenberg. A local student wrote to a friend: 'A wagon load of vestal virgins has just come to town, all more eager for marriage than for life. God grant them husbands lest worse befall."[9]

Luther at first asked the parents and relations of the refugee nuns to admit them again into their houses, but they declined to receive them, possibly as this was participating in a crime under canon law.[10] Within two years, Luther was able to arrange homes, marriages, or employment for all of the escaped nuns—except for Katharina. She first was housed with the family of Philipp Reichenbach, the city clerk of Wittenberg, and later went to the home of Lucas Cranach the Elder and his wife, Barbara. Katharina had a number of suitors, including Wittenberg University alumnus Jerome (Hieronymus) Baumgärtner (1498–1565) of Nuremberg and a pastor, Kaspar Glatz of Orlamünde, but none of the proposed matches resulted in marriage. Finally, she told Luther's friend and fellow reformer, Nikolaus von Amsdorf, that she would be willing to marry only Luther or von Amsdorf himself.

Marriage to Luther

Martin Luther eventually married Katharina on June 13, 1525, before witnesses including Justus Jonas, Johannes Bugenhagen, and Barbara and Lucas Cranach the Elder.[11] There was a wedding breakfast the next morning with a small company, but two weeks later, on June 27, they held a more formal public ceremony which was presided over by Bugenhagen.[12] Von Bora was 26 years old, Luther 41. The couple took up residence in the

Kattarina Lutterin, as the script reads, depicted by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1526

Martin Luther

"Black Cloister" (Augusteum), the former dormitory and educational institution for Augustinian friars studying in Wittenberg, given as a wedding gift by the reform-minded John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, who was the son and nephew of Luther's protectors, John, Elector of Saxony and Frederick III, Elector of Saxony.[13]

Katharina immediately took on the task of administering and managing the vast holdings of the monastery, breeding and selling cattle, and running a brewery in order to provide for their family and the steady stream of students who boarded with them and visitors seeking audiences with her husband. In times of widespread illness, Katharina operated a hospital on site, ministering to the sick alongside other nurses. Luther called her the "boss of Zulsdorf," after the name of the farm they owned, and the "morning star of Wittenberg" for her habit of rising at 4 a.m. to take care of her various responsibilities.

In addition to her busy life tending to the lands and grounds of the monastery, Katharina bore six children: Hans (7 June 1526 – 27 October 1575), Elizabeth (10 December 1527 – 3 August 1528) who died at eight months, Magdalena (4 May 1529 – 20 September 1542) who died at thirteen years, Martin (9 November 1531 – 4 March 1565), Paul (28 January 1533 – 8 March 1593), and Margarete (17 December 1534 – 1570); in addition she suffered a miscarriage on 1 November 1539. The Luthers also raised four orphan children, including Katharina's nephew, Fabian.[14]

Anecdotal evidence indicates that Katharina von Bora's role as the wife of a critical member of the Reformation paralleled the marital teachings of Luther and the movement. Katharina depended on Luther such as for his incomes before the estate's profits increased, thanks to her. She respected him as a higher vessel and called him formally "Sir Doctor" throughout her life. He reciprocated such respect by occasionally consulting her on church matters.[15] She assisted him with running the menial estate duties as he couldn't complete both these and those to the church and university. Katharina also directed the renovations done to accommodate the size of their operations.[16]

After Luther's death

When Martin Luther died in 1546, Katharina was left in difficult financial straits without Luther's salary as professor and pastor, even though she owned land, properties, and the Black Cloister. She was counselled by Martin Luther to move out of the old abbey and sell it, after his death, and move into much more modest quarters with the children who remained at home, but she refused.[17] Almost immediately thereafter, Katharina had to leave the Black Cloister (now called Lutherhaus) on her own at the outbreak of the Schmalkaldic War, from which she fled to Magdeburg. After her return

Katharina von Bora, 1546

the approach of the war forced another flight in 1547, this time to Braunschweig. In July of that year, at the close of the war, she was at last able to return to Wittenberg. After the war the buildings and lands of the monastery had been torn apart and laid waste, the cattle and other farm animals were stolen or killed. If she had sold the land and the buildings, she could have had a good financial situation. As it was, economically, they could not remain there. Katharina was able to support herself thanks to the generosity of John Frederick I, Elector of Saxony and the princes of Anhalt.

She remained in Wittenberg in poverty until 1552, when an outbreak of the Black Plague and a harvest failure forced her to leave the city once again. She fled to Torgau where her cart was involved in a bad accident near the city gates, seriously injuring Katharina. She died in Torgau about three months later on December 20, 1552 at the age of fifty-three and was buried at Torgau's Saint Mary's Church, far from her husband's grave in Wittenberg. She is reported to have said on her deathbed, "I will stick to Christ as a burr to cloth."

By the time of Katharina's death, the surviving Luther children were adults. After Katharina's death, the Black Cloister was sold back to the university in 1564 by his heirs. Hans studied law and became a court advisor. Martin studied theology, but never had a regular pastoral call. Paul became a physician. He fathered six children and the male line of the Luther family continued through him to John Ernest Luther, ending in 1759. Margareta Luther, born in Wittenberg on December 17, 1534, married into a noble, wealthy Prussian family, to Georg von Kunheim (Wehlau, July 1, 1523 – Mühlhausen, October 18, 1611, the son of Georg von Kunheim (1480–1543) and wife Margarethe, Truchsessin von Wetzhausen (1490–1527)) but died in Mühlhausen in 1570 at the age of thirty-six. Her descendants have continued to modern times, including German President Paul von Hindenburg (1847–1934) and the Counts zu Eulenburg and Princes zu Eulenburg und Hertefeld.

6.1.2 Commemoration

She is commemorated in the Calendar of Saints of some Lutheran Churches in the United States on December 20.

6.1.3 Notes

[1] Fischer/v.Stutterheim in: AfF (2005) pp. 242ff; Wagner in: Genealogie (2005) pp. 673ff, Genealogie (2006) pp. 30ff; Wagner in FFM (2006), pp. 342ff

[2] D. Albrecht Thoma, *Katharina von Bora: Geschichtliches Lebensbild* (1900)

[3] Fischer/v.Stutterheim, 'Zur Herkunft der Katharina v. Bora, Ehefrau Martin Luthers', in AfF (2005), pp. 242ff; Jürgen Wagner, 'Zur mutmaßlichen Herkunft der Catherina v. Bora' in Genealogie (2005), pp. 730ff, Genealogie (2006), pp. 30ff; Jürgen Wagner in FFM (2006), pp. 342ff

[4] Georg von Hirschfeld, 'Die Beziehungen Luthers und seiner Gemahlin, Katharina von Bora, zur Familie von Hirschfeld' in *Beiträge zur sächssischen Kirchengeschichte* (1883), pp. 83ff; Wolfgang Liebehenschel, *Der langsame Aufstieg des Morgensterns von Wittenberg* (Oschersleben, 1999), p. 79

[5] Jürgen Wagner, 'Zur Geschichte der Familie v. Bora und einiger Güter in den sächsischen Ämtern Borna und Pegau: Wer waren Martin Luthers Schwiegereltern?' in Genealogie (2010), p. 300

[6] *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Briefwechsel*. 6. Band. Weimar 1935 Nr. 1879 s. 219

[7] "500th Anniversary of Katharina von Bora". Augustana. Retrieved 2014-02-22.

[8] CDS *Codex Diplomaticus Saxoniae Regiae* II 15 Nr. 455

[9] Bainton, *Here I Stand*, p. 223.

[10] Rines, George Edwin, ed. (1920). "Bora, Katharina von". *Encyclopedia Americana*.

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[13] *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Tischreden*. 6 vols. Weimar: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1912–21

[14] Peterson, Susan Lynn, *Luther's Later Years (1538–1546)*.

[15] Karant-Nunn, Susan C., and Merry E. Wiesner. *Luther On Women: A Sourcebook*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003. eBook Collection (EBSCOhost). Web. 3 Dec. 2014.

[16] Treu, Martin. "Katharina von Bora, the Woman at Luther's Side." *Lutheran Quarterly*; 13.2 (1999): 156–178. ATLA Religion Database with ATLASerials. Web. 3 Dec. 2014.

[17] [Johan Theophil Bring, *The Wife and Home of Luther*. 1917, Stockholm]

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6.1.5 External links

- A website devoted to Katharina von Bora (German)
- The Lutheran Church – Missouri Synod (USA) Concordia Historical Institute website on Katherine von Bora
- Katie Luther, by Rebecca Johnson: ,
- John Gottlieb Morris,[1] 1803–1895 *Catherine de Bora: Or Social and Domestic Scenes in the Home of Luther* 1856
- Hermann Nietschmann 1840–1929 *Katharine von Bora, Dr. Martin Luther's wife. A picture from life* (1890)
- A Modern skit about Martin and Katharina YouTube

This article is partially based on the article Katharina von Bora from the German Wikipedia.

[1] "Internet Archive Search: John Gottlieb Morris".

6.2 Magdalena Luther

Magdalena Luther (4 May [O.S. 25 March] 1529[1] – 20 September [O.S. 11 September] 1542) was the third child and second daughter of German priest and iconic figure of the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther and his wife, Katharina von Bora. She died at the age of thirteen, unmarried.

6.2.1 Life

Magdalena was born in Wittenberg[1] as the couple's third child and second but first surviving daughter, as her older sister, Elizabeth, had died the year before Magdalena was born, at the age of seven months. Luther reported to Nicholas von Amsdorf that Katharina had gone into labour and after three hours, had delivered, without any difficulties, a perfectly healthy baby daughter.[2] She was a much loved child and she was nicknamed *Lenchen*[2] inside her family. Luther also asked Amsdorf to be godfather to "the said little heathen and to help her [enter] holy Christendom through the holy, precious sacrament of baptism.[2] During the Diet of Augsburg, in 1530, Luther received a portrait of the one-year-old Magdalena from his wife and thanked her by offering suggestions for weaning that he had received from Argula von Grumbach, one of the few women whose writing in favour of the Protestant Reformation are extant.[2]

"The death of Magdalena", Lucas Cranach the Elder

6.2.2 Death

Magdalena died in Wittenberg in her father's arms[2] after a prolonged illness. Luther's letters and Table Talk testify that the death of Magdalena was an extremely trying time for both her parents and her older brother Hans, who was summoned home to be with his sister at the very end. It was later written:

6.2.3 References

[1] Luther, Magdalena *Genealogics.org*; van de Pas, Leo

[2] Hendrix, p. 76

6.2.4 Bibliography

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6.3 Paul Luther

Warning: Page using Template:Infobox person with unknown parameter "religion" (this message is shown only in preview).

Paul Luther (28 January 1533 – 8 March 1593) was a German physician, medical chemist, and alchemist.[1] He was the third son of the Protestant reformer Martin Luther and was successively physician to John Frederick II, Duke of Saxony; Joachim II Hector, Elector of Brandenburg; Augustus, Elector of Saxony and his successor Christian I. He taught alchemy to Anne of Denmark.

6.3.1 Early life

Born at Wittenberg, the third son of Martin Luther by his marriage to Katharina von Bora, Luther was named after Saint Paul the Apostle and proved such an energetic child that his father said of him, "He is destined to fight against the Turks." The boy's education began with the study of Greek and Latin under Philip Melanchthon and Veit Winsheim.[2]

In 1546, when Luther was thirteen, his father died, leaving the family in straitened circumstances without Luther's salaries. At the outbreak of the Schmalkaldic War, they fled to Magdeburg and in 1547 to Brunswick. In July, at the end of the war, it was possible to return to Wittenberg, although in relative poverty. On the advice of Melanchthon, Luther attended the University of Wittenberg to study medicine.[2]

In September 1552, an outbreak of the Bubonic plague forced the Luther family to leave their home once again. They fled to Torgau, travelling in a cart which overturned near the city gates, seriously injuring Luther's mother. She died there on 20 December 1552. While in Torgau, on 5 February 1553, at the age of twenty, Luther married Anna, daughter of the translator Veit Warbeck (*c.* 1490–1534).[3]

6.3.2 Career

Returning to Wittenburg, Luther completed his medical studies and on 29 July 1557 gained the degree of Doctor of Medicine.[2]

He turned down an offer to teach at the University of Jena because of his objections to the theology of Victorinus Strigel, a leading academic there. In religion, Luther was an enthusiastic Lutheran and zealously defended his father's teachings.[2]

Luther took up a career as a physician. He became the personal physician of John Frederick II, Duke of Saxony, remaining at Gotha until the surrender of the city on 13 April 1567. He was then in practice at the court of Joachim II Hector, Elector of Brandenburg until his death on 3 January 1571, and was subsequently physician to Augustus, Elector of Saxony, and his successor, Christian I, at Dresden. In 1590 he retired and took up residence at Leipzig.[2]

Luther was also distinguished as a chemist[2] and developed several drugs, such as *Unguentum ex nitro*, *Magistrum perlarum*, *Magistrum collorum*, and *Aurum potabile*, which were produced by the pharmacies of Saxony.

He was interested in alchemy, the ultimate goal of which was the production of gold, and has been claimed as the most significant instructor of the amateur alchemist Anne of Denmark, Electress of Saxony.[1]

Luther died at Leipzig on 8 March 1593. His funeral oration was given by his friend Matthias Dresser.[4]

6.3.3 Family

Luther's mother Katharina von Bora, by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1526

While still a medical student at Wittenberg, Luther had married Anna Warbeck.[3] They were married for thirty-three years, until Anna's death at Dresden on 15 May 1586.[5] From this marriage there were six children:[3]

- Paul Luther (1553-1558)
- Margarethe Luther (1555-1597), who married Simon Gottsteig[3]
- Johannes Ernst Luther (1560-1637), who became canon of Zeitz. Through him, the male line of the Luther family continued until 1759.[3]
- Johannes Friedrich Luther (1562-1599)
- Anna Luther (1564-1596), who married in Oberschaar Nicolaus Freiherr Marschall von Bieberstein
- Johannes Joachim Luther (1569-1600)

6.3.4 Publications

- *Oratio de arte medica et cura tuendae valetudinis* (published posthumously at Breslau, 1598)[6]

6.3.5 Notes

[1] Jan Apotheker, Livia Simon Sarkadi, *European Women in Chemistry* (2011), p. 35: "Dr. Paul Luther (1533–1593) a doctor and alchemist, may have been her most significant teacher."

[2] John G. Morris, *Catharine de Bora, or Social and Domestic Scenes in the Home of Luther*, p. 112

[3] Henry Worsley, *The life of Martin Luther*, vol. 2 (1856), p. 419

[4] John Warwick Montgomery, *In Defense of Martin Luther: Essays* (Northwestern Publishing House, 1970), p. 104

[5] Martina Voigt, Ernst Schubert, *Die Inschriften der Stadt Zeitz* (2001), p. 198

[6] *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vols. 9-10 (Duke University Press, 1979), p. 34

6.3.6 Primary sources

- Matthias Dresser, *De vita et morte D. Pauli Lutheri medici* (Leipzig, 1593)

6.3.7 Further reading

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- Christoph Werner: Paulus Luther. Sein Leben von ihm selbst aufgeschrieben; Wahrhaftiger Roman. Bertuch, Weimar 2015, ISBN 978-3-86397-051-2.

Chapter 7

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7.1 Text

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Brown, Brandmeister (old), Phantomsteve, RussBot, Danhames, Serinde, Fabartus, Red Slash, Sarranduin, Lowenddan, Briaboru, Tresckow, DanMS, HVH, Kirill Lokshin, RadioFan, Hydrargyrum, Jasonb, Manop, Shell Kinney, Gaius Cornelius, CambridgeBayWeather, Sonntaghk, Imladros, Kimchi.sg, Wimt, Shanel, NawlinWiki, Zhaladshar, Mal7798, Wiki alf, Kenasuta, Nirvana2013, Adaxl, NW036, Grafen, Rjensen, Aristotelle, Taco325i, Shaun F, Robchurch, Scaredofme, 9cds, Irishguy, Nick, Retired username, Brandon, PhilipC, Vancouveriensis, RL0919, Amcfreely, Misza13, Tony1, Zwobot, Phreyan, Syrthiss, Aaron Schulz, Michael Drew, BOT-Superzerocool, DeadEyeArrow, John Sheu, Bota47, Derek.cashman, Jpeob, Botteville, Ben Parsons, Wknight94, Thane Eichenauer, Drboisclair, Ms2ger, Avraham, Tuckerresearch, FF2010, Bakkster Man, Sandstein, Laszlo Panaflex, Awillcox, Albert109, TheLibertarianGuy, Teiladnam, Silverhorse, Nikkimaria, Theda, Jwissick, Fang Aili, Rms125a@hotmail.com, JRawle, Vogelfrei, BorgQueen, Wikiman86, ZoFreX, JoanneB, Peyna, Red Jay, Alias Flood, Whobot, Emc2, Curpsbot-unicodify, Staxringold, Kungfuadam, Archola, Shtove, Scientz, GrinBot~enwiki, DVD R W, Jbull, Arcadie, Teo64x,

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Cardamom, FrescoBot, LucienBOT, Tobby72, Lothar von Richthofen, Lipsquid, Recognizance, HJ Mitchell, Endofskull, J Hofmann Kemp, Girlwithgreeneyes, Melitalihia, Boleyn3, A little insignificant, Drew R. Smith, DivineAlpha, Wireless Keyboard, HamburgerRadio, Citation bot 1, RaveDog, Jakob Russian, Intelligentsium, Whiteboardrubber, Redrose64, Byblos Papyrus, Butchisadog, Pinethicket, I dream of horses, Cite Word, Abductive, Piiw, PrincessofLlyr, Bigfootproph, Max1994budack, Tomcat7, Moonraker, MastiBot, Tomboycd09, SpaceFlight89, Île flottante, Quoted Text, Tb240904, Meaghan, Aspstren, Horst-schlaemma, ActivExpression, Irbisgreif, MADZ1996, CovenantWord, Gerda Arendt, Kgrad, TobeBot, Packsaddle, LeQuackBalloon, Excerpt Revision, Absenteeist, ئاراس نوری, Zacstar195, BlackAce48, 700KFF, Vrenator, Vancouver Outlaw, Lucius Winslow, Specs112, Jbobber69, JV Smithy, O'Wallaby, Paintbaler, Tbhotch, DARTH SIDIOUS 2, Kelsie006, Editoruption, RjwilmsiBot, Bento00, Gayboy owns123456789, Stated Point, Ripchip Bot, Hatgs, Sheepeeper, Hatgm, Hatsm, Saruha, Mchcopl, Myownworst, NerdyScienceDude, In ictu oculi, Aircorn, Salvio giuliano, Bizzurp, DASHBot, Steve03Mills, AtTheNecropolis, EmausBot, John of Reading, Acather96, WikitanvirBot, Gfoley4, Canadiandy1, GoingBatty, Playmobilonhishorse, Rarevogel, Tommy2010, Ornithikos, John of Lancaster, Solomonfromfinland, Evanh2008, Kkm010, ZéroBot, John Cline, PBS-AWB, Quasihuman, Josve05a, A2soup, Lateg, GianoM, Bahudhara, Access Denied, A930913, Suslindisambiguator, Netknowle, Screensavant, Unreal7, Cod Lover Oil, Explained Cause, Simbagraphix, Pankrator, IGeMiNix, RaqiwasSushi, Brandmeister, L Kensington, Unitrin, Palosirkka, AlexJohnTorres12, Willthacheerleader18, Bozzio, Damirgraffiti, Mdok423, Mlang.Finn, Jye182, Gregofthewest, ChuispastonBot, Mcc1789, Smldsnk, Username uses wiki, Dannyk4, Mjbmrbot, Will Beback Auto, ClueBot NG, Jnorton7558, Alexcoldcasefan, Cadetgray, Hazhk, Dbutlerkim, Qwerasdfzxcv1234, Kim Traynor, JoetheMoe25, Cognate247, Urharec, سیاجد امجد سیاجد, Helpful Pixie Bot, Eromae, Kirchlichedogmatik, Wbm1058, BG19bot, Neptune's Trident, TGilmour, FSII, Wekn reven i susej eht, Kndimov, MardiGras21, Ecimino, Jweaver28, Marcocapelle, ReformedArsenal, Evangelidis, Neptuul, Ernio48, Jfhutson, WikiHannibal, Panu Hallamaa, MarcAlexanderReed, Oct13, Matzkalt2, Joeytanc, DopplerRadioShow, Jason from nyc, Benjaminfreyart, KS79, Nathanielfirst, JYBot, Caula, Dexbot, Mogism, VIAFbot, Joseph Fanai, Jamesx12345, Evildoer187, Me, Myself, and I are Here, Ashbeckjonathan, Moagim, LimosaCorel, Lemnaminor, Speahlman, BreakfastJr, RoyBurtonson, FoxyOrange, Adamduker, Hafspajen (usurped), Unfriend13, Qnyx77, Dimzz, Cherubinirules, Cityskylinepics14, OliverBel, Hansmuller, Mandruss, Aubreybardo, Kind Tennis Fan, Davidbena, OccultZone, Suspended Time, BillMoyers, Dcmo, KnucklesKnave, Broter, Trzęsacz, Examplar, TheG3NERAL John 3:16, Monkbot, BethNaught, Stomachinknots, Hymnodist.2004, Ephemeratta, Aphillipsmusique, Krosshairz, GeorgeV73GT, QuartzReload, Federica Viazzi (BEIC), Prinsgezinde, KasparBot, Westfield2015, MurdoMondane, WSDavitt, SICDAMNOME, FiendYT, Little Will, HeinrichCotta, Blight55, Jujutsuan, Eurasian86 and Anonymous: 1544

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- **Protestant Reformation** *Source:* https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protestant_Reformation?oldid=762176343 *Contributors:* JHK, Derek Ross, Wesley, Uriyan, The Anome, Malcolm Farmer, Amillar, Scipius, Rmhermen, SimonP, Isis~enwiki, Hephaestos, Leandrod, Mkmcconn, Stevertigo, DennisDaniels, Lir, Nealmcb, Michael Hardy, Liftarn, Ixfd64, 172, IZAK, Sannse, Jebba, Irmgard, Djmutex, Djnjwd, Kwekubo, Evercat, Ruhrjung, Johan Magnus, Raven in Orbit, Vargenau, Emperorbma, Alex S, Charles Matthews, Adam Bishop, CTSWyneken, Tb, Zoicon5, DJ Clayworth, Peregrine981, Tpbradbury, Jake Nelson, Paul-L~enwiki, François~enwiki, Qertis, Pollinator, Jeffq, Phil Boswell, Robbot, MrJones, Philip Taron, RickDikeman, Jredmond, Chocolateboy, Goethean, Psychonaut, Rholton, Rursus, Gidonb, Zubras, Hadal, Xanzzibar, Adam78, Snobot, Connelly, DocWatson42, Nunh-huh, Colemanyee, Tom harrison, Bkonrad, Michael Devore, Niteowlneils, Bobblewik, Stevietheman, Fishal, Antandrus, Bhuck, MisfitToys, Piotrus, Jossi, OwenBlacker, Supadawg, Tothebarricades.tk, Zfr, SatyrEyes, WpZurp, Gary D, Neutrality, Burschik, Joyous!, Flex, Lacrimosus, RevRagnarok, Mike Rosoft, Vesta~enwiki, ThaddeusFrye, EugeneZelenko, Discospinster, Liblamb, Pavel Vozenilek, Stbalbach, La gaie, Bender235, ESkog, Kbh3rd, Neko-chan, El C, Kross, Shanes, Thuresson, Tjic, Bobo192, NetBot, 23skidoo, Viriditas, Polocrunch, Dejitarob, Giraffedata, SpeedyGonsales, Man vyi, Jojit fb, Flammifer, Nsaa, Jjron, Jumbuck, Alansohn, Gary, MrTree, Duffman~enwiki, StanZegel, Ben James Ben, Rd232, Craigy144, Leonardo Alves, Riana, RoySmith, Spangineer, Hu, Wtmitchell, Velella, Ubermonkey, RainbowOfLight, NicholasJones, Sleigh, Ghirlandajo, Tainter, LukeSurl, Aristides, Dismas, Fdewaele, Mhazard9, Bastin, Rodii, OwenX, Woohookitty, Xover, Shreevatsa, Camw, Brunnock, PatGallacher, Nameneko, WadeSimMiser, Jeff3000, Matijap, Kelisi, Kmg90, Waldir, Pfalstad, KHM03, Dysepsion, Graham87, BD2412, Qwertyus, Dpr, Grammarbot, Sjö, Rjwilmsi, Biederman, Captain Disdain, Funnyhat, Nneonneo, Ligulem, Lairor, Afterwriting, The wub, DoubleBlue, Olessi, MarnetteD, Matt Deres, Sango123, Yamamoto Ichiro, John Deas, FlaBot, Billywyy, RobertG, Dpknauss, Doc glasgow, Nivix, Dtasripin, Rclose, Jameshfisher, Paul foord, Hackloon, RexNL, Gurch, Mark J, Codex Sinaiticus, Goudzovski, Srleffler, MGSpiller, SGreen~enwiki, Rekleov, Chobot, Kresspahl, DTOx, Gregorik, Sharkface217, DVdm, Gdrbot, Bgwhite, Skoosh, Gwernol, Dúnadan, Roboto de Ajvol, Wavelength, Jim Ellis, StuffOfInterest, RussBot, Fabartus, Red Slash, Briaboru, Markus Schmaus, Fz22, Chensiyuan, SLLevy, Dustypagoda, Gaius Cornelius, CambridgeBayWeather, Eleassar, Pseudomonas, Thane, TheUnforgiven, Wiki alf, LiniShu, Mmccalpin, Rjensen, Irishguy, Kdbuffalo, Kingpomba, Ruhrfisch, Moe Epsilon, Davidkinnen, El Pollo Diablo, Occono, Lockesdonkey, Larsobrien, DeadEyeArrow, Gamingexpert, Mistercow, Haemo, Brisvegas, Wknight94, PGPirate, Ms2ger, Sandstein, Laszlo Panaflex, 21655, Zzuuzz, Syd Midnight, Whamilton42, CapitalLetterBeginning, Dspradau, Petri Krohn, GraemeL, Aeon1006, JoanneB, CWenger, Bibelforscher, Katieh5584, Junglecat, Stumps, BorisAnthony, Vanka5, Attilios, Sarah, SmackBot, Britannicus, Meshach, Moeron, Prodego, InverseHypercube, KnowledgeOfSelf, Hydrogen Iodide, Melchoir, Tony164, Wegesrand, Bomac, Kopaka649, HeartofaDog, Yopie, Srnec, Yamaguchi??, Gilliam, Portillo, Eclectek, Hmains, Skizzik, Themobman91, Colorado Locks, Rmosler2100, Schmiteye, Chris the speller, Bluebot, Quinsareth, Chabuk, Jprg1966, Master of Puppets, Miquonranger03, Sadads, Frinkmakesyouthink, Dan198792, Darth Panda, Lightspeedchick, Can't sleep, clown will eat me, Smallbones, WikiCats, JonHarder, TheKMan, Benjamin Mako Hill, Blicarea, Addshore, Khukri, Makemi, Infovoria, Only, Andrew c, Hammer1980, BryanG, Jlujan69, BiggKwell, Gossg, Kukini, The Fwanksta, Ohconfucius, Will Beback, Cyberevil, SashatoBot, Yohan euan o4, ArglebargleIV, Tymek, Serein (renamed because of SUL),

Kuru, T g7, Euchiasmus, Scientizzle, Wtwilson3, J 1982, Accurizer, Heran et Sang'gres, IronGargoyle, Ckatz, Jameswsjackson, Nbatra, Special-T, Werdan7, Stwalkerster, Billreid, Kyoko, Waggers, Epiphyllumlover, Big Smooth, Zapvet, Avant Guard, Galactor213, Fan-1967, Iridescent, Roger Arguile, Joseph Solis in Australia, Delta x, Provocateur, Igoldste, Blehfu, Adambiswanger1, Courcelles, Tawkerbot2, Ptmccain, Doctordestiny, Ghaly, Cskelsey, Pjn, JForget, Jsmlw, CmdrObot, Tedeh, Dycedarg, Baiji, Basawala, Pseudo-Richard, Liist, Timbob10, Dr Zak, Vaquero100, Cydebot, Cahk, Jonathan Tweet, Ajfulks, Aristophanes68, HokieRNB, Mukhtar1, Gogo Dodo, JFreeman, Llort, ST47, Amandajm, Miguel de Servet, Joyradost, Michael C Price, Tawkerbot4, DumbBOT, Sepik121, RelHistBuff, DBaba, Jaerik, Energyfreezer, The League of Crazy Men, Hillshum, Zalgo, Arb, Gimmetrow, JamesAM, Lectert, Thijs!bot, Epbr123, Douglas Michael Massing, Harmless rebellion, N5iln, Anupam, ClosedEyesSeeing, Marek69, John254, SomeStranger, Doyley, Astynax, Jkdoyle, CharlotteWebb, Yumoses, Deipnosophista, TylerRick, DavidShaw, Escarbot, EastCoastSurf, Mentifisto, Waynenoogen, AntiVandalBot, DavidCrookes, Luna Santin, Seaphoto, Smith2006, RapidR, Jj137, Russau, Mackan79, Modernist, North Shoreman, Qwerty Binary, Myanw, Colin MacLaurin, MikeLynch, JAnDbot, Husond, Genevoise, MER-C, Instinct, TWake, Janejellyroll, CleanUpCrew, PhilKnight, Mipago, Lomis, Snowynight, Sexington7, Magioladitis, Ramurf, Turkishambassador, Parsecboy, VoABot II, AuburnPilot, Dekimasu, Hasek is the best, JamesBWatson, Alexander Domanda, Tedickey, Cat Whisperer, Nyttend, CodeCat, Elcajonfarms, Afaprof01, Allstarecho, Slackbuie, Nikolaj Christensen, A1000, Egk14@juno.com, Xaliber, Nveron, Robin S, Wassupwestcoast, Greenguy1090, Ekki01, Ichnography, MartinBot, GoldenMeadows, Arjun01, Ravichandar84, Anaxial, ScorpO, Keith D, Uvula, Mschel, Kostisl, CommonsDelinker, AlexiusHoratius, PrestonH, PStrait, Tgeairn, Dark River, Shellwood, J.delanoy, Sasajid, Pharaoh of the Wizards, Nev1, Mange01, DrKay, Trusilver, Rgoodermote, Mnpeter, Gaming4JC, Numbo3, Uncle Dick, Dbiel, Colincbn, A Nobody, Nikxmarie, Kamakazi324, G. Campbell, Keesiewonder, BrokenSphere, Katalaveno, DarkFalls, Renamed user 5417514488, Paper ripper 1968, Janus Shadowsong, JayJasper, AntiSpamBot, Aram33~enwiki, Scapegoat4242, Sundar1, Darrendeng, NewEnglandYankee, WaltTFB, SJP, Joost 99, Kansas Bear, KylieTastic, Cometstyles, Jamesontai, HyDeckar, Vanished user 39948282, Pastordavid, Ajfweb, PetuniaS, Andy Marchbanks, Theguybehindyou, Alex:D, Frexes, Inas, RoyFocker, Stephen Games, Deor, VolkovBot, Thedjatclubrock, One Night In Hackney, A.Ou, Hersfold, Jeff G., Stefan Kruithof, Abigailgem, Irish Pearl, Philip Trueman, Intery, TXiKiBoT, Oshwah, Red Act, Technopat, MDexter66, Andres rojas22, Woodsstock, Mtsujeff, Presbyterian elder, Arnon Chaffin, Andrein, Seraphim, Amyehughes, Bass fishing physicist, Martin451, Heitz669, Hamitr, Mirimax Maiden, Cremepuff222, BotKung, Jr04309, Wiae, Viator slovenicus, Mikeatnip, TelecomNut, Eldredo, Butterscotch, Ecomstock, Deadman2323, Audix321, Meters, Wolfrock, Synthebot, John8775, Why Not A Duck, Yoshi1656, HiDrNick, Sue Rangell, AlleborgoBot, Nagy, Kehrbykid, Quantpole, Logan, HansHermans, IndulgentReader, URfaceisback, EmxBot, Vladdybhs, Hmwith, Vargatamas, Lokiita, Marylawton~enwiki, The Random Editor, Thw1309, SieBot, StAnselm, Tresiden, AlphaPyro, Malcolmxl5, Jauerback, Caltas, Milesofjazz, Prowiki~enwiki, Triwbe, Yintan, Calabraxthis, Ustref, Anglicanus, Bentogoa, Flyer22 Reborn, Radon210, Captain Yankee, Oda Mari, Gherkinmad, Crowstar, Allmightyduck, Oxymoron83, Faradayplank, Ptolemy Caesarion, KPH2293, Xe7al, AnonGuy, Lightmouse, Poindexter Propellerhead, Khvalamde, Techman224, KathrynLybarger, Ealdgyth, SimonTrew, DancingPhilosopher, A E Francis, Svick, Vanished user ewfisn2348tui2f8n2fio2utjfeoi210r39jf, StaticGull, Gfdgdrgserw, Gianpa4, Prevalis, Pinkadelica, UPL2229, Psuedodynamic, Randy Kryn, Cfabbrumd, Gr8opinionater, Faithlessthewonderboy, Atif.t2, YSSYguy, Loren.wilton, ClueBot, Morningstar1814, NickCT, Binksternet, Tucker001, Tbsea, The Thing That Should Not Be, Postmortemjapan, Shark96z, R000t, XPTO, Arakunem, Freebullets, Drmies, Der Golem, Wikitam331, Skäpperöd, CounterVandalismBot, Iuhkjhk87y678, Xenon54, Neverquick, Excirial, Jusdafax, Hello Control, Ironman0392, Mjtanton, Feline Hymnic, Wikified75, Nelsormensch, Arcot, Lartoven, Tyler, NuclearWarfare, World, Riccardo Riccioni, Dekisugi, Thingg, Mattissa, DerBorg, Versus22, Sahara24, Milliams, Apparition11, Editor2020, LazyEnterprise, Indopug, ClanCC, DumZiBoT, Skunkboy74, BarretB, Guest1534, Orangewithasmile, Loplod, Swift as an Eagle, EastTN, Cabbagehead8282, Dthomsen8, Little Mountain 5, Avoided, Rreagan007, Npnunda, SilvonenBot, Noctibus, JinJian, On the other side, Neufast, Samdom, Mitchel.sellers, December12AC, Felix Folio Secundus, Xp54321, AVand, Freakmighty, Betterusername, Non-dropframe, Friginator, Jigs23, Voodoopoodle, Jncraton, Fieldday-sunday, Mr. Wheely Guy, D0762, GD 6041, ContiAWB, Fluffernutter, MrOllie, PhoenixSunburn, Jankles, DFS454, Glane23, Bassbonerocks, Paris 16, Favonian, Scott MacDonald, Christopher140691, LinkFA-Bot, Tyw7, Peridon, Tide rolls, Lightbot, OlEnglish, Romaioi, Tikar aurum, Rradulak, Luckas-bot, Yobot, 2D, II MusLiM HyBRiD II, Victoriaearle, KamikazeBot, IW.HG, Eric-Wester, Magog the Ogre, AnomieBOT, DemocraticLuntz, A More Perfect Onion, 1exec1, Utinomen, Jim1138, Simen113, Galoubet, AdjustShift, An21E, Ulric1313, Csigabi, Flewis, Aaron dub, Bluerasberry, Materialscientist, Citation bot, Bob Burkhardt, ArthurBot, Shoruit, NW's Public Sock, Obersachsebot, Xqbot, Jayarathina, Riccime11, Addihockey10, JimVC3, Capricorn42, Riccime, Ulf Heinsohn, Sellyme, Lele giannoni, JALatimer, Tad Lincoln, Chucknv, Victoriarose, Frankie0607, Loapvyga, RibotBOT, Doulos Christos, Maekju, Manuelt15, Cluescroll, Shadowjams, E0steven, Hornymanatee, Erik9, Nantucketnoon, Kaklen, Akstratford, FrescoBot, Institutoesms, LucienBOT, Tobby72, Mxipp, Lothar von Richthofen, Slavatav, Oksob de opposite, StaticVision, Recognizance, Teotocopulos, Jack Bornholm, ZenerV, Hchc2009, J. A. Conroy, Fernbom2, Winterst, Pinethicket, I dream of horses, HRoestBot, Arctic Night, Alonso de Mendoza, Jonesey95, Tom.Reding, MJ94, Cheeseyliverface, Moonraker, XxFaTNiNjAxX666, BRUTE, Qwertyuiop1994, Tanzania, MiloKral, Warthog518, Rak-Tai, Otterbein79, Gerda Arendt, Gryllida, TobeBot, Yakimow, Tofutwitch11, Fox Wilson, Justin2225, Tankoc77, Ofsm, Vrenator, Prior Unity, AmyzzXX, Bostoncoops, Felipito1.966, Diannaa, Thunderstone99, Peacedance, Satdeep Gill, Reach Out to the Truth, TheMesquito, Lord of the Pit, DARTH SIDIOUS 2, Onel5969, RjwilmsiBot, James0025, Bento00, Halestock, Jibjib513, DASHBot, Cniru, Esoglou, EmausBot, Neigh94, Ajraddatz, Dewritech, Razor2988, GoingBatty, RA0808, Ebe123, Laurel Lodged, Moswento, Tommy2010, Wikipelli, Dcirovic, The Blade of the Northern Lights, PBS-AWB, Misty MH, Fæ, Bollyjeff, Shuipzv3, Ealdridge525, Wayne Slam, Ocaasi, GeorgeBarnick, Coasterlover1994, Hellopeopl, Donner60, Orange Suede Sofa, Monteitho, Hogweard, 3lb33, Clementina, DASHBotAV, Timothyp16, ClueBot NG, Olgerus, Pagdad, Chetrasho, Jack Greenmaven, Pinenut123456, Gilderien, Cadetgray, American Idiot1, Frietjes, Hazhk, Jesusismylover, Allan1974, Kim Traynor, Mannanan51, Dustythebob, Alexhangartner, Packare, Widr, Dymitr, WikiPuppies, Dgljr5121973, Cognate247, Helpful Pixie Bot, HMSSolent, Calidum, Calabe1992, Gob Lofa, Nescio vos, BG19bot, James12321, Wfsept, Mohamed CJ, Herr Lennartz, Waveyblendsz, Iselilja, Sillyabouthenry, JohnChrysostom, MusikAnimal, Spieren, Clairemont, Simon Sandall, Marcocapelle, Mark Arsten, Kaitoknight6969, Red Baboon, Compfreak7, ReformedArsenal, MichaelEditeur, CitationCleanerBot, Jpacobb, Dentalplanlisa, Hayleyhatoo, Waterdorf, LeftAire, Ernio48, Jfhutson, Epicurus B., Nabelekt, Bioshock3679, Polmandc, Oct13, Klilidiplomus, Achowat, Apulorius, Shaun, Anbu121, Njackson1105, BattyBot, Tutelary, Jimw338, IkbenFrank, Roger Smalling, Mediran, Soooowat, Jccarelus, Stouranne, Reburn2, MadGuy7023, Tahc, Asisman, EagerToddler39, Idiefree, Dexbot, Artaynte, Parkboii, Webclient101, Refprotevang, Mogism, Catdog7911, Maurizio.morandi-1970, Robinn101, Filius humanitas, TwoTwoHello, Lugia2453, Hume42, Tommy Pinball, Jamesx12345, TWYNDYLLYNGS, Tree445, Lalapicklem, Kate luther, LilTantastic, Slurpy121, Xioctane, 789Blue, Wpmiller33, .,lknobjhvgfdguhi, Nitpicking polish, Conrad keon, I am One of Many, JPaestpreornJeolhlna, AmaryllisGardener, RoyBurtonson, Eyesnore, Earlgrey T, PhantomTech, Cherubinirules, Indefatigable2, Jose Corregidor, Metallicwolf856, Decias, BrianJ34, NottNott, Ginsuloft, Conovaloff, JanHus1457, Ephemera1234, Jianhui67, Jackmcbarn, Manul, Noyster, Param Mudgal, Suspended Time, N0n3up, Maodhóg, Heifehsishiw, Sportsguy17, 1990'sguy, Examplar, Dsb32, Dethen, Monkbot, Dehrji45mx, WrenNap, Geologist258, Sawdust Restaurant, Spyforfelix, Otter79, Ephemeratta, FredBee72, Tylerhyma1, HMSLavender, Chrysolophus pictus, 115ash, Sigehelmus, Radicalpilgrim, Onkar kasture2000, Prayteller, Moravian1, Morsegarrett609, Brown Scapular, Fucuvuvu, Topfellaroundy, Pizzaman1234, Nvfjgfjgfngcy, Gypsy

Danger Dynamite, Giyvjyvmhbjh, CBB23, Redsoxgirl93, Randy petty123, Vhbjvjvjvjvjvj jvjvj, Thelegends54, User000name, Mopacpl, This Guy is Amazing, IisbaeBisawesomeSisyellow, KasparBot, Happyfacearmy, Jamesh1990, De la Marck, C.Gesualdo, User 9413, CAPTAIN RAJU, Brian0120, Trolling73, Snooganssnoogans, ImHere2015, Jimmeh on the wikeh, CLCStudent, Sammygbalair, Super Peebo, GSS-1987, Amonotron2, OfcreationArmaggedonmetalcore, Millicenterino, Annup1202, OnlyTheTruthSanic, Idealist343, HazzTheWizz, Yassss09998, Wikiwiz01, Christes, Jujutsuan, Jamesfmg, Nekanaz, Enginerfactories, Estatius, AwSmBLUE, LittleT666, PraktikantDD and Anonymous: 1885

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Geller04, Oxfordwang, Cirkrapalot33, Corvus cornix, IronMaidenRocks, Cluelessness, Tbotcotw, Kosmkrmr, Steve bsc, Rumiton, Gaerrent, Madhero88, Matthewseanpeiffer, DB869, Texag 98, Ecomstock, Wenli, Cothomps, Dhous1, JackgoPack4, Poltair, Joemo, Insanity Incarnate, Sardaka, Brianga, Grinq, Monty845, Jwiese1999, PGWG, Marylawton~enwiki, SieBot, StAnselm, Hahahah333666, Jauerback, Gerakibot, Dawn Bard, Jim monkman, Troylake, WRK, Keilana, Steveking 89, Anglicanus, Flyer22 Reborn, Tiptoety, Oxymoron83, Kosack, AnonGuy, Steven Crossin, Lightmouse, Schoenjj, Jamipedia, Reneeholle, Buzzstamper, Tesi1700, Mygerardromance, Susan118, Wikirwd, Jobas, Randy Kryn, Gorsak, Alvis Jean, ImageRemovalBot, Ratemonth, Tanvir Ahmmed, ClueBot, LAX, WurmWoode, Snigbrook, Deanlaw, The Thing That Should Not Be, Shark96z, Pairadox, Drmies, SuperHamster, Editor61, Marxolang, Parkwells, HIS2008, Neverquick, Jonwint92, Ktr101, Jusdafax, Leontios, Feline Hymnic, Abrech, Sun Creator, Chaosmschf, LilCatholicSchoolGirl, La Pianista, Another Believer, Mike123mike, Versus22, Smarkflea, Adamfinmo, Editor2020, DumZiBoT, Chri en, XLinkBot, Athrion, Lightweightchris, CyberspacedLoner, Rror, St.Trond, Rreagan007, WikHead, Good Olfactory, Lutheran2, Some jerk on the Internet, Seipjere, Elvire, Captain-tucker, Crazysane, The wrong reverend, Ronhjones, G.Hagedorn, CanadianLinuxUser, Leszek Jańczuk, NjardarBot, MrOllie, Download, Chamal N, Happ, Chzz, Seamusasia, Kyle1278, Loescher34, Robtj966, Ondewelle, Tide rolls, Willondon, Teles, Mm6492, Luckas-bot, Yobot, Ptbotgourou, Fraggle81, Rsquire3, SwisterTwister, Farsight001, AnomieBOT, Marauder40, Kristen Eriksen, Shoneen, Merube 89, BobKilcoyne, Kingpin13, Moesley, Materialscientist, Citation bot, Lutheran4, Bob Burkhardt, LilHelpa, Disciplelife, Jayarathina, Techdecisions, Capricorn42, Ulf Heinsohn, XZeroBot, Anonymous from the 21st century, RibotBOT, SacramentoQLOX, Hauganm, Karl The Estonian, Locobot, “Cardinalen”, Moxy, Eugene-elgato, WebCiteBOT, Ophelia2, Hornymanatee, Nikil44, Saepe, Ssofiaah, Akstratford, FrescoBot, Anechoic13, HillofTuna, FootballWags12, Tobby72, Oro2, Photocycle, Citation bot 1, I dream of horses, Tom.Reding, Tinton5, Tomcat7, Isidorus Finn, Dawn Kyle, RedBot, Tahir mq, Serols, Von Barnstejn, Rsull1995, Dukurs, Tim1357, FoxBot, Vejlefjord, Hartvika, Soenke Rahn, Lotje, Jacor2, January, Evangelguy, Nascar1996, Minimac, Popa popa, EileenSanda, Ripchip Bot, Hajatvrc, Mat783, Perspeculum, Esoglou, EmausBot, John of Reading, Acather96, WikitanvirBot, Carlotm, GoingBatty, CaptRik, Laurel Lodged, AlanSiegrist, Father Garland, Dcirovic, Unicornwuver69, Mystichiker, John Cline, Logortz, JediHooyah, KirbyOlson, H3llBot, TheBaigle, AndrewN, Confession0791, Magnus Krol, TyA, Silent melanie, Monteitho, RayneVanDunem, HandsomeFella, NTox, DunGoofd, Oursana, Roylindman, Tde1208, Petrb, Samiam57, ClueBot NG, Philsutherland, Inkowik, Catlemur, Piast93, Nyargtard123, Movses-bot, Luthepis, Hazhk, Widr, Cognate247, Dinkardev, Lithiumleech, Helpful Pixie Bot, Lukontonga62, Change error, WNYY98, Nescio vos, BG19bot, Lutherfran, Notaustinowens, Iselilja, JohnChrysostom, Mark-wikington, Fatty23, Evangelidis, Jk.32, Ebbillings, JspArge, Cbakker, Waterdorf, Ernio48, Jfhutson, Bronizzle, Winmanullang, Jakebarrington, Jc1326, Pratyya

Ghosh, Lezal, RyanADale, YFdyh-bot, Periegetes, Dexbot, Zeeyanwiki, Magnus Hebsgaard, Chicbyaccident, Per Weo, Pelthais, VampireProject23, Lugia2453, Frosty, Jemappelleungarcon, Macuser10, MisterShiney, Ashbeckjonathan, TROLLZOR OG1, Innercloister, Eyesnore, Nonsenseferret, Paul.baumeister, Skypilot1969, Cherubinirules, LeedleLeedleLeedleLee, Á, NottNott, Hlau7, LuckyLucario99, TsukiKanade, TreebeardTheEnt, TheG3NERAL John 3:16, Droigheann, AKS.9955, Osmaster2, TheQ Editor, Tyrone mendella, Jaubree, Kingopai1, SatanistCat, IRKittyz, DangerousJXD, Pass007, JavaGal, EoRdE6, Lincolnlogs, Mordechai the conducting jew, Hunterr5996, Kdog73508, Pjmonaco, BriannaMIT, P.bischoff99, Jacobdaun, GeneralizationsAreBad, Supdiop, KasparBot, 3 of Diamonds, Kiwifist, CAPTAIN RAJU, Cgschmidt3169, LibertyEditor, Zpeopleheart, Hannahmaryfresia, NigNogGolliwog, Yxis, JustTryintobeJust, Ebecke1, Joy st, Apex04010, Dredmondsmith, Professor Alinizi and Anonymous: 970

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robot, Jackturner3, SmackBot, Narson, Federalist51, Stephensuleeman, Piccadilly, Jab843, Gilliam, Duke Ganote, Keegan, DrStitch, OrangeDog, Darth Panda, Hgrosser, Babur~enwiki, Writtenright, Onorem, JonHarder, Addshore, Greenshed, Midnightcomm, Korinth111, Lugnut215, Jmlk17, Nakon, Savidan, Monotonehell, Chrylis, Heteren, Sayden, Esrever, Rory096, Ser Amantio di Nicolao, Soap, Slinga, Tennismenace88, BillFlis, SQGibbon, Epiphyllumlover, Jonhall, AEMoreira042281, Iridescent, Joseph Solis in Australia, Twas Now, Igoldste, Amakuru, Phoenixrod, Adambiswanger1, Courcelles, Angeldeb82, Tawkerbot2, Zotdragon, Jslats, Drinibot, Terot, Ibadibam, Womzilla, Jim Bruce, WeggeBot, Flammingo, Jordan Brown, Scott.medling, Cydebot, Yrodro, Chasingsol, Zalgo,))ECB((, Epbr123, Josh777, David from Downunder, Kablammo, Jarratha Draka, Mojo Hand, Marek69, John254, Jonny-mt, Nick Number, Elcocinero, Qp10qp, AntiVandalBot, RobotG, Akradecki, Uvaphdman, AaronY, Vanjagenije, Farosdaughter, Altamel, MikeLynch, Sluzzelin, JAnDbot, Nathanalex, Fetchcomms, Hamsterlopithecus, Dmwahl, Montyramon, TheEditrix2, Xact, Meeples, Magioladitis, RBBrittain, AticusX, Carom, JamesBWatson, ZuG, Another mutant, TrentonGB, Nyttend, ELinguist, Vgarambone, Fabrictramp, Felliax08, DerHexer, Philg88, MartinBot, STBot, R'n'B, CommonsDelinker, Gakuinryou, Tanarchy, Tgeairn, Markbeaulieu, J.delanoy, Pharaoh of the Wizards, Trusilver, Maurice Carbonaro, Sorbonnetoga, Tdadamemd, Keesiewonder, Penguinwithin, It Is Me Here, Johnbod, McSly, Ignatzmice, Renamed user 5417514488, Tony360X, Sundar1, NewEnglandYankee, Aar, Nwbeeson, Robertgreer, Student7, Olegwiki, Parable1991, Josephegorman, Javaman59, CardinalDan, Deor, VolkovBot, Amaraiel, CWii, Jeff G., Justas Jonas, Philip Trueman, DoorsAjar, Mowsbury, Someguy1221, JhsBot, RiverStyx23, Nedrutland, Gavin.collins, Ecomstock, Meters, Krivic, SmileToday, NordsternMN, SieBot, Tresiden, Work permit, Madmannimann, Sakkura, Bubu111111, Awilso22, MaynardClark, Ptolemy Caesarion, Lightmouse, KathrynLybarger, COBot, Werldwayd, Jsavagebeast77, Vanished user ewfisn2348tui2f8n2fio2utjfeoi210r39jf, Townoak, Davecostenaro, Mygerardromance, Ken123BOT, Trappem, Richard David Ramsey, Randy Kryn, Thiophene222, Atif.t2, ClueBot, The Thing That Should Not Be, Robomanx, Unbuttered Parsnip, Wysprgr2005, KHomstad, Mild Bill Hiccup, A.Savin, Max rbmc, Hafspajen, DragonBot, Uber cath, Guitarzxt, Rozby, Leonard^Bloom, Sun Creator, JamieS93, Z5V2, Knowz, Thingg, Aitias, Editor2020, Tdslk, Vanished User 1004, Gwandoya, Bilsonius, SwirlBoy39, Bradv, Uglyducklings, Samdom, Kodster, Willisis2, Addbot, American Eagle, Some jerk on the Internet, Blethering Scot, Mootros, Zahd, Fieldday-sunday, Onsetrates, CanadianLinuxUser, LaaknorBot, Jonathanschroeder, YoMenashe, Glane23, Bassbonerocks, Ehrenkater, Tide rolls, Legobot, Luckas-bot, Fraggle81, Les boys, Rsquire3, Amirobot, THEN WHO WAS PHONE?, Worm That Turned, Synchronism, AnomieBOT, Rk55, Csigabi, Materialscientist, E2eamon, Maxis ftw, ArthurBot, LovesMacs, LilHelpa, Xqbot, Capricorn42, Joeyjpaul, CHRISTismyROCK83, Esaroma11, GrouchoBot, Omnipaedista, Iωv, Teukros, Levibreederland, MeDrewNotYou, Al Wiseman, RetiredWikipedian789, FrescoBot, Michael93555, SixGreenFish, I dream of horses, Skyerise, Moonraker, Σ, Matu94, TRBP, Lotje, Jesseoffy, Athene cheval, Forgetster, EmausBot, ZL123, Orphan Wiki, Dewritech, RA0808, Haybob96, K6ka, Lexandalf, Evanh2008, ZéroBot, Akerans, Lateg, Wayne Slam, Jay-Sebastos, Simbagraphix, Ready, Donner60, ClueBot NG, Mechanical digger, Kolrok, Lhimec, Dkm125, Suid-Afrikaanse, Inkowik, Galilsnap, Wiki Editor5150, Marechal Ney, Widr, Cognate247, BG19bot, Marcocapelle, Display name 99, Altaïr, Arminden, LongLiveMusic, Aranea Mortem, BergaliciousDef, Jfhutson, Wheeke, Pratyya Ghosh, YFdyh-bot, Jccarelus, Nathanielfirst, JYBot, Lugia2453, RoyalEQ, Epicgenius, Manjuices, Lingzhi, RoyBurtonson, Jodosma, Bbabe428, PhantomTech, Andr3253, DavidLeighEllis, Civil Engineer 3, LahmacunKebab, Winter15, Finnusertop, Maodhóg, JaconaFrere, Nickcarville, Loose eel, Little bean9311, Codexor, Vieque, Griit12, Thefallen 8, Zacoriaa, Evboy137, Bmoney1, Ethanct, Rubbish computer, Bes435, Serten II, Isambard Kingdom, Cewbot, Tylerjohnson99, User000name, GeneralizationsAreBad, KasparBot, Colt16, Tiger7890, Kadath9969, Eneith, Ganer 92, The Bounder and Anonymous: 667

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