

The Reformation Era	Table of Contents		
Chapter 1	The Dawning of the Reformation	Slide 1	Page 1
Chapter 2	Home and Schooling	Slide 23	Page 6
Chapter 3	Luther the Monk	Slide 57	Page 15
Chapter 4	Luther the Teacher	Slide 78	Page 20
Chapter 5	Indulgences	Slide 104	Page 26
Chapter 6	The Diet of Worms	Slide 181	Page 46
Chapter 7	Junker George	Slide 202	Page 51
Chapter 8	New Testament Translation	Slide 226	Page 57
Chapter 9	Return to Wittenberg	Slide 250	Page 63
Chapter 10	Problems with Radicals	Slide 272	Page 68
Chapter 11	Problems with Rural Revolt	Slide 283	Page 71
Chapter 12	Problems with Rome	Slide 315	Page 79
Chapter 13	Conflicts with Erasmus	Slide 334	Page 84
Chapter 14	Catechetical Labors	Slide 353	Page 89
Chapter 15	Luther and Zwingli	Slide 383	Page 96
Chapter 16	Augsburg	Slide 403	Page 101
Chapter 17	Smalcald Preliminaries	Slide 422	Page 106
Chapter 18	Reformation Worship	Slide 446	Page 112
Chapter 19	The Luther Home	Slide 468	Page 117
Chapter 20	From 1538 to 1546	Slide 483	Page 121
Chapter 21	Last Years and Days	Slide 489	Page 123
Chapter 22	The Council of Trent	Slide 551	Page 138

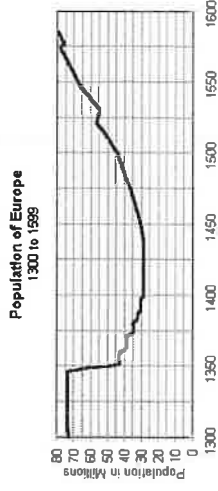
- ⊗ Made known the peace of inner life via:
 - + preaching
 - + writing and circulating devotional works
 - + examples of own lives

- ⊗ In Germany along lower Rhine River, movement showed itself in
 - + care of the sick
 - + in schools for education of the young
- ⊗ Additional features of their mysticism
 - + use of the vernacular
 - + spoke to laymen as well as to clergy
 - + used NT more than OT; especially, the words of Christ

5

Europe on the Eve of Luther's Birth

- The period from 1450 -1550 was time of European prosperity



6

Capitalism

- Mass production of standardized goods
 - Owner not necessarily the craftsman
 - Each craftsman carried out specialized task
 - Workers did not own tools, raw materials or finished products
 - Peasants neither controlled nor protected by the guilds
- Textile industry
- Mining on the rise

7

Banking

- In 15th century the Medici family of Florence became greatest international banking firm
 - Giovanni di Medici (1360-1429)
 - Cosimo di Medici (1389-1464)
 - Lorenzo di Medici (1448-1492)
 - Medici bank collapsed in 1494
- Fuggers of Augsburg
 - Hans Fugger moved to Augsburg in 1367
 - Jacob Fugger II, the Rich (1459 – 1525)
 - Raimund Fugger (1489–1535) and Anton Fugger (1493–1560)

8

- Fuggers originally linen weavers
- Expanded into trade of silk, woolen cloth, and raw wool; sideline in spices
- Jacob diversified (c. 1480) into copper and silver
- Profits allowed Jacob to establish banking business with offices in all major European cities
- 1487-1488 loan to Sigismund in return for share in royalties from mines
- After collapse of Medici bank (1494) took over most of papal finances

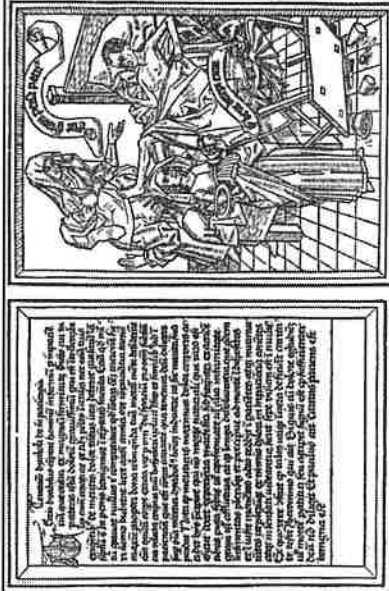
9

Technology: Printing

- Paper making (13th c.)
- Eyeglasses (13th c.) followed ability to make perfectly clear glass and to cut and polish it
- Screw-driven presses (mid-14th c.) used in woodcut block printing



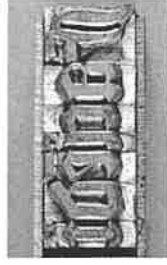
10



15th century block printing

11

- Movable metal type (c. 1450)
- Johann Gutenberg (c.1397-1468)
- c. 200 copies of Gutenberg Bible, printed in 1455



12

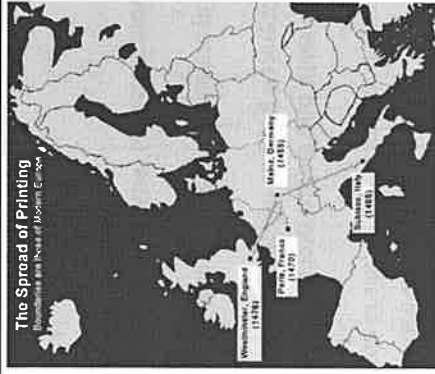
- The rise of a print-dominated society moved away from the Church's monopoly of information that existed during the manuscript-book period.
- Printing industry was initially fueled by the reproduction of classic texts of antiquity.
- It was further fueled by the development of new kinds of books in science.
- Printing led to the development of books as elements of propaganda¹ and religious education.

¹ Latin gerundive = "things that must be disseminated" [propagare = "to spread"]

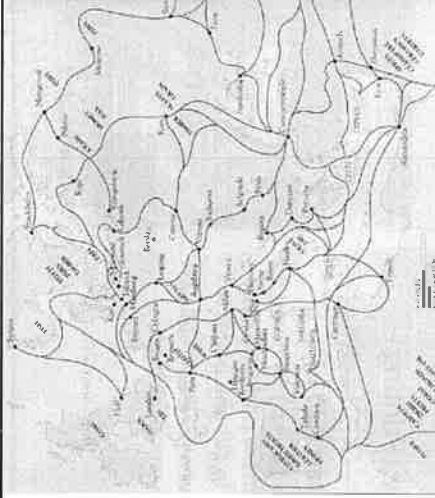
13

- Printing allowed knowledge and ideas to be passed from one man to another in efficient, affordable fashion
- Printing paved the way for expansion of schools and development of media
- Printing allowed people access to a bible for their own interpretation
- By 1500 every major intellectual and commercial center in Europe had at least one press with movable type
- By 1500 6-9 million books and documents (30,000 editions) [incunabula]

14



15



16

Exploration and Expansion

- Oceans no longer barriers but opportunities
- Curiosity aroused by reports of merchants (Moslem and Christian)
- “Spiritual” motivation for expansion
- “Economic” motivation for expansion
- Advances in naval architecture – larger carrying capacity, needing less manpower
- Advances in navigation – astrolabe to measure latitude

17



Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460)

18

- Isabella (1451-1504)
 - Queen Castille, 1474
- Ferdinand (1452-1516)
 - King Aragon, 1479



Spain



Married 1469

19

Hapsburg

- Many variations:
 - Hapsburgh, Habsburg, Habisburgh, etc.
- Origination of name from a castle named 'Habichtsburg' built by Bishop Werner of Strasbourg (978/980 – 1028) in 1020. The name literally means "Hawk's Castle." It is located on the Aar river in present day Switzerland.
- The Hapsburg dynasty dominated central Europe for almost 700 years from the 13th to the 20th century



20

Hapsburgs as Holy Roman Emperors

- Rudolph I (1271-1291)
- Albert I (1298-1308)
- Albert II (1438-1439)
- Frederick III (1440-1493)
- Maximilian I (1493-1519)
- Charles V (1519-1558)

21



22



Chapter 2 Martin Luther: Reformer in the Making

“Home and Schooling”



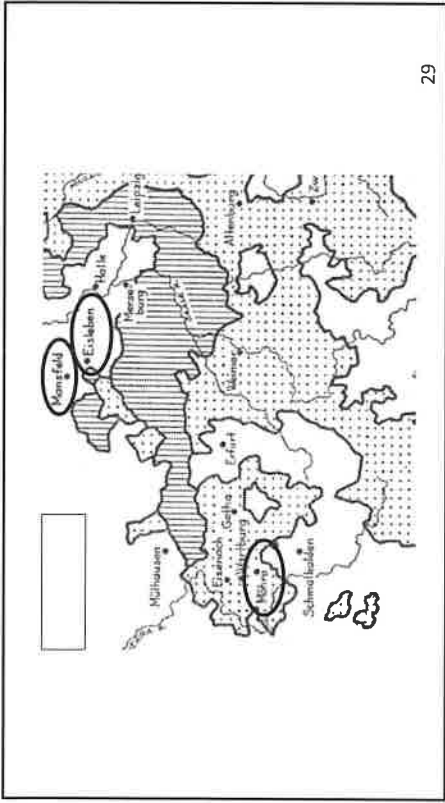
23

Luther's Parents

From the Upper Level of Peasantry --
Luder, Ludder, Lutter, Luder

- “rechte Bauern”
- “Erbzinsleute”
- Luther's grandfather: Heine Luder (died before 1510)
 - married Margarethe (died 1521)
 - four sons: Gross-Hans, Klein-Hans, Veit and Heinz
 - In farming community of Möhra, Thuringia

24



29

Mother - Margarete
(probably Lindemann, not Ziegler)

- "Hanna"
- Lindemanns -- family of means from Eisenach
- Ziegler -- farm family from Möhra
- religious, virtuous, talented

Died: 1531



30

Birth - November 10, 1483, Eisleben

- Question concerning family move to Mansfeld

31

Luther's Childhood

Religion in home -
Baptized: 11 November 1483

- Eisleben was first documented in 994 and recognized as a town in the 12th century
- 40 - 60% infant mortality rate
- Feast of St. Martin of Tours
- Lower Tower Room of St. Peter's Church
- Pastor Bartholemaeus Rennebecher
- Parents - typical Roman Catholics of the day

32



Church of St Peter and Paul, Eisleben
The church that stands today was built between **1447 and 1513**, but there was a church on this site, dedicated just to Peter, by the end of the 13th century. Martin Luther, whose parents lived very close by, was baptized here on **November 11, 1483**, the day after his birth.

33

Family fortunes -- Mansfeld

- After move to Mansfeld (1484) family began to prosper
- Hans started as miner; leased mineshafts and smelter “burgher” – 1491 elected to town council
- By 1501 Hans owned 6 mines and 2 smelters
- 1501 Erfurt University classified Luther as “in habendo”
- Mansfeld - not overly critical of Catholic church

34

First schooling -

“My father meant it heartily by me.”

- Latin school in Mansfeld for 8 years
- “All good academic disciplines are found in the Latin language. Without good Latin, one is a barbarian.” (Mutilianus Rufus)
- “Nothing less should be learned from the Latin language than wisdom, righteousness, religion, prudence, good government and good morals.” (Jakob Wimpfeling)
- “Trivialschule” [“trivium”]

35

The Seven “Liberal Arts”

- Trivium
 - Grammar (with literature)
 - Dialectic (and logic)
 - Rhetoric (with law and ethics)
- Quadrivium
 - Arithmetic
 - Geometry (including geography and natural history)
 - Music (music theory)
 - Astronomy (also Astrology)

36

From 1488-96 Martin Luther attended this school, where he learned everything from Latin to writing, singing and a little arithmetic. The prevailing methods of education indelibly stamped the boy.

These experiences were a starting point for a moderate education of their own children as well as for his later efforts to reform the education system.

[Luther's School Marker in Mansfeld]

37

Magdeburg, 1497 -- Brethren of the Common Life

- Left for Magdeburg, Easter 1497
- City of about 12,000
- "Domschule" -- run by "Nullbrüder"
 - devotional literature and vernacular translations of the Bible
 - conscientious worship

38

Eisenach: 1498

The town

- Father's home area
- Connection with mother's family (?)
- Nearly 10% were clergy

St. George parish school

John Trebonius and Wiegand Gueldennoepf. Classics. Aesop.

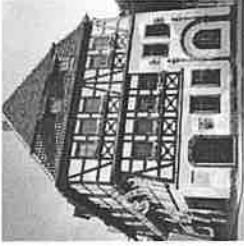
39



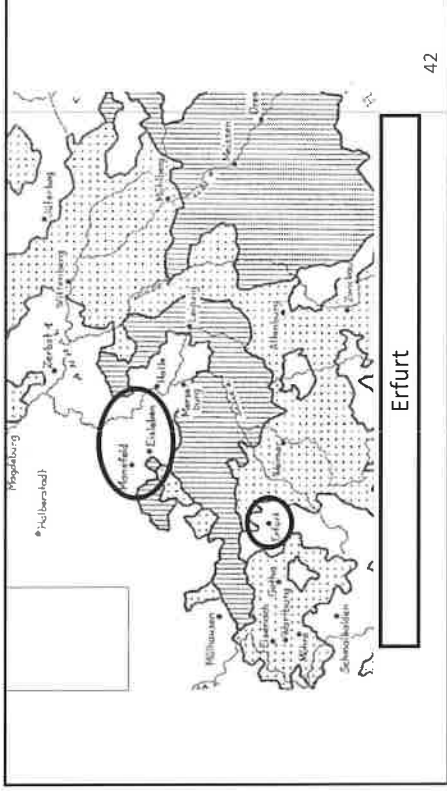
40

Cotta - Schalbe household

- Lived at home of Kuntz and Ursula Cotta
- Tutored Heinrich Schalbe for meals
- Johannes Braun, vicar of St. Mary's
- Preparations for the university



41



42

Early Universities

- Bologna (1088), Oxford (1096), Paris (1160)
- Cambridge (1209), Salamanca (1218), Montpellier (1220)
- Naples (1224), Toulouse (1229), Orléans (c.1235), Papal Rome (c.1245), Piacenza (1248), Angers (c.1250), Seville (1254), Valladolid (c.1290), Lisbon (c.1290)
- Lerida (c.1300), Avignon (1303), City of Rome (1303), Perugia (1308), Treviso (1318), Cahors (1332), Grenoble (1339), Pisa (1343), Prague (1348), Florence (1349), Perpignan (1350), Huesca (1354), Arezzo (1355), Siena (1357), Pavia (1361), Cracow (1364), Orange (1365), Vienna (1365), Pécs (1367), Lucca (1369), Heidelberg (1385), Cologne (1388), Ferrara (1391), Erfurt (1392), Buda (1395).
- **1400:** 30. **1500:** 60. **1600:** 110. **1700:** 150.

43

Martinus Ludher de (ex ?) Mansfeld,

17 May 1501. *Bursa* of St. George

- University of Erfurt founded 1389/1392
- After 1460 losing leading position among German universities
- Still noted for liberal arts and law
- “Via moderna” (William of Ockham) versus “Via antiqua” (Thomas Aquinas)

44

• *via moderna* challenged the *via antiqua*, particularly in the question of God's freedom in salvation.

- The "old way" said justification must involve "created habits of grace" infused within the sinner; God would not be free to justify in any other way.
- The *via moderna* thought of this as limiting God's freedom. Instead they argued: God created the world entirely free, and was free to set up in the world whatever conditions of salvation He desired.

45

• Ockham opened the possibility for thinking of justification as being purely by divine decree, not infusion of righteousness.

- But major *via moderna* thinkers like Gabriel Biel argued that God had freely chosen to make a covenant in which he bound himself to justify all those who did *quod in se est* ("what is in you," aka "do your best").

46

• Luther's matriculation at University

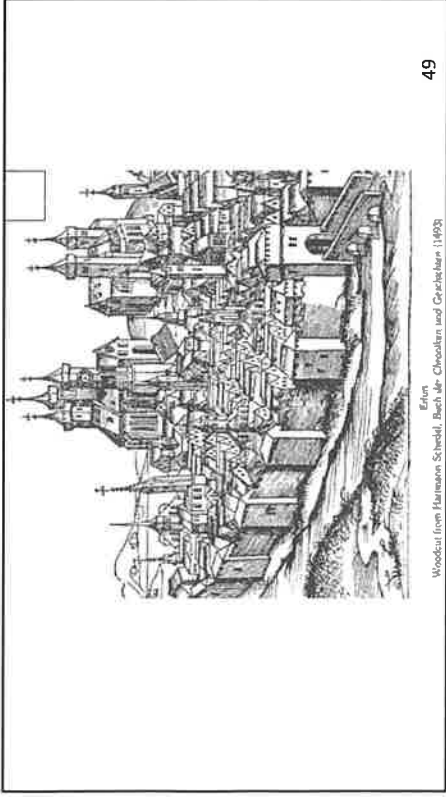
- Martinus Luther de (ex ?) Mansfeld, 17 May 1501.
- Joined "bursa"
 - *Bursa* of St. George (or "Heaven's Gate" ["*Porta Caeli*"] – Amplonian College?)
- "deposition"
- Schedule
 - Wake up -- 4:00 a.m.
 - Classes began 6:00 a.m.
 - Early meal -- 10:00 a.m.
 - More classes until 5:00 p.m., then dinner
 - Bedtime -- 8:00 p.m.

47

Erfurt was a sizable town - ca. 20,000

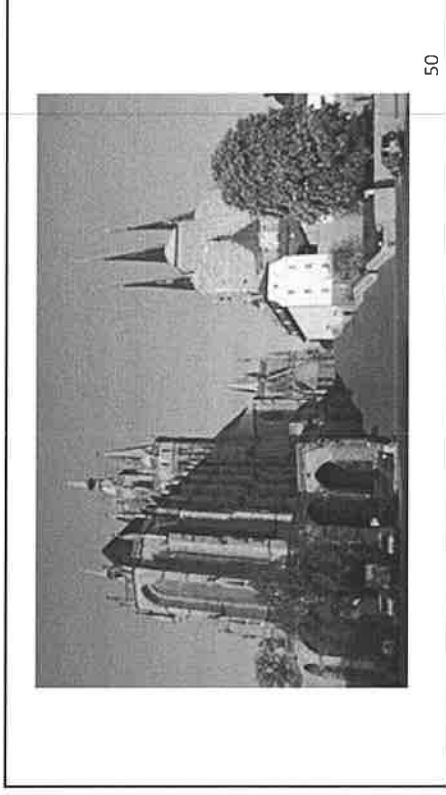
- "Little Rome"
 - 4 endowed churches, 21 parish churches, 11 monastery churches
 - more than 800 clergy
 - most monastic groups represented

48

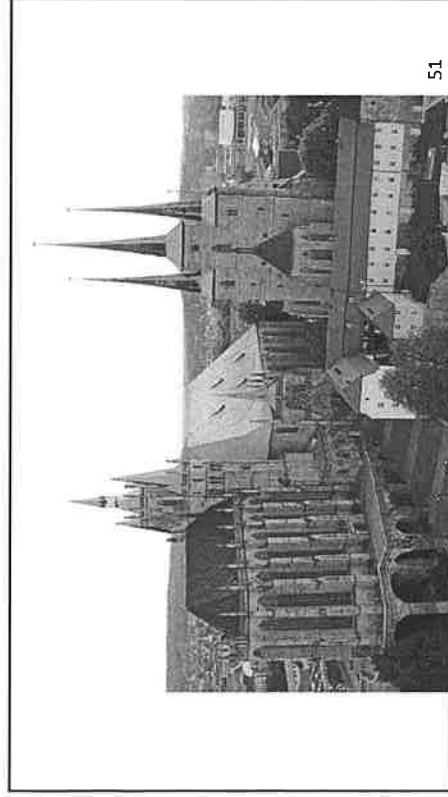


49

Erfurt
Woodcut from Hartmann Schedel, *Buch der Chroniken und Cronekhen* (1493)



50



51

University Studies

- **Liberal Arts**
 - Trivium: grammar and syntax, rhetoric, dialectic and logic
 - Quadrivium: music, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy
- The division of the seven liberal arts goes back to Hrabanus Maurus (784 - 856). Education within these subjects was indispensable for students in the Middle Ages.

52

Trivium

- **Grammar and Syntax:**
"knowledge which teaches poets and historians to explain, as well as the proper manner of, speaking and writing"
- **Rhetoric:**
"instruction on giving good speeches"
- **Dialectic and Logic:**
"The discipline which covers abstract quantities and dimensions"

53

Quadrivium

- **Arithmetic:**
"science of numbers in and of itself"
- **Geometry:**
"graphic description/portrayal of how forms come into existence"
- **Music:**
"science which deals with numbers, primarily with those which are to do with tones, such as the double, triple, quadruple and so forth"
- **Astronomy:**
"science which deals with the movement and constellation of the stars"

54

Also within the liberal arts program


- Initial contact with bible
- Within the university system, the first academic level one could achieve, was the Baccalaureate. When the university education was finished, one received the title "Magister artium" (Master of Arts). At this point, one could choose a specialized field of study.
- Theology, law, medicine

55


Degrees -- BA 1502, MA 1505, on to law studies.
Corpus iuris civilis.

- September 1502 Luther took exams for BA (30/57)
- January 1505 took exams for MA (2/17)
 - assisted in teaching grammar and logic
- Entitled/obligated to teach in philosophy faculty for 2 years
 - could continue studies while teaching
 - enrolled in law program

56



Chapter 3
Reformer in the Making
"Luther the Monk"



57

"I Will Become a Monk"

1. Influence of early training
2. Deepening religious training
3. Special circumstances -- "Intimations of mortality"

- Fear of sudden death very real
- 1502 serious fever
- Easter 1503/4 nearly bled to death
- 1505 Hieronymous Buntz died of plague

Was Martin Luther a murderer?

58

- "Anfechtung"
- "The terror of the Holy, the horrors of Infinitude, smote him like a new lightning bolt...Luther's tremor was augmented by the recognition of unworthiness...Before God the High and Holy, Luther was stupefied...The word he used was Anfechtung, for which there is no English equivalent. It may be a trial by God to test man, or an assault by the Devil to destroy man. It is all the doubt, turmoil, pang, tremor, panic, despair, desolation, and desperation which invade the spirit of man."
- "In consequence the most frightful insecurities beset him. Panic invaded his spirit. The conscience became so disquieted as to start and tremble at the stirring of a windblown leaf."

59

- "I didn't learn my theology all at once. I had to ponder over it ever more deeply, and my spiritual trials [Anfechtungen] were of help to me in this, for one doesn't learn anything without practice" (LW 54:50).
- Serious contact with Scripture
- End of June 1505 trip to Mansfeld
 - initiated by Martin ??
 - father summoned him home ??
- On return, 6 km from Erfurt, at Stotternheim, July 2, 1505: "St. Anne, help me; I will become a monk."
- Gathered friends at farewell party and gave his possessions away
- On July 17, 1505 Luther entered the monastery of the Augustinian Eremites at Erfurt

60

• Revisionists

- after 1883: primary sources gathered
- boyhood no different than average
- decision: sudden, spontaneous, unpremeditated action -- result of fright



■ Modernists

- most recent biographical work
- normal boyhood
- had been thinking about relationship with God for a long time
- "The stroke of lightning merely made him aware of what was already in his soul." (Henri Stohl)

61

Monastic Life

Augustinians -- Black Cloister,
Order of Observants of the Augustinian Friars

- 16 December 1243 - Innocent IV
- Grand Union of 1256 - Alexander IV "Licet ecclesiae catholicae" (4 May 1256)
- 15th century "Observants" separated from "Conventuals"
- 3rd largest mendicant order in 16th century



62



Johann von Staupitz
(ca. 1469/70 - 1524)

- Johannes Zachariae (c. 1362 -1428), an Augustinian and professor of theology at the University of Erfurt, began a reform.
- At end of 15th century, 7 of 13 Saxon Augustinians houses had accepted reforms of Andreas Proles, their vicar general (1461-1503)
- In 1503 Proles died and Johann von Staupitz succeeded him as vicar general
 - at that time there were 27 Observantine houses in Germany, out of 200

63



Erfurt monastery
founded circa 1265;
initial construction
14th c.

- 1488 -- 67 resident monks
- 1508 -- 52 resident monks

64

Why did Luther join Augustinians, when he had so many other choices in Erfurt?

- St. George's Bursa near Augustinian monastery
- Augustinians known for their academic orientation
- Monastery was reformed = rules were especially strict
- Large, flourishing monastery with good reputation

65

Monastic vows, according to views of the day, restored one's original state of grace.

- Johann Greffenstein, novice master
- Meals served twice daily: midday, evening
- Fasting = abstaining from meat
- During fasts, evening meal replaced by "collation" – a light meal permitted on fast days (beer and wine served with gingerbread and salted bread)
- Often Luther did not take water or bread for three days at a time

66



Luther's activities: "If anyone would have gained heaven as a monk, then I would indeed have been among them."

- Novitiate lasted one year
- Taught how to conduct himself
- 1506 – Luther took his final vows on the grave of Johannes Zachariae in the Augustinian Chapel in Erfurt

67

Soul torment --*in cloaca**, *tentatio tristitia*** ,
*Anfechtung****

- Joining monastery was supposed to bring peace
 - holy orders = clean as newly baptized baby
- "Don't you believe in the forgiveness of sins?"
- Staupitz recognized Luther's potential

* In the sewer
** Temptation to sadness or despair
*** Spiritual Trial

68

Letter of May 30, 1518: "From you (Staupitz) I learned . . . the biblical meaning of true repentance." "Pater et praeceptor."
March 1545: "(Staupitz) was at the very beginning my father in this doctrine and gave birth to me in Christ."

- Staupitz was not given to Semi-Pelagianism
- Also not into Ockham or Biel who insisted "do what is in you" (aka "do your best and God will do the rest") [fac quod in te est.]

69

Studies and Ordination

- Priesthood not Luther's original intention
- Staupitz prescribed program of directed reading in Bible and in Augustine under Director of Religious Studies
- Gabriel Biel's *Canon of the Mass*
 - priest = miracle worker in sacrament
 - Luther accepted without questioning

70

Ordination -- April 3 (?), 1507;
first mass on May 2

- Erfurt bishop Johann Boonemilch von Laasphe (died 1510) consecrated Martin Luther to the priesthood in front of the high altar of the cathedral
- 1st mass postponed so father could attend
- Invited guests
- "honor father and mother"
- 1st mass in Augustinian chapel; Luther's terror
- Ordination of priest a major event -- ever since Black Death there had been a shortage of priests

71

After ordination Luther began new theological studies under Johann Nathin

- Steps to Doctor of Theology
 - *Biblicus* [baccalaureus biblicus]
 - Usually it took 5-7 years to qualify
 - Courses on the Bible and Lombard's *Sentences*
 - Courses on Bible that one would later teach
 - *Sententiarus* [baccalaureus sententiarus]
 - *Formatus*
 - After demonstrating ability to teach first two books of the *Sentences*
 - *Licentiatius* (able to teach in any university)
 - Doctor

72

Luther's Academic Progress in Theology

- March 1509: Bachelor of Biblical Studies.
- 19 October 1512: Doctor of Holy Scriptures.
- "I will swear obedience to the Roman Church and I will further the peace among the masters and the students, secular or regular . . ."



73

Special Assignments

Wittenberg beginnings -- Winter semester, 1508-09: *Logic and Nichomachean Ethics* of Aristotle

- A professor on leave and Staupitz involved in visitations – UW needed substitute teacher

Erfurt studies and teaching -- Lombard's *Sentences*

- Luther a student and teacher
- 1510 town-gown riot

74

Trip to Rome -- Autumn 1510. Amalgamation crisis.

- Staupitz favored joining Observantines and Conventuals in order to upgrade the laxer houses
- 7 of 29 Observantine houses protested
- Pope initially ruled against this appeal
- So a negotiator was sent to Rome
 - probably Anton Kresz of Nürnberg
 - possibly Johann Lang of Erfurt
- Staupitz sent Luther as traveling companion -- Heine Luder had recently died; opportunities for indulgences

75

- "I would not have missed seeing Rome for a hundred thousand florins, for then I might have been afraid of being unfair to the Pope." -- Martin Luther

- "I would not exchange for money my trip to Rome. Otherwise I would not believe what I saw with my own eyes. Godlessness and evil are great and shameless there. Neither God nor man, neither sin nor modesty, are respected. So testify all the pious who were there and all the godless who returned worse from Italy." -- Martin Luther

76

Persona non grata --
"Exiled" to Wittenberg

- Efforts in Rome unsuccessful
- Luther in minority in Erfurt when he insisted they needed to accept results and move on
- As result, he was "exiled"

77



Chapter 4

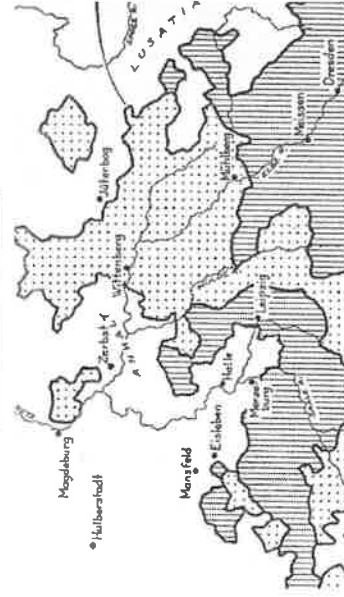
Reformer in the Making

"Luther the Teacher"



78

Wittenberg



79



- "White Mountain" on the Elbe River
- 12th c. -- first mention in the records
- 15th c. -- attacked by the Hussites

80

- Walled and moated city

- Town sewer -- nothing more than open ditch that ran into the Elbe

- Town market = mud hole

- In 1530s - "on the fringe of civilization"

- "poor, unattractive town, with old, small, low, ugly wooden houses, more like a village than a town"

- Land around Wittenberg not worth much for agricultural purposes



81

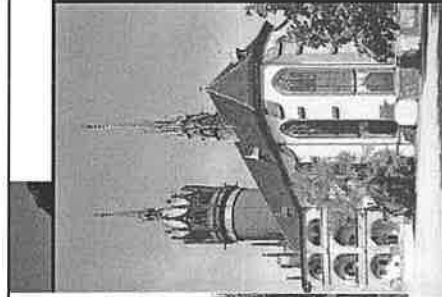
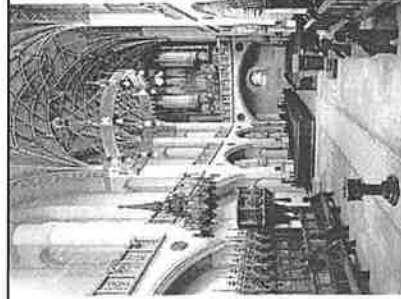
Religious Establishments

- Castle Church

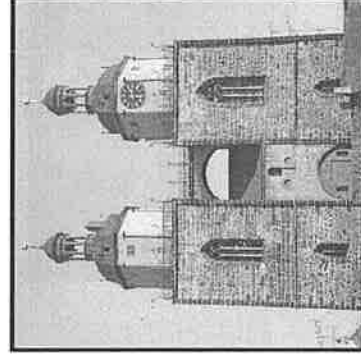
- "All Saints"
- built in 1490-1511
- served by 81 clerics and monastics
- housed elector's relic collection
- Luther rarely preached here



82

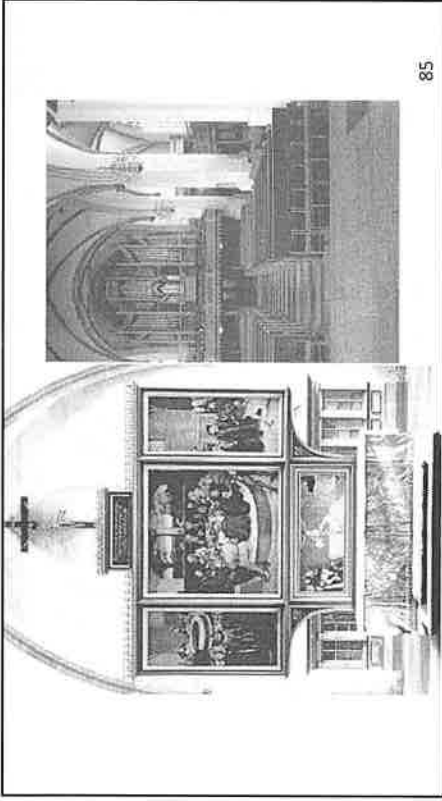


83



- Town Church
 - "St. Mary's" (Marienskirche)
 - Sections date to 13th century
 - Construction ended in 1470
 - Octagonal turrets added after Reformation
 - As a pastoral assistant, Luther preached here regularly

84



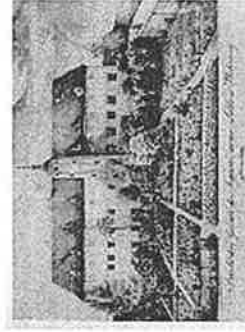
85

- “Black” Cloister
- Home of Augustinian Eremitic monks



86

Home of Luther and family



87

Oppidans

- town folk, common residents
- “Burghers” = position, wealth gave them franchise
- Population of 2600 (2100?) made Wittenberg one of 20 largest German cities of the time
- Salt monopoly gave city economic advantage in 16th century. (Today manufacturing and mining are mainstays of its economy.)

88

• Visitors from across Europe

• Wittenberg is in electoral Saxony

- Golden Bull of 1356
- had been ruled by Sachsen-Wittenberg family; that family died out in 1422
- Emperor Sigismund gave territory and electoral title to Frederick I, the Valiant (d. 1428), house of Wettin [Electors of Saxony, 6 January 1423 to 4 January 1428]



89

Luther's Call to Wittenberg

- Staupitz had been first dean of theology faculty at Wittenberg in 1502
- He had established Augustinian monastery in Wittenberg
- Staupitz became vicar general in 1503
- He gave up his professorship in 1512
- Staupitz brought Luther to Wittenberg to be his successor

90

Staupitz's departure --

His Headquarters is in Nürnberg

- Luther offered a variety of excuses, since he did not aspire to the doctorate
- At same time Luther also picked up additional duties
 - 1511 Luther appointed preacher at Black Cloister
 - 1512 became subprior and Generalstudium
 - 1514 began to preach at Town Church

91

Reaction to Reuchlin uproar

- Johann Reuchlin (22 February 1455 – 30 June 1522) twice faced Inquisition for his Hebrew work, biblical and extra-biblical [Johannes Pfefferkorn]
- Luther insisted that people needed all help they could get to read Hebrew and understand the Scriptures
- 1518 Reuchlin suggested to his grandnephew Philip Melancthon that he accept a position at University of Wittenberg

A new New Testament teaching tool -
Erasmus' New Testament, 1516.

92

Lecturing and Preaching

Psalm lectures - First, 1513-15; then, 1518-21

- Mondays and Tuesdays, one hour
- Lecture hall was at Black Cloister
- first series, 16 August 1513 to 21 October 1515
- "glosses" -- all but 2 pages preserved
 - brief explanatory note or translation of a difficult or technical expression usually inserted in the margin or between lines of a text or manuscript
- "scholia" -- 2/3 available
 - commentary
- "Praeparationem" [praeparatio = getting or making ready, a preparing, preparation]

93

Luther used best resources available

- "*Psalterium Quintuplex, gallicum, romanum, hebraicum, vetus, conciliatum*" (Paris, 1509) by Jacques Lefevre d'Étaples (Faber Stapulensis)
 - "This was a critical commentary comparing 5 different Latin renderings of the Psalms in an attempt to arrive at the literal text. This approach ignored the many commentaries that had been written on the Psalms and often studied in place of the text itself over the centuries. Once satisfied that he understood what the author had actually said, he interpreted it both historically and spiritually--that is mystically."
 - the *Conciliatum* was his own version

94

Commentaries of Nicolaus of Lyra and Paul of Burges

Reuchlin's *De Rudimentis Hebraicis*

- By 1516 Luther no longer considered Vulgate to be the authoritative text
- Second series of lectures on Psalms took place from 1518-1521

Other Old Testament lectures - Genesis

- 31 May 1535 Luther announced: "I will devote the remaining years of my life to an exposition of the books of Moses."
- Began lectures on Genesis, 1 June 1535

95

New Testament lectures - Romans (1515-16),

Galatians (1516-17), Hebrews (1517-18)

- Lectured at Wittenberg, 1512-1544
- No fixed repetition of lectures
- 1512 Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples published a commentary on Paul's Epistles
- "It is almost profane to speak of the merit of works, especially toward God.... The opinion that we can be justified by works is an error for which the Jews are especially condemned.... Our only hope is in God's grace" (d'Étaples, Commentary on I Corinthians 8).

96

- **Romans: 3 November 1515 - 7 September 1516**
- expounded largely on basis of grammatical-historical method
- emphasis on original text stronger
- questioned validity of the commentators and the church fathers
- allegory left the classroom (but remained in his sermons)

97

- Galatians: 27 October 1516 - 10 March 1517

- Previously: four-fold exegesis typical of traditional scholasticism
- **Thomas Aquinas** defines these four senses of Scripture in his *Summa Theologiae*
 - Literal sense – "the meaning expressed immediately and directly by the words of the sacred writers"
 - Allegorical sense - "a sustained metaphor" - "the intentional conveying, by means of symbol and image, of a further, deeper meaning than the surface one"
 - Tropological sense - the moral application of the objective truth to the individual believer in Jesus
 - Anagogical sense - the higher allegory of the Trinity and the "four last things" - death, judgment, heaven, and hell.

98

- **Now:** the grammatical-historical approach to Scripture was Luther's accepted practice
- **Hebrews: 27 March 1517 - April 1518**

99

Town Church Pulpit

- 1514 pastor of St. Mary's had serious throat ailment; Luther substituted
- Work at St. Mary's helped in development of Catechism
- Many years preached 170 sermons/year

Durchbruch ("Break Through")

100

- Though I lived as a monk without reproach, I felt that I was a sinner before God with an extremely disturbed conscience. I could not believe that he was placated by my satisfaction. I did not love, yes, I hated the righteous God who punishes sinners, and secretly, if not blasphemously, certainly murmuring greatly, I was angry with God ...
- At last, by the mercy of God, meditating day and night, I gave heed to the context of the words, namely, 'In it the righteousness of God is revealed, as it is written, "He who through faith is righteous shall live."' There I began to understand that the righteousness of God is not that by which the righteous lives but a gift of God, namely by faith. ... Here I felt that I was altogether born again and had entered paradise itself through open gates [WA 54, 185, 21ff].

101

Definition - Process or "enlarging experience"? Both. Concerning the grasp of *iustitia dei*: "Diese Kunst hat mir der S.S. auf dies' Cl. eingegeben." "Turmerlebnis"?

- Understanding "righteousness of God" not original with Luther
- From 432 AD until 1517: at least 60 teachers in 20 countries understood this truth properly

102

Significance

- In his Tower Discovery Luther had obtained key to Scripture
- After 1514 it shines through his lectures
- Bible once again became Christo-centric
- Luther now ready to help others clearly see the implication of justification by faith

103



Chapter 5

First Conflicts "Indulgences"

104

"An indulgence is obtained through the Church who, by virtue of the power of binding and loosing granted her by Christ Jesus, intervenes in favor of individual Christians and opens for them the treasury of the merits of Christ and the saints to obtain from the Father of mercies the remission of the temporal punishment due for their sins." The Church does this not just to aid Christians, "but also to spur them to works of devotion, penance, and charity." (*Catechism of the Catholic Church*, p. 1478)

109

- Catholicism insists that Indulgences are part of the Church's infallible teaching. This means no Catholic is at liberty to ignore or disbelieve in them.
- The Council of Trent stated that it "condemns with anathema those who say that indulgences are useless or that the Church does not have the power to grant them." [Trent, session 25, *Decree on Indulgences*]
- Trent's anathema places indulgences in the realm of infallibly defined teaching.

110

Roman Catholic Sacrament of Penance (Confession, Reconciliation)

- Consists of three parts: contrition, confession, satisfaction
- Contrition
 - sorrow for sin arising from love of God
 - The medieval Scholastics debated the question whether complete "contrition" was or was not in itself sufficient to obtain the Divine pardon
 - Council of Trent, however, decided that "reconciliation" could not follow such contrition without the other parts of the sacrament

111

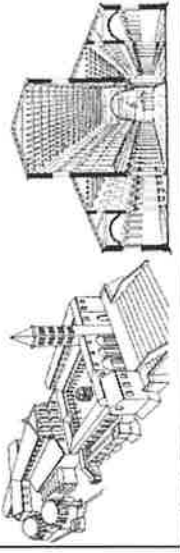
- Confession
 - the admission of one's own sins made to a duly authorized priest for the purpose of obtaining forgiveness through the power of the keys
- Satisfaction
 - Word "penance," applied to whole sacrament, is also used of the works of satisfaction imposed by the priest on the penitent, i.e., the temporal punishment (poena or poenitentia).
 - After absolution (according to RC teaching), there remains some indebtedness to Divine justice which must be cancelled here or hereafter. In order to have it cancelled here, the penitent receives from his confessor what is called his "penance", usually in the form of certain prayers which he is to say, or of certain actions which he is to perform.

112

- “In the Sacrament of Penance the faithful, confessing their sins to a legitimate minister, being sorry for them and at the same time proposing to reform, obtain from God forgiveness of sins committed after baptism through the absolution imparted by the same minister; and they likewise are reconciled with the Church which they have wounded by sinning.”
(Canon 959 of the *Code of Canon Law*)

113

Basilica constantiniana



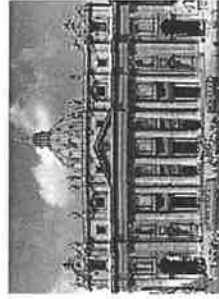
Site of the Circus of Caligula (Circus of Nero)

Peter's execution and subsequent Shrine

Constantine in 324 AD ordered the construction of a basilica (completed in 349).
Nicholas V (1447-1455) was the first pope to consider reconstruction. In 1505 Julius II (1503-1513) ordered demolition of old and building of a new basilica.

114

- Julius II (1503-1513) - plenary Jubilee indulgence (1510) to rebuild St Peter's in Rome
- After hesitation, Leo X (1513-1521) revived the sale
- Not to be sold in territories of North German princes



115

Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz's role --
Pluralism and non-age

- 1513 Archbishop of Magdeburg died
- Bishopric of Halberstadt also vacant
- 13 August 1513 Albrecht of Hohenzollern chosen for both offices



Albrecht (Albert) of Hohenzollern

28 June 1490 – 24 September 1545

116

- Canon 377 §1. The Supreme Pontiff freely appoints bishops or confirms those legitimately elected.
- Canon 378 §1. In regard to the suitability of a candidate for the episcopacy, it is required that he is:
 - outstanding in solid faith, good morals, piety, zeal for souls, wisdom, prudence, and human virtues, and endowed with other qualities which make him suitable to fulfill the office in question;
 - of good reputation;
 - at least thirty-five years old;
 - ordained to the presbyterate for at least five years;
 - in possession of a doctorate or at least a licentiate in sacred scripture, theology, or canon law from an institute of higher studies approved by the Apostolic See, or at least truly expert in the same disciplines.

117



118

- 16 December 1513 Leo X granted dispensations for 1,079 ducats
- 9 February 1514 – Uriel von Gemmingen, archbishop of Mainz, died
- Dispensations, pallium, et al cost Albrecht more than 22,300 ducats
 - 12,300 ducats for customary fees
 - 10,000 ducats paid to Curia
 - Mattheus Lang, advisor to Emperor Maximilian, was competitor for position



Albert of Mainz, painted by Lucas Cranach the Elder in 1526

119

The Fuggers - Financed Albrecht's dispensations, a speculative investment rather than a loan.

- Fuggers of Augsburg - bankers for more than 150 years
- Pope agreed that Albrecht would have right to sell papal indulgence in northern German territories
 - 31 March 1515: "Sacrosancti salvatoris et redemptoris nostri" - to be sold for 8 years in Mainz, Magdeburg and Brandenburg

120

- Drawn up by Jacobus Sadoletus (1477 – 1547), employed pious sounding phrases. Stressed “four graces”
 - plenary indulgence, even for those in purgatory
 - choice of confessor empowered to absolve even gravest offenses
 - availability of indulgence to permit dead to participate in all prayers, masses, etc here on earth, especially St. Peter’s
 - remission of all good works required without confession or contrition
- a fraud, a scheme to raise funds

121

Instructio Summaria ad Subcommissarios Poenitentiarum et Confessores

- It is, furthermore, not necessary that the persons who place their contributions in the chest for the dead should be contrite in heart and have orally confessed, since this grace is based simply on the state of grace in which the dead departed, and on the contribution of the living, as is evident from the text of the bull. Moreover, preachers shall exert themselves to give this grace the widest publicity, since through the same, help will surely come to departed souls, and the construction of the church of St. Peter will be abundantly promoted at the same time.

122

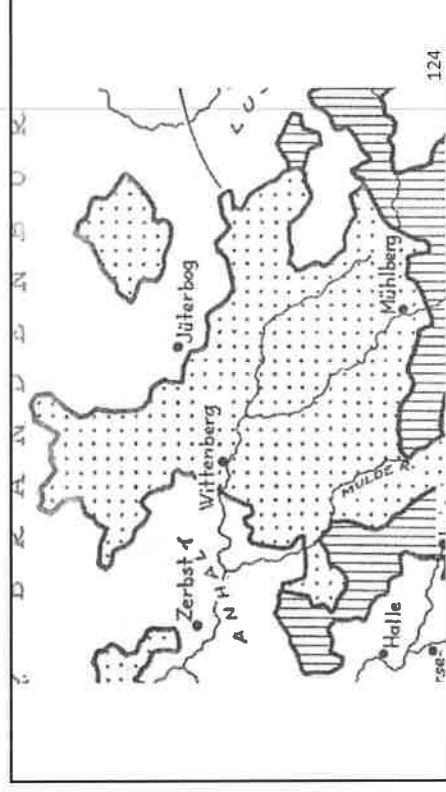


Johann Tetzel
(c. 1465 -
11 August 1519)

John Tetzel: “Once the coin in the coffer clings, the soul from purgatory heavenward springs.”

- Prior of St. Paul’s Dominican monastery in Leipzig
- Had sold indulgences since 1504
- “saved more souls than St. Peter through gospel”
- “Ketzermeister”

123



124

Sale of indulgences similar to circus or revival



- Tetzel in Jüterbog and Zerbst, c. 20 miles from Wittenberg
- People paid for indulgences according to ability to pay
- Tetzel exaggerated claims of what indulgence could do

125

Luther's Problem and Purpose

- Like many contemporaries, Luther criticized abuses in his lectures
 - 1514 (Psalms): "easy way" out
 - 1516: μετανοια = "change of mind"
- Luther was not working in isolation of the monastery
- His views brought him enemies, but also won him support: Johann Lang, Andreas Rudolf Bodenstein von Karlstadt, Nicholas von Amsdorf

126

Pastoral concern –
Sermons on July 26, 1516; October 31, 1516; February 24, 1517

- Luther noted impact of indulgences in confessional booth
- 26 July 1516 spoke against parish fairs and indulgences often sold in connection with them
- 31 October 1516 stressed correct use; pointed to real contrition
- 4 January 1517 chided priests who preferred indulgences to gospel
 - early criticism also directed in part against indulgences at All Saints' Church

127

- 24 (or 17th??) February 1517 called indulgences "Ablass"
 - noted tendency to create machinery to make people feel safe as long as they conformed to outward regulations

"Oh, the dangers of our time! Oh, you snoring priests! Oh, darkness deeper than Egyptian! How secure we are in the midst of the worst of all our wicked evils!"

- In October 1517, after Tetzel left area, Luther obtained copy of Albrecht's instructions to his salesmen

128

Luther's Personal Concerns

- Sincere contrition and repentance pushed into background
 - formerly indulgence did not fit in until 3rd step of penance
- Luther felt responsibility to speak out

129

Posting the theses

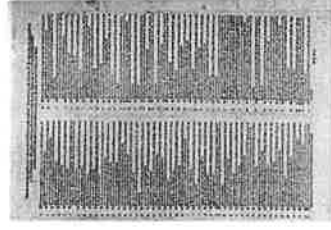
- Since its founding Castle Church enjoyed "ius patronatus" ("right of patronage")
- 1343 Bishop Otto of Magdeburg granted 40-day indulgence to those who prayed before its altars
- Under Boniface IX (1389-1404) Castle Church received right to grant indulgences

130

The Message

Theme - Indulgence is not real repentance

- 95 Theses reflect Luther's progress as a Bible student
- Although theses still cling to medieval Catholic framework, content reveals new spiritual meaning



131

What is allowable?

- Still accepts at least 15 fundamentally Roman teachings
 - Purgatory, but doubtful about claims of indulgence sellers
 - Pope still held in high regard, but questions about papal activity
 - assumed pope was innocent and his intentions above reproach
 - pope has no power beyond that of all priests
- Made gospel real treasure of the church

132

What is not allowable?

- Pomp and ceremony are valued about true charity
- Rather than relying on treasury of indulgences, Christian should rely on true treasury of God's wonderful grace

Gospel concern - "The true glory of God springs from this gospel . . . Christians are to be taught."

133

Year of Faith, 2012-13

The Sainted Father Benedict XVI

grants the gift of the

Plenary Indulgence

To all the faithful who visit the

Basílica of Guadalupe during

the Year of the Faith from 11 October 2012

to 24 November 2013.

Finishing with the owed

Conditions, which are:

1. To be in a state of Grace.

And if you have fallen out of grace due to sin,

You must come to the

Sacrament of Confession.

2. To receive Holy Communion.

3. To pray for the intentions of the Pope – one Lord's Prayer, one "Ave María," and

one "Gloria."

4. To celebrate and proclaim publicly the Faith, saying the Creed in Mass.

The Plenary Indulgence can be earned once a day and is applied only for you

yourself or a dead person.

134



Reaction

Immediate

- People began to question the value of indulgences
- Receipts in Brandenburg = 1/5 of expected
- "Luther sinned in two respects, namely, that he attacked the crown of the Pope and the bellies of the monks." (Erasmus)

136

Pastoral concern - Sermons on July 26, 1516; October 31, 1516; February 24, 1517

- Luther noted impact of indulgences in confessional booth
- 26 July 1516 spoke against parish fairs and indulgences often sold in connection
- 31 October 1516 stressed correct use; pointed to real contrition
- 4 January 1517 chided pastors who preferred indulgences to gospel
 - early criticism also directed in part against indulgences at All Saints' Church

135

Spread

- On 31 October Luther sent copies of the 95 Theses to:
 - Archbishop Albrecht of Mainz
 - Bishop Jerome Schulze of Brandenburg
- It is reported that 95 Theses spread throughout the Germanies in 14 days and “all Christendom” within a month
- Friedrich Myconius (c. 1491-1546) *Historia Reformationis*: “It was as though the angels themselves were the messengers carrying the news to all peoples.”

137

First opposition - John Eck of Ingolstadt: “Bohemian origin.”
Silvester Prierias, O.P.*: *A Dialogue on the power of the Pope, against the Presumptuous Conclusions of Martin Luther.*

- “Luther’s heresy is disturbing good order.” (Eck)
- Eck attempted to connect Luther with Hus
- Albrecht of Mainz sent 95 Theses to Pope Leo X
- “The pope like the church is infallible.” (Prierias)

* Ordo Praedicatorum

138

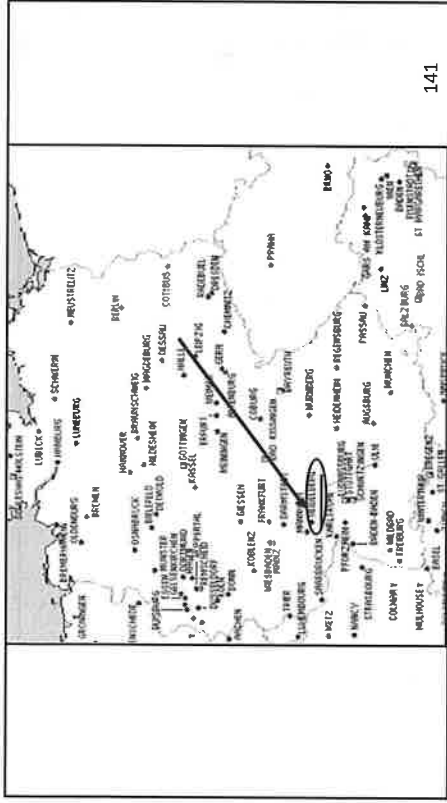
- Frederick the Wise’s ability to protect Luther linked with election of Charles V
- None of responses to 95 Theses actually dealt with indulgences; main issue for Rome was one of authority
- After 1519 Luther never came back to indulgences
- Karlstadt thought Luther “too cautious.” Staupitz thought Luther “too radical.”

139

Heidelberg

- Initially Indulgence Controversy was viewed as a “monks’ squabble” – loss of income changed Leo X’s mind
- January 1518 Saxon Dominicans sent formal denunciation of Luther to Curia
- Johann (Maier) Eck of Ingolstadt branded Luther a “Bohemian”
 - In his *Obelisks* (Obelisks) Eck attacked Luther’s theses [March 1518]
 - Luther replied in his *Asterisci adverses obeliseos Eccii*

140

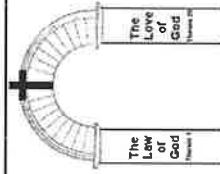


Luther's attendance at conference -- Author of theses for disputation, presiding officer

- Leo X put pressure on Luther through the Augustinian Order
- Luther was called before the general chapter of Augustinians at Heidelberg
- Staupitz made Luther chairman of the meeting
 - traditionally the chairman wrote theses for debate

Disputation -- 26 April 1518.

- Luther's first opportunity to defend "new theology"
 - also attacked doctrine of free will
 - expressed refusal to recant
- Many first realized indulgences were only symptom of deeper problem in the church
- 28 theological theses and 12 philosophical theses: directed at Occamists and the scholastics



Heinrich Bornkamm likened the theological theses of the Heidelberg Disputation to an arch spanning two pillars.

- The first pillar, the *Law of God*, is announced in the first thesis, Thesis 1: "The law of God, the most salutary doctrine of life, cannot advance man on his way to righteousness, but rather hinders him." The second pillar, the *Love of God*, is found in the last thesis, Thesis 28: "The love of God does not find, but creates, that which is pleasing to it." The Disputation moves, in an ordered and deliberate fashion, from the law of God to the love of God, a way that passes directly through the cross.

The 28 theological theses can be divided into four general sections:

- The problem of good works (theses 1-12). These deal with the nature and value of human works with regard to sin.
- The problem of will (theses 13-18). These deal with the impotence of human will in overcoming sin.
- The way of glory versus the way of the cross (theses 19-24). Here is described the "great divide," the contrasting theologies of glory and the cross. These six theses represent the keystone in the arch.
- God's work in us: the righteousness of faith (theses 25-28). The outcome: God's love in Christ is a creative act that brings believers into being.

145

- Theses 19-24 of Luther's *Heidelberg Disputation* are especially pertinent to his theology of the cross. They maintain that: the great and glorious things of God are to be found in the cross; that the greatest works of God can only be seen through suffering and the cross; and that the great things God effects in and through believers are worked in and through the cross.
- He used the phrase *theology of the cross* for the first time in his *Lectures on Hebrews* (1517-1518). Commenting on Hebrews 12:11: "Here we find the Theology of the Cross," says Luther, because the fruit of righteousness is "hidden" by pain, just as salvation is "hidden" by the cross. Thus God's work among believers is hidden in the cross they carry, and God's work of salvation is hidden in the cross of Christ.

146

• *Resolutions Concerning the Virtue of Indulgences* (August 1518)

- explanation of 95 Theses
- dedicated to pope
- believed abuses were Tetzel's responsibility, done without the approval of the Curia
- stated he held no views contrary to Bible, the Fathers, or the Church
- hinted popes/councils could err
- stressed gospel as greatest treasure

147

Cajetan's mission -- Thomas de Vio Gaeta.
Secure revocation of *Ninety-five Theses*.

- Italian cardinal -- papal representative at Diet of Augsburg (1518)
- 7 August 1518 Luther received summons to Rome
- Cardinal Prierias accused Luther of heresy



148

Elector Frederick's intervention

- 8 August 1518 Luther appealed to Elector
- 23 August - second letter lifted first order

Luther and Cajetan at Augsburg -

Thesis 58 a special irritant to Cajetan. Luther's appeal from Pope ill-informed to a pope better informed.

- Maximilian convened diet to unite Germans against increased Turkish threat

149

Thesis 58 (from 95 Theses)

- Nor are they (treasures in the "Treasury of Merits") the merits of Christ and the Saints, for even without the pope, these always work grace for the inner man, and the cross, death, and hell for the outward man.

150

- Maximilian also preparing for election of his grandson to be successor

- Leo X wanted Frederick the Wise to be candidate
- September 1518 Cajetan offered Luther "fatherly" hearing at Augsburg
 - Luther arrived 7 October
 - Met with Cajetan 12-14 October
 - Left city on 20 October
- Luther and Cajetan had different objectives
- Staupitz frees Luther from his monastic vows

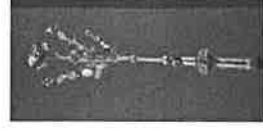
151

Karl von Miltitz (c. 1490 – 20 November 1529) and Luther



- Miltitz sent as papal nuncio to Frederick

- "golden rose" for peace making efforts
- cardinal's hat for favorite clergy



152



The Golden Rose is a symbol which the popes throughout history have conferred as a token of esteem and paternal affection to illustrious churches and shrines as well as to distinguished persons, governments or cities conspicuous for their Catholic spirit and loyalty to the Holy See.

153



- The rose is blessed on the fourth Sunday of Lent, *Lætare Sunday* (hence also known as *Rose Sunday*), when rose-colored vestments and draperies substitute for the penitential purple, symbolizing hope and joy in the midst of Lenten solemnity.

154



- Pope Benedict XVI made 16 awards of the Golden Rose, solely to Marian shrines, in his 8-year pontificate; John Paul II gave 8 in 27 years; Paul VI gave 5 in 15 years.
- In 2008, during his apostolic pilgrimage to the United States, Benedict bestowed the Golden Rose upon the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in Washington, D.C.

155

- 4-6 January 1519 Miltitz met with Luther. Luther agreed:
 - to remain silent, if opponents did so
 - to write conciliatory letter to pope
 - to urge people to remain loyal to the church
 - to allow Archbishop of Salzburg to decide issue

156

Leipzig

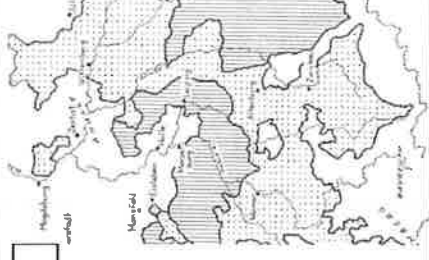
Preliminaries - "Obelisks" and "Asterisks." Karlstadt's 370 theses

- Karlstadt had addressed issue of indulgences even before Luther
- 1519 Eck challenged Karlstadt to debate
 - Eck prepared 12 Theses on the main thrust of the 95 Theses
 - He later added 13th (#7 on list) re: Free Will + Thesis #13 was on power of councils and popes

157

Journey to Leipzig

- Leipzig in ducal Saxony
- On trip, Karlstadt sprained both thumbs in a carriage accident
- Honor guard of 200 accompanied Luther



158

Disputation -- Pleissenburg Castle, 27 June to 16 July 1519

- Local bishop of Merseburg tried to prevent disputation
- Both Eck and Luther preached in local churches
- Memory and recording
- 27 June - 3 July: Eck agreed with Karlstadt's theses
- 4 July -13 July: Luther and Eck debated papal authority and church authority
 - "We are all Hussites without knowing it"

159

During Leipzig Debate, Luther asserted that:

- Pope exercised authority by human right; therefore he was not infallible; he should be obeyed only to prevent schism
- Church of Rome not supreme over others
- Church councils could and did err; they are composed of sinful men; not divinely brought into existence
- Scripture is the ultimate, divine authority

160

- Then Luther and Eck debated indulgences and true repentance
 - “No one is righteous unless he believes in God.”
 - “Faith is believing God’s promises.”
 - “Person going to Sacrament must believe.”
- 14-16 July: Eck and Karlstadt debated free will and the necessity of grace
 - 1st time Luther exposed to open charge of heresy
 - Luther clarified views more fully
 - Luther saw full implication of his theology
 - Luther became the focus of smoldering discontent

161

Paris the judge

- Four secretaries (notaries) recorded debate
- Report submitted to University of Paris and to University of Erfurt
- Erfurt refused to give judgment
- Paris finally answered in April 1521 but said nothing of the debate -- only condemned Luther’s teachings

162

The power of the church permitted the university system.

Bull of 15 June 1520 - *Exsurge domine*.
Later: *Decet pontificem romanum*.

- By beginning of 1520 Luther’s views had crystallized; formative years over, now the struggle was on
- Luther condemned for holding doctrines contrary to bible as interpreted by church fathers, councils and popes.
- People warned to reject Luther’s heresies and burn his writings.

163



Bull and book burning - 10 December 1520, Elster Gate:
“Because you have grieved the Holy One of the Lord let the eternal fire consume you.”

- Luther burned bull threatening excommunication
- Luther and students then burned book of canon law, books on Scholasticism and other Roman books
- Luther had tried reform from within; now he would work for reform from without

164

165

First Conflicts
"Manifesto"

166

166

To the Christian Nobility (8/18/1520)
An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation

An den Christlichen Adel deutscher Nation

- 1. Origin and Purpose
- 2. "Three walls"
- 1.) Roman church has declared temporal powers have no control over them; vice versa
- 2.) Roman church raises objection that only pope may interpret Scripture
- 3.) Roman church insists no one but a pope may summon a council

167

- 3. Ten abuses and 27 reforms - *gravamina*
 - Many of abuses in the church caused by or connected with the papacy
 - Reforms needed in the church, universities and the state
 - Luther urged German nobility to take lead in church reform, since they responsible for churches in their territories
 - "Gravamina" = "grievances" of German nation against the papal curia

Here Luther defined for the first time the doctrines of the priesthood of all believers and the two kingdoms.

168

168

- 4. Effect
 - "War trumpet"
 - Luther never anticipated that it would enjoy widespread agreement
 - Within 2 weeks of the first printing, the initial 4,000 copies sold out and larger printing planned
 - Even Luther's enemies recognized there was truth in what he said



*Luther
Inspired by
the Holy Spirit*
By
Hans Baldung
Grien, 1521

169



*Martin Luther
the German
Hercules*
By
Hans Holbein
the Younger,
1523

170

On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church (10/6/1520)

1. Origin and Purpose
- Title = reference to papacy at Avignon
 - Concerns misuse of the sacraments
 - Spalatin had requested treatment of sacraments
 - Elector Frederick???



171

- Luther attacks sacramental system as stronghold of the Roman church
- Three abuses:
 - withholding of the cup from the laity
 - transubstantiation
 - sacrifice of the mass (effect comes *ex opere operato* by the very fact of being administered)

a translation of this work was quickly published in German by Luther's opponent, the Strassburg Franciscan Thomas Murner

Abt von der Strassburger Kirche gegen die Lutherische Lehre



172

2. The two sacraments

- True repentance and daily contrition were being pushed aside by penance
- “Nevertheless, it has seemed proper to restrict the name of sacrament to those promises which have signs attached to them. The remainder, not being bound to signs, are bare promises. Hence, there are, strictly speaking, but two sacraments in the church of God -- baptism and the bread.” (LW 36:124)

173

3. Penance - Rome's tripartite penance.
Cf. *Apology X*
(also *Smalcald Articles*, Part III, Article III)

- Rome was substituting penance for repentance; turning faith and promise into work and merit
- “But penance or absolution have no such sign. Therefore they are compelled by their own definition to admit that penance is not a sacrament and thus to reduce their number, or else to bring forth another definition of a sacrament.” (LW 36:124)

174

According to Catholicism the Seven Sacraments of the Roman Catholic Church are gathered into three categories:

- The Sacraments of Initiation (Baptism, Confirmation, and Eucharist)
- The Sacraments of Healing (Penance or Reconciliation and Extreme Unction or Anointing of the Sick)
- The Sacraments of Vocation (Marriage and Holy Orders)

175

4. The four so-called sacraments

- Rome and Luther did not agree on what consisted a divine command or institution
- Who decides what a visible sign is?
 - What is “grace”?
 - Unmerited gift from God
 - Infused power to continue on career of good works
- Johannes Bugenhagen was won for the Reformation by this treatise

176

The Freedom of the Christian (11/11/1520)
Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen

1. Origin and Purpose

- In September Wenceslaus Link reminded Luther that he had promised to write to the pope
- On 11 October Luther wrote to Spalatin describing a meeting with Miltitz: "We agreed . . . that I should publish a letter in German and Latin addressed to the Pope, as a preface to some brief writing. . . I am to relate my whole story and show that I never wanted to attack the Pope personally, and throw all the blame on Eck."
- What it means to be a Christian



177

2. Cover Letter - Letter to Pope Leo X, as promised to Miltitz

Luther translated the letter into German and had it printed and published in Wittenberg as a separate pamphlet on 4 November. The piece that had gone with it, and of which he himself thought so highly, was also published in German a little later. *The Freedom of a Christian Man* is a kind of epitome of Luther's doctrine. As he told Spalatin in a letter about this time, he was 'feeling so free now'.

- Compared to other 1520 treatises, this one less polemical and more practical

178

3. Main content

- "The Christian is perfectly free, subject to none."
- "The Christian is servant of all."
- Luther lays out distinction between law and gospel in the area of sanctification
- "Good works do not make a good man, but a good man does good works."
- Luther urges his readers to take God at his word

179

4. Concluding section on ceremonies -- Resist violation of freedom, but avoid thoughtless, hasty abolition of ceremonies

- Don't violate Christian freedom by imposing ceremonies on people

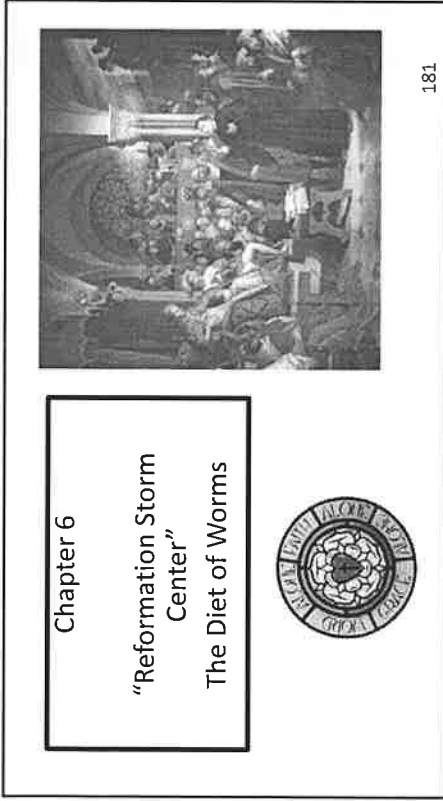
180

Chapter 6

“Reformation Storm Center” The Diet of Worms



181



The Diet of Worms

- “Diet” from “dies”
- began 28 January 1521
- Charles V, elected 1519

182

Reasons for the Diet

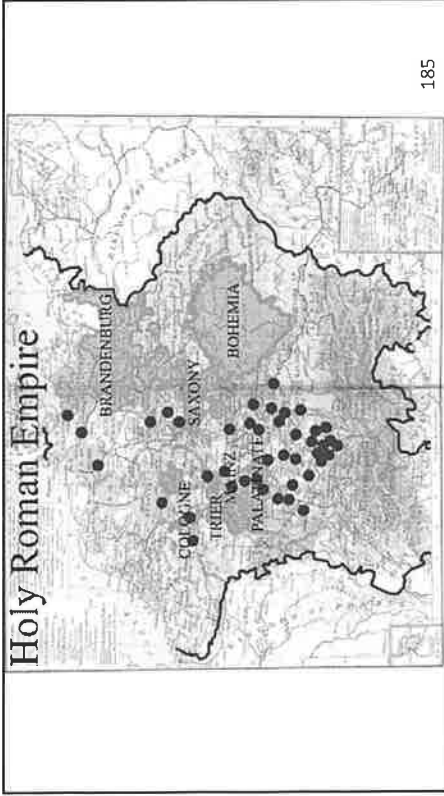
- Reforms in *Reichsregiment* and *Reichskammergericht*
- Turkish threat
- Need for troops and tax money to fight against France
- Matter of religious differences

183

Assemblage

- 7 electors of HRE (Golden Bull, 1356)
 - Secular
 - King of Bohemia
 - Duke of Saxony
 - Margrave of Brandenburg
 - Count of the Rhenish Palatinate
 - Ecclesiastical
 - Archbishop of Mainz
 - Archbishop of Treves (Trier)
 - Archbishop of Cologne (Köln)

184



- “princes” of realm
- representatives of imperial cities
- 2 papal nuncios:
 - Marino Caraccioli (1469-1530)
 - Jerome Aleander (1480-1542)

186

Luther sums up graphically Aleander’s qualities.

- "Hebrew was his mother-tongue, Greek he had studied from his boyhood, Latin he had long taught professionally. He was a Jew, but whether he had ever been baptized he did not know. He was no Pharisee, however, for certainly he did not believe in the resurrection of the dead, seeing he lived as if all perished with the body. His greed was insatiable, his life abominable, his anger at times amounted to insanity. Why he seceded to the Christians he knew not, unless it were to glorify Moses by obscuring Christ."

187

Luther’s Invitation

- As of 3 January 1521, Luther had been excommunicated (*Decret Romanum Pontificem*)
- 19 February 1521 Diet decided to summon Luther
- Charles V needs cooperation of princes, especially Frederick the Wise
- 6 March diet issued summons for Luther with “safe conduct”

188

Reactions to Invitation

- Aleander -- "imperial ban"
- Elector Frederick -- "be careful"
- 26 March 1521 Kaspar Sturm arrived in Wittenberg with invitation from emperor:
 - "Honorable, dear and pious Martin, we and the Estates of the Holy Roman Empire. . . desired to hear you on the doctrines and books put forth by you over a period of time. We order you to come here and grant you in our name and the name of the Empire every security and guarantee as the safe conduct here enclosed witnesses. . ."

189

- 2 April 1521, Luther left Wittenberg accompanied by Nicholas von Amsdorf, Johann Petzensteiner, Peter Suaven; later Justus Jonas
- Luther refused military assistance of Ulrich von Hutten, Franz von Sickingen and other imperial knights
- Journey to Worms like a victory march; Luther was welcomed enthusiastically in all of the towns he went through.
- He preached in Erfurt, Gotha and Eisenach.

190

Fear that he might become the next Hus

- To Spalatin: "Fear not, that I shall retract a single syllable. With the help of Christ, I will never desert the Word on the battlefield."
- To friends when they expressed their fears: "I am called, it is ordered and decreed that I appear in that city. I will neither recant nor flee. I will go to Worms in spite of all the gates of hell, and the prince of the power of the air."

191

Setting for Luther's Appearance

- Pfalz, residence of bishop, near cathedral -- narrow upper chamber

Questions

- 17 April, 4:00 p.m. Luther called into assembly
- Dr. Jerome Schurff served as Luther's attorney
- Reichsmarschall Ulrich von Pappenheim
- Johann von Eck

192

Answers

- Schurff demanded titles be read
- To first question: affirmative, noted that list was incomplete
- To second question: request for more time -- so that he might answer "without detriment to the Word of God and danger to my salvation"
- Emperor surprised Luther not forced into submission by the surroundings/people

193



194

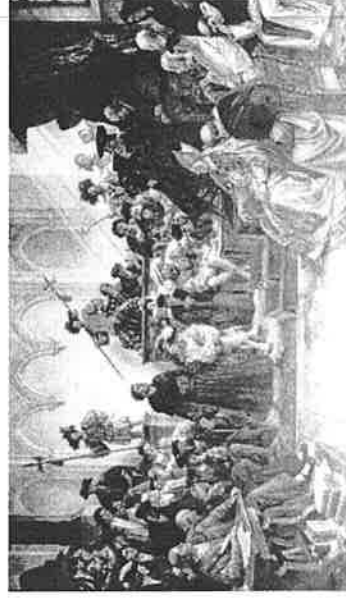
Luther's Second Appearance

Setting -- April 18, 6:00 p.m.

- Larger auditorium, still crowded
- Luther had to give answer orally

Issue the same

195



196

Luther's Testimony

- Initial comments about 3 kinds of books
- an answer "without horns or evasions"
- *Unless I am convinced by proofs from Scriptures or by plain and clear reasons and arguments, I can and will not retract, for it is neither safe nor wise to do anything against conscience. Here I stand. I can do no other. God help me. Amen. "*
- Time had come for break with Rome
- Spaniards: "To the fire with him"
- Luther: "Ich bin durch."

197

Aftermath

- Aleander told Luther he must set his conscience aside
- 22-24 April spent in private meetings
- 25 April Luther asked permission to go home
- 10:00 a.m. on 26 April Luther left Worms

198

Edict of Worms

- 30 April Charles V announced intention to place Luther and his followers under the imperial ban
- German estates refused to permit fellow German to be condemned without their approval and consent

199

Publication

- Edict formulated on 8 May
- 25 May Diet officially closed
- That evening "rump session" approved Edict
- 26 May imperial signature affixed; but document predated to 8 May
- Luther "in contempt of imperial authority"

200

Content of Edict

- Condemnation of those who print, read or possess Luther's writings
- Luther = "vogelfrei"

Effect of ban

- Edict too unreasonable to be enforced
- Never lifted during Luther's lifetime
- Integrity of Saxon territory respected

201



Chapter 7

From Worms to the Wartburg to Wittenberg

"Junker Georg"



202

"Capture"

Trip home

- Since 1519 Spalatin et al had considered putting Luther in a safe place, if necessary
- Elector renewed proposal, but he did not want to know the details
- Luther left Worms on 26 April 1521
- Return trip took party through Frankfurt
- 29 April Luther dismissed imperial herald (Kaspar Sturm) at Friedberg in Hesse



203

- From Friedberg to Grünberg to Hersfeld where abbot and city council received Luther with honor

- At Hersfeld Luther preached at 5:00 a.m. before departing on 2 May
- 3 May he preached in Eisenach
- Luther sent Schurff, Jonas, Suaven ahead since he wanted to visit relatives in Möhra
- Now only Petzensteiner and Amsdorf were still with Luther

204

- 24 April 1521 -- Luther to Cranach: "I shall submit to being 'imprisoned' and hidden away, though as yet I do not know where."
- Saturday, 4 May 1521 - left relatives. Traveling party attacked in ravine near fortress of Altenstein.
 - Petzensteiner fled on foot

205



206

- Luther snatched from wagon (He took his Greek NT and Hebrew OT with him -- hmmm?!?)
- Luther forced to run alongside horsemen until out of sight. Then put on a horse.
- Long detours to throw pursuers off the trail, Luther brought to Wartburg at 11:00 p.m.

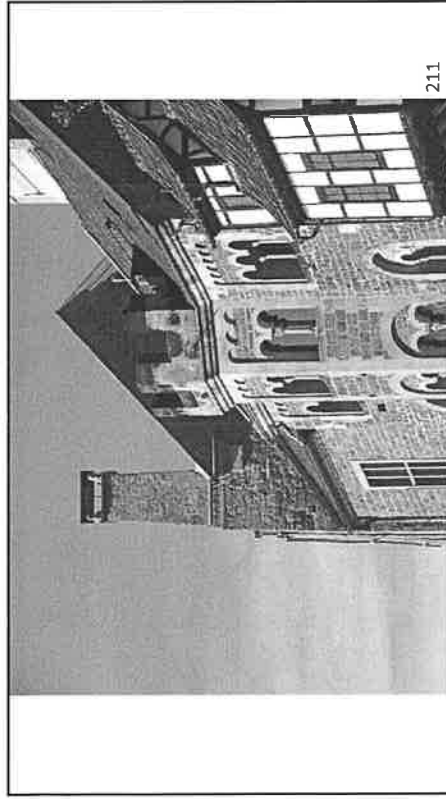
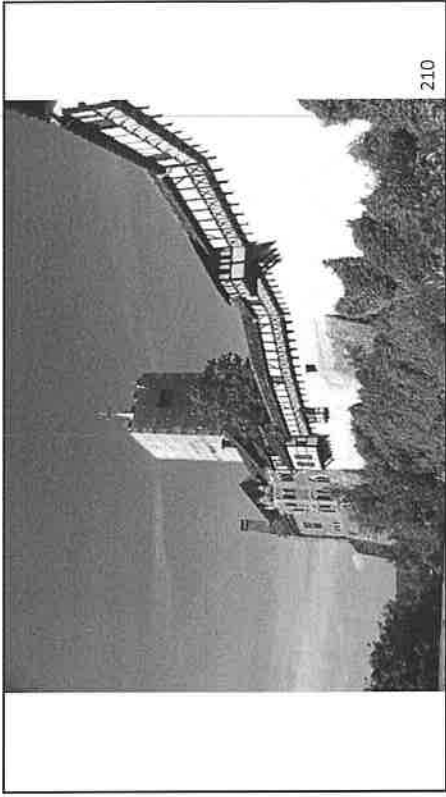
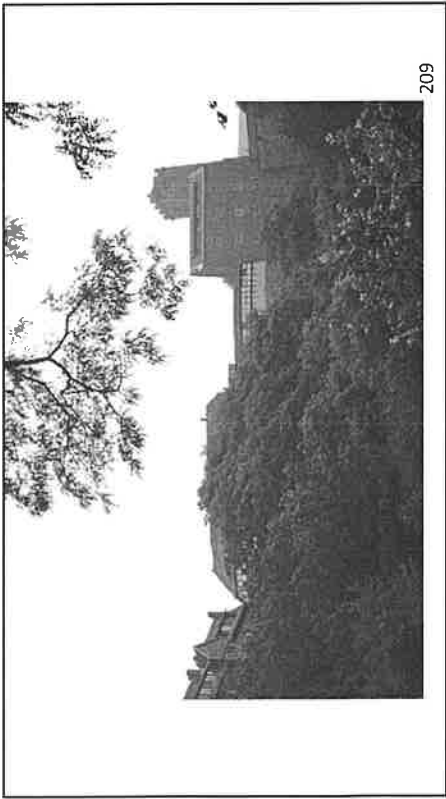
Participants in the "kidnapping" -
Frederick, Spalatin, Amsdorf?

207

Castle - Overlooking Eisenach. Luther's "Patmos." "Kingdom of the birds."



208



Wartburg Interlude

- Luther placed in an apartment reserved for a knight, next to Wartburg's warden, Hans von Berlepsch
- On north end of castle - initially only warden and two pages saw him
- Luther let his beard grow; his tonsure grew out -- assumed role of visiting knight, Junker Jörg/Georg

213



214

After only 8 days a letter arrived for Luther from Spalatin. Flow of messages kept Luther in touch with friends in Wittenberg.

- Lack of exercise first threatened health
 - "Lazy and full I sit here all day long."
- Begged that unfinished manuscripts be sent from Wittenberg
- July - Luther fell into deep depression
 - for 8 days unable to eat or pray due to constipation

215



- 12-13 August 1521
Junker Jörg took part in a hunt for first time

- Arrival of books from Wittenberg allowed Luther to resume projects
 - finished exegesis of Psalm 22
 - worked on commentary on the Magnificat

216



Luther's Works published while he was at the Wartburg

- May 1521 Commentary on Psalm 68
• (American Edition of Luther's Works, volume 13)
- 20 June Against Latomus (32)
- Summer Commentary on the Magnificat (21)
- October The Judgment of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows (44)
- 8 October Dr Luther's Retraction of the Error Forced Upon Him By The Most Highly Learned Priest of God, Sir Jerome Emser, Vicar in Meissen (39)

217

- November A Brief Instruction on What to Look For And Expect in the Gospels (35)
- November The Misuse of the Mass (36)
- Feb/March 1522 A Letter of Consolation to All Who Suffer

218

In a Latin pamphlet published in August/September 1521 and issued again in German in the same year, an unknown humanist author draws a parallel between Luther's appearance before the Reichstag in Worms and the passion of Jesus Christ. The crucifixion of Jesus corresponds to the burning of the reformer's writings (decreed in the edict) which represents the execution of the "medial body" of Luther.

The Passion of Doctor Martin Luther



219

Wittenberg Visit (December 1521)

- In *Babylonian Captivity* Luther spoke in favor of returning the cup to the laity
- 19 July 1521 -- Karlstadt: "Anyone who receives only the bread commits sin and is better therefore not to commune."
- 1 August -- Luther rejected such a position
- Gabriel Zwilling delivered series of sermons demanding abolition of the mass

220

- 29 September -- Melancthon and students received communion in both kinds in Town Church
- Conrad Helt, Augustinian prior, suspended celebration of mass
- 20 October -- committee rejected mass as sacrifice and good work; cup to laity
- 12 November -- Helt reported 12 of 13 monks had quit monastery and the cowl

221

- Rumors about Wittenberg reached Luther
- 2 December 1521 Luther secretly left Wartburg on horseback
- 3 December took noon meal in Leipzig
- Luther met colleagues at Melancthon's home, while lodging at home of Amsdorf
- 6 days later he left, in general pleased with reform movement in Wittenberg
- Late 11 December he rode back into the Wartburg

222

- Although generally pleased, Luther came away with some anxiety
 - Not upset that masses discontinued and replaced with worship including sermons and Lord's Supper
 - Did not mind that more were leaving monasteries
 - Disturbed (3 Dec) when some students and burghers prevented priests from entering Town Church and reading masses
 - Disturbed when some priests got in and were pelted with stones when reading mass

223

Return - Wrote against sectarian partisanship and political agitation: *Admonition to All True Christians to Guard Themselves against Sedition.*

- Upon return to Wartburg Luther convinced of necessity of opposing undesirable consequences of the reform movement
- Wrote "Sincere Admonition" in 2 days
 - Christian permitted to fight only armed with Word as his weapon
 - "call yourselves Christians, not Lutherans. What is Luther? After all, the teaching is not mine. Neither was I crucified for anyone."

224

- Luther returned to Wartburg with new task
 - friends in Wittenberg strongly urged him to translate NT into German
- Convinced that reformation movement could not be stopped
- Set Easter as deadline for leaving the Wartburg

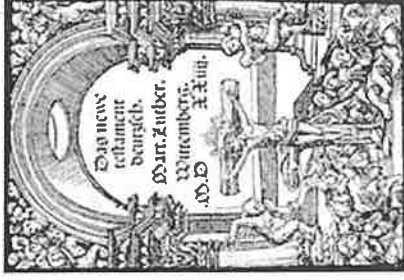
225



Chapter 8

From Worms to the Wartburg to Wittenberg

“New Testament Translation”



226

Text and Tools

Second Edition of Erasmus (1519) -
“Textus Receptus”

- **Desiderius Erasmus** (1469? - 1536)
 - 1499 met John Colet at Oxford
 - 1509 to 1514 worked on Greek NT at Oxford and Cambridge
 - Johann Froben in Basel published Gk NT (1516)



227

- 1519 Erasmus published 2nd edition of Greek NT at Rotterdam (slight revisions) [3rd - 1522]
 - included Erasmus' own Latin translation
 - annotations which Erasmus provided
 - forced to include Vulgate in this edition
- 1527 (complete revision), 1535 and 1540



228



Predecessors - Luther's translation was the first German translation from the original Greek NT

- No less than seventeen or eighteen German editions appeared between 1462 and 1522, at Strassburg, Augsburg, Nürnberg, Köln, Lübeck, and Halberstadt (fourteen in the High, three or four in the Low German dialect).
- 1466 Johann Mentel in Strassburg printed bible on basis of old Bavarian translation
- 1475 Guenther Zainer in Augsburg printed revision of Mentel bible



Proves the hunger and thirst of the German people for the pure word of God, and prepared the way for the Reformation.

- This trend alarmed the hierarchy.
 - Archbishop Berthold of Mainz, otherwise a learned and enlightened prelate, issued (4 January 1486) a prohibition of all unauthorized printing of sacred and learned books, especially the German Bible, within his diocese, giving as a reason that the German language was incapable of correctly rendering the profound sense of Greek and Latin works, and that laymen and women could not understand the Bible.
 - Even Geiler of Kaisersberg, who sharply criticized the follies of the world and abuses of the Church, thought it "an evil thing to print the Bible in German."

- Besides the whole Bible, there were numerous German editions of the Gospels and Epistles and the Psalter, all made from the Vulgate.

- 1520 Karlstadt mentions new German bibles being printed

- Summer 1521 Johann Lang translated Matthew from Erasmus' Greek NT

233

November 1521, Luther suggested that all commentaries should perish and every Christian should choose the bible alone, "so that we might seize and taste the clear, pure Word of God itself and hold to it; for there alone God dwells in Zion."

- March 1522, Luther to Harmut von Kronberg – it is essential to translate the bible; otherwise he might die in error, thinking himself a learned man.
- Since only bible provides clarity -- translation necessity to overcome tradition

234

Language study

- Luther wanted to take the thoughts expressed in Greek words and transform them into corresponding ideas in German
- make the Greeks speak German

Melanchthon's continuing help in Greek

- After his arrival at Wittenberg in 1518, Melanchthon helped Luther with Greek and Hebrew and the nuances of languages

235

Translating

Time: Mid-December, 1521 to March, 1522 -- eleven weeks

- Begun after return from secret visit to Wittenberg
- Completed by time he left the Wartburg
- Luther already revising his translation by the time he left the Wartburg
- Revision process would not be completed until he had the expertise of his colleagues at Wittenberg available

236

Vernacular -- German of the Saxon court
One-man project

Language formation -- "Neuhochodeutsch" characterized by the codification of German grammar and the development of a standard language in both writing and speech

- Luther not the first nor the only person to develop High German as literary language
- His bible was one of High German's most significant and widely distributed efforts
- Luther -- "most influential author in the German tongue"

237

Luther: "I speak the language of the Saxon chancellery which all the princes of Germany imitate."

- It is said that the German dialects of the north and south merged in Meissen
- Printers shared interest in promoting common German because they were concerned about broad understandability
- Luther avoided courtly (stilted) expressions and refrained from foreign words and slang
- Development of more modern forms

238

Publication

Date -- September 21, 1522

- Known as "September Testament"
- Published by Melchior Lotter the Younger (d. ca. 1542)
- 222 pages with 45 lines per page
- Quarto edition
- Paragraphs and chapter headings, but no verse divisions
- 3,000 copies in first printing
- Expensive (1/2, 1, and 1-1/2 gulden)
- December: reprinted by Adam Petri in Basel and also in Wittenberg

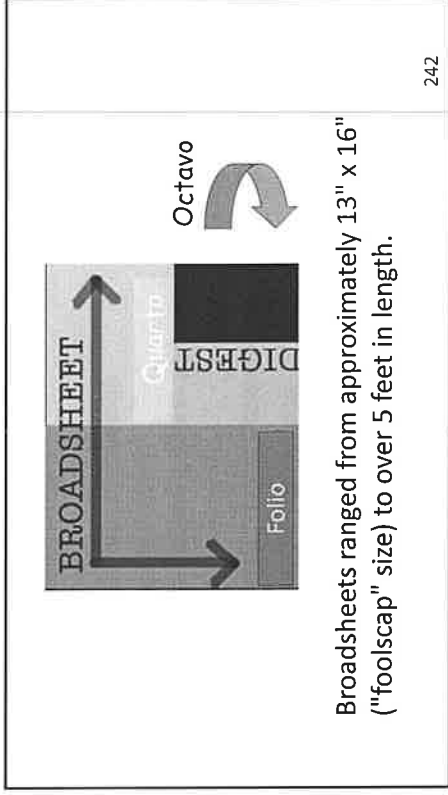
239



240



241



Broadsheets ranged from approximately 13" x 16" ("foolscap" size) to over 5 feet in length.

242

Luther's editorial material

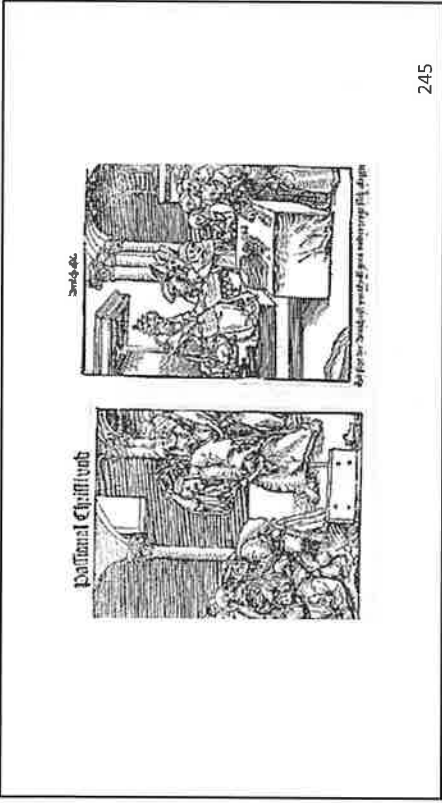
- Wrote preface to NT and to individual books in order to combat Vulgate prefaces
- Provided marginal notes ("glosses")
 - explained foreign/ambiguous words, expressions, as well as context
 - presented interpretation and emphasized points
 - also indicated Luther's social and political concepts

243

Illustrations - Lucas Cranach

- All illustrations in "September Testament" were woodcuts done by Lucas Cranach and his workshop
- Series of 21 woodcuts in Book of Revelation
- 35 editions of NT printed in Luther's lifetime (87 printings in High German + 19 in Low German)
- About 200,000 copies printed in first 12 years; about 300,000 copies in Luther's lifetime
- Publication of NT = stimulus to literacy in Germany

244



245



246

Reception and Revisions

First reception - Cochlaeus, in *History of Luther* -- "Before Emser's work saw the light of day, Luther's New Testament had been so propagated and widely spread by the book printers that even tailors and shoemakers, indeed women and other simple idiots, who had accepted this new Lutheran gospel - though they could only read a little German - read it eagerly as if it were a fountain of all truth . . . Lutheran laymen were likely, in meetings and conversations, to quote without hesitation more Scripture than Catholic monks and priests."

247

Roman reception -- *On Translating - an Open Letter*. Emser

- When Rome was critical of his NT, Luther responded with his letter on translation
- Duke George of Saxony outlawed Luther's translation in his territory
- Duke George ordered Emser to produce own translation
 - produced from Vulgate
 - plagiarized Luther's NT heavily

248

Luther revisions - including full Bible of 1534

- Almost every edition had some minor corrections in it
- 1544 edition was last one in which Luther was personally involved

Post-Luther revisions

- Although Bible of German-speaking world, language was archaic by 19th century
- 1867 Eisenach Conference did revision
- 1870 another revision; 1892 entire Bible revised

249

Chapter 9
From Worms to the
Wartburg to
Wittenberg
"Return to
Wittenberg"



250

- Since 1514 Luther had served as a preacher at St. Mary's, the Town Church
- While at the Wartburg, others had to fill his pulpit -- they influenced community
- Luther preferred to have Melancthon serve as preacher; this idea rejected
- Gabriel Zwilling, first served
- Later Karlstadt filled pulpit
- From beginning Luther had correctly perceived that the office of preacher in Wittenberg was a key position

251

Wittenberg Developments -- Good

Gospel source of good reforms -- Community chest, for example.

- 24 January 1522 - *Kirchenordnung* approved by city council of Wittenberg
 - Karlstadt, Melancthon, Jonas, Amsdorf served as consultants in its preparation
 - 1) combat poverty
 - 2) combat immorality
 - 3) new order of worship

252

Monastic reforms - Economic complications

- German Augustinians met in Wittenberg during Epiphany 1522
 - Every friar given choice of remain/leave
 - Remaining ones to concentrate on preaching, physical work and service to ill and poor
- Throughout Germany people left monasteries/nunneries
 - women who left had only three choices: governesses, marriage, prostitution

253

Compulsory celibacy abolished - Bernhardi, Karlstadt

- In 1520 Luther had questioned church's right to enforce celibacy
- Yet astonished when friends married
- Bartholomäus Bernhardi (1487-1551) of Feldkirch/Voralberg; provost at Kemberg
 - May 1521: first married Lutheran pastor
 - 26 May 1521: "I admire the newly-married man of Kemberg; he is afraid of nothing and was in quite a hurry in these troubled times." (LW 48:231)

254

• Melanchthon married 18 August 1520

• Agricola married in 1520

• Fall 1521 Luther published *The Estate of Marriage* -- liberation from captivity

• 26 December 1521 Karlstadt (age 40) announced engagement to Anna von Mochau (age 15). Married 19 January 1522

• Justas Jonas married 10 February 1522

• Johannes Bugenhagen m. 13 October 1522

• Wencelaus Link married 15 April 1523

255

Worship reforms - Fall 1521

- 29 September -- Melanchthon with students participated in private mass where chalice given to all present
- 6 October - Gabriel Zwilling preached in Augustinian monastery against hearing and celebrating private masses
- Prior Conrad Helt forbade what was happening
- University committee of profs stopped masses; refused to allow additional changes

256

Wittenberg Developments - Bad

Excesses - Multiplication of "the poor." "Iconoclasm." Zwickau prophets

- Poor: some due to changing conditions, but others simply to collect benefits
- Under Karlstadt's influence, city council voted to remove art from Town Church
- "Zwickau Prophets" came to Wittenberg during Luther's absence

257

- On the 27 December 1521 three "prophets" appeared in Wittenberg, banished from Zwickau: Thomas Drechsel and Nicolas Storch (weavers) and Mark Thomas (aka, Stübner), Melancthon's former student.

- Also banished from Zwickau was Thomas Müntzer who went to Prague

- Luther's reforms were not enough for them. Prophets

- wanted theocracy based on direct revelation
- questioned legitimacy of infant baptism
- promoted notion that formal education not needed
- taught imminent return of Christ

- Iconoclasm resulted

258

Riot - Gabriel Zwilling

- November 1521 opposition to change in Wittenberg grew stronger

- Catholic canons and Augustinian prior Conrad Helt complained to elector

- Elector's orders against innovations not carried out

- Zwilling demanded cup for laity

- Amsdorf reluctant to step in
- Melancthon too young to have respect
- Town Council asked elector to allow Luther to return

259

- 1 January 1522 Zwilling preached in favor of change (Castle Church); conducted new form of worship

- Later gang stormed priest's house and went on rampage
- Epiphany 1522 -- after decision of Augustinians to change work of friars -- more radical spirit exploded

- Paintings in churches destroyed

- Consecrated oil burned

- All side altars removed

260

Legalism -- Karlstadt's Christmas service

- Initially Karlstadt cautious about change
- November 1521 he insisted Christ had higher authority on Lord's Supper than popes, bishops, burgomeisters (mayors) or congregations
- 22 December he announced simple Lord's Supper to be celebrated in Castle Church on New Year's Day; both bread and wine
- When elector's advisors tried to stop this, Karlstadt moved up celebration to Christmas Day

261

- Karlstadt announced next celebration to be New Year's in City Church
- Disturbances had already broken out on Christmas Eve
- Another demonstration on 26 December (celebration of Karlstadt's engagement to Anna von Mochau)

Confusion - Shift from gospel to social, economic, political concerns

262

Eight Sermons

Return after word of riot - City Council resolution,
February 22, 1522

- Luther to elector: "I am your cross . . . I am coming home."
- 1/2 March 1522 Luther left Wartburg
- Luther exonerated elector from any blame for what might happen to him

263

Consultation

- Previously elector had rejected Luther's plans to return and suggestions of others that Luther return
- This time -- no consultation -- Luther simply announced his return

Invocavit sermons beginning March 9, 1522

- Series of 8 sermons (Invocavit [1st Sunday in Lent] through Reminiscere Sundays)
- 9 March 1522 (1st sermon in series) -- Christian freedom and how it should be used

264

The other sermons in Luther's series

- Monday (2nd): Even an evil, such as masses, should not be abolished by force
- Tuesday (3rd): How to deal with adiaphora. If not intrinsically wrong, you can leave them alone.
- Wednesday (4th): Deal with abuses, don't be destructive
- Thursday (5th): Reform in connection with sacraments; do so with patience and restraint

265

- Friday (6th): Sacrament is for those who are prepared; faith necessary for worthy reception.
- Saturday (7th): Love is fruit of faith; flows from the Sacrament.
- Sunday (8th): Three kinds of private confession; should not be forced --
 - confession established in Scripture; call for due to sin
 - confession to God
 - personal confession to a brother

266

Effects

Revolution became Reformation

- Pace of change slowed
- Emphasis shifted to education
- Wolfgang Capito -- personal representative of Albrecht of Mainz -- joins Brenz's movement in Strassburg

267

What should be abolished was (abolished)

- Compulsory confession
- Private masses
- Monasteries

What could be retained was (retained)

- Our church remains a liturgical church

268

Prophets repudiated or reformed

- Gabriel Zwilling was reformed; served as a pastor in Saxony
- Zwickau prophets -- anti-infant baptism and anti-education
 - They wanted to rely only on Holy Spirit and not on the Bible.

269

“Prophets” repudiated or reformed

- Gabriel Zwilling (c. 1487 – 1 May 1558)
 - In January 1522, he participated in iconoclasm
 - In March 1522, he publicly admitted his errors, and supported Luther’s more conservative reform.
 - Became a *prediger* (“preacher”) in Altenburg in 1522; moved to Torgau in 1523 where he became successively *prediger*, pastor (1525), and superintendent (1529)
 - Removed from his final office because he opposed the *Leipzig Interim* of 1549; died in Torgau.

270

• Zwickau prophets

- anti-infant baptism and anti-education
- wanted to rely only on Holy Spirit and not on the Bible
- sought a believers church, which would be separate from the State churches
- confronted Luther
- Luther demanded they authenticate their message with a miracle, a sign which the men refused to give.
- “Prophets” then denounced Luther and left Wittenberg

271

Chapter 10

Problems, 1522-1525

“Problems with Radicals”



272

Karlstadt at Orlamünde

- Tendency toward legalism or antinomianism or both
- Tendency to downplay means of grace
 - signs of faith and not gospel in another form
 - spoke of memorial feasts
 - looked to ordinances and commandments as signs to identify Christians
- Tendency to concentrate on earthly: political, economic or societal
- Tendency to elevate free will. Promoted “decision” theology.

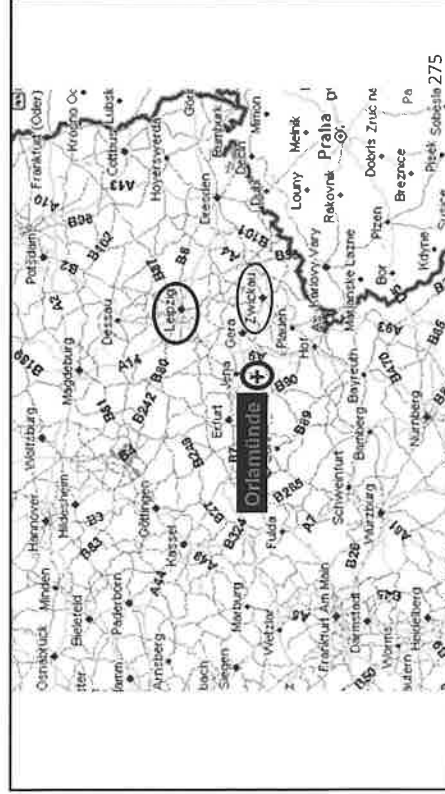
273

Karlstadt at Orlamünde

Period of quiet

- Upon Luther's return, Karlstadt submitted to Luther, but he was full of resentment
- Karlstadt continued to lecture and he remained dean of theological faculty until 1523
- He still received income as archdeacon of All Saints Foundation (1/4 of his total income)
- May 1523 Karlstadt took over parish in Orlamünde
 - had been archdeacon of the church in Orlamünde
 - not granted leave until Spring 1524

274



Although out of Wittenberg, Karlstadt was far from quiet

- published 5 tracts in Jena, justifying his reforms in Orlamünde
- mystical severity combined with legalism
- 26 May 1524 Elector Frederick turned down Karlstadt's and Orlamünde town council's request to make him permanent pastor there
- August 1524 Karlstadt surrendered position as archdeacon of All Saints

276

Orlamünde, 1524 -- Black Bear Tavern in Jena. "The new layman."
"Bruder Anders." Pioneered "representation" view.

- Karlstadt had town council send letter to Luther requesting discussion of past problems
- 22 August 1524 met before large group
- "ein anderer Anders"
- Karlstadt insisted that people take the bread in their hands
- 24 August Luther went to Orlamünde and was pelted with stones and mud

277

Strassburg and Basel –
Luther's *To the Christians at Strassburg*.

- 18 September 1524 Duke John expelled Karlstadt from electoral Saxony
- Karlstadt wrote series of 8 pamphlets in which he attacked Lord's Supper and infant baptism
- Luther responded with a pastoral letter to the residents of Strassburg
- Debate with Karlstadt in *Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and Sacraments* (Dec 1524/Jan 1525)
 - Although images are unnecessary for salvation, they are not evil unless worshipped as idols
 - Karlstadt idolizes works and laws

278

"Dr. Karlstadt does not matter much to me. I keep my eye not on him but on the one who has possessed him and speaks through him."

- 13 June 1525 Karlstadt, wife and child showed up on Luther's doorstep
- Finally settled in Basel, where he died.
- Luther and Karlstadt differed on:
 - the means of grace
 - free will and the bondage of the will

279

Müntzer at Allstedt

From Zwickau to Bohemia -

Born 1488, exiled 1521, Taborites. Prague Manifesto: "From no scholar did I learn the order of God, which is put into creatures, with even the smallest word. . . . I heard from them mere Scriptures which they stole from the bible like murderers and thieves."



Thomas Müntzer
(1488-1525)

280



Andreas Rudolf
Bodenstein
von Karlstadt
(1486 – 1541)

281

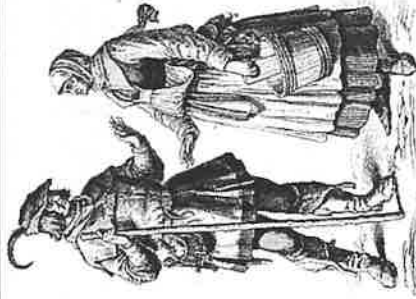
Luther's Writings on the Subject

Occasion - Peasants' War.

Against the Heavenly Prophets, December, 1524; January, 1525.

- Luther regarded radicals as responsible
- Luther's friends viewed this work as being too harsh
- *On Temporal Authority*
 - Need for temporal authority
 - Goal: external peace among common people

282



283



Chapter 11

Problems, 1522-1525

"Problems with
Rural Revolt"

Origins of the Peasants' Revolt

- 12th c. relationship between peasant and lord rather close
- Situation of peasants grew steadily worse
- By mid-15th c peasants had little self-respect; bitter resentment
- Peasants had no opportunity for improving their situation
 - peasantry was laughingstock of society
 - church upheld social system

284

- Italy (1304-7); Flanders (1323-28); northern France (1356); England (1381)



285



- Bundschuh (since about 1450)
 - peasants, townsmen, lower clergy
 - Switzerland, Alsace, Upper Rhine valley
 - “divine justice” (incorporation of religious ideals and teachings)
 - primary target = elimination of serfdom

286

Religious and political (legal) motives found alongside economic and social concerns

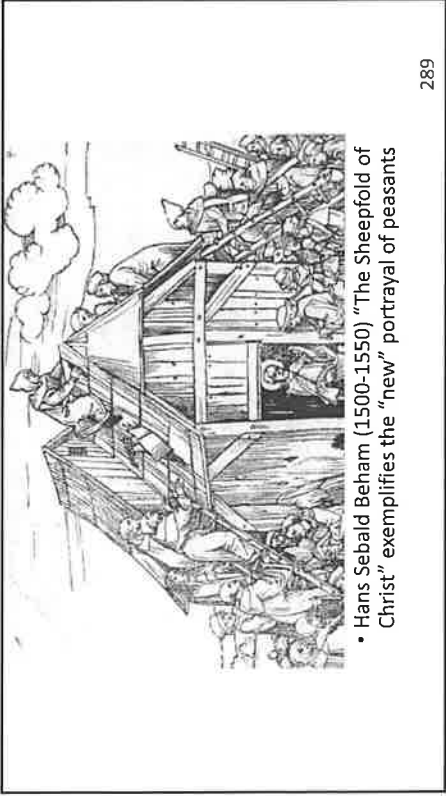
- 1400-49: 7 revolts
- 1450-74: 6
- 1475-99: 8
- 1500-24: 18
- Wandering priests, monks, students, artisans filled with humanist utopias and apocalyptic visions stirred up the people

287

- With rise of printing industry, specific literature created - propagandized the lot of the peasants

- Peasants led to believe “priesthood of all believers” applied especially to them
- Now peasant pictured as “noble son of the soil whose simple mind was best fitted for absorbing the truths of God’s Word”

288



289

- Hans Sebald Beham (1500-1550) "The Sheepfold of Christ" exemplifies the "new" portrayal of peasants

- Peasants believed they were destined to carry out important role in furthering gospel & inaugurating social/economic reforms
- Luther's *Freedom of the Christian* changed from inner freedom of reborn man to freedom from economic bondage

290



291

- Spring 1525 uprising fanned out
- Franconia, Hesse, Brunswick, Baden, Treves, Salzburg, Tyrol, Carinthia and Styria
- Worst region was Thuringia where Müntzer was preaching "new order" brought about by violence/defiance of accepted authority

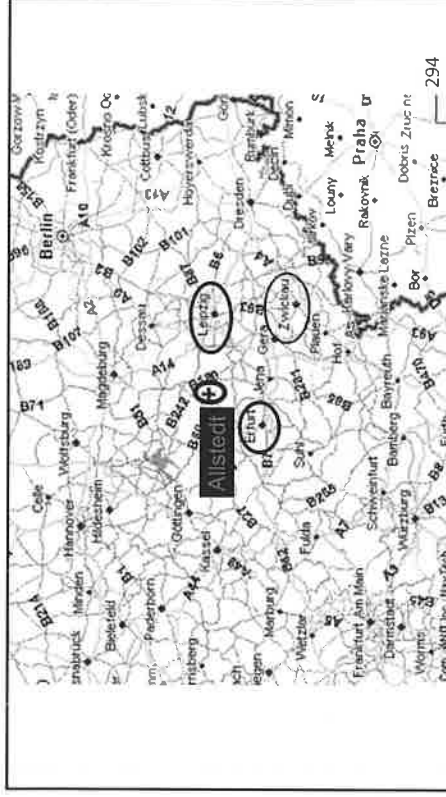


292

Karlstadt and Müntzer, although not close, shared preaching of the mystical experience:

- To gather the elect
- To separate them from world by vigorous application of divine law
- To permeate members with spirit of ascetic enthusiasm
- Both were impatient with slowness of Luther's reform
- Both proclaimed end was near

293



Count Ernest of Mansfeld ordered his subjects not to leave local church and attend church in Allstedt; by April 1524 more than 2,000 attended services

- July 1524 Luther wrote **Letter to the Princes of Saxony concerning the Rebellious Spirit**
 - admonished princes to suppress violence
 - princes do not have to defend themselves against Müntzer's teachings
 - "act according to the Word of God, as is fitting for Christians. Only thus can we eliminate the causes of sedition."

295

Luther's Activities

Opposed Zwickau prophets at Wittenberg and repudiated Duke George's embargo - Gabriel Zwilling. Luther's **On Temporal Authority and the Extent to Which It should be Obeyed.**

- Written against the radicals
- Showed distinction between the two kingdoms

296

• 3) It has been practice so far, that we have been held as villein, which is pitiful, given that Christ redeemed all of us with his precious bloodshed, ... Therefore, it is devised by the scripture, that we are and that we want to be free.

• 4) It is unfraternal and not in accordance with the word of God that the simple man does not have the right to catch game, fowls, and fish.

• 5) The high gentlemen have taken sole possession of the woods. If the poor man needs something, he has to buy it for double money.

• 6) One shall have understanding (pretty much reduce) with regard to the corvee which keeps increasing from day to day to how our parents served in accordance with exclusively the word of God.

301

• 7) The nobility shall not raise the peasant's corvee in excess of what was established at bestowal.

• 8) Many properties can not support the levies (lease fees). Honest men shall inspect these properties and shall determine the levy upon their discretion so that the peasant shall not do his work in vain, for every person is worth his pay.

• 9) New rules are ever made for the great outcry "große Frevel" (a fine that had to be paid to the court). . . . It is our opinion that we shall be punished by old, written penalty with regards to what was done and not to favor.

302

• 10) Several have appropriated meadows and acres, that belong to the municipality. Those we want back to our common hands.

• 11) The "Todfall" (a sort of inheritance tax) shall be abolished altogether and never again shall widows and orphans be robbed contrary to God and honour.

• 12) It is our decision and final opinion that if one or several of the articles mentioned herein were not in accordance with the word of God, those we shall refrain from those if it is explained to us on the basis of the scripture.

303

• 16 April Luther left for Eisleben with Melanchthon and Johann Agricola

• During trip Luther wrote "Warning (Admonition) toward Peace based on the Twelve Articles of the Peasants in Swabia"

• accepted at face value that peasants had peaceful intentions

• considered it his pastoral duty to advise and instruct

• spoke only as theologian, unbiased

• Religion to Luther was inward/spiritual

• Relationship of Church and State

304

Peasant successes - Some concessions in Swabia and Franconia

- By 30 April 1525 - peasant army - 35,000
- 1 May - Schmalkalden fell
- Ichtershausen and Stadtilm also fell
- Castles destroyed and plundered, including that of Hans von Berlepsch
- More destruction in Saale River valley
- Cloisters besieged and plundered

305



306

Thomas Müntzer's (ca. 1488 – 27 May 1525) role

- Fanned flames of fanaticism
- believed Second Coming at hand; wicked must be cut down to prepare way
- "Don't let your swords cool off! Don't allow them to become feeble!"
- Müntzer and Heinrich Pfeiffer led peasants



307

Suppression

Luther's reaction to excesses - *Against the Murdering and Robbing Horde of Peasants*, May 1525.

- 16 April 1525 Luther traveled to Eisleben to establish new Christian school
 - saw evidence of peasant violence
 - in Nordhausen hecklers interrupted sermon
 - at Weimar promised to write vs. situation
- Luther returned home 6 May and wrote tract

308

"Against the Murdering and Robbing Horde of Peasants"

- Originally published as an addition to the 3rd edition of "Warning toward Peace"
- Strong language; bitter denunciation in the heat of anger
- Charges against peasants:
 - had broken their oath to government and were subject to arrest and trial
 - had robbed and murdered; subject to death in body and soul
 - had covered their sins in name of Christian brotherhood; blasphemed God

309

Luther:

- Compared peasants to mad dogs which must be destroyed before whole is contaminated
- Called upon government to use divinely appointed power to curb evil
- Suggested that those who lost lives in preserving justice and order would be true martyrs in cause of the gospel

No new idea in this tract. Only really noteworthy thing is (overly) strong language.

310

Nobles' reaction - Philip of Hesse, Swabian League, John of Saxony, Duke Henry of Brunswick (Braunschweig)

- Philip of Hesse took immediate action
 - Peasants attacked Herfeld (28 April) and Fulda (3 May)
 - Philip noted that modest forces could turn back large crowds
 - He secured help of Duke George of Saxony at Mühlhausen
- Above nobles joined by Counts of Mansfeld, Albrecht and Ernest

311

Frankenhausen - May 15, 1525.

- End of April, 1525, peasants at peak of power
- c. 8,000 peasants vs c. 6,000 mercenaries at Frankenhausen
- Defeat at Frankenhausen + routed in south

Aftermath - Some concessions in Austria, Baden, Hesse. Open Letter on the Harsh Book against the Peasants, May 15, 1525.

- Princes determined to teach peasants a final lesson

312

- Publication of Luther's tract ("Against the Murdering and Robbing Horde of Peasants") after defeat of peasants; seemed like overkill
- Luther viewed this as God's judgment on peasants, but did not justify actions of princes
- A *Letter on the Harsh Booklet Against the Peasants*:
 - reaffirmed position on basis of Romans 13
 - reasoning with peasants useless since they understood only force
 - believed an apology/retraction would only cause further confusion
- Peasants disillusioned and alienated

313

Luther's Role

1. Initial sympathy for peasants
2. Then turned off by excesses of peasants
3. Then turned off by excesses of nobles
4. Results for the Reformation – Luther called a "Flatterer of princes."

- Both sides blame Luther
- Lower classes tend toward Anabaptists and sects
- Role of territorial church elevated

314



Chapter 12

Problems, 1522-1525

"Problems with Rome"



Adrian VI – Pope
(1522-1523)

Pope (H)Adrian's demand – Enforce Edict of Worms

- *Adrian Florisz Dedel* (2 March 1459 – 14 September 1523) of Utrecht elected pope as (H)Adrian VI on 9 January 1522
 - Had become Charles' tutor in 1507
 - Conservative and ascetic
- 1st Diet at Nürnberg convened March 1522, dismissed May 1522; reconvened December 1522, closed in January 1523
 - to devise means to defeat Turks
 - to settle internal religious difficulties

316

- Roman Catholics acknowledged need to reform the church; demanded enforcing of Edict of Worms
- Princes demanded within a year that pope convene "free Christian council" in a German city
- Princes believed enforcement of edict "would meet with nothing but violent rebellion and civil wars"

Duke George's agitation - Imperial mandate versus church changes in Electoral Saxony, 1522.

317

Netherland's martyrs - Hendrik Vos and John Eschen, at Brussels

- 2 Augustinians from Antwerp burned at the stake on 1 July 1523
 - John (Jan) van den Esschen and Henry Vos
- Luther: "I thought I would be the first to be martyred for the sake of this holy gospel, but I am not worthy of it."
- Luther wrote hymn in commemoration: "Ein neues Lied wir heben an" (TLH #259, "Flung to the Headless Winds")
- Viewed the executions not as defeat, but as confirmation that gospel was good thing

318

1524 Diet - Catholic princes opposed any reforms that would adversely affect Rome's finances!

- 2nd Imperial Diet at Nürnberg: convened November 1523, ran from January to April, 1524
 - death of (H)Adrian VI on 14 September 1523 prevented church renewal
 - Clement VII, worldly politician, not reform-minded churchman (pope, 19 Nov 1523 - 25 Sept 1534)
- "100 grievances" (gravamina) of the German nation against the papal court

319

- Repeated demand for "free general council" in "an appropriate city in the German nation"
- Preliminary meeting ("a general assembly of the German nation") to be held in Speyer on St. Martin's Day, 1524
- Estates reminded to be obedient to the Edict of Worms "so far as possible for them"
- Organizational reforms, not doctrinal reforms discussed

320

Papal and Imperial Policy

Duke George's agitation

- In 1524 and 1526 Duke George calls for action vs those monastics who forsook their vows
- George lobbied emperor to deprive Elector John of electoral title

Diet of Speyer, 1526

- Lack of decisive action at the Nürnberg diets caused problems: religious dissent led to political unrest

321

- First anti-Reformation alliance (summer 1524): south German bishops, Dukes of Bavaria, Archduke Ferdinand
- Count Albrecht of Mansfeld asked Luther about evangelical response in Jan. 1525
 - no alliance against government
 - no objection to defensive alliance
 - but trust in God, not in arms
- Catholics - Dessau League, July 1525: Duke George, Electors of Brandenburg and Mainz, dukes of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel

322

- Elector John and Landgrave Philip of Hesse met at Gotha, February 1526
- 2 May 1526 - Torgau League ratified
 - John of Saxony and Philip of Hesse
 - Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneberg and Brunswick-Grubenhagen, Duke of Mecklenburg, Counts of Mansfeld, Magdeburg
 - Philip also had plans to include southern cities: Strassburg, Nürnberg, Augsburg and Ulm

323

- Under pressure/tension of the events, Charles agreed that diet would meet at Speyer: June-August 1526
 - made reform measures the responsibility of rulers (territorial churches)
 - gave legal sanction to principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*

Agreement and demand - Religious division of Germany began to be established fact

Diet decided each ruler would decide religious question in own territory according to own conscience; renewed demand for a council


324

Charles V -- Hapsburg-Valois Wars

- 1521-30 Charles V occupied with wars against France (Francis I of Valois) and Papal States
- Frances ruled duchy of Milan
- Charles ruled Naples and Sicily

325

Duke George, the Bearded, of Saxony (1471 – 1539, duke 1500 – 1539)



326

- Roman Catholics acknowledged need to reform the church; some demanded enforcing of Edict of Worms
- Princes demanded that pope convene a “free Christian council” in a German city within a year
- Princes believed enforcement of edict “would meet with nothing but violent rebellion and civil wars”

Duke George the Bearded’s agitation - Imperial mandate versus church changes in Electoral Saxony, 1522.

327

Papal and Imperial Policy

Duke George the Bearded’s agitation

- In 1524 and 1526 Duke George calls for action vs those who forsook their vows
- George lobbied emperor to deprive Elector John of electoral title



George the Bearded
1471 – 17 April 1539
Duke of Saxony from 1500 to 1539.
(27 August)

328

Facing Opposition

The unclear diets

Committed papacy and unfriendly Emperor

- Papacy committed to elimination of Lutheran “heresy”
- Yet emperor needed Saxons to defend Austria and Vienna
- Emperor also wanted to remain good Catholic

329



- Luther suffered severe digestive problems
 - diet and stress
- Also suffered from dizziness and fainting
 - high blood pressure (?)
- Also suffered bouts of severe depression
 - “How can the whole Church be wrong and one man right?”

330

Clash with the “Defender of the Faith”

Luther’s influence in England - Cambridge “Germans” at White Horse Tavern: William Tyndale, Thomas Bilney, Robert Barnes, et al.



William Tyndale
(c. 1494–1536)

Hugh Latimer
(1485?-1555)



331

Cardinal Wolsey’s activities - Burning of Luther’s books, May, 1521.

Henry’s book – “Defense of the Seven Sacraments” (1521)

- Thomas Wolsey (1473? – 1530) Archbishop of Canterbury under Henry VIII and chancellor



332

Luther's Reaction

- Luther assumes Henry is too smart to have written such a dumb book
- Resistance to Luther's writings in England and Henry's remaining Catholic was in part due to Luther's response

333



Chapter 13

Crucial Years,
1525-1529

"Conflicts with Erasmus"



334

Desiderius Erasmus (1466[69] - 1536)

- Illegitimate son of sub-deacon [Roger Gerard], later a priest
- Mother was a widow [Margaretha Rogers, daughter of a physician]
- Both parents died in 1483
- Desiderius Erasmus
 - born in Rotterdam
 - Had an older brother, Peter
 - educated in Deventer (Brethren of the Common Life)
 - then Hertogenbosch
 - University of Basel

335



- Gave up study of Hebrew after 6 weeks; turned to the classics
- 1487 joined Augustinian monastery at Steyn, near Gouda
- 1492 ordained a priest
- Entered service of Bishop Hendrik van Bergen of Cambrai as Latin secretary

336

- 1495-96 studied philosophy and theology in Paris; acquired distaste for scholasticism
- With interruptions at Paris until 1499
- 1499-1500, first of three visits to England
 - became close friend of John Colet and Thomas More
- Wanderlust: 1500-05, France and Holland; 1505-06, England; 1506-09, Italy; 1509-14, England; 1514-16, Basel; 1529-35, Freiburg; 1535-36, Basel
- Hated women, like so many learned men of the day

337

Major works - *The Christian Soldier's Manual (Enchiridion), Colloquies, In Praise of Folly, Julius Exclusus, Adagia, On the Freedom of the Will*, New Testament

- First to use humor as vehicle for religious subjects
- "Enchiridion" was one-handed sword
 - In this book dealt with struggle of Christian to be a Christian
- *Julius Exclusus* deals with shutting Pope Julius out of heaven

338

Humanism's high regard for person's moral capability was incompatible with Luther's teaching of justification

- August/Sept 1524 Erasmus published "De Libero Arbitrio" ("A Diatribe or Discourse concerning Free Choice")
 - publicly attacked central point of Luther's theology: his understanding of human nature
- 1 November 1524 Luther had read part of it
- 31 December 1525 Luther's response appeared "De Servo Arbitrio"

339

Religious stance - Christianity = inclination of the heart to God, practical wisdom, love for neighbor. "Prince of humanists"

- According to Erasmus, purpose of Christianity is to rid society of barbarism
- Melancthon also studied theology in order to learn how to become a better Christian
- Erasmus more loved than Luther by the intellectuals of his day and modern educators as well
- Erasmus was anti-Judaist; critical of Reuchlin; congratulated Francis I for ridding France of Jews

340

Erasmus and the Reformation

At the dawn of the Reformation - "I do not at all share the opinion of those who do not want laymen to read the Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular, as though Christ had taught something enigmatic to be scarcely understood by a few theologians. They seem to think that the Christian religion is best protected by ignorance. I wish all women would read the Gospels and the letters of Paul. I wish they would be translated into all languages. I wish the peasant would sing them behind the plow, the weaver at his loom, the pilgrim on his way." (Novum Testamentum, 1516)

341

Erasmus was a moralist. He believed people would be better Christians if they read the Scriptures.

- 1 March 1517 - Luther in letter to Johann Lang: "My joy in Erasmus is diminishing daily. . . . With him the human counts more than the divine. . . . One judges things differently from trusting the capacities of man than when knowing nothing but grace."
- Luther and Erasmus have in common:
 - exact, literal exegesis of Scripture
 - critical of ecclesiastical authorities

342

Period of indecision - Polite correspondence and general encouragement, but to Albrecht of Mainz, in 1519: "If he has written well, no praise is due me; if not, it would be unjust to hold me responsible."

- Erasmus commended Elector Frederick for sponsoring Luther
- Initially Erasmus encouraged Luther, without being supportive of his doctrine
- "Erasmus laid the egg, but Luther hatched it."
- "My egg was a hen, but his is a fighting cock."

343

Erasmus less interested in "Thus saith the Lord." He is more interested in a peaceful Christendom where a humanist can pursue his own agenda.



- "I can tolerate them (Rome), if they can tolerate me."
- Erasmus' followers used his publisher to print collections of Luther's Latin works
- Unhappy - wanted to keep distance from Luther

344

Break with Luther - Feared Luther was destroying the climate favorable to humanism (bonae litterae).

- 1527, letter of Erasmus to Brenz, he deplored tone of Luther and other reformers

De Libero Arbitrio and its Defense

- Origins - Looking for an issue with which to attack Luther, to prove his own Catholic loyalty, September 1524.
- Sir Thomas More suggested that Erasmus write on the will

345

Tone of book - Skeptical as to whether truth can be known from Scripture.

- Erasmus skeptical whether anyone can learn about freedom of the will from the Bible
- Uses more than 200 Bible passages to arrive at inconclusive conclusion

346

Content (Parts I and II) - Scripture and Fathers inconclusive. Accept freedom of will on the basis of reason.

Conclusion (Part III) -

The commandments seem to suggest our ability to obey, but the issue cannot be finally resolved.

347

De Servo Arbitrio

Luther's reaction to De libero arbitrio

- 15 months after Erasmus' book, Luther published his response, December 1525

Estimate - Best of Luther's writings on high theological level

348

Outline of De Servo Arbitrio

- Introduction
- On Erasmus' Preface
- On Erasmus' Introduction
- Refuting free choice arguments
- Defending enslaved will passages
- Refuting Erasmus' attacks on Luther's assertions
- Appeal to authorities: Paul and John
- Conclusion: If we believe that Christ has redeemed men by his blood, we are bound to confess that the whole man was lost; otherwise we should make Christ either superfluous or the Redeemer of only the lowest part of man, which would be blasphemous and sacrilege.

349

Erasmus Responded with "Hyperaspistes"

- First part - Spring 1527
- Second part - September 1527
- Erasmus was deeply offended that Luther had called him:
 - An atheistic Epicurean
 - A despoiler of the Bible
 - An enemy of Christendom
- Luther never again responded to Erasmus on the topic of the will

350

For his era Erasmus expounded enlightened educational views in *De Ratione Studii* (On the Method of Study, 1511) and *De Pueris Satim ac Liberaliter Instituendis* (On Teaching Children Firmly but Kindly, 1529).

- He held that elementary Latin and basic Christianity should be taught at home before the start of formal schooling at the age of seven.
- Latin was to be taught first through conversation and only later through grammar, a method similar to present-day teaching techniques.
- Equally advanced were his advocacy of physical education, criticism of severe discipline, and insistence on arousing the interest of pupils.

351

Some regard Erasmus as a precursor of the Reformation because his works were later listed in the Index of Forbidden Books by the Council of Trent.

- His war against ignorance and superstition was prompted by his convictions as a humanist rather than as a theologian.
- He was not a religious reformer, as were Luther and French theologian John Calvin, nor was he inclined to participate in theological discussions.
- He was first and foremost a man of letters, and as a humanist he was at the forefront of his age.

352



Chapter 14

Crucial Years,
1525-1529

“Catechetical Labors”



353

Saxon Visitation

- As Reformation progressed, there was a desire to evaluate what gospel had brought (Had it made a difference?)
- Problem of supervision had to be resolved
- In late Middle Ages, princes and city magistrates had assumed functions which placed them in competition with bishops

354

- In “To the Christian Nobility” secular officials charged with church reforming
- 1523 - Altenburg Landtag, Saxon nobles called on elector to initiate visitation
- Luther encouraged both Elector John the Steadfast and Philip of Hesse to take active role in church matters
- Gifts and offerings no longer being made by the people, left church in miserable state
- Luther aware that this not normal use of governmental authority – an emergency

355

- October 1526 Philip of Hesse held assembly and presented church administration in which ruler participated
 - Luther rejected it
 - “Legislation is a great, noble, comprehensive thing, and cannot be successful without the spirit of God, for which we must humbly pray.”
- Speyer (1526) gave responsibility for religious affairs in territory to nobles
- Johann Agricola objected to idea of visitation – a violation of Christian liberty

356

Origins of Visitation - Preliminary survey in Thuringia, 1527.
Melanchthon's *Instruction to the Visitors in Electoral Saxony*.

- In order to abolish abuses, to introduce reforms in doctrine, worship and discipline, and to establish Christian schools, Luther proposed general visitation of all churches
- By 16 June 1527 detailed instructions prepared, under Luther's direction
- Preliminary survey carried out by Melanchthon with 3 state officials

357

- Elector directed Melanchthon to prepare "formula of doctrine and rites" for instruction of the visitors.

- In 17 articles he treated major points of doctrine.
- Work finished in December 1527
- Ernestine (electoral) Saxony divided into 5 regions, each had commission made of: members of Wittenberg faculty, representatives from Saxon court, and prominent clergymen
- First visit surveyed problem and made necessary recommendations

358

- Visitors evaluated worship, education and preaching.

- Elector was operating in place of bishop
- Beginning of state control of churches
- Can succeed only as long as dedicated laymen in charge – this proved to be a mistake
- 1526 Hesse had visitation
- 1526 visitations taken to Livonia
- By 1528 visitations were taking place in many states

359

Visitation of 1528-29

- Elector appointed Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas Spalatin and Myconius as visitors

Findings - In many places people (and pastors) had their hearts in the right place, but lacked understanding. In other places, ignorance and indifference.

- People in countryside often closer to paganism than to Christianity

360

- They found churches in deplorable condition: inherited from papacy and aggravated by abuse of liberty
- Peasants refused to contribute to church because no services ever held for them
- Luther to Spalatin: “The peasants learn nothing, know nothing, and abuse all their liberty. They have ceased to pray, to confess, to commune, as if they were bare of all religion. As they despised popery, so they now despise us.”

361

- Preachers were appalling:
 - could not repeat 10 Commandments nor Lord's Prayer
 - knew little or nothing of Bible
 - many made their living brewing beer
 - rules on celibacy led to “wild wedlock”
- Due to shortage of preachers, not all incompetents could be removed at once
 - worst offenders removed
 - using catechism and postille, visitors attempted to make best of bad situation

362

- Few schools available; those schools were taught by very poorly qualified teachers
- 1529 – 1545, each region revisited number of times to see progress
- In 1530s emphasis on “pure doctrine.” Catechism became standard of judgment, but that was often too lofty

363

Development of Small Catechism

Catechetical sermons

Catechism = “Collections of teachings” rather than “book of instruction”
(κατηχέω = “to teach orally”)

- Recognition that success of Reformation dependent on conveying to congregation, especially to young people, knowledge of evangelical faith; more than superficial information
- Early on Luther had conveyed basics of Christianity to congregation via sermon series: 10 Commandments, Lord's Prayer, Creed, sacraments

364

- Since 1516, Luther preached on these subjects during Lent
 - Bugenhagen (pastor at St. Mary's, Wittenberg at the end of 1523) assumed this responsibility
- Published in 1518 as *"Ten Commandments Preached to the People of Wittenberg."* (WA 1: 398-521)
- 1519: same for Lord's Prayer
- 1520 composed his *"Short Explanation of the Ten Commandments, Creed, and Lord's Prayer."* (WA 7:204-229)
- 1522 published them at beginning of the "Personal Prayer Book" [Betbüchlein]

365

- Late medieval prayer books included catalogs of virtues and vices and shaped the piety of laypeople
- Luther notes the need for a reformation of prayer books: *"I regard the personal prayer books as by no means the least objectionable. They drub into the minds of simple people such a Christian counting up of sins and going to confession, such un-Christian tomfoolery about prayers to God and his saints! Moreover, these books are puffed up with promises of indulgences and come out with decorations in red ink and pretty titles... These books need a basic and thorough reformation if not total extermination."* (LW 43:11-12)

366

- The "Personal Prayer Book" reflects Luther's growing understanding of the necessity for brevity and clarity in catechetical forms:
 - *"Indeed, the total content of Scripture and preaching and everything a Christian needs to know is quite fully and adequately comprehended in these three items (Ten Commandments, Creed, Lord's Prayer). They summarize everything with such brevity and clarity that no one can complain or make excuse that the things necessary for his salvation are too complicated or difficult for him to remember."* (LW 43:13)

367

- Luther summarizes his approach:
 - *"Three things a person must know in order to be saved. First, he must know what to do and what to leave undone. Second, when he realizes that he cannot measure up to what he should do or leave undone, he needs to know where to go to find the strength that he requires. Third, he must know how to seek and obtain that strength"*

368

Thus the commandments teach man to recognize his sickness, enabling him to perceive what he must do or refrain from doing, consent to or refuse, and so he will recognize himself to be a sinful and wicked person. The Creed will teach and show him where to find medicine — grace — which will help him to become devout and keep the commandments. The Creed points him to God and his mercy, given and made plain to him in Christ. Finally, the Lord's Prayer teaches all this, namely, through the fulfillment of God's commandments everything will be given to him. In these three are the essentials of the entire Bible.” (LW 43:13-14)

369

- September 1525 Luther planned to write a catechism; occupied with other things
- In his preface to his German Mass, Luther expressed himself on the subject of education
 - Not mere memorizing, but questions and answers
 - regular preaching, suggested Mondays and Tuesdays
- Luther's 1529 catechism was not first to be produced; not even first evangelical one

370

Short forms and wall charts

- 1529 Luther's two catechisms grew side by side; based on catechetical sermons of 1528
- “Small Catechism for Ordinary Pastors and Preachers” originally printed as one-page placard
 - primarily for villages where basic knowledge was lacking “as if they were pigs and irrational beasts”
 - Standardized for memorization
- Catechism proper first quoted biblical text or Creed and then explained in response to “What does this mean?”

371

Inclusion of materials on sacraments --
To elucidate sacraments as means of grace

- Since 13th century 10 Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and Creed used together for instructional purposes
- Luther now added Baptism and Lord's Supper in response to Schwärmer and Anabaptists
- Later Confession was added

372

Short forms and wall charts

- **1529** Luther's two catechisms grew side by side; based on catechetical sermons of 1528
- "Small Catechism for Ordinary Pastors and Preachers" originally printed as one-page placard
 - primarily for villages where basic knowledge was lacking; these people acted "as if they were pigs and irrational beasts"
 - Standardized for memorization
- Catechism proper first quoted biblical text or Creed and then explained in response to "What does this mean?"

373

Inclusion of materials on sacraments --
To elucidate sacraments as means of grace

- Since 13th century, 10 Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and Creed used together for instructional purposes
- Luther now added Baptism and Lord's Supper in response to Schwärmer and Anabaptists
- Later Confession was added

374

Date published - May 16, 1529. Not polemic or apologetic, only positive teaching. Included Preface, Table of Duties, booklet on marriage, twenty woodcuts.

- In Small Catechism, Luther included:
 - Morning and Evening Prayer
 - Morning Prayer taken chiefly from one written by Johannes Mauburnus (1460 - 1501) that Luther treasured from his days as a monk
 - Prayers before and after meals
 - "Table of Duties Consisting of Certain Passages of the Scriptures Selected for Various Estates and Conditions of Men"

375

- Along with Baptismal Book and later, the Marriage Book, Luther appended "A Short Method of Confessing for the Simple" and two confessions of sins

- Wittenberg editions included woodcuts illustrating biblical scenes
- Luther's Small Catechism - most widely used catechism of Reformation period
 - Understandable language and brief format
- Together with his hymns and Bible translation, it has remained in use to present time
- Small Catechism was an immediate sell out

376

377

Writing the Large Catechism

Date of publication -- April 23, 1529

- **German Catechism (*Deudsch Catechismus*) intended for pastors and teachers**
- Luther intended to address lack of education among clergy
- Developed along with the Small Catechism
- Large portion of it was “lifted” from his catechetical sermons

378

Purpose -- “Teacher’s Manual”

- Contents same as Small Catechism, but level of instruction was different
- Could be called a theological handbook for contemporary pastors

Preface to *Small Catechism* - “Look to it, you pastors and preachers. Our office is now become a different thing from what it was under the Pope.”

379

Preface to *Large Catechism* - “The catechism is the Bible of the layman, which contains the whole body of Christian teaching necessary to bring every Christian to salvation. . . . For that reason we should hold the catechism honorable and worthy, and use it diligently among the youth, because in it has been gathered together all the true, real, ancient, pure and godly teaching of the Holy Christian Church.”

380

Christian Questions and Answers -
Perhaps John Lang

- Author unknown
- Luther - "Catechism is a form of instruction in which persons are questioned and asked to recite just as a schoolteacher has her pupils recite their lessons to determine whether they know them."

381

Confessional status - Use during Interims, balancing off
Melancthon's writings

- Catechisms accepted without question
- 1537 letter to Wolfgang Capito, Luther stated he was indifferent to fate of his books. Only works from his pen he considered satisfactory were *On the Bondage of the Will* and the Catechisms.
- Luther recited parts of Catechism daily, required same of Kate and children

382



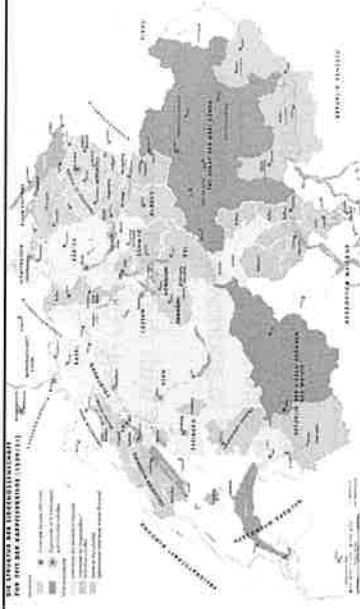
Chapter 15

"Luther and Zwingli"



Fig. 15. Heinrich Bullinger, first Zwinglian.

383



Eidgenossenschaft = "confederation," "oath fellowship," a confederacy of equal partners (8, then 13 cantons)

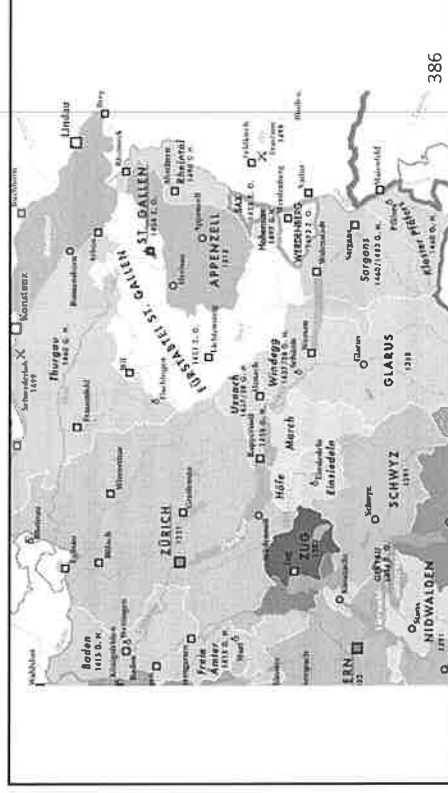
384



- Swiss mercenaries (*Reisläufer*) valued for the power of their mass attack in deep columns with the pike and halberd.
- Hiring them was attractive because entire ready-made Swiss mercenary contingents could be obtained by simply contracting with their local governments.

- They marched off to foreign lands to fight in the causes of others, for pay.

385



386

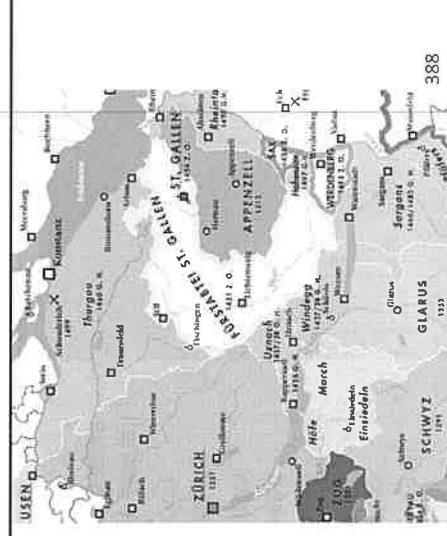
Swiss Reformation



- Huldreich (Ulrich) Zwingli, born 1 January 1484
- Son of prosperous farmer
- Born in Wildhaus, the highest village in Toggenburg Valley, under sovereignty of the abbot of St. Gall
- First educated by Uncle Bartholomew at Weesen
- Then Basel (1494-96); Bern (1496-98); Vienna (1498-1502); back to Basel, BA in 1504; MA in 1506

387

- Zwingli was ordained at Constance in 1506.
- He first served as a parish priest in Glarus.



388

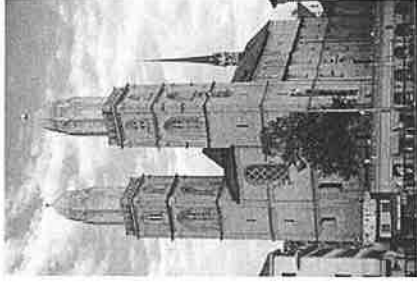
Zwingli forced to leave Glarus in 1516 -- for preaching and writing vs. Swiss mercenaries



- Went to Einsiedeln as “people’s preacher”
- Reputation as humanist and patriotic preacher
- Humanism strengthened by contact with Erasmus in Basel

389

- 1 January 1519 Zwingli became *Leutpriester* (people’s priest) at “Grossmünster” in Zürich
- Sermons uncovered ecclesiastical abuses
- Selling of indulgences prohibited in Zürich
- September 1519, Zwingli almost died from plague



390



- Protested ties between France and papacy: “Blut und Geld”
- Had previously participated in battles of Novara (1513) and Marignano (1515)
- Secretly married Anna Reinhart Meyer, a widow (1519 or 1522 ?). Marriage not made public until Spring, 1524.

391

Zürich embraced some of Zwingli’s evangelical reforms, including:

- Only Scripture can be used
- Abolish icons in orderly way
- Abolish mass



- Swiss Brethren broke with Zwingli when Zwingli refused to accept their opposition to infant baptism, distrust of civil government, and doctrine of free, confessional church

392

- January 1525 Conrad Graebel baptized George Blaurock (1480?-1529) in the home of Felix Mantz (d. 1527)
- 5 January 1527 Felix Mantz became first Anabaptist martyr
- Zwingli claimed independence from Luther
- Representation originated with Zwingli
 - “Just as a Swiss soldier wears a cross on his chest” so baptism is symbolic
- Zwingli worked with city council to legislate morality in Zürich

393

Luther contra Zwingli –
Confession concerning the Lord's Supper, 1528.

- Luther insisted that Zwingli was confused about the person and natures of Christ
- Luther vs Zwingli centered on questions of
 - omnipresence of body of Christ
 - relation of Christ's divine and human natures
 - Luther emphasized union of two natures

394

Marburg Colloquy, October 1-4, 1529

- 2nd Diet of Speyer (1529) demanded enforcement of Edict of Worms
 - “Protestants” (“Protestatio”)
- Sacramentarian Controversy reaches peak
 - 1-3 October 1529 at Marburg Colloquy
- Philip of Hesse requested meeting to develop united front vs Catholic princes
- Swabach Articles prepared
- Martin Bucer acts as middleman

395

In attendance at Marburg Colloquy:
Philip of Hesse and Duke Ulrich of Württemberg

- Luther
- Melancthon
- Jonas
- Brenz
- Menius
- Cruciger
- Rörer
- Myconius
- Agricola
- Osiander

- Zwingli
- Oecolampadius
- Bucer
- Capito
- Sturm

396

Friday, October 1, preliminary sessions.
Saturday and Sunday, October 2 and 3, identifying problems.
Monday, October 4, *Marburg Articles*

- Oecolampadius and Luther; Zwingli and Melancthon
- “of a different spirit”
- Luther put together the 15 Marburg Articles
- General, though not unreserved agreement on 14 articles

397

Article 15

- Both denied sacrifice of mass
- Both denied Capernaite eating
- Both agreed bread and wine to be given
- Both agreed that this was “sacrament of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ”
- Both agreed that spiritual partaking of body and blood was necessary for every Christian
- Differed in respect to bodily presence

398

- In spite of official accord in first 14 articles, no real agreement by Zwingli et al on baptism, ministry, Christology, etc.
- Luther described Christ’s body as present “essentially and substantively” but not “qualitatively, quantitatively or locally”
- Bucer willing to accept formula; Zwingli favored only clearly spiritual presence
- Result: “friends” but not “brothers”

399

Zwingli – The Rest of his Story

- 1530 Zwingli sent *Ratio Fidei* to Augsburg
 - Here Zwingli stated “good heathen” would be in heaven
- Charles V ignored the confession
- Zwingli convinced he was God’s prophet for spreading the faith
- Prepared to use political means to do so
- By 1529 formed “Christian Civic Alliance”

400

- First Battle of Kappel, June 25, 1529
- Second Battle of Kappel, October 11, 1531
 - Zwingli found wounded on battlefield
 - killed, quartered, burned -- ashes scattered
 - Luther believed that Zwingli was damned
- Swiss Protestantism lost belligerency

401

• Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575)

- Zwingli's son-in-law and successor
- concentrated on spiritual work
- Bern(e) and Geneva gradually replace Zürich as leaders of Swiss Protestantism



402

Chapter 16 "Augsburg" 1530



403

Leagues and Diets to 1529

Speyer, 1526 -- Edict of Worms temporarily set aside.

- Concept of "cuius regio, eius religio" - but not the words yet

Reformation foes - League of Regensburg (Ratisbon). Duke of Bavaria, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria.

- Action against Lutherans
- "A Mighty Fortress" written

404

Reformations friends -
Philip of Hesse and Elector John of Saxony



- 1 April 1526 both men denounced
- Ferdinand demands they be dealt with

405

Speyer, 1529 - Roman Catholics to be tolerated in Lutheran territories, but not vice-versa. *Protestatio*, issued 4/19/1529: "Protestants." "In matters pertaining to the glory of God and the salvation of our souls, everyone must himself give an answer to God."

- "protestatio" (legal term) = "testimony, witness" -- appeal to precedent
- No action until "Reichskammergericht" met
- 6 princes and 14 cities involved
- Turks threatening Vienna

406



Augsburg
Diet



- 6 May 1527 Charles V sacked Rome with Lutherans in his army
- Pope Clement VII (1523-34) not freed until he granted Charles a "coronation"
- 24 February 1530 at Bologna - Charles V became last emperor to be crowned by pope

407

The summons - Emperor issued call for a diet on January 21, 1530. Expressed concern about "errors and divisions concerning the Christian faith." Assurance: "Every care [will be] taken to give a charitable hearing to every man's opinion." Luther's opinion about turning Diet into church council: "The Emperor has no authority in this matter of ours."

- 11 March 1530 Elector John received summons to the diet
- John had openly rejected pope in religious affairs in Saxony

408

- At Innsbrück Charles indicated Lutherans must be permitted fair hearing
- Zwinglians predominate in Augsburg



409

Issues - The Turk, most pressing. "The pestilential Lutheran heresy."
Coinage, exchange, customs matters. Charles to George of Brandenburg: "Löwer Fürst, nit Cop ap."

- Lutheran princes and leaders to be present for ceremonies; but they drew line at Corpus Christi festival
- "No Lutheran services" and no preaching by outsiders during Diet
- George: "If Charles wants to cut off heads, he can start with mine."

410

Schedule - Opening on June 20, *Augustana* presented on June 25. Catholic Confutation, August 3. *Apology* offered August 22, not accepted. Completed. Close of Diet November 19.

- Diet scheduled to open on 8 April 1530
- Elector John was first of imperial princes to arrive in Augsburg on 2 May
- Cardinal (and papal nuncio) Campeggio finally convinced Charles to give up idea of neutrality
- *Confutation* went through 5 drafts
- *Apology* not polished. Melancthon spent time on it before published 15 April 1531

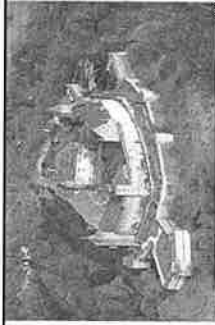
411

- Charles left the diet on 23 August 1530

Final decision - Reformation Party has until April 15 to return to the fold. Official Lutheran answer on April 15, 1531: *Apology*

- Charles has no army to enforce the Edict of Worms
- 15 April 1531 marks final rupture between Lutheran and Catholic parties

412



- Since still under imperial ban, Luther had to spend 5 1/2 months (23/24 April - 4 Oct) at Coburg
- let beard grow again
- restless since he has no personal contact with family and friends (isolated)
- as at Wartburg, he did great deal of work

413

- 5 June 1530 Luther received word from Hans Reinecke that his father had died
- ill since February
- Luther wrote letter of comfort to his father
- Wrote similar letter to mother in May 1531
- Luther now seems to have needed glasses
- Health problems:
 - open sore on his shin
 - headaches
 - ringing in his ears that went to "thunder"
- Loneliness troubled him

414

Augustana and Apology

Preparation of *Augustana* and Luther's Coburg stay - *Torgau Articles*. *Schwabach Articles* and *Marburg Articles* also consulted and considered. Luther wrote *Exhortation to All Clergy Assembled at Augsburg, 1530*. Also, 70 letters.

- 17 *Torgau Articles* prepared as defense vs Eck's 404 *Propositions*
- It was decided that *Augustana* must include positive statements of what we believe

415

- In his *Exhortation* Luther summarized his position and addressed it to all at Augsburg
- 20 of Luther's 70 letters written while at Coburg to Melancthon
 - concern about "soft peddling" the truth
 - "more than enough concessions have been made"
 - letter to 4-year old son, Hans
- Other work at Coburg:
 - described his seal
 - worked on translation of Aesop's fables
 - worked on Old Testament translation projects

416

Presenting the Augustana - June 25, 1530. Official in both languages, but German presented before Diet by Chancellor Beyer.

- Gregory von Brück ———→
- Charles V also had translation of *Augustana* prepared in Spanish and Italian.



417

The confession of laymen, priests of God, who also had spiritual responsibility for their people. Bucer and Strassburgers not permitted to sign. South German confession: *Confessio Tetrapolitana* (Strassburg, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen): "In this sacrament his true body and blood are truly given to eat and drink, as food for their souls and to eternal life, that they remain in him and he in them."

- Signatories of AC were laymen
- Jonas refers to Bucer as a "sly fox"

418

- Zwingli prepared **Ratio Fidei** as confession, but it was not accepted for presentation

Preparing the *Apology* - Campeggio saw to it that the Lutherans did not receive a copy of the *Confutatio*.

Presenting the *Apology* - Ready by mid-September, offered to the Emperor in formal session, not received.

- *Apology* only presented in Latin at the Diet
- 23 September Melancthon left Diet
- Justus Jonas did translation into German

419

Confutatio

- Eck claimed authorship
- Uses more Bible passages than *Augustana*
- Read August 3 and presented as refutation of *Augustana*; accepted as such by Charles.
 - Conditions for receiving a copy of *Confutatio*: not to reproduce it, not to write against it, only to accept it.
- Reaction - Luther from Coburg. "This shows the Romans for what they are."
- Wrote *Commentary on the Alleged Imperial Edict* (4/13/31).

420

Post-Augsburg Outlook

- Diet of Augsburg stated that the “doctrine of the gospel” = the doctrine of Rome
 - There will be one religion - the Roman - because Lutherans are refuted.
- After Worms, Lutherans were a few friends of one man.
- After Augsburg, a functioning Lutheran Church, with an explicit confession but not a set form of ecclesiastical government.

421



Chapter 17

“Smalcald Preliminaries”



422

Elusive Council

- Originally Luther believed council was a necessity
- 1518 meeting with Cajetan, Luther announced councils can err
- Luther believed council should be German, free, and guided by Scripture

423

Rome on Council

- Rome wanted to control councils
- Councils at Constance and Basel had promoted CONCILIARISM
- Pope Paul III announced 2 June 1536 that council to be held at Mantua, scheduled to begin 23 May 1537

424

Proposed Mantua Council

- To fight heresies and errors
- To improve morals and restore peace
- Secular leaders allowed to participate
- April 1537 postponed until November
- Postponed to May 1538, along with move to Vicenza
- Suspended indefinitely

425

Change in Saxony's Elector

- Elector John the Steadfast (Constant)
- (30 June 1468 – 16 August 1532)
- The fifth of the seven children of Ernest, Elector of Saxony
- Deaths of his older brothers Ernest (1513) and Albert (1484) made him the heir of his brother Frederick the Wise; when he died in 1525



426



- **John Frederick** (30 June 1503 –3 March 1554), called **the Magnanimous**
- Eldest son of Elector John by his first wife, who died fourteen days after his birth
- Educated by Spalatin
- Personal relationship with Martin Luther
- At Torgau, he constructed a chapel specifically designed to be a Lutheran place of worship

427

- Luther's "Last Will and Testament" finished December 1536
- Part I -- Luther confessed he was united with Roman Church in confessing Triune God
- Part II -- sharp confrontation
 - Only faith in redeeming death of Jesus makes one righteous -- no compromise here
 - Those things which competed with justification by faith were attacked

428

Part III -- concentrated on what could not be yielded

- 18-19 December 1536 Luther suffered *angina pectoris* and began to dictate remaining articles; briefer
- forgiveness, baptism, Lord's Supper, Office of Keys, fraternal consolation, private confession, ordination; rejection of transubstantiation, celibacy and human traditions

429

- 15 December 1536 Luther invited Agricola, Spalatin and Amsdorf to discuss the confession on 28 or 29 December
- Led to inclusion of article on rejection of invocation of saints
- Luther and Melancthon disagree:
 - whether use of both kinds is enough
 - ordination of bishops
 - Melancthon willing to grant Catholics more than Luther was



430

- Mentioned in Smalcald Articles but not in Augsburg Confession
 - papacy
 - power of bishops
 - Zwinglianism
 - transubstantiation

Reaction

- 3 January 1537 Luther sent articles to elector; left it up to him how they should be used
- Immediate approval and thanks

431

“The Meeting at Smalcald”
February 1537

432

Luther's Expectations at Smalcald

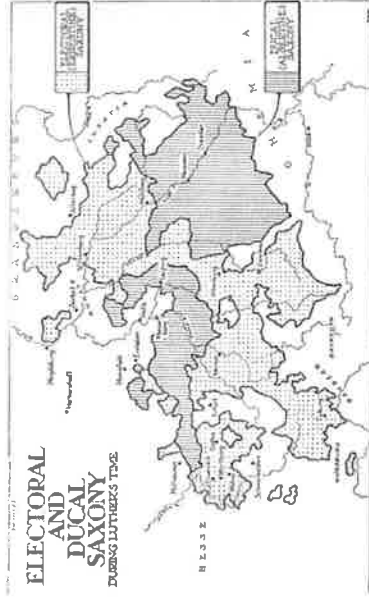
- Before departure Luther informed his congregation to expect nothing
- Luther was not worried about gospel
- Beware of trying to play God
- Asked for prayers on behalf of Smalcald Articles

433

Elector's Expectations

- Wanted Smalcald League to adopt Luther's articles
- Hoped Luther's presence would help
- Luther in good spirits when he left
 - 4 February preached in Weimar
 - 7 February arrived in Schmalkalden
- Opening of meeting delayed for a few days

434



435

Attendance at Schmalkalden

- 18 territories and cities
 - Brandenburg-Ansbach
 - Liegnitz
 - Nuremberg (Nürnberg)
 - Nordhausen
 - 49 evangelical theologians
- Non-member Territories

436

From 18 February on, Luther was not part of meeting at Schmalkalden

- Not heart trouble, rather “the stones”
- Began on 8 February -- passed a stone and experienced bleeding
- Sporadic attendance for next days
- 18 February well enough to preach
- Later that day Luther began to experience extreme pain

437



- Landgrave Philip's physician administered enema -- no help
- 19 February -- unable to urinate, persists for 8 days
- Dr. George Sturtz summoned from Erfurt on 20 February

- 24 February -- “Steinschneider” from Walthausen summoned; golden instrument fashioned
- “They gave me as much to drink as if I had been a big ox.”

438

• Broth made from almonds and “Dreckapotheke”

- 25 February Luther's conditioned worsened
- 26 February Luther left after visit from Elector John Frederick
- Pain so severe Luther feared he was losing his mind
- Bugenhagen, Spalatin, Myconius, Schlaginhausen and Dr. Sturtz accompany on “death watch”

439

Luther lives!

- First day carriage only went 9 miles to Tambach -- jarring ride
- During night “silver stream” restored
- 1 March Luther passed 6 stones
- Weakness, indigestion, vomiting, insomnia
- 14 March Luther finally entered Wittenberg: weak, without appetite and still passing stones

440

Melanchthon's Role

- Feared Luther's position might threaten peace. "Let us not make a Council impossible."
- Wanted to build bridges with the Reformed
- In meeting on 10 February with Philip of Hesse, he blamed Bugenhagen for Luther's strengthened article on Lord's Supper
- Wanted to affirm Augsburg Confession and Wittenberg Concord [29 May 1536 – written by Melanchthon: Christ's real body taken with the bread; those who take it unworthily damn themselves]

441

In 1540 and 1542 Melanchthon rewrote some parts of the Augsburg Confession of 1530 in an attempt to reconcile with the Calvinists

- **The Unaltered Augsburg Confession states:**
 - "Concerning the Lord's Supper, they teach that the body and blood of Christ are truly present, and are distributed (communicated) to those that eat in the Lord's Supper. And they disapprove of those that teach otherwise."
- **Altered Augsburg Confession states:**
 - "Concerning the Lord's Supper, they teach that 'with' bread and wine are truly exhibited the body and blood of Christ to those that eat in the Lord's Supper."

442

• With help of Philip of Hesse, Melanchthon worked to sidetrack Smalcald Articles

- 12 February conference assigned Melanchthon the task to write treatise on papacy
- 17 February presented "Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope."
- Also contained "The Power and Jurisdiction of the Bishops"
- Lutherans decided not to attend Mantua
- 23 February 1537 meeting dissolved

443

Final Disposal of Smalcald Articles

- Never officially presented at meeting
- Spalatin had prepared copy of Smalcald Articles which was signed by most of theologians present + 8 principal theologians had signed on 1 January
- Luther still wanted these articles as his final "will"
- Spring 1538 Luther re-edited the articles and permitted their publication in June 1538

444

- Luther added Preface and made a few changes
- Title -- "Articles which should have been presented by our side to the council at Mantua (or wherever it might be); regarding what we retain or give up, or not"
- Official "declaration of independence" from Roman Catholicism
- Before Luther's death the Smalcald Articles had begun to displace the Augsburg Confession and the Apology as the official Lutheran position concerning many points under debate.

445



Chapter 18 "Reformation Worship"



446

Liturgical Principles

- At first Reformation took over existing churches
- Luther - "worship is not bound by holy spaces, times or persons, although for practical reasons certain conventions may be followed"
- Luther - if there is no proclamation of the Word, then there is no point in gathering
- New castle church at Torgau, dedicated in 1544

447

- Retain what has proven useful and edifying -- not on basis of tradition or antiquity

- Forms are useful to show the unity of the people who have gathered
- Show consideration for others
- Worship belongs to the congregation; therefore, change comes slowly

448

Order of Service

Restoration of the Word - Doctrinal errors, *Legenda aurea*.

- During Middle Ages emphasis shifted from preaching of Gospel to celebration of Roman mass
- Clergy became agents between people and God
- Mass became "opus operatum" for sinner by clergy who offered Christ again as sacrifice on behalf of congregation

449

• *Legenda aurea* by Jacob of Voraigne

- 13th century handbook on lives of saints
- Luther upset with lies in this and others
- Luther hesitated to discard all the beauty when changed Roman mass into Lutheran communion service
- Early part of mass made introductory to the sermon, followed by communion
- Entire service in German, with congregation participating

450

- Two most striking features in Luther's service: sermon and congregational hymn singing
- Principle in reform of worship: "We assert, it is not now, nor has it ever been in our mind to abolish entirely the whole formal *cultus* of God, but to cleanse that which is in use, which has been vitiated by the most abominable additions, and to point out a pious use."
- Changes began to appear as early as 1522
- Not concerned about creation of new liturgy; rather, return to simple, pure forms of early church

451

• December 1523 published "*Formula missae et communionis pro ecclesia Wittenbergensi*"

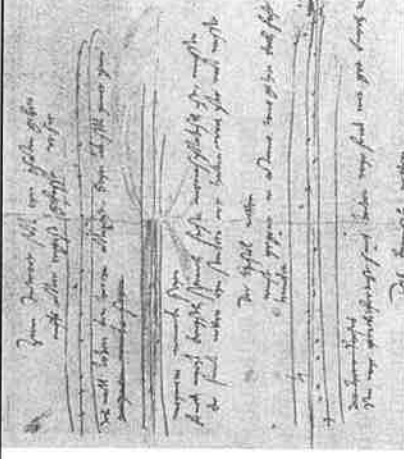
- omitted sacrifice of the mass
- all in Latin, except sermon in vernacular
- vernacular hymns also to be included
- 29 October 1525 first completely German mass celebrated in Wittenberg
- 25 December 1525 German mass fully introduced

452

- “*Deutsche Messe und ordnung Gottis diensts*” appeared in print 1526
- Elevation of host and wine not dropped in Wittenberg until 1542
- Luther also prepared liturgies for occasional services: baptism (1523, revised 1526), marriage (1529)

453

Autograph draft of Luther’s “Deutsche Messe”



454

Daily Matins

- Took place at sunrise
- OT historical books featured in lessons and sermons
- One hour service
 - 1/2 hour devoted to lessons and sermon
 - 1/2 hour given to prayer and to praise

455

Daily Vespers

- Took place at sunset
- OT prophets or selections from NT
- One hour service

Sunday - *Hauptgottesdienst*

- Gospel focus in Sunday morning service
- Epistles the focus in Sunday vespers

456

- Dropped most of saints days and festivals
- Retained 2 Marian festivals
 - Annunciation on 25 March
 - Presentation of our Lord/Day of Mary's Purification on 2 February

457

Luther Hymns

First Lutheran hymnal - January 1524: *Achtliederbuch*.
 Jobst Gutknecht the printer.
Speratus' Es ist das Heil uns kommen her.

- Latin official language of medieval church
- Vernacular hymns in Germany early
 - "Christ ist erstanden" (12th c.)
 - "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist" (13th c.)
 - "Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ" (14th c.)
- Reformation brought congregational singing in vernacular to full development

458

"Dear Christians, Let Us Now Rejoice"

1524

Broadside

The image shows a handwritten musical score on a single sheet of paper. At the top, there is a musical staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The lyrics are written in German below the staff. The text includes phrases like 'O du mein Jesu', 'du bist unser Heil', and 'Gottlob und Dank'. The handwriting is in a cursive script typical of the early 16th century.

459

- January 1524 -- Jobst Gutknecht in Nürnberg -- a collection - *Achtliederbuch*, aka *Etllich christlich liden*
 - First Lutheran hymnal; prepared for choir which led congregation.
 - Contained 4 Luther hymns and Speratus' hymn "Salvation unto Us has Come"
 - Not compiled/prepared by Luther
- Johann Walther's *Geystliche gesangk Buchleyn* -- Summer 1524
 - 37 hymns; 24 credited to Luther

460

Before Luther's death German hymnody established -- Lutheran hymns for every occasion -- numerous hymnals

- About 40 (36-38) hymn texts credited to Martin Luther
- Composed 3 original melodies
 - "We All Believe in One True God"
 - "Isaiah, Mighty Seer in Days of Old"
 - "A Mighty Fortress is Our God"

461

- 3 other melodies were rearrangements of older materials by Luther

- Additional 3 hymn melodies listed as "probable" Luther compositions
- Remainder of Luther hymns were set to older medieval melodies or even to popular tunes of his day
- "Might Fortress" written before 1529 and after 1526

462

- "Singing church" designation – 100 different hymnals by 1545

- Common people sang from memory without hymnals
- "The hymns of Luther killed more souls than Luther's sermons." -- a Jesuit

463

Reformation Praying

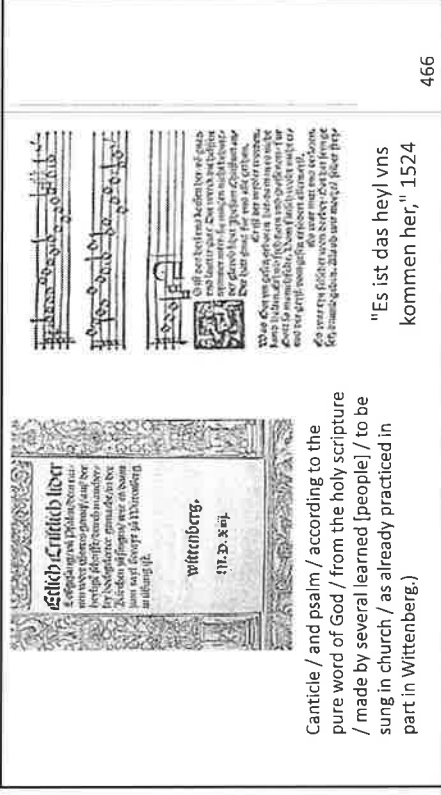
- Luther saw need for prayer -- without it he would never accomplish all he had to do
- He believed prayer aided Reformation and helped it to succeed.
- Instructions to Peter the Barber: instruction, thanks, confession, and petition
- Addressed everyday concerns

464

Songs in "Achtliederbuch"

- *Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmein* (Luther)
- *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* (Speratus)
- *In Gott glaub ich, das er hat* (Speratus)
- *Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not* (Speratus)
- *Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein* (Luther)
- *Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl* (Luther)
- *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir* (Luther)
- *In Jesu Namen wir heben an* (anonymous [Justus Jonas?], setting for two voices)

465



Das ist die erste Liedersamung, die in der deutschen Sprache gedruckt ist. Sie enthält acht Lieder, die von Martin Luther und Justus Jonas verfasst wurden. Die Lieder sind:

- Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmein
- Es ist das Heil uns kommen her
- In Gott glaub ich, das er hat
- Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not
- Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein
- Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl
- Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir
- In Jesu Namen wir heben an

Wittenberg, 1524.

"Es ist das heyl vns kommen her," 1524

Canticle / and psalm / according to the pure word of God / from the holy scripture / made by several learned [people] / to be sung in church / as already practiced in part in Wittenberg.

466



Das ist die erste Liedersamung, die in der deutschen Sprache gedruckt ist. Sie enthält acht Lieder, die von Martin Luther und Justus Jonas verfasst wurden. Die Lieder sind:

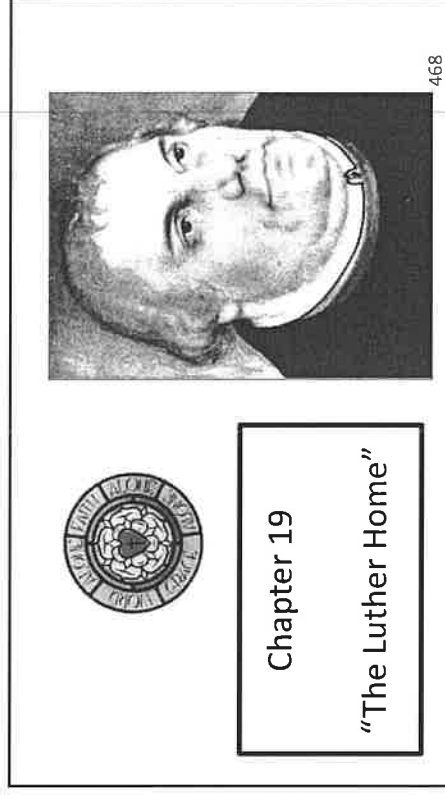
- Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmein
- Es ist das Heil uns kommen her
- In Gott glaub ich, das er hat
- Hilf Gott, wie ist der Menschen Not
- Ach Gott, vom Himmel sieh darein
- Es spricht der Unweisen Mund wohl
- Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir
- In Jesu Namen wir heben an

Wittenberg, 1524.

Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmein

467

Nun frewt euch, lieben Christen gmein



Chapter 19

"The Luther Home"

468

Luther as Husband

- Luther the matchmaker
 - Cistercian nuns escaped on 4 April 1523
 - Arrived in Wittenberg on 7 April 1523
 - Luther had been freed from his monastic vows by Staupitz
 - Reasons for marrying
 - please his father
 - spite his enemies
 - confess his faith
- “a battery of reason in favor of my proposal: my marriage would please my father, rile the pope, cause the angels to laugh and the devils to weep.”

469

Bridegroom - 13 June 1525

- 27 June -- public ceremony/reception followed by banquet and “Ehrentanz”
- Bugenhagen = officiant
- Lucas Cranach = “photographer”
- “What began as a tragedy is now ending as a comedy.” (Erasmus)
- Luther -- “the soft touch”
- Luther -- faithful, loving spouse

470

The Luthers' Wedding “Pictures”



471

Katharina von Bora
29 January 1499 - 20 December 1552

- Born at Lippendorf
- Father - Hans
- Mother - Katharina nee von Haubnitz (died c. 1505)
- 3 brothers and possibly a sister
- Aunt Margarete von Haubnitz
- Benedictine nunnery at Brehna in 1504



472

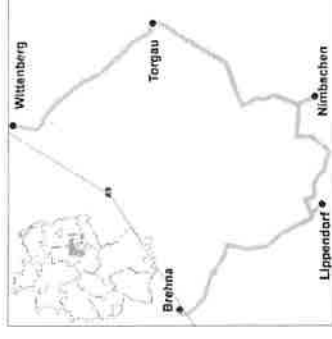
- 1508/09 placed in Cistercian convent of Marienthron at Nimbschen/Nimptschen



- 8 October 1515, Kate took her vows
- 12 nuns escaped with help of Leonhard Koppe
 - "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."

473

- Magdalene von Staupitz and Margarete von Haubnitz
- No place for unattached women in this society



474

- Hieronymus Baumgärtner of Nürnberg
- Pastor Glanz, lecturer from Orlamünde
- "I would marry Nicholas or Dr. Luther."

- Luther initially seemed more interested in Ave von Schönfeld

- Black Cloister

- only one other monk had been living there with Luther
- renovated and given to Luther as parsonage
- living quarters + lecture halls

475

Kate the Manager

- 6 children + relatives + other children + fugitives + students
- Took care of finances and augmented income ("the boss of Zulsdorf," "morning star of Wittenberg," "lady of the New Pig Market")
- After Luther's death, Kate often depressed and disoriented
- Carriage accident September 1552, she died in Torgau (20 December 1552), buried at St. Mary's Church in Torgau

476

"I know that you take pity on me and my poor children, For who could not be deeply grieved and saddened over the loss of such a dear and precious man as my husband has been. He gave so much of himself in service not only to one town or to one country, but to the whole world. Yes, my sorrow is so deep that no words can express my heartbreak, and it is humanly impossible to understand what state of mind and spirit I am in . . . I can neither eat nor drink, not even sleep . . . God knows that when I think of having lost him, I can neither talk nor write in all my suffering."

[letter from Katarina Luther to her sister-in-law Christina von Bora two months after Luther's death]

477



478

"At home I have good wine and beer and a beautiful wife, or (shall I say) lord."

— Martin Luther on home and his wife Katherine von Bora. (1534)



479

Luther as Father

- John (Hans) -
 - born 7 June 1526
 - lawyer
- Elizabeth -
 - born 10 December 1527
 - died 3 August 1528
- Magdalena -
 - born 4 May 1529
 - died 20 Sept 1542



480

- Martin -
born 9 November 1531
- theology
- not a preacher
- Paul -
born 29 January 1533
- medicine
- Margarethe -
born 17 December 1534
- married Prussian nobleman



481

Luther as Teacher of family

- Spiritual training and education for service
- Students served as tutors
- Tough disciplinarian
- 11 May 1532: "Only the death of a child comes close to the grief at the death of a spouse."
- death of Magdalena changed Luther

482



Chapter 20

"From 1538 to 1546"



483

Breathing Spell

- Frankfurt [am Main] Accord (1539) - temporary solution - help needed vs. Turks. Discuss religious differences.
- Luther spoke in favor of special tax to fight the Turks

484

THE PHILIP OF HESSE PROBLEM

- Philip of Hesse (13 November 1504 - 31 March 1567) -- promiscuous teenager ("constantly in a state of adultery and fornication")
- 1523 -- at age 19 -- marries Christine of Saxony (25 December 1505 – 15 April 1549) – 10 Children



485

- "She drinks, she stinks, she shows me no affection."
- Infidelity led to a troubled conscience
- 1539 -- acute attack of syphilis
- Philip discussed his situation with Bucer



486

Bigamy -- "A good strong lie for the good of the Christian Church."

- Late summer 1539 -- met Margaret von der Saale
- 9-10 December 1539 Bucer discusses issue with Luther
- "divorce is much worse Scripturally than bigamy"
- 4 March 1540 -- Philip of Hesse's 2nd marriage at Rotenburg on Fulda River



487

Consequences

- Under imperial law -- bigamy was a capital offense
- Action sullied reputation of Smalcald League and Lutherans
- Luther's advice that divorce worse than bigamy -- not Luther at his best

488



Chapter 21
"Last Years and Days"



489

- Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel became Lutheran (1541)
 - Bugenhagen sent in to organize Reformation.
- 1542 – five-year truce declared
- (4th) Diet of Speyer (1544)
 - Bucer's memorial
 - local congregations decide matter of calls
 - civil powers to introduce reforms
 - repeal Recess of Augsburg (1530) or tolerate the Lutheran gospel
 - decided that no formal action should be taken against the Lutherans until a free council met

490

At Speyer there was agreement that emperor should push for free, general council or council of German empire

- After Speyer -- Battle of Crespy
 - Charles V defeated French (1544)
- Council of Trent -- 13 December 1545
 - convened just 2 months and 5 days before Luther's death
 - convened on Hapsburg, but not German, territory

491



Picture by Johann Reifenstein
Text by Melancthon



492

**pestis eram vivus - moriens
ero mors tua, papa**

**Living, I was your plague –
dying, I shall be your death, o pope.**

493

Last Writings

- To Spalatin (1514): "Conversion of the Jews will be the work of God alone from within, and not of man working – or rather playing – from without."
- "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?" (Luther, 1519)
- "We ought...not to treat the Jews in so unkindly a spirit, for there are future Christians among them." (Luther, *Magnificat*, 21:354f)

494

- *That Jesus Christ was Born a Jew* (1523)
 - Luther condemned the inhuman treatment of the Jews and urged Christians to treat them kindly.
 - His fervent desire was that Jews would hear the Gospel proclaimed clearly and be moved to convert to Christianity.
- August 1536 Elector John Frederick banished Jews from Saxony
- Wolfgang Capito asked Luther to intervene on behalf of Joel (Josef) Rosenheim
- *On the Jews and Their Lies* (1543)

495



- Luther advocated an eight-point plan to get rid of the Jews either by religious conversion or by expulsion:
- "First to set fire to their synagogues or schools and to bury and cover with dirt whatever will not burn, so that no man will ever again see a stone or cinder of them. ..."
 - "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. ..."

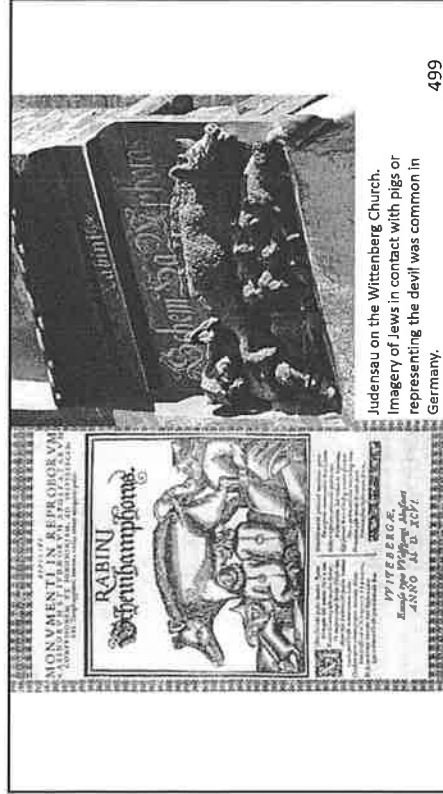
496

- "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. ..."
- "Sixth, I advise that usury be prohibited to them, and that all cash and treasure of silver and gold be taken from them. ... Such money should now be used in ... the following [way].... Whenever a Jew is sincerely converted, he should be handed [a certain amount]..."
- "Seventh, I commend 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..."

497

- "If we wish to wash our hands of the Jews' blasphemy and not share in their guilt, we have to part company with them. They must be driven from our country" and "we must drive them out like mad dogs." (LW 47:268-288, 292)
- In *Vom Schem Hamphoras und vom Geschlecht Christi (Of the Unknowable Name and the Generations of Christ)* Luther equated Jews with the devil. (1543)
- 1546 – (*Final*) *Warning against the Jews* -- authorities who could expel the Jews from their lands should do so if they would not convert to Christianity (LW 58: 458-459)

498



Judensau on the Wittenberg Church. Imagery of Jews in contact with pigs or representing the devil was common in Germany.

499

- Luther is not an anti-Semite (racial)
- Luther is anti-Judaism (religious)
 - Luther "did not believe the world would be a better place without Jews but he believed passionately that Christendom would be better without Judaism, just as it would be better without papalism and without Anabaptism" (Wilson, Derek "Out of the Storm: The Life and Legacy of Martin Luther" New York: St. Martin's Press, 2008, p. 316.)
- Johannes Wallmann – the treatise had no continuity of influence in Germany, and was in fact largely ignored during the 18th and 19th centuries.
- Hans Hillerbrand – to focus on Luther's role in the development of German antisemitism is to underestimate the "larger peculiarities of German history."

500

- For Luther, salvation depended on the belief that Jesus was the Son of God, a belief that adherents of Judaism do not share.
- To understand and to forgive is not to condone what Luther said about the Jews.

501

- With his March 1545 work *Against the Papacy at Rome Founded by the Devil!* Luther aimed his last blow at the Roman Church.
 - Luther commissioned Lucas Cranach to do a series of eight cartoons to give graphic expression to his evaluation of the papacy. He provided instructions for what the cartoons were to show and penned satirical verses to accompany them.
 - When challenged on the cartoons, Luther replied that he did not have long to live and yet he still had much that ought to be revealed about the papacy and its kingdom.

502

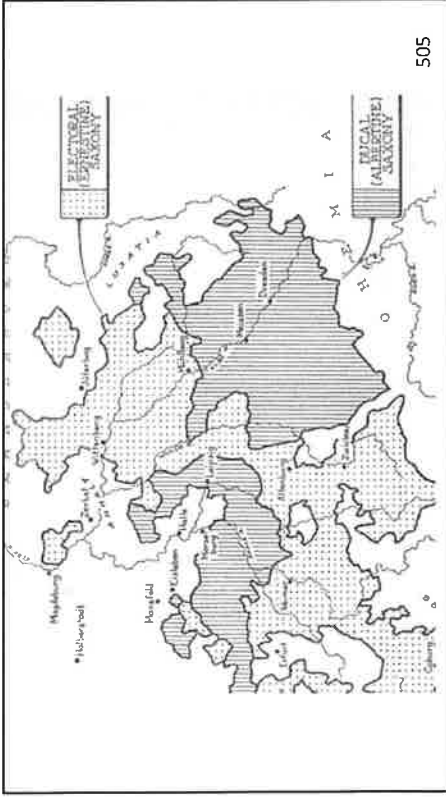
- Pope is seated in the "jaws of hell," surrounded by demons
- Luther continued his preaching duties despite his various disappointments and ailments.
- Luther continued to teach at Wittenberg University until the end of his life; his last lecture ended with the words: "*I am weak, I cannot go on.*"

503

Back to Eisleben

- Luther never lost contact or interest in his hcmeland of Mansfeld
- Brothers and sisters and Counts of Mansfeld
- Close connections with Count Albrecht until 1536
- Concern for brother James and brother-in-law Paul Mackenrot

504



505

Counts of Mansfeld dispute

- Albrecht, Philip and John George
- October 1545 Luther agreed to arbitrate (own relatives persuaded him) -- left in December
- Melancthon's illness forced Luther to return in January 1546 before agreement was reached
- Another session planned for 25 January

506

Some odds and ends

- 1541 (age 57) - Luther wrote the hymn **Lord Keep us Steadfast in Your Word**. Luther's health was particularly bad. The ulcer on his leg reopened. He had throat and ear infections, as well as continuing problems with kidney stones, arthritis, heart problems and digestive disorders. Luther's writing grew increasingly coarse, sometimes vulgar.

507

- Winter 1542 - Luther suffered severe depression after Magdalena's death on 20 September 1542. He mourned his daughter's death, saw the plague sweeping through Wittenberg, believed the faithlessness of his fellow Germans was a sign of the End Times. He wrote his will and thought of his own death.

508

Early 1543 (age 59) - Luther wrote **Against the Jews**, also known as **Of the Jews and their Lies**.

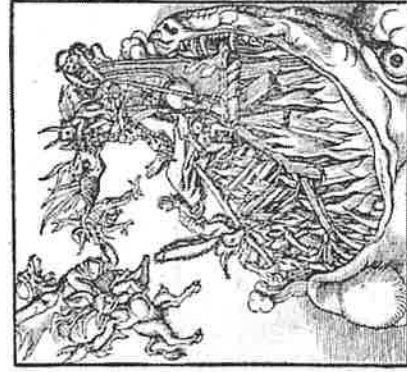
- *In answer to the question, "Did Martin Luther's anti-Jewish writings inspire Adolf Hitler to carry out the Holocaust?" Dr. Paul Maier said,*
- "Here is a difference between Luther the young man who wrote **Jesus Christ Was Born Jewish**, and Luther the irritable old man who suffered from kidney stones and wrote, **Against the Jews and Their Lies**. In his younger days, he complained about the treatment the Jews received at the hands of the church. He was sure that when the Gospel was preached to them, they would come flocking to it. That didn't happen. In later life, Luther lashed out at the "hardhearted, incorrigible" Jews. Unlike Hitler, though, Luther had no problem with their racial makeup, only with their religious beliefs ... He never advocated their extermination. Hitler would have to look elsewhere for that."

509

- With his March 1545 work **Against the Papacy at Rome Founded by the Devil!** Luther aimed his last blow at the Roman Church.

- Luther commissioned Lucas Cranach to do a series of eight woodcuts (cartoons) to give graphic expression to his evaluation of the papacy. He provided instructions for what the cartoons were to show and penned satirical verses to accompany them.
- When challenged on the cartoons, Luther replied that he did not have long to live and yet he still had much that ought to be revealed about the papacy and its kingdom.

510



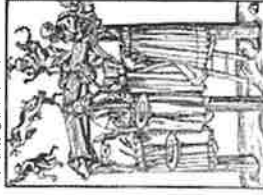
(#1)
The Kingdom of Satan and the Pope.
2 Thessalonians 2

"In the name of all devils the pope sits here, now revealed as the true antichrist as proclaimed in Scripture."

- Pope is seated in the "jaws of hell," surrounded by demons

511

DIGNA MERGES PAPA, SATANISMI ET CARDINALIUM MORALI



(#2)
Just Reward for the Most Satanic Pope and His Cardinals

"If the pope and cardinals were to receive temporal punishment on earth, their blasphemous tongues would deserve what is rightly depicted here."

Wenn kettlich gestrafft solt werden:
Papsi und Cardinal auff Erden.
Die tsehung verdienet best
Wie ir recht gemolet sech.
Bart. L. aut. D.

512



(#4)
Birth and Origin of the Pope

Here is born the antichrist. Megaera is his wetnurse, Allecto his nursemaid, [and] Tisiphone who walks him.

513

MONSTRUM ROMAE INVENTUM MORTUUM
IN TIBERI. ANNO 1554.



(#5)
The Monster of Rome, Found Dead in the Tiber, 1496

What God Himself thinks of the papacy is shown here by this horrible picture, which should horrify all who would take it to heart.

Was Gott selbe vonden Paphum heldt/
Nicht die schrecklich Bildt die geselt.
Dafür jederman gedencken solt/
Denn es in Bergen nemmen wol.
Matr. Luther 1554.

514

July 9, 1545 - After news reached Luther that a church council was expected to open in Trent, Italy, Luther wrote:

- “The Pope shouts that we are heretics and that we must not have a place in the council ... indeed Satan reigns, all of them are so totally mad that they condemn us and at the same time ask for our consent.”

515

- July 28, 1545 - Luther became angry and disillusioned with Wittenberg and wanted to move. He told Katharina to sell their goods. The university, Philip Melanchthon and the burgomeister persuaded him to stay.

516

- Luther preached for final time in Wittenberg on 17 January 1546 – exhorted people to have a simple child-like faith in Christ
- Melancthon did not accompany Luther this time
- January 23, 1546 - Luther left Wittenberg for Eisleben. His health was especially poor and Katie Luther begged him to wait until spring. But he would not listen, believing the conflict threatened the work of the Reformation.

517

- Sons [Martin + Paul + Hans (?)] along
- Ice on Saale River at Halle on 25 January and letter to Kate
- 26 January preached in Halle on conversion of St. Paul (day after festival for that occasion), - noted proper way to honor a saint

518

- 28 January 1546 -- 60 Mansfeld horsemen get Luther across Saale
- Justus Jonas joined Luther in Halle
- Luther suffered dizziness -- circulatory problems caused by cold
- He sent his sons ahead to visit relatives in Mansfeld
- Luther stayed in home of Johann Albrecht in Eisleben

519

- Luther preached at St. Andrew's on 31 January, 2 + 7 February, either 14 or 15 February.
- Twice he received Lord's Supper
- Ordained 2 pastors on 14 February
- John Aurifaber recorded table conversations
- "if I go back to Wittenberg, I'll lie down in a coffin and give the maggots a fat doctor to eat."

520

- February 17, 1546 - Negotiations reached a successful conclusion. Luther looked forward to returning home to Wittenberg. But, that evening he experienced chest pains. His friends attempted to comfort him.

521

Death and Burial

- Eyewitness accounts from Justus Jonas and Michael Coelius
- Luther had not participated in final negotiations on 17 February
 - "Doctor Jonas and Herr Michael (Coelius), I was born and baptized here in Eisleben, what if I should stay here?"
- Tachycardia = too rapid beating of heart
- 8:00 p.m. -- attack of angina pectoris
- 10:00 p.m. - Luther wanted to lie down
- 1:00 a.m. – awakened by another attack

522

- "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?" "Ja" ("Yes")
- 2:45 a.m. (18 February 1546) Luther died peacefully of heart failure surrounded by his three sons and several friends.
- Jonas sent word back to Elector John Frederick
- Counts of Mansfeld wished to bury Luther in Eisleben; overruled by Elector
- Clothed in white "Swabian smock"

523



Posthumous
Portrait of
Martin Luther on
his deathbed.

Date: after 1546

524



The house in
which Martin
Luther died.

Eisleben
18 February
1546

525



Bedroom
where Martin
Luther died

526

• Luther's last words written on a piece of paper are from February

16:

• "Virgil's shepherd poems cannot be understood, except by one who has been a shepherd for five years. Virgil's poetry about agriculture cannot be understood, except by one who has been a farmhand for five years. Cicero's letters cannot be understood, except by one who has participated and lived within a large community for 25 years. The Holy Scriptures do not have a satisfactory taste for me or anyone else, unless he has spent 100 years ruling a community as the prophets Elijah and Elisha, John the Baptist, Christ and the Apostles. . . Wir sind Bettler, das ist wahr."

527

Funeral arrangements

- 19 February at 2:00 p.m. taken to St. Andrew's church in Eisleben – Justus Jonas preached funeral sermon
- Lukas Fortenagel (from Halle) commissioned to paint (make death mask of ?) the dead Luther



528



On February 19, 1546, Melancthon, in tears, announced Luther's death to the students: "And now," he cried, "we are like the forsaken orphans of a beloved father."

529

- 20 February Michael Coelius delivered second funeral sermon
- Luther's body reaches Halle at 5:00 p.m.; taken to St. Mary's church
- 21 February funeral service at Halle
- About noon on 21 February procession reached Bitterfeld on edge of Electoral Saxony; went as far as Kemberg
- 22 February in morning funeral procession went through Wittenberg

530

- 22 February funeral service in Wittenberg

- Bugenhagen preached

- Text: 1 Thessalonians 4:13-14

Brothers, we do not want you to be ignorant about those who fall asleep, or to grieve like the rest of men, who have no hope. We believe that Jesus died and rose again and so we believe that God will bring with Jesus those who have fallen asleep in him.

- Bugenhagen identified Luther with the angel in Revelation 14:6 - proclaiming the everlasting gospel (first done by Michael Stifel in 1522)

531

- Melancthon addresses congregation on behalf of university

- Melancthon did not make a secret of the fact that Luther was not a "saint," but a normal person who also had rough edges.

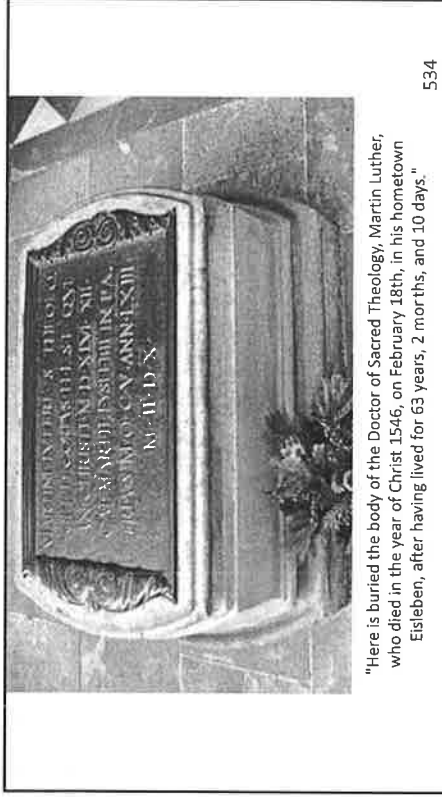
- "He is therefore to be numbered with that blessed company, the excellent of the earth, whom God has sent forth for the gathering together and the building up of his church, and whom we truly recognize as ornaments of the human race."

- Amsdorf - executor of Luther's will

532

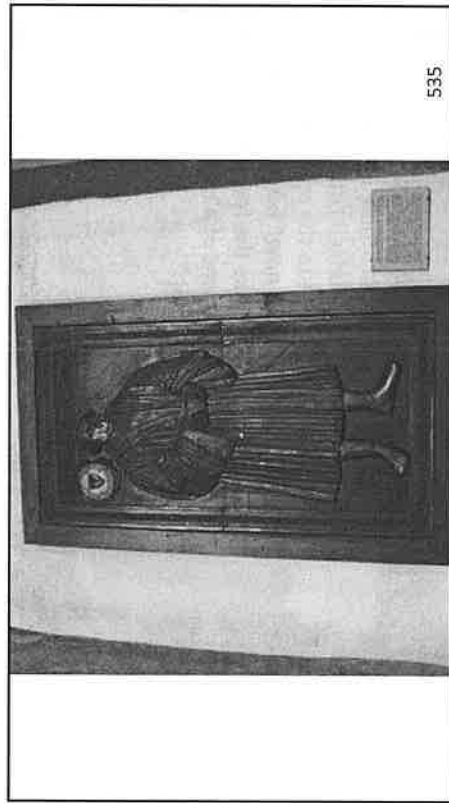


533



"Here is buried the body of the Doctor of Sacred Theology, Martin Luther, who died in the year of Christ 1546, on February 18th, in his hometown Eisleben, after having lived for 63 years, 2 months, and 10 days."

534



535

• In a 1546 sermon at Wittenberg Luther said, "Up to this time you have heard the real, true word; now beware of your own thoughts and wisdom. The devil will kindle the light of reason and lead you away from the faith, as he did the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians... I see clearly that, if God does not give us faithful preachers and ministers, the devil will tear our church to pieces by the fanatics, and will not cease until he has finished. ... If he cannot accomplish it through the Pope and the Emperor, he will do it through those who are now in doctrinal agreement with us."

536

- Already in 1531 Luther had spoken of impending doctrinal dissensions: "When the present pious, true preachers will be dead, others will come who will preach and act as it pleases the devil." (St. L. 8, 72.)
- It was, above all, the spirit of indifference toward false doctrine, particularly concerning the Lord's Supper, which Luther observed and deplored in his Wittenberg colleagues.

537

- It was, above all, the spirit of indifference toward false doctrine, particularly concerning the Lord's Supper, which Luther observed and deplored in his Wittenberg colleagues.
- "Our professors are to be examined on the Lord's Supper." (written above Luther's study door)
- "I see that soon after my death the most prominent brethren will fall away. I am not afraid of the Papists, . . . ; but our brethren will inflict the damage on the Gospel."
- "A teacher who remains silent when errors are taught, and nevertheless pretends to be a true teacher, is worse than an open fanatic."

538

- Stephanus Tucher, a faithful Lutheran preacher of Magdeburg, wrote in 1549: "Doctor Martin Luther, of sainted memory, has frequently repeated before many trustworthy witnesses, and also before Doctor Augustine Schurf, these words: 'After my death not one of these [Wittenberg] theologians will remain steadfast.'"

539

- Luther was confident that it would not occur during his life: "With great earnestness I have asked God, and still pray daily, that He would thwart their [the Papists'] plan and suffer no war to come upon Germany during my life. And I am confident that God surely hears such prayer of mine, and I know that there will be no war in Germany as long as I shall live." (St. L. 9, 1856.)

540

- June 26, 1546, Pope Paul III and Charles V agreed secretly to use force to make the Protestants acknowledge the decrees of the first session of the Council of Trent and to return to the Roman Church.

- "In the name of God and with the help and assistance of his Papal Holiness, his Imperial Majesty should prepare himself for war, and equip himself with soldiers and everything pertaining to warfare against those who objected to the Council [of Trent], against the Smalcald League, and against all who were addicted to the false belief and error in Germany, and that he do so with all his power and might, in order to bring them back to the old faith and to the obedience of the Holy See."

541

- The Emperor secretly gathered a large number of Italian soldiers and a large war chest in order to enforce his will on the Protestants.

- Smalcald War, 10 July 1546 – 23 May 1547

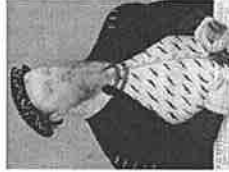
- On 20 July 1546 Elector John Frederick I and Landgrave Philip I were placed under the Imperial ban

542

- After a surprise attack, the Smalcald War, directed against the Smalcald League's major cities and princes, was easily won by the Emperor.
- Other reasons for his victory were the neutral attitude of many of the non-League Lutheran princes and even deliberate betrayal by Maurice, Duke of Saxony, and cousin of elector John Frederick of Saxony.

- The decisive battle was at Mühlberg on 24 April 1547.

- Pope Paul III withdrew his troops from the Imperial forces and halved his subsidy on 24 April 1547.



Maurice (21 March 1521 – 9 July 1553); Duke (1541–47) and later Elector (1547–1553) of Saxony

543



- At the Battle of Mühlberg Charles V captured many leaders, including, most notably, Elector John Frederick the Magnanimous.

- Wittenberg fell on 19 May 1547 without a fight. (Capitulation of Wittenberg)

- Philip of Hesse tried to negotiate but the Emperor refused and Philip surrendered in May.

- In theory this meant that the residents of thirty different cities were returned to Catholicism but in fact this was not the case.

- Only Bremen and Magdeburg did not surrender

544

The Interims

- Charles V won military victory, but the only chance he had to effectively eliminate Lutheranism as a movement was to pursue political and ecclesiastical compromises
- Augsburg Interim
 - Julius von Pflug, John Agricola, et al
 - 15 May 1548
 - It ordered Protestants to readopt traditional Catholic beliefs and practices, including the seven Sacraments.
 - It allowed for Protestant clergymen the right to marry and for the laity to receive communion in both kinds.

545

• Although Melanchthon was willing to compromise for the sake of peace, Augsburg Interim was rejected by a significant number of Lutheran pastors and theologians.

- Pastors who refused to follow the regulations of the Augsburg Interim were removed from office and banished; some were imprisoned and some were even executed.
- In Swabia and along the Rhine River, some four hundred pastors went to prison rather than agree to the Interim. They were exiled, and some of their families were killed or died as a result.
- Some preachers left for England.

546

• Charles V successfully enforced Augsburg Interim only in territories he controlled militarily.

- Leipzig Interim
 - Maurice of Saxony, along with Melanchthon et al, worked out within Maurice's territories a compromise
 - Designed to allow Lutherans to retain their core theological beliefs, specifically where the doctrine of justification by grace was concerned, while yielding in other, less important matters, such as church rituals.
 - Written at Alt Zella in November 1548
 - Accepted by Saxon diet at Leipzig in December 1548
 - Despite its even greater concessions to Protestantism, it was barely enforced.

547

• Those who supported the Leipzig Interim became identified as Philippists, as they supported Melanchthon's efforts at compromise.

- Those who opposed Melanchthon became known as "Gnesio-Lutherans", or "genuine" Lutherans.
- Elector Maurice, seeing that the Leipzig Interim was a political failure, began making plans to drive Charles V and his army from Saxony.
- In his estimation, "more expedient for him [Maurice] to be viewed as a champion of Lutheranism than as a traitor." (Judas of Meissen)
- January 1552, Maurice of Saxony formed an alliance with Henry II of France.

548

- On 5 April 1552, Maurice attacked Charles V's forces at Augsburg and he was forced to withdraw.
- In the Princes' War, Charles was driven out of Germany into Italy by the Protestant alliance.
- Peace of Passau (August 1552)
 - Charles V guaranteed Lutheran religious freedom
 - Augsburg Interim canceled
 - Political prisoners freed
 - effectively surrendered Charles V's lifelong quest for European religious unity

549

- Albert Alciabiades, a former ally of Maurice in the Smalcald War, now fought against Maurice.
 - On 9 July 1553 the Battle of Sievershausen took place. Maurice won this battle, but was badly wounded and died two days later at the age of 32.
- Religious Peace of Augsburg (25 September 1555) -- first permanent legal basis for the existence of Lutheranism as well as Catholicism in Germany ("Cuius regio, eius religio")
- Only two denominations were recognized, the Roman Catholics and the "adherents of the Augsburg Confession"

550



Chapter 22

551

Counter-Reformation =
Catholic effort to undo what had taken place in Reformation

- Catholic Reformation =
Catholic effort to "reform" church in "head and members"
- Monks had tried for 1000 years
 - Councils and humanists tried also

552

First Phase, 1545-1547

- Mantua called in 1536 for 1537, never held
- New effort begun at Trent, December 1545, by Paul III (1534 – 1549)
- Pope and Italians wanted to consider dogma first; Charles V et al - reform
- 19th Roman ecumenical council
- Sets RC doctrine for 400 years (Vatican II, 1962 – 1965)
- Only three doctrinal issues (now present) left undone
 - Immaculate Conception of Mary (1854)
 - Infallibility of the Pope (1870)
 - Assumption of the Virgin Mary (1950)

553

- No university theologians present
- No lower clergy present
- Few monastic reps served as advisors
- No thought of CHANGING doctrine, only solidify, clarify, define
- Bible, 11 books of Apocrypha and tradition = sources of doctrine
 - NB: Bible = Vulgate (now official)
- Man spiritually weak; not dead -- only need for “prevenient” grace

554

“Pluralism” (no decision in first phase) and “Clergy Education” (from universities to dioceses) were issues for reform

Second Phase, 1551-1552

- Charles V disappointed by lack of action in Phase One
- Charles V did not understand magnitude of differences
- Council reopened by Julius III (1550 – 1555): French and English absent

555

Protestants attend January – March 1552

- During this time Maurice (Moritz) of Saxony had gotten as far as Innsbrück and driven Charles V from Holy Roman Empire
- Julius III (1550 – 1555) forbade council from considering Protestant proposals
- Latin mass became “Tridentine” mass; no other language permitted until Vatican II
- Council did provide for “missal” (“altar missal” vs. “hand missal”)

556

Third Phase, 1562-1563

- Immaculate Conception of Mary
 - Franciscans are "for"
 - Dominicans are "against"
- Peace of Augsburg had made issue of Lutheranism moot point; Spanish still opposed to Protestants everywhere
- Pius IV (1559 – 1565) promised Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand "cup" to be allowed in Germany, Hungary, Bohemia. Never happened.

557

Publishing efforts after Trent

- Roman catechism prepared by German Jesuit Peter Canisius (1521 – 1597)
 - Jesuits (Society of Jesus) founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1534
 - Approved by Paul III in 1540
- Pius V (1566 – 1572) urged more use of Psalms and Scripture in mass; tried to improve morality in Rome
- Breviary -- recitation of daily Divine Offices (Matins, Prime, Terce, etc.)
- Missal -- all prayers for mass throughout the year

558



1582 -- Gregory XIII (1572 – 1585) institutes new

- calendar. Off one day every 3,323 years instead of one day every 128 years (Julian calendar)
 - Not accepted by English until 1752
 - Eastern Orthodoxy still has not accepted
- Pope Sixtus V (1585 – 1590) had new edition of Vulgate prepared; still full of errors
- Pope Clement VIII (1592 – 1605) had another edition of Vulgate; still 2,000+ errors - inspite of Reuchlin, Erasmus, Stapulensis, etc. + Wittenberg

559

Summation

- Any disagreements concerning meaning of canons -- pope interprets
- Tradition safe-guarded by renewed study of Church Fathers
- "Catholicism as a religion of infallible authority dates in practice from the Council of Trent."
- Papal infallibility -- really achievement of Counter-Reformation

560

Concerning Justification –
Roman church not at all convinced by Luther

- Lutherans who shrink from doctrine of the Antichrist do not understand implication of Canons IX - XII of Session VI
- Such Lutherans must then reject Smalcald Articles and On the Power and Primacy of the Pope
- As condition for participation in Vatican II (1962-1965), all bishops were required to subscribe to the canons and decrees of the Council of Trent

561

• No pope attended the meetings of the Council and he took no formal part in it. But his legates ensured that the pope's views would always be put forward.

- 700 bishops could have attended the Council but to start with only 31 turned up along with 50 theologians.
- By 1563, a total of 270 bishops attended and the vast majority of them were Italian which was a great bonus for the pope as they were under his control.
- The bishops also insisted that they vote as individuals rather than as a block-country vote. Since there were 187 Italian bishops, 32 Spanish, 28 French and 2 German, the Italians vastly outnumbered the other three countries put together!
- As such what was to be passed at Trent was what the pope accepted as being acceptable to him.

562

• The Council left the pope to decide on the revision of the Index of Prohibited Books, the compilation of the catechism and the revision of the Missal and the Breviary.

- This greatly extended the influence of the pope; pope emerged victorious from the Council of Trent.
- The Council formally recognized the pope as Vicar of Christ on Earth.
- Any reforms passed by Trent did not become church law until they were accepted (promulgated) by the pope
- By 1563, the pope was probably in a much stronger position than he had been in 1545.

563

Concerning Justification –
Roman church not at all convinced by Luther

- Lutherans who shrink from doctrine of the Antichrist do not understand implication of Canons IX - XII of Session VI
 - CANON IX.-if any one saith, that by faith alone the impious is justified; in such wise as to mean, that nothing else is required to co-operate in order to the obtaining the grace of Justification, and that it is not in any way necessary, that he be prepared and disposed by the movement of his own will; let him be anathema.
 - CANON X.-if any one saith, that men are just without the Justice of Christ, whereby He merited for us to be justified; or that it is by that Justice itself that they are formally just; let him be anathema.

564

- CANON XI.-If any one saith, that men are justified, either by the sole imputation of the justice of Christ, or by the sole remission of sins, to the exclusion of the grace and the charity which is poured forth in their hearts by the Holy Ghost, and is inherent in them; or even that the grace, whereby we are justified, is only the favour of God; let him be anathema.
- CANON XII.-If any one saith, that justifying faith is nothing else but confidence in the divine mercy which remits sins for Christ's sake; or, that this confidence alone is that whereby we are justified; let him be anathema.

565

