

Dr. Martin Luther:
His Life, Leadership, and Legacy



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INTRODUCTION

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To God be the glory!
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CHAPTER I

CONDITIONS IN EUROPE PRIOR TO THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

In order to properly understand and appreciate the work of the great reformers of the sixteenth century, one must know something about the Europe which they attempted to reform. That pre-reformation Europe needed reforming needs no proof, for all devout persons living in that day agreed that some sort of a reformation was necessary, even though many of them were not willing to accept the leadership of Luther and his colleagues. For about a century previous, the slogan at the various church councils had been “A reformation of the Church in its head and in its members,” and before the end of the sixteenth century there was a reformation within the Roman Catholic Church as well as a Protestant Reformation. It shall be the aim of this first chapter to summarize conditions in Europe just prior to the Lutheran and other Protestant movements.

1. Ignorance and Superstition

The people in pre-reformation Europe were held in ignorance and were steeped in superstition. They attended mass, had their children baptized and confirmed, tried to make confession of their sins to a priest, had their marriages solemnized by the church, went to holy communion as they were required, and tried to see to it that their friends and relatives received the last anointing before they died. But many of them understood very little of what it was all about. They prayed, but many of their prayers were not directed to God but to the saints, and there seemed to be a saint for all sorts and conditions of people. In cases of lost articles, they called upon St. Anthony; for sore throats, one could invoke St. Blaze; St. Apollonia guarded against toothache while St. Gumprech guarded against dog bites. Physicians looked to St. Cosmas; cobblers to St. Crispin; mariners to St. Nicholas; and rat catchers to St. Gertrude. St. Catherine was assigned all the troubles of the lovelorn.

2. Relics

Relics (venerated objects) and shrines were numerous and many resorted to them to be healed, to offer prayers and to make an offering of money. Wood from the cross of Christ, skin from the face of St. Bartholemew, milk from the breast of the Virgin Mary, bits of hay and straw from the manger, wine from the wedding at Cana, earth from the soil at Damascus of which Adam was made, a tooth from John the Baptist are but a few samples. At one place it was asserted that they had preserved “a sigh of Jesus” and at another “a fragment of Egyptian darkness.” Relics often appeared in duplicates or triplicates or even worse. On exhibition were five shin bones of the donkey on which Christ rode into Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, and some twenty seamless coats were preserved all of which were supposed to be *the* coat for which the soldiers cast lots. Four different skeletons of St. Sebastian and five of St. Ursula were known to exist. The glorious gospel of Christ was dimmed and often entirely blacked out by man-made rules and regulations and by these numerous superstitions.

3. The Rebirth of Paganism

The century before the Reformation was called “The Age of the Renaissance.” The word renaissance means “re-birth.” It must be remembered, however, that while the renaissance was responsible for the revival of the beauties of ancient art, sculpture and architecture, it was nevertheless an intellectual movement which had little or no effect upon the common people, and which in Italy especially resulted in a revival not only of the art and literature of ancient Greece and Rome, but also in a revival of the spirit of that age—and that spirit was pagan, secular and immoral.

The popes of the Renaissance period were products of this revival of ancient standards, and some of these popes were virtual pagans and morally corrupt. Sixtus IV, pope at the time of Luther’s birth, was a sexual pervert and the slave of unnatural vices and was the instigator of a plot to assassinate Lorenzo the Magnificent. Innocent VIII, the pope of Luther’s childhood, was the first pope to acknowledge his own children and to celebrate their marriages publicly. Two hundred persons were assassinated during the last two months of this pope’s reign. Alexander VI, the pope of Luther’s youth, was of the famous house of Borgia, and his interests were almost entirely secular and selfish—centered around making his children great. When absent from Rome, Alexander left his business affairs in the hands of his beautiful blonde daughter Lucrezia, authorizing her to open his mail and answer his letters. Leo X, the pope who excommunicated Luther, was a notorious gambler and delighted in giving elaborate banquets, and these banquets alone cost him 96,000 florins a year, which was seven times the combined salary of all the professors at the University of Rome. But no banquet was as elaborate as the one given at the time of the baptism of his illegitimate daughter, at which his banker was the guest of honor and at which food was served on golden plates which were thrown out of the window after the food had been eaten.

4. The Wealth of the Church

In pre-reformation times, the Church owned from one-fifth to one-third of the land in most countries of Europe, on which it paid no taxes. Many wealthy persons, whose consciences seemed to trouble them, were induced to will their vast estates to the church in return for masses to be said for their souls while in purgatory, or in return for being buried on monastic ground. All the faithful were made to pay their “tithes” or tenth part to the Church, as well as special fees as baptisms, weddings, etc. High offices in the church were often sold to the highest bidder (simony), and shrines were the sources of much wealth.

5. Reformers before the Reformation

There were some noble efforts at reform before the days of Luther, but it seemed that the time was not yet ripe. John Wyclif (d. 1384) of Oxford, England, denounced the authority of popes, repudiated the worship of saints and relics, spoke of the futility of pilgrimages, and cast doubt on the existence of purgatory (a place for cleansing). Though Wyclif was persecuted, he died a natural death, and his followers, known as the Lollards, continued his teachings up to the time of the English Reformation. Half a century after his death, the Council of Constance ordered Wyclif’s body to be dug up and burned, and the ashes thrown into the River Swift. This same Council of Constance also sentenced John Hus of Bohemia to be burned at the stake for teaching doctrines similar to those of Wyclif.

6. The New Learning North of the Alps

While the Italian renaissance resulted for the most part in a rebirth of the paganism of ancient Greece and Rome, the renaissance north of the Alps had a somewhat different aspect. Here, instead of going back to ancient pagan culture, most of the scholars began to revive the culture of ancient Christianity; they commenced to study not only the original languages of the Old and New Testaments but also to revive the spirit of early Christianity. Out of this movement came such scholars as Reuchlin, the father of the study of Hebrew in modern times, and Erasmus (see Appendix F) who published a Greek text of the New Testament.

These renaissance scholars north of the Alps criticized the Church of their day and showed how vastly different it was from the Church of the apostolic times, and they did much to pave the way for the Reformation. But they were for the most part intellectuals, and when they realized that Luther's movement would result in a separation from the Church of Rome, most of them, though they admired much in Luther, lost their courage and continued as members of the Roman Church until their death.

FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What conception did the common people of pre-reformation Europe have of the Christian religion?
2. What was really "reborn" during the Renaissance in Italy, and what effect did it have on the religious life of that day?
3. In what ways had the medieval church become wealthy, and what effect did this wealth have on the life of the Church?
4. Who were some "reformers before the Reformation" and why are they sometimes called "morningstars of the Reformation"?

5. How did the renaissance north of the Alps differ from the Italian Renaissance, and how did this difference affect the Church?

6. How did such renaissance scholars differ from the Protestant reformers?

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

Luther, Biography of a Reformer, Forward, pp. 9-12, "A Word about Great Men"; Chapter 1, Martin Comes and Grows, pp. 13-22.

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CHAPTER II

MARTIN LUTHER'S FORMATIVE YEARS

1. Luther's Birth and Baptism

It was about eleven o'clock on the night of November 10, 1483, and while most of the people in the little town of Eisleben, Germany, were sound asleep, there was a light burning in the home of the mine worker, Hans Luther. Margaret Luther, his wife, was about to give birth to her first-born child. Slowly the moments passed, but just before the midnight hour, the blessed event occurred, and a baby boy was born into this world. According to the prevailing custom, they presented their child for baptism the next day at the Church of St. Peter, and since November 11 was known as St. Martin's Day (St. Martin of Tours), the child was given the name of this particular saint. He was known as Martin Luther, the man who was destined to become the leader of the Protestant Reformation.

2. Luther's Childhood

When Martin was a few months old, his family moved to the nearby city of Mansfeld, and here Martin spent his childhood. His father was a strong disciplinarian, and evidently believed the proverb, "Spare the rod and spoil the child." If the use of the rod prevents children from being spoiled, Luther was in no danger of being spoiled, because his father frequently resorted to whipping his son, and his mother was also quite proficient at the art. Nevertheless, the Luthers were religious people, and they taught their son the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the "Ave Maria." At the age of seven, young Martin started to attend the Latin school in Mansfield, attending school here until he was fourteen. Here he received the rudiments of an education, but the discipline was most severe. One morning Luther was flogged no less than fifteen times because he could not recite certain declensions and conjugations which he said had not even been assigned.

3. Luther's Secondary Education

At the age of fourteen, Martin Luther entered a school administered by a group known as "The Brethren of the Common Life." This school was located in the city of Magdeburg. Health issues, however, caused him to leave this school about a year later, but it seems that the personal piety of these "Brethren of the Common Life" made a deep impression on young Luther. A little later, Luther entered school at Eisenach and here he helped pay for his education by going out with groups of students and singing in front of the houses of the wealthier citizens of the town, in hope that these citizens would give a donation. It was here that a certain wealthy lady by the name of Frau Cotta grew to like young Luther and often invited him into her home; she became a sort of second mother to him. Some Lutheran ladies' societies in future generations were called "Cotta Societies," and some Lutheran hospices were called "Cotta Hall" in remembrance of this kind lady.

4. Luther's University Training

Hans Luther, though a peasant miner, had high hopes for his son Martin, and desired that he should become a lawyer. Thus in 1501 Luther entered the University of Erfurt, where he became a good student. He received the Ph.B. degree in 1502, ranked thirteenth out of a class of 57. In 1505 he received a Master's Degree, this time ranking second in a class of 17. However, Luther never became a lawyer.

5. The Reality of Sin

Though not an exceptionally ill-behaved boy, early in life Luther developed a deep consciousness of his own sins and shortcomings. He continually dwelt on the fact that God demands perfect works, and he had nothing but imperfect ones to offer him. He developed a terrible fear of death, because death would put him into the hands of an offended God. The terrors of death seemed especially real to him when once on a visit to his parents, he accidentally severed an artery in his foot and nearly bled to death. Again he was terrified when one of his friends was found dead in bed, and this friend died without the last anointing, otherwise known as the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. Some time later, Luther was caught in a thunderstorm, and he interpreted each clap of thunder as the voice of God pouring down his wrath upon him, the sinner. In a vow which none but God heard, he vowed to Saint Anne (mother of the virgin Mary, the patron saint of miners) to enter the monastery, where he hoped by this higher type of religious life to win the favor of an offended God.

6. Luther Enters the Monastery

After a pleasant evening with his friends at the University of Erfurt, he announced to them that he intended to become a monk. The next morning found him knocking at the gate of a local Augustinian monastery. He took his vow seriously and willingly did all that was required of him, but still he did not find that peace which he was seeking. In 1507 he was ordained to the priesthood and was permitted to conduct his first mass. He had hoped that as he sang those holy words of institution, and, as he then supposed, performed the miracle of changing the bread and wine into the body and blood of our Lord, he would find peace with God, but he was disappointed. He could see Christ only as the Righteous Judge. He said; "When I looked upon him on the cross, he appeared to me as lightning. When his name was mentioned, I had rather the devil were mentioned; I was terrified when I saw his likeness, dropped my eyes, and would rather have seen the devil."

7. Luther to Rome

A fellow monk at Erfurt reminded Luther that in the Creed we "believe in the forgiveness of sins," and Dr. Staupitz (see Appendix F), his superior, directed him to "the wounds of Christ." While these suggestions were helpful, the full light did not yet begin to shine within his soul. The journey to Rome in 1511 on business for his order brought no peace; though when he first approached the city he fell upon his knees and cried, "Hail, holy Rome!" he later exclaimed, "If there is a hell, Rome is built upon it, for there do all sins flourish."

8. Professor of Theology

In 1502, the Elector of Saxony had established a university at Wittenberg, and this Dr. Staupitz had become the dean of the department of theology. At the suggestion of Staupitz, Luther was called to this university in 1508 as professor of philosophy. In 1509, he was made Bachelor of Divinity, and in 1512, Doctor of Divinity, and was assigned the chair of Scripture Interpretation in the Divinity School of Wittenberg University. Thus he was led, yes even forced, to study the Bible, and through the study of the Scriptures he found that long sought peace with God.

9. Justification by Faith

The passage which especially brought light upon his problem was Romans 1:17; “The just shall live by faith.” Luther began to realize that nothing a person can do or hope to do will ever win the favor of God or make up for past sin, but that Jesus Christ lived that perfect life which sinful man was unable to live, that he suffered that which sinful man deserved to suffer, and if the sinner will but cling to Christ in faith, he will be justified. God will see not the sinner’s imperfect righteousness, but the perfect righteousness of Christ, and there will be no punishment for sin because the sufferings of Christ have made complete atonement.

A Lutheran Catechism defines “justification” as follows: “Justification is that act of God, by which he, of pure grace, for the sake of the merits of Christ, pronounces a poor sinner, who truly believes in Christ, free from guilt, and declares him just.” A fine statement of this central truth! When Luther discovered its full implications, he found peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Thus on the basis of Scripture in the heart of Martin Luther, the Reformation was born.

FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What theories of child training prevailed in Luther’s day?

2. Who were the “Brethren on the Common Life,” and what contribution did they make towards Luther’s education?

3. Why has the name “Cotta” been popular in Lutheran circles?

4. Why was Luther afraid to die? What events heightened this fear and why?

5. What part did the Scriptures play in bringing peace to Luther's soul?

6. Why will a person who seeks to be justified by works never be satisfied?

7. What is justification by faith? How is it defined in the catechism? How is it expressed in some of our familiar hymns?

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

Read *Luther, Biography of a Reformer*, Chapter 2, "St. Anne's Monk," pp. 23-40.

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CHAPTER III

THE NINETY-FIVE THESES TO THE DIET AT WORMS

1. Indulgences

When Martin Luther discovered the comforting doctrine of justification by faith, he taught it to his classes at the university and he proclaimed it from the pulpit in the City Church. But this central truth of the Scriptures was destined to be made known also to the Christian world at large in the years just ahead. The incident which was responsible for this spread of the truth was Luther's public protest to John Tetzel's sale of indulgences (see Appendix F).

Indulgences in the popular sense are often defined as selling the forgiveness of sins for money. While in the eyes of many common people they were no doubt regarded just as that, nevertheless according to the official teaching of the Roman Church, they are not exactly selling forgiveness. The Roman Church distinguishes between the guilt of sin which is removed by absolution, and the temporal punishment for sin which the sinner must nevertheless pay in various kinds of penance here on earth and in a purgatory in the life hereafter. But the Roman Church teaches also that certain saints have done good works in excess of that which was required of them, and that these extra works plus the merits of Christ are stored up in a treasury in heaven of which the pope is custodian. If the pope sees fit, he may draw on this treasury of merit and apply it as penance for some poor sinner. Such a draft on this treasury is known as indulgence.

Indulgences were often granted in return for holy pilgrimages, but Pope Leo X (see Appendix F) conceived the idea of paying for St. Peter's Church in Rome (and for some of his personal expenses as well) through the sale of these indulgences for money. Tetzel (see Appendix F) was one of his agents near the territory where Luther was stationed. He called out, "As soon as the coin in the coffer rings, a soul from purgatory springs."

2. The Ninety-Five Theses

Some of Luther's parishioners at Wittenberg had purchased these indulgences, which by this time were supposed to relieve the living of further penance here on earth, and were even available to the dead in purgatory. This made Luther indignant. On the evening of All Saints' Day, October 31, 1517, Luther, it is thought, nailed a parchment to the door of the Castle Church (see Appendix E). On this parchment Luther wrote the famous Ninety-Five Theses (see Appendix B) against Indulgences, Luther's protest to Tetzel's sale. While the Ninety-Five Theses contained much that is Catholic and must not be taken as authoritative statements of what the Lutheran Church teaches today, they were nevertheless a protest which grew out of Luther's central doctrine of justification by faith. (See Appendix B.)

It was the custom in those days that when a theologian felt that he had a matter which he was willing to dispute with other theologians, he would draw up his position in the form of a number of theses, post them in a public place and challenge other theologians to debate with him. That is what Luther intended by posting these Ninety-Five Theses, but to his surprise these theses provoked an uproar in the theological world, and their appearance marked the beginning of the movement which we call the Protestant Reformation. Though originally written in Latin,

they were soon translated into German, and they became the talk of all Europe. All this communication quickly advanced because of the invention of moveable type in 1450. (See Appendix G).

3. The Debate with Dr. Eck.

In 1519 John Eck (see Appendix F), a clever theologian and defender of the Catholic tradition, engaged Luther in a theological debate in the city of Leipzig. In this debate Eck forced Luther to make several damaging admissions. Eck quoted the decrees of popes and the decisions of church councils in defense of the Catholic traditions, and Luther, who based his teaching entirely upon the Scriptures, was forced to admit that it was possible for both the pope and a church council to err. Thereupon Eck cleverly informed Luther that John Hus of Prague was burned at the stake for saying the same thing. Luther was thus branded as a heretic in the eyes of Eck and his colleagues (see Appendix E).

4. Luther Excommunicated

At first the pope did not consider Martin Luther as anything more than a fanatical little monk who would probably do no damage to the cause of the Catholic Church. However, it was not long until the pope realized that Luther's movement was gaining momentum and that if allowed to continue, it would blast at the very foundations of the papacy. An attempt was made to "buy Luther off" by offering to make him a cardinal if he would keep quiet, but when the attempt failed, the pope decided to excommunicate Martin Luther from the Roman Catholic church. This was done in the year 1520 in the famous Bull or Decree of Excommunication. By this time Luther, however, no longer feared the pope. His faith was built on a firm foundation, and not all the decrees of popes could disturb that peace of God which was his through faith in Jesus Christ. So when the bull arrived at Wittenberg, Luther was not dismayed but rather indifferent. He and the students built a bonfire, and burned the bull as an act of defiance to the pope and his whole system.

5. The Necessary Ban of the Empire

The Roman Church always claimed that it put no one to death, and that its hands were never stained with blood. If the Church declared a man guilty of death because of heresy, that man was turned over to the secular authorities, and they were expected to put him to death—if they failed to do so, the Church might declare them to be heretics also. The official executing was done, however, by the secular government and not by the Church. Luther had been excommunicated by the Church, but it was up to the secular government to follow up that act of the Church.

Saxony as well as the other German states belonged to what was known as The Holy Roman Empire, ruled over by an emperor who was elected by three archbishops and four secular princes, of which the Duke of Saxony (see Appendix F) was one. In the year 1519 Charles (see Appendix F) was elected emperor under the title of Charles V. He was the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and he inherited from his Spanish grandparents all of Spain, territory in Italy and newly discovered territory in America. Charles was also the grandson of

Maximilian of Austria and his wife Mary of Burgundy, and from these grandparents he inherited Austria and its possessions, and the Netherlands which at that time included Belgium and Holland. In addition to all this, he was elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Quite a kingdom for a young man of nineteen.

6. The Diet at Worms

It was before this emperor that Martin Luther was to be tried. A diet or assembly of the dignitaries of the empire was to be held at the city of Worms in 1521. Luther was summoned to appear before this diet. Charles V insured Luther safe conduct to and from Worms, but Luther's friends advised him not to go. They reminded him of John Hus of Bohemia who was guaranteed safe conduct to and from the Council of Constance in 1415, but was nevertheless burned at the stake by order of the council. Luther replied that "Christ lives, and I will enter Worms in spite of the gates of hell." He said he was determined to go "Though there be as many devils there as tiles on the roof" (see Appendix E).

7. Luther's Testimony

On the seventeenth of April, 1521, Luther first appeared before the diet and was asked to recant everything he had written. This time he gave no direct answer. He asked for more time to consider his reply and was given until the next day. The night of April 17 was spent in prayer; it has often been called "Luther's Gethsemane." The next day he faced the diet again and was asked again whether he was willing to recant. He replied that some things which he had written even his enemies approved of, and these he could not recant. He stated that the abuses in the church of which he had written were so definitely proved that he could not recant his mention of them. He admitted that certain writings against individuals may perhaps have become a little more vehement than was necessary and he was willing to retract these overstatements, but that so far as his doctrines were concerned, he could not and would not recant. "Unless I am convinced by proofs from Scripture or other obvious reasons, I believe neither the pope nor the councils, since it is obvious that they often have erred and contradicted themselves. I stand convicted by my writings, and my conscience is bound in God's Word . . . Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; God help me, Amen."

8. Significance of the Diet

We know that Luther was condemned to death as a heretic at Worms in 1521, but we know also that he died a natural death in 1546. We will deal with his rescue in the next lesson. The important fact to remember is that where Luther stood at the Diet at Worms, the Church which bears his name still stands today. For the true Lutheran all doctrines and morals stand or fall on the Word of God; there is no other authority. "Scripture alone" has been the watchword of the Lutheran Church.

FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What were indulgences according to the Roman Church? Is this still a teaching of the Roman Church today?
2. What was Luther's real purpose in posting the Ninety-Five Theses?
3. Do these Ninety-Five Theses represent Lutheran doctrine? Explain.
4. What line of argument did Eck use to prove Luther a heretic?
5. What was the relationship of the Roman Church to the practice of putting heretics to death?
6. Why did Luther have to face the Diet at Worms after he had been excommunicated?
7. We usually assert that the three principles of the Reformation are "sola gratia" or "grace alone," "sola Christus" or "Christ alone" and "sola scriptura" or "Scripture alone." How have these principles been developed in our study so far?

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

Read *Luther, Biography of a Reformer*, Chapter 3, "The Sound of a Hammer," pp. 41-58; Chapter 4, "The Echo of the Hammer Blows," pp. 59-74.

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CHAPTER IV

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH

1. Luther at the Wartburg

Luther left Worms on April 25, 1521, condemned, but with the understanding that only after he had reached Wittenberg, should he be dealt with as “the evil one in the person of a man under the assumed monk habit.” He did not reach Wittenberg, however, for while traveling through the Thuringian forest, he was taken captive not by his enemies, but by his friends. The Elector of Saxony, Frederick, had arranged that Luther be seized and put in a safe place of hiding. The place was to be kept secret even from the elector. Luther was taken to the Wartburg castle near the city of Eisenach, and here he remained for almost a year. He was known as Squire George. He allowed his beard to grow, exchanged his monastic robe for a knightly costume and carried a sword at his side. The whole charade was not to Luther’s liking; he would have preferred to return to Wittenberg and suffer death if necessary for a cause which he held sacred, but his friends insisted that he stay. “Wartburg” means literally “a fortress of waiting,” and such it was indeed for Martin Luther. But he did not spend his time in idleness, for it was here at the Wartburg that he translated the Greek New Testament into German. Incidentally, we can have a fair conception of what the Wartburg castle looked like if we are familiar with our Wisconsin Lutheran Seminary in Mequon, Wisconsin, for it is modeled after Luther’s “fortress of waiting.”

2. Trouble at Wittenberg

By 1522 affairs in Wittenberg were in great confusion. Karlstadt (see Appendix F), one of Luther’s colleagues at the University of Wittenberg, had been taking matters into his own hands and had been pushing all sorts of revolutionary changes. He had abolished the whole liturgy of the Communion service and was now engaged in smashing the images in the churches, asserting that they were contrary to the commandments of God. To add to the confusion certain so called “Zwickau prophets” had come to Wittenberg and had asserted that the public office of the administration of the Word and Sacraments was unnecessary, since the Holy Spirit influences the hearts of people without means. These Zwickau prophets also bitterly condemned the baptism of children, hence they were known also as “Anabaptists,” this name means “rebaptizers” since they baptized again those who had been baptized in infancy. These fanatics, or “Schwaermer” as Luther called them, seemed to have captivated Karlstadt, for though a university professor, he began to decry learning and look rather for direct revelations from the Spirit.

It was impossible for Luther to remain in hiding any longer; he returned to Wittenberg and began to straighten out these matters which were in confusion. It was not long until the Zwickau prophets left and Carlstadt rather grudgingly retracted his excesses. Gradually the conservative Lutheran spirit began to assert itself and law and order was restored in Wittenberg.

The Lutherans did not seek a revolution in the Church, and even such teachings and practices as were contrary to the Word of God they sought to correct, if at all possible, without violence. While they asserted that only those things expressly taught and commanded by the Word of God were essential, they nevertheless were not indifferent to the heritage of the past, but retained such things that were good and edifying, discarding only that which was unscriptural.

In 1523, Luther published a revised order of holy communion, built on the medieval mass, but omitting those parts which were contrary to God's Word. The Lutheran Church today does not despise such things as vestments, stained glass windows, altars, crucifixes, candles, the sign of the cross, beautiful liturgies and the like, yet she does not consider these things essential and holds that it is sufficient to agree on the doctrines of the Word of God.

3. The Organization of Lutheran Churches and Schools

Beginning about 1523 Lutheran congregations were being organized in various parts of Germany where the teachings of the Reformation found acceptance. By 1524 there were Lutheran congregations in such cities as Magdeburg, Frankfurt, Halle, Nuremberg, Ulm, Strassburg, Breslau, and Bremen. Though Luther cherished the idea of pastors being called by the congregation, and though he even spoke of the possibility of groups of congregations electing a superintendent with the ultimate goal a Lutheran archbishop for all Germany, his ideals were never realized—Lutheran pastors were appointed for the most part by civil magistrates or by individual church patrons. The idea of the separation of the Church and State was expressed, but never actually practiced by the reformers.

Hand in hand with the organization of Lutheran congregations went the organization of Lutheran schools, elementary schools where laymen might acquire the rudiments of education and religion, and higher schools in which pastors and other leaders might be trained. There were usually three classes of Lutheran schools: first the elementary school with instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic, as well as singing and religion—all taught in the German language; second the intermediate or Latin schools where the more promising boys were instructed in Latin, mathematics and in the sixth or last year of the school, Greek; and third the schools of higher learning, known as the universities. In the area of education, the leading figure was Philip Melancthon (see Appendix F), the scholarly colleague of Luther who is remembered as the author of the Augsburg Confession and the author of the famous *Loci*, or first text book in dogmatics or Christian doctrine. It was Melancthon who wrote a plan of study for the Lutheran Latin schools and who, because of his superior scholarship and influence upon education won for himself the title "The Teacher of Germany."

4. The Peasants' Revolt

About the year 1525, there occurred an incident which has often been used to discredit Luther and brand him as the enemy of oppressed people and the tool and friend of the privileged nobility. The peasants of the sixteenth century did not have pleasant lives. They were subject to the feudal system of the middle ages and did not own the land on which they lived and worked, but held it as a fief from a lord to whom they were obligated to pay all sorts of feudal dues. These peasants longed for that freedom enjoyed by the townspeople of their day, and Luther's example seemed to give them courage. If Luther could revolt against authority, why could not they also? They did revolt, and while Luther sympathized with their sad situation, having come from peasant stock himself, he nevertheless denied them the right to revolt against the constituted authority. He called upon the princes to put down their revolt. He had defied the authorities because these authorities had sought to force him to act contrary to the Word of God, but these peasants were acting not in defense of God's Word, but in their own interest. Their situation was miserable, but it was not desperate, and Luther did not believe that it justified

violence. It must be pointed out that there were many social inequalities in the Roman Empire at the time of Christ, but he incited no violent revolution against them. Rather, he preached salvation of the individual. Neither did the apostle Paul incite Onesimus to defy his master. He urged this escaped slave to go back to his master in the hope that Philemon, moved by the love of Christ, would grant him freedom.

5. The Diets at Speyer

The emperor Charles V might have done much more to stamp out Lutheranism in his empire, had he not been occupied with wars with the French king. In the providence of God, this Catholic French king kept the emperor busy during those years after the Diet at Worms in 1521. The result was that Lutheranism had gained such a foothold in Germany that it was impossible to destroy it. In the year 1526 at a Diet at Speyer, the newly organized Lutheran Church was given qualified recognition within the empire: it was decreed that in matters of faith, each prince was free to act as he “could answer to God and the emperor.” However in 1529, Charles had made peace with the French king and had come to good terms also with the pope; at a second Diet at Speyer held in that year, Lutheranism was outlawed. To this the followers of Luther “protested,” and at that time the name “Protestant” was coined.

6. The Augsburg Confession

Early in 1530 the emperor decided that if possible, peace and concord ought to be established within the empire so far as religion was concerned. He therefore ordered both the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics to prepare statements of their faith at a diet to be held in the city of Augsburg, hoping that on the basis of these two statements of faith, some path to unity might be found. The Lutherans complied, and presented the Augsburg Confession (in Latin, the Augustana), a document which was for the most part the work of Philip Melanchthon, one of Luther’s colleagues. Before this document was presented at Augsburg, it was adopted and signed by five Lutheran princes and the representatives of two Lutheran cities, thus becoming the official confession of the Lutheran faith. It was read in Augsburg in both German and Latin. The attentive audience even crowded around open windows since there was no more room inside. The Roman Catholics presented no statement of faith, but were determined to pick the Augsburg Confession to pieces. When after the reading, Duke William of Bavaria turned to Dr. John Eck and asked, “Can you refute this doctrine?” Dr. Eck replied, “With the church fathers I can, but not with the Scriptures.” Duke William then replied, “Then I see the Lutherans are in the Scriptures and we are outside.” This Augsburg Confession, together with the Apology to the Augsburg Confession which Melanchthon wrote the next year in answer to certain Roman Catholic attacks on the original document, have become two of the official creeds or confessions of the Lutheran Church today, to which Lutheran ministers and every Lutheran congregation subscribe. May we sing:

Faith of our fathers, handed down
From Augsburg’s long remembered day;
Of all our symbols you the crown,
A creed that ne’er shall pass away;
Faith of our fathers, Lutheran faith,
We will be true to you till death.

FOR DISCUSSION

1. Show how God's providence was in evidence in Luther's life during the years 1521 and 1522.
2. What is the true Lutheran attitude toward rites and ceremonies and what does the Augsburg Confession have to say about them?
3. What was wrong about the teachings of the Zwickau prophets? In what modern church groups do we see their errors perpetuated?
4. Account for the origin of the name "Protestant." What did it mean in 1529? What does it mean today?
5. What is the Lutheran attitude toward correcting the social ills?
6. What is the status of the Augsburg Confession in the Lutheran Church today? What do the letters U.A.C. on many Lutheran church cornerstones stand for? Why is the name Augustana Synod a fitting one for a Lutheran church group?

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

Read *Luther, Biography of a Reformer*, Chapter 5, "A Wild Boar in the Roman Vineyard," pp. 75-90; Chapter 6, "God Help Me!" pp. 91-112.

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CHAPTER V

THE LITERARY WORKS OF DOCTOR MARTIN LUTHER

Luther was a prolific writer, and no study of the Reformation would be complete without a study of the many products of his agile pen and keen intellect. The art of printing had been invented less than a century before the Reformation and was a powerful aid in the spreading of Lutheran doctrine. No sooner was the ink dry on many of Luther's writings than they were whisked off to some printer for wider circulation. In the third chapter we mentioned the famous Ninety-Five Theses, thus we need not discuss them again here. We simply call attention to their importance.

1. The Pamphlets of 1520

Among Luther's early writings should be mentioned the three famous pamphlets of 1520. In the first of these, *The Address to the Christian Nobility*, Luther makes a stirring appeal to his countrymen to put an end to the wrongs suffered at the hands of the Roman Church. In this pamphlet he asserts that there is no essential distinction between clergy and laity and expounds the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers according to which each believer is a priest privileged to approach the throne of grace. In a second pamphlet, called the *Babylonian Captivity*, Luther attacked the Sacramental system of the Roman Church, and, asserted that the Church is essentially the body of believers. In the third pamphlet, *On the Freedom of the Christian Man*, Luther developed in popular format the doctrine of justification by faith and its implications. The first pamphlet was intended for the rulers, the second for scholars and theologians and the third for common people. (See Appendix H).

2. The Translation of the Bible

In the fourth chapter, we referred to the translation of the Greek New Testament into German which was completed during Luther's stay at the Wartburg castle. That was in 1521, but it was not until 1534 that the Old Testament was translated from the original Hebrew. Thus at that point the whole Bible was made available in the language of the people.

The Old Testament was translated in more or less piece-meal fashion by Luther and his colleagues at the University of Wittenberg. Between the time of the last class in the afternoon and the time when Katie would appear to summon the "Herr Doctor" to supper, Luther, Melancthon, and several other professors would gather in Luther's study and work on this Old Testament translation.

These men had the task not only of translating Greek and Hebrew into German, but also the task of creating a German language as they went, since there were so many varying dialects. When Luther's Bible was finished, it gave the German people not only God's Word in their own language, but also their language itself. The German of Luther's Bible was the standard for correct German ever since. Perhaps you have read the story of how at times the learned professors at Wittenberg were puzzled over the proper German terms for the parts of the sacrifices described in the book of Moses, and how they would leave Luther's study and go out

to a butcher shop and inquire of the butcher what the popular term was for the various parts of lambs and other sacrificial animals. One of the great blessings of the Protestant Reformation is the open Bible in the language of the people. Now once again God's children can follow the example of the "noble Bereans" who "received the Word with all readiness of mind and searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so." (Acts 17:11)

3. The Order of Worship

Luther's Order of Service of 1523 has already been alluded to, but we will discuss it here in more detail. The Order of Service of November, 1523, was in Latin, and was entitled "Formula Missae" or "Formula of the Mass." This term "mass" was but an ancient term for holy communion, and as such was retained by the reformers. The order of 1523 began with the Introit (entrance verse), followed by the Kyrie (Lord, Have Mercy) and the Gloria in Excelsis (Glory Be to God on High). This was followed by the Salutation and Response, the Collect, the reading of the Epistle and the Gradual with the Hallelujah. The reading of the Gospel, the Nicene Creed and a Sermon followed. In the Communion Service proper, there was the Preface, the Words of Institution, the Lord's Prayer, the Sanctus and the Pax, the Distribution while the Agnus Dei was sung, then the Post Communion Prayer followed by the Benedicamus—the Benediction given in Numbers 6:24-26. In 1525 a German service was introduced, modeled after this Latin one of 1523, and thus the general outline of the Lutheran service was established for centuries to come.

The Common Service in use in many English-speaking Lutheran congregations in America is a composite of Lutheran orders of worship of the sixteenth century, and is seen to be much like Luther's "Formula Missae" of 1523. The Confession of Sin with which we often begin our service today was originally a private confession for the priest. It later was made into a general confession for the congregation (see Appendix J).

4. Luther's Hymns

Luther will always be remembered for his thirty-seven hymns which he contributed to the church's treasury of sacred song. During the middle ages, there were no congregational hymns, and the part of the congregation in the service was limited to a few Amens and a few other short responses. Hymns were written during this period, but were intended for private use.

With the advent of the Reformation came the rediscovery of the doctrine of the universal priesthood of believers. There is no need of a mediating priest in the New Testament, since through faith in Christ all believers have become priests and need no mediator save the One Mediator between God and man, the Man Christ Jesus. Since all believers are priests, their voices ought to be heard in the church service, and these voices were heard in Lutheran congregations in the liturgy and especially in the congregational hymns.

The restoration of hymn singing was one of the blessings of the Reformation which should not be overlooked, since it has been asserted that Luther did as much for the Reformation through his hymns as he did through his preaching. The enemies of the Reformation complained that the common people were "singing themselves into Lutheran doctrine."

In 1524, Luther published the first Protestant Hymnal, the *Achtliederbuch*, or "Song Book of Eight Songs" of which four were by Luther, three by Speratus, and one by an unknown author. Luther's Battle Hymn, "A Mighty Fortress is Our God" (see Appendix J), did not appear in this

first hymnal, but about 1529. Of the hymns of Luther, two others besides the Battle Hymn deserve just a word of comment. "From heaven above to earth I come," Luther's Christmas hymn, was thought out while Luther was rocking his little son Paul to sleep just before Christmas in 1534, and was suggested by a secular song which Luther was humming, a song about a traveler who came from a strange land and brought wonderful news. The hymn "Lord, Keep Us Steadfast in Your Word" was written for a children's prayer service which was to be held in Wittenberg in 1541 when the Turks threatened the Germanies. The title is "A children's hymn, to be sung against the two arch-enemies of Christ and his holy Church, the Pope and the Turks." (See Appendix J).

5. The Two Catechisms

The year 1529 as a significant one, in that it was the year in which Luther's two catechisms appeared. A catechism is a book of instruction composed of questions and answers. By means of these two catechisms Luther sought to combat the ignorance in religious matters which was so prevalent in his day. Both catechisms have been made a part of the official confessions of the Lutheran Church to which Lutheran pastors pledge their fidelity at ordination and to which Lutheran congregations bind themselves in their constitutions.

If you examine the Small Catechism, you will find the heading of each part begin this way: "As the Head of the Family Should Teach in All Simplicity to His Household." This catechism was originally not intended as a book of instruction in church schools, but rather as a book of instruction for the home. The first edition of the Small Catechism did not appear in book form, but rather in chart or poster form so that the head of the family could attach it to the wall where all could read it and learn it. The section on "The Office of the Keys" did not appear in the edition of 1529, but was added later.

We should remember that the book out of which most of us have received instruction prior to Confirmation was not simply Luther's *Small Catechism* but rather *An Explanation of Luther's Small Catechism*. In the front part of this book was Luther's "Enchiridion," Luther's Small Catechism proper; in the latter part of the book was a further elaboration of Luther's text. These meanings to the Commandments, the Articles of the Creed and the Petitions of the Lord's Prayer are a part of Luther's Enchiridion, as are also those definitions of Confession, Absolution, and the Office of the Keys, and the answers to questions about Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Those answers to questions about sin, creation, the nature Christ, the office of Christ, conversion, sanctification, etc. are part of the "explanation" of Luther's text. This fact explains why we have so many varying editions of what is popularly called Luther's Catechism; they are really various expositions of Luther's text, with this original "Enchiridion" the same in each. The word "enchiridion," by the way, is a term used to denote "a book of pithy brevity, an elementary book."

6. Sermons

In recounting Luther's literary contributions, we should not forget his many sermons, many of which have been preserved, and find a place in the libraries of many Lutheran pastors. Most of those which have been preserved have also been translated into English.

7. Smalcald Articles

There is one other work of Luther which ought to be mentioned, a work which, like the two catechisms, has become one of the official confessions of the Lutheran Church—the Smalcald Articles. From the beginning, the Lutherans had always expressed their willingness to submit their cause to a general council of the Church, but when in 1536, Pope Paul III finally called such a council, he gave as its purpose “the utter extermination of the poisonous pestilential Lutheran heresy.” In answer to this decree of the pope, Elector John Frederick of Saxony asked Luther to write an ultimatum to be considered by the various Lutheran Estates to meet at Smalcald in 1537. The Smalcald Articles are the most polemical of the Lutheran Confessions, and it is in this document that the pope is termed the “anti-Christ.”

FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What was the significance of Luther’s German Bible?
2. What relation does the Common Service have with the Reformation?
3. What is Luther’s place in hymnology?
4. Has Luther’s *Small Catechism* served its original purpose? Explain.
5. How did the Smalcald Articles happen to be written and what do they teach?

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Read *Luther, Biography of a Reformer*, Chapter 7, “Kidnapped,” pp. 113-125; Chapter 8, “Work, Worry and War,” pp. 129-142.

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CHAPTER VI

LUTHER'S FAMILY LIFE

1. The Roman Church and Marriage of Priests

As is generally known, the church of Rome teaches that the unmarried estate is more honorable than the married estate, and it forbids its priests to marry. The threefold vow of poverty, chastity and obedience is taken by each monk and nun, and the vow of chastity is a vow never to marry. Nuns are regarded as “married to Christ the heavenly Bridegroom” and monks are considered “married to the holy Bride, the Church of Christ.” The garb of a nun is reminiscent of the wedding veil, and the ring which she wears on her finger a token of her marriage only to the heavenly Bridegroom, and this type of life is to be preferred to that lower type in which a woman actually marries and has children. When St. Jerome was asked why God told Adam and Eve to “be fruitful and multiply” if the unmarried estate was so much holier, he replied that at that time it was necessary to populate the earth with children, but that now it was necessary to populate heaven with saints. The endless stories of immoral priests and of illegitimate children which stain the pages of medieval history to the present day are the fruits of this unnatural state to which the Church of Rome subjects her clergy.

2. Scripture on Marriage of Pastors

With the return to the Bible as the sole authority on matters of faith and life, there came also a return to the biblical doctrine concerning marriage. Rather than presenting marriage as something on a lower level with the unmarried estate as something higher, the Scriptures assert that “Marriage is honorable in all.” (Hebrews 13:4) Specifically, Scripture states that “a bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife,” and that he is one that “rules well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity.” (1 Timothy 3:2-4) These inspired words from the pen of the apostle Paul clearly show that while Paul felt that for good reason he himself should remain unmarried, nevertheless, God did not intend that all ministers of Christ should remain unmarried. Peter, whom the Church of Rome hails as their first pope, was married, for in the gospels we read that the Lord Jesus healed Peter’s wife’s mother of the fever. “Don’t we have a right to take a believing wife along with us, as do the other apostles and the Lord’s brothers and Cephas?” (1 Corinthians 9:5).

3. Lutheran Pastors Begin to Marry

Luther and his colleagues began to teach that it was pleasing to God for the clergy to marry, and many Lutheran clergy not only taught this but practiced it as well. Originally Luther and his colleagues lived together as monks in the monastery at Wittenberg (Black Cloister), but one by one these colleagues found wives and moved out of the monastery and founded homes of their own. In 1524, Luther was almost alone in that large monastery building. The feminine touch evidently was lacking, for one account tells us that no one made Luther’s bed for a whole year, and that it became moldy with perspiration. Many persons told Luther that he ought to set an example and marry like his colleagues. His reply was that he was, since the Diet at Worms,

under the sentence of death. He never knew when he might die as a martyr. Therefore he felt that to have a wife and children under those circumstances would not be for the best.

4. The Nuns at Nimbschen

However, something happened which changed things. In the cloister at Nimbschen, near Grimma not far from Wittenberg, were a number of nuns who had read Luther's teachings and were impressed by them. These nuns, therefore, desired to leave the cloister and take their places in the world which they believed God had intended for them. They appealed through a trusted messenger to Luther and his colleagues to help them escape. Luther at last consented to help them. Supposedly, on the night before Easter in 1523, nine of them climbed down from the convent walls where a man with a wagon load of empty herring barrels was waiting for them. Each climbed into a herring barrel, and away they went toward Wittenberg. As they passed a certain toll gate at a boundary line, the gatekeeper asked the driver what he had in his wagon, and when he replied "herring," no further questions were asked. When these ex-nuns arrived at Wittenberg they had to be provided for, and Luther and his colleagues found husbands for some of them and homes for others.

5. Katherine von Bora

Among them was a certain young lady by the name of Katherina von Bora. At first a home was found for her in the house of the burgermeister or mayor of Wittenberg, Philip Reichenbach. A little later the burgermeister found a suitable husband for her in the person of a certain pastor named Glatz. Katherine informed Luther that she was not interested in Pastor Glatz. Her womanly intuition seemed to be correct, for he later turned out to be unworthy. However, in order to convince Luther that she was not opposed to marriage as such, she told Luther's friend Amsdorf that if, for example, either he or Dr. Luther should ask her to marry, she would not object. Amsdorf told Luther, and it appears that Luther took the hint.

6. Luther's Marriage

On June 13, 1525, Katherine von Bora became Mrs. Martin Luther. The wedding was a big event in Wittenberg. All seemed happy except Philip Melanchthon. At that time he believed that while marriage for priests was not wrong, those who had already taken vows to remain unmarried should keep them. The answer to this was that vows to do something that is contrary to the law of God and the law of nature are not binding. It reminds one of a rhyme which was once seen on the bulletin board of a neighborhood church. It read: "The Lord hates a quitter, but he doesn't hate him, son, when a quitter's quitting something that he shouldn't have begun." Luther's father was especially pleased when his son married, for he had never favored the monastic life for Martin.

7. The Luther Parsonage

Luther and his wife made the old monastery their home, and perhaps this set the pace for many years for the size of the average Lutheran parsonage. Though there was considerable

difference in age (Luther was 42; Katherine, 26) the marriage proved to be a happy one. Someone has said that while Luther was the head of the house, Katherine was the neck, and whenever the neck moved, the head was forced to move. Luther referred to his wife as his “Lord Katie,” and the letters which he wrote to her reveal his devotion to her and to the children she bore him. The following is an example written from Eisenach in 1540: “To my gracious girl, Katherine Luther von Bora and Zulsdorf at Wittenberg, my darling: Grace and peace, my dear girl and wife, Kate. Your grace must be informed that we all are here—God be praised!—fresh and sound; we eat like behemoths (see Job 40:15) and drink like Germans, and are joyous. For our gracious Lord of Magdeburg, Bishop Amsdorf, is our messmate. God be with you. Amen. Make the children pray. There is an indescribable and unbearable heat and sterility here day and night. May the dear last day come soon. The Bishop of Magdeburg greets you kindly. Your beloved Martin Luther.”

8. Luther’s Children

God blessed Luther with three boys (John, Martin, and Paul) and three girls (Magdalene, Elizabeth and Margaret). Elizabeth died in infancy; Magdalene died when she was about twelve years old. Her death touched the “Herr Doktor” greatly. He confessed a little later that he was ashamed of himself, and that he had “wept like a woman.” None of these three boys followed their father’s profession, but all of Luther’s children lived honorable lives.

In addition to Luther, Katie, and the children, Katie’s “Aunt Lena” lived at the “parsonage” as well as several other relatives, and there were always a number of students who boarded there. (See Appendix I). At the table, the students had the habit of writing down what the “Herr Doktor” said, and these students’ notes have been collected in what is known as “Luther’s Table Talk” (See Appendix C)

9. Luther’s Last Years and Death

Luther enjoyed comparatively good health, but in his letters to his wife during the years after 1540, he made frequent reference to “the stone” which from time to time troubled him. We may conclude that perhaps he developed kidney stones. In the year 1546 he made a journey to Mansfeld. While in the territory he also preached at Eisleben, the town of his birth and baptism, and here he became dangerously ill. He had realized for some time that his health was poor and that he had but a short time to live, but he hoped at least to be able to return to Wittenberg and die there. He remarked just two days before his death: “I will not tarry any longer; I will go to Wittenberg and there die and give the worms a corpulent Doctor for food.” But he never returned to Wittenberg; he died in the town of his birth on February 18, 1546, between two and three in the morning.

Shortly before Luther’s death, Justas Jonas asked the solemn question: “Venerable father, will you remain constant to Christ and the doctrines which you preached?” Luther replied with a decided “Yes.” Thus the great reformer died in the faith which he preached to others at the age of sixty-two. Katie survived him six years and then unfortunately met with a traffic accident. She was driving a wagon and two horses along a road beside a pond when the horses became frightened, began to run, and the wagon was overturned. Katie was thrown into the icy waters of the pond and contracted fatal pneumonia.

FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is the Roman Catholic teaching concerning marriage?
2. What does the Bible have to say about the marriage of priests?
3. Why was June 13, 1525, an important date not only for Luther but also for the Christian world at large?
4. Name some famous persons who were reared in Protestant parsonages.
5. Was Luther's household a true example of a Protestant parsonage, and if so, why?
6. Why was Luther's last "yes" of such significance? Can you name some important persons who were not willing to die according to their own teachings?

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Read *Luther, Biography of a Reformer*, Chapter 9, "Building the Reformation," pp. 143-156; Chapter 10, "The Family Man," pp. 157-174.

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CHAPTER VII

ZWINGLI AND CALVIN

During the sixteenth century, Lutheranism became the prevailing religion in almost two-thirds of the states of Germany. It spread to the Scandinavian countries of Sweden, Norway and Denmark; it became the prevailing religion of Iceland and of the Baltic provinces of Livonia and Estonia; and it made some progress in Hungary and Transylvania. But not all Protestant states were Lutheran because there developed at the same time another type of Protestantism which we call “Reformed Protestantism,” a type which traces its origin not to Luther, but to Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin.

1. Life of Zwingli

Ulrich Zwingli was born in Wildhaus, Switzerland on New Year’s Day 1484, just about seven weeks after Martin Luther. Zwingli grew up in an intellectual atmosphere and was much impressed by the “new learning” of the humanist Erasmus to which we referred in the first chapter. About the time Martin Luther was taking his vows as a monk, Ulrich Zwingli was being ordained to the priesthood. Though Luther had had a serious personal problem concerning sin and salvation which was solved when he discovered justification by faith, Zwingli arrived at his religious conviction through a much more gradual and intellectual process. In 1519 he was transferred to Zurich. It was here that he experienced his so-called definite “conversion” to evangelical truth. Like Luther, he accepted the Bible rather than tradition or decrees of the pope as authority in religious and moral matters, and like Luther he taught that man is justified alone by faith and not by works. Zwingli differed from Luther in that he conceived the idea that he had a perfect right to rule the state as well as the church, and his reforms were of a political as well as of a religious nature.

2. The Marburg Colloquy

Inasmuch as Luther and Zwingli held much in common, the German prince, Philip of Hesse, urged that the two movements be united, since in union there would be strength. Luther was not opposed to the idea, but insisted that it must be done on the basis of agreement in doctrine. Accordingly a meeting was arranged between Luther and his colleagues on one hand, and Zwingli and his colleagues on the other. This meeting was held in Marburg in 1529 and is known historically as the Marburg Colloquy.

Fifteen points of doctrine were discussed. On fourteen points Luther and Zwingli seemed to agree, but on the fifteenth they did not. This point was concerning the Lord’s Supper. Zwingli held that the bread and wine were mere symbols of the body and blood of our Lord, and Luther held that the body and blood of our Lord are truly present in the Lord’s Supper. Zwingli argued on the basis of reason that the body of Christ was in heaven and could not be present in the holy communion. Finally Luther took a piece of chalk and wrote on the table before him the words of Christ’s institution, “This IS my body” and “This IS my blood.” To all of Zwingli’s arguments from reason, Luther replied that the Bible said “This IS” and not “This represents.”

It was evident that the two groups could not agree on this point, yet Zwingli desired that they join hands nevertheless, but Luther refused.

3. Lutheran vs. Reformed Today

The historic differences between Lutheranism and the Reformed faith as evidenced at Marburg in 1529 still exist today. Lutherans still believe in the real presence of Christ body and blood in the Lord Supper, and the “Reformed,” which has come to mean all non-Lutheran Protestants, still regard the Lord’s Supper symbolically. Lutherans still hold to the Word of God whether it seems reasonable or unreasonable, while there is still a tendency among the Reformed to interpret the Word of God in the light of human reason. Lutherans still insist that a God-pleasing union of church groups must be based on a unity of doctrine, while the Reformed on the whole still are eager to “agree to disagree,” and nevertheless unite. There is no better study of distinctive Lutheranism than a study of the Marburg Colloquy. Sad to say orthodox Lutherans are in the minority.

4. Zwingli’s Death

Ulrich Zwingli died just two years after the Marburg Colloquy in a battle against the Roman Catholics. An army of 8000 Catholics marched from the Forest Cantons of Switzerland upon Zurich. Zwingli quickly collected a force of 1500 men and met this army at Cappel. He accompanied this army as chaplain, but soon fell on the field of battle. Two of the Catholic soldiers found him wounded and bleeding, lying under a pear tree. They told him to confess to a priest or to call upon the saints. When he refused, they said, “Die then, obstinate heretic,” and thrust him through with a sword. His body was burned, and his ashes thrown to the wind.

5. Calvin and His Work

The work of Zwingli was taken up by John Calvin, a Frenchman, who was born in Picardy in 1509. John Calvin studied and taught at the University of Paris. When he espoused the cause of the Reformation, he was forced to flee. After wandering about for some time, in 1536 he came to Geneva, Switzerland, where he spent the remainder of his life. The year previous, while in Basel, Switzerland, he wrote the great work entitled, “The Institutes of the Christian Religion.” This was perhaps one of the greatest, if not the greatest, theological work of his age. Calvin was a scholar, well trained in law as well as in theology. He had been converted to the new doctrine of the Reformation through the reading of the works of Erasmus and Luther.

Nevertheless, Calvinism differed from Lutheranism on several important points. Calvin more or less followed Zwingli in his doctrine of the Lord’s Supper, though he went a little beyond Zwingli in his explanation. Calvin taught that while a believer partakes of the bread and wine in the Lord’s Supper, his soul is mysteriously transported to heaven where it feeds on the body and blood of Christ, but that the unbeliever receives nothing but bread and wine. The Lutheran Church, on the other hand, teaches that in, with and under the bread and wine both believers and unbelievers receive the true body and blood of Christ, the believers to their soul’s eternal good, and the unbelievers to their own judgment. In light of Calvin’s doctrine of the soul

going to heaven to feed on Christ's body and blood, we can understand what Dr. Luther had in mind when he penned the words:

Deem not that you to heaven can rise
To meet your Savior there,
He comes in mercy from the skies
That you His bliss may share.

The test of the Lutheran doctrine of communion is always to ask the question, "What does the unbeliever receive?" A Calvinist will always reply, "Only bread and wine," while a Lutheran will reply, "Christ's body and blood." The belief that the unworthy communicant receives only bread and wine accounts for the fact that Calvinistic or Reformed churches are ready to invite people so freely to their communion altars and practice open communion."

6. Calvin's Predestination

Calvin taught salvation by grace alone, while Luther made the grace of God the center of his teachings, Calvin made the sovereignty of God the center of his teachings. In order to explain why not all people are saved, he espoused the doctrine of absolute predestination. He taught that God from all eternity looked at lost humanity, and determined to show both his grace and his justice. In order to show his grace, God arbitrarily chose out of the lost a certain group called the elect. For those elect he sent his Son to pay the price of their sin with his blood, to those he comes with his "almighty grace," converts them, keeps them in faith and finally brings them to himself in heaven. The non-elect he allows to continue on the way of sin and finally receive the just reward of their sins, eternal damnation. Whether you are saved or lost, therefore, depends on what side God put you in that eternal election. A man once asked Rev. Jonathan Edwards of New England, a devout follower of John Calvin, what a man could do if he were sure he was on the side of the non-elect, and Edwards replied, "If you are saved, it is to the glory of God's grace, and if you are lost, it is to the glory of God's justice, and any man ought to be glad to be damned for the glory of God."

7. Luther, Calvin and the Scriptures

Calvin took a different attitude toward the Scriptures than did Luther. Luther taught that as long as the Scripture did not condemn a thing, that thing was permissible if it tended toward edification, but Calvin taught that unless Scripture expressly commands a thing either by precept or example, that thing is wrong and sinful. This explains why the Lutheran Church has retained such things as altar crosses, crucifixes, the sign of the cross, stained glass windows, liturgies, while the Calvinistic churches were opposed to all these things. It also explains why hymnology grew in the Lutheran Church, while the Calvinistic churches insisted for a long time that only the Psalms could be sung.

8. Spread of Calvinism

Calvinism became the religion of Protestant Switzerland; it spread to Bohemia and Moravia, to the Rhineland region of Germany. The Dutch Reformed religion of Holland is a form of Calvinism. The Huguenots of France and the Scottish Presbyterians are Calvinists.

Calvinism greatly influenced the Church of England, and was the religion of the Puritans and Independents of seventeenth century England, those groups from which the Pilgrim Fathers and Puritans of New England came.

FOR DISCUSSION:

1. How did Zwingli's development differ from Luther's?
2. How does the Lutheran church differ from the Reformed on the Lord's Supper? How did Calvin differ from Zwingli on this point?
3. What is predestination, and what is the Lutheran attitude toward it?
4. What is the difference between the Lutheran and the Calvinistic attitude toward the Scriptures and what has been the result of this difference of attitude?

SUGGESTED READINGS

Read *Luther, Biography of A Reformer*, Chapter 11, "That They May Be One," pp. 175-196.

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CHAPTER VIII

ENGLAND BREAKS WITH THE ROMAN CHURCH

1. Reformation Tendencies in England

It is often stated that the divorce of King Henry VIII of England from Catherine of Aragon was the cause of England separating from Rome, but upon deeper reflection it hardly seems possible that the English people and English clergy should take so momentous a step just that their king might be free to marry another woman. There were many factors at work in England which were seeking to alienate the English people from Rome, and had it not been for these underlying factors, Henry's divorce would not have had the result that it did.

For one thing, the Wyclif tradition had never completely died, and the Lollards were still strong at the time of the Reformation. (See the first chapter on Wyclif and the Lollards.) For another thing, there was evidence in England of a strong feeling of British nationalism. The pope was regarded more and more as an Italian foreigner who wanted to interfere in English national affairs and who delighted in sending foreigners to England to fill high offices, and to whom England had to pay enormous sums of money in taxation. There was considerable opposition to the fact that the Church of Rome owned about one fourth of the land in England on which it paid no taxes and from which it derived a vast income. In addition, there was the humanist movement in England under Erasmus which by going back to the original Scriptures could not fail but point out the vast difference between Christianity at the times of the apostles and the grand political and religious organization known as the Church of Rome. Last but not least, the Lutheran movement had penetrated into England and was gaining ground. The groundwork was laid, and all that was needed was a spark to set off the explosion.

2. Henry VIII and Catherine

Henry VIII at first was an enemy of the Reformation. In 1523 the pope had conferred upon Henry the title, "Defender of the Faith" because of what Henry had written against Martin Luther; and, strange to say, the king of England still holds this title. We cannot escape the story of Henry's divorce. He was not the first-born son of his father Henry VII; he had had an older brother Arthur. Arthur had been married to a Spanish princess, Catherine, the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, Arthur being 15 and Catherine, 16 at the time of the marriage. However, Arthur died a very short time after the marriage, and the expressed purpose of the marriage, namely that of cementing the ties between England and Spain, came to naught. Arthur's brother Henry was then heir to the throne, and it was suggested that if Henry should marry Catherine, everything would work out as originally planned, but there was a law of the Church which prohibited a man from marrying his deceased brother's wife. An appeal was made to the pope, and on the basis of the testimony of Catherine's father confessor that she and Arthur had really never lived as husband and wife, the pope granted a dispensation for Henry to marry Catherine, Henry being six years her junior. A daughter, Mary, was born to Henry and Catherine, but no sons.

Henry's fancy soon turned to a beautiful dark-eyed brunette by the name of Anne Boleyn. Now according to the Catholic Church, there can be no divorce, but if it can be proved that there

was something wrong about the manner in which the first marriage was entered into, then it is possible for the Church to declare the marriage null and void. As a matter of fact, the church asserts that the marriage never existed, and while the man and woman must do penance for living in adultery all that while, they are nevertheless both free to marry whomsoever they please. Henry sought thus to have his marriage with Catherine declared null and void. He put forth some good reasons, at least they seemed good to him. He said that the marriage was made possible in the first place only by a special dispensation, and that this dispensation was based upon testimony that Catherine and Arthur never lived as man and wife. He asserted that he had proof to the contrary. He further argued that heaven itself was frowning on the marriage inasmuch as no son was born to be heir to the throne. The pope would perhaps have been glad to grant Henry's request, but the pope had just patched up matters with the powerful Charles V and it so happened that Charles V was the nephew of Catherine of Aragon, and Charles was in no mood to allow his aunt thus to be humiliated.

Henry then ignored the authority of the pope, and had the high ecclesiastical court of England declare his marriage to Catherine null and void. This was in 1533, and the next year parliament passed a series of laws forbidding all payments to Rome and all oaths to the pope, and allowing the king to nominate all bishops. A little later the Act of Supremacy passed making the king the highest authority in the English church. Thus the break with Rome was complete.

3. The Church under Henry VIII

The Church of England had separated from Rome, but it was by no means Protestant in our sense of the term; it was really a Catholic Church minus the pope. The Six Articles of Faith were adopted in 1539 in which the Catholic doctrine of Holy Communion was upheld, and priests were still to remain unmarried. Private masses and confessions to a priest were still obligatory.

4. Protestantism under Edward VI

Henry had married Anne Boleyn. She had borne him a daughter Elizabeth, but soon Henry declared her guilty of adultery and she was beheaded. Henry then married Jane Seymour who bore him a son Edward. Twelve days later she died. This son became Edward VI of England after Henry's death in 1547. Under Edward, the English church became very definitely Protestant, first largely under Lutheran influence and later under Reformed influence. In 1549, the first Book of Common Prayer was published which showed very strong Lutheran influence, but this was revised in 1552 and made more "Reformed." The next year, the Forty-Two Articles of Religion were adopted which were very definitely Protestant in the Reformed sense.

5. "Bloody Mary"

Edward died, there was no male heir to the throne, and Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragon became queen. She was decidedly Catholic and was married to a very devout Catholic, Philip II king of Spain. Mary tried to bring all England back to the Catholic fold, and in doing so many Protestants were persecuted and even put to death. Thus Mary received the title of "Bloody Mary."

6. Settlement under Elizabeth

Mary was queen from 1553 to 1558, and at her death, Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn became queen. Under Elizabeth the Church of England again became Protestant, though the Protestantism was of a milder type. In 1559, a second act of supremacy abolished all relationship to the pope, and the Book of Common Prayer of 1553 was again revised. All worship was to be conducted according to it. The Prayer Book of 1559 is substantially the Prayer Book which is still in use in the Church of England and in the Protestant Episcopal Church today. In 1563, the Forty-Two Articles of Religion were revised, and they now became the famous Thirty-Nine Articles which are still the official statements of faith of the Church of England of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America.

7. Characteristics of the Anglican Church

The Church of England did not like the Reformed Churches abolishing everything that had been a part of the medieval heritage. Like the Lutheran Church, it has retained altars, crosses, crucifixes, vestments, liturgical services, the Church Year, and many other practices which the more radical Protestants regard as marks of Catholicism. Therefore it is often asserted that the Church of England, or the Protestant Episcopal Church, is “just like the Catholic.” However, in spite of these assertions, we must remember that in the Thirty-Nine Articles the Romish doctrine concerning purgatory, adoration of images and relics, invocation of the saints is termed “a fond thing, vainly invented, and grounded on no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.” The sacrifice of the mass by which it is asserted that Christ is offered anew for the sins of the living and the dead is termed in the Thirty-Nine Articles “a blasphemous fable and a dangerous deceit.” This is not Catholic! The Church of England does, however, insist on its bishops and requires that only those can conduct the services of the church who have been ordained in an unbroken line from the Apostles. This they call the doctrine of “apostolic succession.” On the Lord’s Supper, the Church of England is Calvinistic. The first sentence of the distribution of the elements as contained in the Book of Common Prayer was the only one given in the edition of 1549, and might well be understood in a Lutheran sense. It reads: “The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life.” The second sentence, which was added in 1552 and retained in the 1559 revision, definitely states the Calvinistic idea that the soul feeds on Christ by faith, and that it is not in with and under the bread and wine that both believer and unbeliever receive the body and blood of Christ. The second sentence reads, “Take and eat this is in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving.”

FOR DISCUSSION

1. What paved the way in England for the Reformation?

2. What was the relationship of Henry's wives to the course of the Church of England?

3. What was the nature of the English Church under Henry, under Edward, under Mary and under Elizabeth?

4. Is it true that the Church of England is "almost like the Catholic Church"?

5. Is there a marked similarity between the Church of England and the Lutheran Church? Are there any marked differences?

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Read *Luther, Biography of A Reformer*, Chapter 12, February 18, 1546, pp. 197-208.

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CHAPTER IX

THE CATHOLIC COUNTER-REFORMATION

1. Catholics Conscious of Abuses

Whenever the abuses and immoralities of the sixteenth century are expounded, and questions are solicited after the exposition, someone will invariably ask, "Does the Catholic Church today know that conditions were so corrupt, and if so, what do they say about it?" The fact is that the Catholic Church today knows that these abuses and immoralities are matters of history and not inventions of Protestants, and there were many devout Catholics who realized it to such an extent that shortly after the Protestant movement began, the Catholics started a reformation of their own, a movement known historically as the Catholic Counter Reformation. The result of this reformation was that the abuses were for the most part abolished. Whatever you may think of the teachings of the popes after the Reformation, at least we can say they were not guilty of such immoralities as those of Innocent VIII or Alexander VI or Leo X.

2. Difference between Catholic and Protestant Reformations

There was however a vast difference between the Catholic Counter-Reformation and the Protestant Reformation. The Catholic Reformation sought to reform only the abuses, but it kept all the traditional doctrines of the Roman Church, while the Protestant Reformation sought not only to reform abuses, but also to reform those erroneous doctrines out of which these abuses developed. For instance, Protestants held that most of the frauds practiced in connection with the forgiveness of sin and eternal salvation were based on false doctrines concerning forgiveness, purgatory, and the like, and that many of the immoralities of the priests grow out of the unscriptural practice of forbidding the priests to marry. Thus while Protestants sought to reform both abuses and doctrines, Catholics sought to reform only abuses while they kept the false doctrines.

3. Revolution or Reformation

There is a tendency in our day among historians to speak of the "Protestant Revolution" and the "Reformation." They base the distinction of terms on the assertion that while Luther actually revolted and formed a new church, the Catholic party reformed and stayed within the established church. This is an error. Luther did not form a new church, but merely purged the church of its accumulation of errors contrary to the Scriptures and restored it to the original purity of apostolic times. The Lutheran Church did not "spring from the Catholic Church." The Catholic Church departed from the doctrines of the apostles and Luther merely brought the Church back on the apostolic course laid out for it. If the Lutheran Church can lay claim to teaching and practicing those doctrines of the apostles, the Lutheran Church can lay claim to being the continuation of that Church founded on Pentecost.

4. Founding of the Jesuit Order

We now go back to the Catholic Reformation proper. There were two great factors in this Catholic Reformation, the Jesuit Order and the Council of Trent. We take up first the Jesuit Order. There was a certain Spanish nobleman by the name of Ignatius Loyola, who was born in 1491, and who for a number of years had the career of a soldier in the Spanish army. After he was severely wounded in a battle in northern Spain, he decided to abandon his army career and to become a soldier of the cross like the saints of the middle ages. For a while he lived the life of a hermit, but finally decided that he needed an education and so at the age of 37, he enrolled at the University of Paris and began the study of Latin. Here he became the leader of a little group of six men (of which Francis Xavier was one) who determined to devote themselves to the task of going to Jerusalem as soon as their studies were completed and convert the Muslims to Christianity, and if this were impossible, to put themselves at the disposal of the pope and to go wherever he might send them. The road to Jerusalem was blocked, and so they went to Rome and received the papal blessing. They organized the Society of Jesus (note the S.J. after the names of many priests today) along military lines with Ignatius Loyola as the first “general” of the order. In addition to the threefold vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience, they added a “fourth vow” of strict obedience to the pope. The Jesuits in military fashion pledge unqualified obedience to their superiors, and what their superiors tell them to do, they do without asking any questions.

5. Purposes of the Jesuit Order

The Jesuits had a fourfold program: first, to educate the young in the Catholic religion so thoroughly that they will never depart from it; secondly: to win the doubtful for the Catholic church by serving as their “confessors”; thirdly; to do missionary work among the heathen and heretics (Lutherans and other Protestants) and win them for the Catholic faith; and fourthly, to acquire political influence in the affairs of kingdoms by serving in the courts of nobles and princes. The Jesuits were a powerful factor in keeping the Protestant Reformation from spreading, but they accomplished very little so far as stamping it out of those places where it was already established.

6. Jesuit Principles

From the Jesuits, the Catholic Church derived the principle that “an action is justifiable when there is a probability of its goodness” which stated in popular terms is “The end justifies the means.” There is also a Jesuit principle of “mental reservation,” which allows persons taking an oath to make a silent mental reservation, and be bound only by the intention. For instance, if a Jesuit life is in danger, he may take an oath to support the Protestant cause, and then in his mind make the reservation “provided the Protestants return, to the pope” and he would be bound only by his intention and not by what he actually spoke.

7. Mission Work of the Jesuits

The missionary efforts of the Jesuits were most successful. Francis Xavier went to India, and extended his work also to Japan and China. Hundreds of Jesuit colleges and seminaries were established and in them all Catholic doctrine was boldly defended.

8. Protestants and a General Council

When the Protestant movement first began there was much talk of a general council of the Church, and the Lutherans had continually expressed their willingness to submit their cause to such a general council. At the Colloquy at Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1541 it was evident, however, that no agreement between the Lutherans and the Catholics was possible, but the desire for a reforming council among Catholics still prevailed. The popes had hesitated to call a council for several reasons, one being that a reforming council might seek also to reform them, and another being that to call a council might be construed as evidence that the popes regarded a decision of a council above their own decrees.

9. The Council of Trent

However, the reforming pope, Paul III was finally prevailed upon to call a council at Trent in 1545. There were three separate sessions of this council, the first 1545-1547 under Paul III, the second 1551-1552 under Julius III, and the third 1562-1563 under Pius IV. At this council, abuses were condemned and steps taken to correct them, Catholic doctrine was defined, and “heretical doctrines” rejected. The official declarations of this council are known as “The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent.”

In Galatians 1:8, the apostle Paul says, “But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.” That word “accursed” is in Greek “anathema” and in the Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent all sorts of “anathemas” are hurled at distinctive Protestant teachings. For instance Canon IX on justification states: “If anyone saith, that by faith alone the impious are justified; in such wise as to mean that nothing else is required to cooperate in order to obtain the grace of justification, and that it is not in any way necessary that he be prepared and disposed by the movement of his own will; let him be anathema.” Again Canon XII reads: “If anyone 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.” This is just another way of stating that whoever believes in the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone is held to be accursed, and yet justification by faith alone is the central doctrine of Holy Scriptures.

10. Significance of the Council of Trent

These Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent were really the first official pronouncements of the distinctive doctrines of the Roman Church. Up until this time, while the Roman Church taught and practiced all these doctrines, her only official statements of faith were the three universal creeds, the Apostles’ Creed, the Nicene Creed and the Athanasian Creed, and these three, we Lutherans also accept. The official declaration of distinctive Catholic doctrines was therefore made between 1545 and 1563, while the official statement of the distinctive

Lutheran doctrines was made at Augsburg in 1530. Even judged by official confessions, the Lutheran Church is older than the present day Catholic Church.

FOR DISCUSSION:

1. What was the chief difference between the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic Reformation?
2. Why is Luther's movement sometimes called a "revolution"? Is this justified?
3. What was the fourfold purpose of the Jesuit Order? In what way is the Jesuit Order active yet today?
4. Name two famous principles of the Jesuit Order and show their significance in the Catholic Church today.
5. What was accomplished at the Council of Trent, and what was its significance in church history?
6. What wholesome effect did Protestantism have on the Catholic Church?

SUGGESTED READINGS:

Read *Luther, Biography of a Reformer*, Chapter 9, "In Death He Lives," pp. 209-213.

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CHAPTER X

RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES AND WARS

1. The Peace of Augsburg

Under the providence of God, Luther was allowed to close his eyes in death without having to witness a religious war as a result of his teaching, but hardly was he dead, when such a war broke out in Germany. In 1547 the wars began and lasted intermittently until the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The Peace of Augsburg, however, did not settle matters, because it did not take into account the Reformed group in Germany. It stated that henceforth two religions would be legal within the empire, Catholicism and Lutheranism, and that whatever should be the religion of the prince should determine the religion of the state. For instance as long as the Duke of Saxony was a Lutheran, Lutheranism should be the legal religion in Saxony, and as long as the Duke of Bavaria remained Catholic, Catholicism should remain the legal religion of Bavaria. The territories ruled over by archbishops instead of secular princes were to remain Catholic even though the archbishop turned Lutheran, for if he became a Lutheran he automatically lost his position. If persons did not like the religion of their prince, they were free to move into a state where the prince's religion coincided with their own. The Reformed faith had no legal existence. The whole thing was contrary to the Lutheran teaching of the freedom of conscience and the responsibility of the individual to his God. People's consciences would be bound under this arrangement not by the Word of God, but by the decision of their prince.

2. Controversies and Adiaphora

There were controversies not only of a military and political nature but also of a doctrinal nature. The Lutheran Church became divided on various matters of doctrine. There was the controversy over "adiaphora." An adiaphoron is a practice not decided by Scripture, and therefore not an essential matter of faith or practice. Melancthon had taken the view that since many Catholic ceremonies were adiaphora, they could be reintroduced in order to please the Catholics, and he not only reintroduced them, but made them obligatory. Flacius attacked Melancthon and asserted that under certain circumstances, even adiaphora may become matters of faith, and to change them by force just to please those who regard them as essential is a denial of Lutheranism. To use a modern example: The mode of Baptism is an adiaphoron; a baptism is legitimate whether it be by sprinkling, pouring, or immersion, but for the Lutheran Church to insist that her people be immersed just to please the Baptists who insist that immersion is the only legitimate mode, is to deny the Lutheran doctrine of the mode of Baptism and to encourage the Baptists in their erroneous position.

Good Works

There arose a controversy over the position of good works. A certain theologian by the name of Major asserted that good works were necessary to salvation, and was immediately attacked by Flacius who said that the Lutheran position must ever be that good works, do not in any degree enter into the doctrine of salvation; we are saved by grace not works. Melancthon straightened out the matter by saying that good works were necessary as evidences of faith, but

that they did not in any way merit salvation, but others even asserted that good works were detrimental to salvation. A theologian by the name of Agricola stated that the law had no part in conversion, but that man was converted entirely by the Gospel.

Original Sin

Another theologian, Pfeffinger claimed that man cooperated with the Holy Spirit in his conversion; he even expressly denied the doctrine of the complete depravity of mankind. In refuting this error of Pfeffinger, Flacius went too far in the other direction and asserted that sin had become a part of the essence of man. If this were true, Adam, before his fall and Jesus Christ would not have been true men. Osiander claimed that in justification God does not simply impute the righteousness of Christ unto us, but that he infuses righteousness into us, and by this infused righteousness we are justified.

The Lord's Supper

Still others in the Lutheran Church were teaching the Calvin doctrine of the Lord's Supper under the guise of Lutheranism. They denied the doctrine of the "real presence" and instead pushed the Reformed idea of mere spiritual reception.

3. Andreus Leads the Way—The Formula of Concord

The cause of Lutheranism seemed hopeless, but there were those who did not despair. Two men stand out as leaders in an effort to bring peace and concord to the Lutheran fold. They are Jacob Andreus and Martin Chemnitz. By means of conferences, theses, and sermons Andreus finally succeeded in reaching an agreement in 1580 in a document known as the Formula of Concord which has become one of the official confessions of faith of the Lutheran Church.

4. Doctrines of the Formula of Concord

So far as the adiaphora were concerned, the view of Flacius was upheld, that at times even adiaphora become matters of confession and cannot be conceded. So far as good works are concerned, the Formula of Concord agrees with Melancthon that good works do not merit salvation but are necessary only as the true fruits of faith. With respect to the law and the gospel, the Formula asserts that when the term gospel is used simply in the sense of the Word of God, then the gospel alone converts, but that when the term gospel is used to denote only that part of Scripture which tells us what God has done for us, and the law as that part which tells us what God wants us to do and not to do, both are necessary to conversion: the law to work contrition or sorrow for sin, and the gospel to kindle faith. As regards conversion, it is stated by the Formula of Concord that man does not cooperate with God in conversion but conversion is entirely God's work in man. The doctrine of the total depravity of men is upheld; sin is, however, not to be considered a part of the essence of men but rather a corruption inherited from Adam. Justification is declared to be a legal term and signifies God's imputing of Christ's righteousness unto us and not infusing righteousness in us. There is a righteousness which begins in us at the time of justification and continues to grow but that is sanctification not

justification. Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper is rejected and the Calvinists were unmasked and left the Lutheran Church.

5. The Lutheran Church Is a Doctrinal Church

These controversies should not make us ashamed of our Lutheran church, but should lead us to thank God that our Lutheran fathers were deeply concerned about matters of doctrine. A church which ceases to be interested in doctrine soon loses its power. Moreover, the fact that these doctrinal controversies were settled should give encouragement toward the ironing out of differences which still separate the Lutheran Church today. It is possible that some who bear the Lutheran name but are not true Lutherans at heart may have to be unmasked as were the Calvinists, but where there is an earnest desire to unite on the basis of the Word of God, the cause is not hopeless. Surely, God who causes all that to work together for good to those that love Him has led the Lutheran church by means of these controversies to a deeper and richer understanding of His Word.

6. Beginning of Thirty Years War

As previously stated there were political matters which were not really settled at the Peace of Augsburg in 1555. It took another bloody war to settle the issue. This war broke out in Reformed Bohemia in 1618 and lasted for thirty years. Bohemia under the rather weak Hapsburg emperors who followed Charles V had enjoyed a certain degree of religious liberty. When in 1617 the childless Matthias designated as his successor his cousin Ferdinand who was the leader of the fanatical Catholic party, the Bohemians were indignant, and early in 1618 when several envoys of the emperor arrived at Prague, the Bohemians proceeded to throw them out of the palace window "in good old Bohemian fashion." This marked the beginning of the Thirty Years War.

The Bohemians invited Frederick, the elector of the Palatinate to be their king. He accepted the offer and led the opposition against the Catholic emperor, but was defeated in Bohemia. The war was carried to the Palatinate where he was likewise defeated. Thus the two strongholds of Reformed Protestantism Bohemia and the Palatinate, came into Catholic hands.

7. Lutherans Threatened—Gustavus Adolphus Saves the Day

The emperor became bolder through victories and decided that perhaps he could now exterminate not only the Reformed faith, which really had no legal status, but also the Lutheran faith. Thus the war was carried to the Lutheran states of Germany. The Lutheran king of Denmark at first espoused the cause of his Lutheran brethren, but he was no match for the forces of the emperor and the cause of Protestantism in Germany. All western Europe looked dark indeed, when Gustavus Adolphus, the king of Sweden, espoused the cause of his Lutheran brethren and turned the tide of the battle. He defeated the Catholic general Tilley at Leipzig in 1631, and in 1632 faced the Catholic general Wallenstein at Luetzen. With a prayer and the singing of Luther's Battle Hymn together with Gustavus' own hymn, "O little flock be not afraid," the Lutherans set out against the enemy. At first the result of the battle was more or less uncertain, when suddenly the cry went up, "Wallenstein has fled." The cause of Protestantism

was saved in western Europe, but after the battle when the bodies of the dead were dragged off the field, it was found that among them was the body of Gustavus Adolphus.

8. Later Years of the War

The war continued and strangely enough what started out as a war of the Catholic emperor against the reformed Protestants ended up by being a war between the Catholic emperor of Austria against the Catholic king of France, since it was Catholic France which finally defeated the forces of the emperor. In the Peace of Westphalia which followed, the Reformed faith was recognized together with Lutheranism and Catholicism as legal in the empire. The religious situation in Germany was settled for a season. At least there were no more bloody wars of religion.

9. Religious Lineup in Europe

The religious complexion of Europe had been more or less fixed. The Latin countries, France, Belgium, Spain, Portugal and of course Italy remained Catholic. Austria and about one third of Germany remained Catholic as did Ireland. Most of the remaining two thirds of Germany became Lutheran, though the Reformed were in the majority in the Palatinate. Norway, Denmark, and Sweden became Lutheran. Bohemia, Palatinate, Holland, Protestant Switzerland, Scotland, and Wales became Reformed, while England developed its own brand of Protestantism known as the Church of England.

FOR DISCUSSION:

1. Was the Peace of Augsburg of 1555 unsatisfactory?
2. Name some controversies which raged in the Lutheran Church of the sixteenth century and explain how they were finally decided.
3. What bearing do the controversies of the sixteenth century have on the problems of the Lutheran Church today?

4. The Formula of Concord was the last official statement of Lutheran faith to be adopted. Can you name the other ones? All these together constitute the Book of Concord.

5. What was the cause of the Thirty Years' War?

6. Why is the name of Gustavus Adolphus revered in Lutheran circles?

7. Why was the Peace of Westphalia significant in Protestant history?

8. How does the religious complexion of Europe in 1648 differ from that today?

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APPENDIX A CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE OF LUTHER'S LIFE

1483	November 10	Born in Eisleben.
1484		Family moved to Mansfeld; Hans Luder found work in copper mines.
1492		Latin school in Mansfeld.
1497		Latin school in Magdeburg.
1498		School of St. George in Eisenach.
1501		Entered the University of Erfurt.
1502	September	Bachelor of Arts degree.
1505	January	Master of Arts degree.
	May	Began law studies.
	July	Thunderstorm, vow, and entrance into Augustinian cloister in Erfurt.
1507	May	Ordination and first mass.
1508	winter	Lectured one term at Wittenberg on moral philosophy.
1510	November	Sent to Rome on business for the Observant Augustinians.
1511	April	Return from Rome, exile to Wittenberg.
1512	October	Promoted to Doctor of Theology at the University of Wittenberg.
1517	October 31	Posted <i>The 95 theses</i> .
1518	August	Diet of Augsburg with Cardinal Cajetan as papal emissary.
1521	April 16-18	Luther's appearance and two hearings at the Diet of Worms.

	early May	Arrival at the Wartburg.
	December	Began translation of the New Testament.
1522	March 6	Return to Wittenberg.
1525	March	The 12 Articles of the Swabian Peasants.
	May 5	Death of Elector Frederick the Wise; <i>Against the Murderous and Thieving Hordes of Peasants</i> .
	June 13	Marriage to Katharina von Bora.
1529	January	Decision to write <i>The Small Catechism</i> and <i>The Large Catechism</i> .
	October 1-4	The Marburg Colloquy with opponents in the Sacramentarian Controversy.
1530	April-August	At the Coburg during proceedings of the Diet of Augsburg.
	summer	Diet of Augsburg.
	June 25	Submission of Melancthon's <i>Augsburg Confession</i> at the Diet of Augsburg.
1531		Students began to copy down Luther's remarks during meals.
1534		Publication of the complete German Bible.
1537	February	Meeting at Schmalkalden; the Schmalkald Articles; Luther nearly died.
1545	December 13	Opening of the Council of Trent.
1546	February 18	Luther's death.
1547	April	Victory of Charles V over the Schmalkald League at the Battle of Muhlberg.

APPENDIX B

The 95 Theses

The Reformation's Most-Famous Document *What did Luther actually say?*

Martin Luther's *95 Theses* are often considered a charter, a bold declaration of independence.

But when he wrote them in Latin, Luther was simply inviting fellow academics to a "Disputation on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences," the theses' official title. (The debate never was held, because the theses were translated into German and distributed widely, creating an uproar.)

What were indulgences? In the sacrament of penance, Christians confessed sins and found absolution for them. The process of penance involved *satisfaction*—paying the temporal penalty for those sins. Under certain circumstances, someone who was truly contrite and had confessed his sins could receive partial (or, rarely, complete) remission of temporal punishment by purchasing a letter of indulgence.

In the *95 Theses*, Luther did not attack the idea of indulgences, for in Thesis 73 he wrote, "... the pope justly thunders against those who by any means whatsoever contrive harm to the sale of indulgences."

But Luther strongly objected to the abuse of indulgences—most recently under the salesmanship of Johann Tetzel. And in the process, Luther, though probably not fully aware of it, knocked down the pillars supporting many practices in medieval Christianity.

Key Statements

Here are thirteen samples of Luther's theses:

1. When our Lord and Master, Jesus Christ, says "Repent ye," etc., he means that the entire life of the faithful should be a repentance.
2. This statement cannot be understood of the sacrament of penance, i.e., of confession and satisfaction, which is administered by the priesthood.
27. They preach human folly who pretend that as soon as money in the coffer rings a soul from purgatory springs.
32. Those who suppose that on account of their letters of indulgence they are sure of salvation will be eternally damned along with their teachers.
36. Every Christian who truly repents has plenary [full] forgiveness both of punishment and guilt bestowed on him, even without letters of indulgence.
37. Every true Christian, whether living or dead, has a share in all the benefits of Christ and the Church, for God has granted him these, even without letters of indulgence.

45. Christians should be taught that whoever sees a person in need and, instead of helping him, uses his money for an indulgence, obtains not an indulgence of the pope but the displeasure of God.

51. Christians should be taught that the pope ought and would give his own substance to the poor, from whom certain preachers of indulgences extract money, even if he had to sell St. Peter's Cathedral to do it.

81. This shameless preaching of pardons makes it hard even for learned men to defend the pope's honor against calumny or to answer the indubitably shrewd questions of the laity.

82. For example: "Why does not the pope empty purgatory for the sake of holy love ... for after all, he does release countless souls for the sake of sordid money contributed for the building of a cathedral? ..."

90. To suppress these very telling arguments of the laity by force instead of answering them with adequate reasons would be to expose the church and the pope to the ridicule of their enemies and to render Christians unhappy.

94. We should admonish Christians to follow Christ, their Head, through punishment, death, and hell.

95. And so let them set their trust on entering heaven through many tribulations rather than some false security and peace.

Within two months, Johann Tetzel fired back with his own theses, including:
"Christians should be taught that the Pope, by authority of his jurisdiction, is superior to the entire Catholic Church and its councils, and that they should humbly obey his statutes."

APPENDIX C

Colorful Sayings of Colorful Luther

A sample of the reformer's wit and wisdom.

on Humility:

God creates out of nothing. Therefore, until a man is nothing, God can make nothing out of him.

If you perhaps look for praise and would sulk or quit what you are doing if you did not get it—if you are of that stripe, dear friend—then take yourself by the ears, and if you do this in the right way, you will find a beautiful pair of big, long, shaggy donkey ears.

Affliction is the best book in my library.

on the Bible:

The Bible is alive, it speaks to me; it has feet, it runs after me; it has hands, it lays hold of me.

I'd like all my books to be destroyed so that only the sacred writings in the Bible would be diligently read.

on Faith:

Faith is the “yes” of the heart, a conviction on which one stakes one's life.

The truth is mightier than eloquence, the Spirit greater than genius, faith more than education.

Our faith is an astounding thing—astounding that I should believe him to be the Son of God who is suspended on the cross, whom I have never seen, with whom I have never become acquainted.

on Human Nature:

Nothing is easier than sinning.

Human nature is like a drunk peasant. Lift him into the saddle on one side, over he topples on the other side.

God uses lust to impel man to marriage, ambition to office, avarice to earning, and fear to faith.

Temptations, of course, cannot be avoided, but because we cannot prevent the birds from flying over our heads, there is no need that we should let them nest in our hair.

A lie is like a snowball. The longer it is rolled on the ground the larger it becomes.

on Preaching:

When I preach I regard neither doctors nor magistrates, of whom I have above forty in my congregation; I have all my eyes on the servant maids and on the children. And if the learned men are not well pleased with what they hear, well, the door is open.

It is not necessary for a preacher to express all his thoughts in one sermon. A preacher should have three principles: first, to make a good beginning, and not spend time with many words before coming to the point; secondly, to say that which belongs to the subject in chief, and avoid strange and foreign thoughts; thirdly, to stop at the proper time.

on Church Practices:

A simple layman armed with Scripture is to be believed above a pope or a cardinal without it.

What lies there are about relics! One claims to have a feather from the wing of the angel Gabriel, and the Bishop of Mainz has a flame from Moses' burning bush. And how does it happen that eighteen apostles are buried in Germany when Christ had only twelve?

Farewell to those who want an entirely pure and purified church. This is plainly wanting no church at all.

on Music:

The devil should not be allowed to keep all the best tunes for himself.

I have no use for cranks who despise music, because it is a gift of God. Next after theology, I give to music the highest place and the greatest honor.

on Christian Freedom:

Sometimes we must drink more, sport, recreate ourselves, aye, and even sin a little to spite the devil, so that we leave him no place for troubling our consciences with trifles. We are conquered if we try too conscientiously not to sin at all.

If our Lord is permitted to create nice large pike and good Rhine wine, presumably I may be allowed to eat and drink.

Not only are we the freest of kings, we are also priests forever, which is far more excellent than being kings, for as priests we are worthy to appear before God to pray for others and to teach one another divine things.

on Prayer:

Oh, if only I could pray the way this dog watches the meat! All his thoughts are concentrated on the piece of meat. Otherwise he has no thought, wish, or hope.

No man should be alone when he opposes Satan. The church and the ministry of the Word were instituted for this purpose, that hands may be joined together and one may help another. If the prayer of one doesn't help, the prayer of another will.

I have often learned much more in one prayer than I have been able to glean from much reading and reflection.

on Himself

Next to faith, this is the highest art: to be content in the calling in which God has placed you. I have not learned it yet.

Our Lord God must be a pious man to be able to love rascals. I can't do it, and yet I am a rascal myself.

"[Others] try to make me a fixed star, but I am an irregular planet."

If I rest, I rust.

on Marriage and Family:

Think of all the squabble Adam and Eve must have had in the course of their nine hundred years. Eve would say, "You ate the apple," and Adam would retort, "You gave it to me."

The purpose of marriage is not pleasure and ease but the procreation and education of children and the support of a family ... People who do not like children are swine, dunces, and blockheads, not worthy to be called men and women, because they despise the blessing of God, the Creator and Author of marriage.

There's a lot to get used to in the first year of marriage. One wakes up in the morning and finds a pair of pigtales on the pillow that were not there before.

If I should ever marry again, I would hew myself an obedient wife out of stone.

I have been very happy in my marriage, thank God. I have a faithful wife, according to Solomon: "The heart of her husband doth safely trust in here" (Prov. 31:11). She spoils nothing for me.

When one looks back upon it, marriage isn't so bad as when one looks forward to it.

Married folk are not to act as they now usually do. The men are almost lions in their homes, hard toward their wives and servants. The women, too, everywhere want to domineer and have their husbands as servants.

Of course, the Christian should love his wife. He is supposed to love his neighbor, and since his wife is his nearest neighbor, she should be his deepest love.

The Devil cannot bear to see married people agree well with each other.

It is impossible to keep peace between man and woman in family life if they do not condone and overlook each other's faults but watch everything to the smallest point. For who does not at times offend?

Some marriages were motivated by mere lust, but mere lust is felt even by fleas and lice. Love begins when we wish to serve others.

To have peace and love in a marriage is a gift that is next to the knowledge of the gospel.

In domestic affairs I defer to Katie. Otherwise, I am led by the Holy Ghost.

APPENDIX D

Did You Know?

Little-known or remarkable facts about Martin Luther's Early Years

At birth, Martin Luther's name was Martin *Luder*. He later changed it to the more academically respectable *Luther*.

Christopher Columbus set sail when Luther was in grammar school. Michelangelo was completing his Sistine Chapel ceiling as Luther began teaching theology.

Luther had probably eight siblings, yet only one of Luther's brothers (Jacob) and only three of his sisters survived to adulthood.

As a schoolboy, Luther preferred music to any other subject, and he became proficient at playing the lute. He gave away his lute when he entered the monastic cloister at age 21.

Before he became a friar, Luther was well on his way to becoming a lawyer. He had earned both his bachelor's and master's degrees in the shortest time possible.

While walking back to law school in 1505, Luther encountered a frightening thunderstorm. During the storm he cried out in fear, "Help me, St. Anna! I will become a monk." He kept his vow.

Early on as a reformer, Luther publicly concluded that penance (the church sacrament involving confession of sin) wasn't a sacrament at all. Yet he continued to daily confess his sins to another person for most of his life.

Luther once said he had not even seen a Bible until he was 20 years old.

Luther translated Erasmus's Greek New Testament into German at the headlong rate of more than 1,500 words per *day*.

Luther publicly criticized the abuse of indulgences more than three years before he published his 95 Theses on the topic.

After 1521, Luther spent the rest of his life as an outlaw.

Luther once supervised 10 monasteries. As a district vicar, he held administrative authority for 10 Augustinian monasteries in Thuringia and Saxony.

When Luther became a priest and celebrated his first Mass, in 1507, he trembled so much he nearly dropped the bread and cup. He became so terrified of the presence of Christ in the sacrament that he tried to run from the altar.

Luther raised so much hostility that it was rumored—and taken seriously for a time by some respected intellectuals of the day—that he was the product of a bathhouse liaison between his mother and the Devil. At the Diet of Worms he was condemned as a "demon in the appearance of a man."

Luther almost died at age 19. On his way home from school, a dagger pierced his leg, cutting an artery. Only because he was with a friend, who fetched a doctor, was his life saved. Lying at the edge of the road till the doctor came, he cried to the mother of Jesus, "O, Mary, help!" His Wittenberg friends later criticized him for appealing to Mary instead of Jesus.

In 1520 and 1521, Luther was the rage in Germany. Posters of Luther (single-sheet woodcuts) sold out as soon as they went on sale, and many were pinned up in public places.

By the end of his life, Martin Luther wrote 60,000 pages, yet he hoped that "all my books would disappear and the Holy Scriptures alone be read."

APPENDIX E

Legends About Luther

Martin Luther became a legend in his own time. Soon after 1517, as the *95 Theses* made him famous, stories and pictures began to paint him larger than life.

One early woodcut portrayed Luther as a young monk holding an open Bible, while rays of light stream from a halo surrounding his head.

After the Diet of Worms in 1521, a popular pamphlet retold the story of Luther's appearance before Emperor Charles V—with characters and scenes from the Passion of Christ.

While Luther's followers were eager to make him a saint, his opponents were just as eager to discredit him. One of his earliest biographers, the Catholic critic John Cochlaeus, suggested that Luther seemed peculiar to his monastic brothers because he once suffered a fit during mass. When Luther heard the Gospel lesson (Mark 9:14–29) about the boy with the deaf and dumb spirit cast out by Jesus, he allegedly fell to the floor crying, "It is not me, not me!" This legend has continued to fuel suspicion that Luther suffered from a mental disorder; psychoanalyst Erik Erikson made it the subject of an entire chapter in his popular book *Young Man Luther* (1958).

Most misconceptions about Luther, however, arose harmlessly and only gradually. Like all myths, they contain a kernel of truth. Here are five often told experiences from Luther's life that need some clarification.

1. Thunderstorm "Conversion"

A Damascus-road experience?

After Luther finished his Master of Arts degree at the University of Erfurt, he embarked on the study of law. Then, in the summer of 1505, after a visit to his parents' home, Luther returned to Erfurt. Frightened by a thunderstorm near Stotternheim, he cried out: "Help me, St. Anna! I will become a monk."

This sudden decision made on the road in a flash of lightning reminded contemporaries of the conversion of St. Paul on the road to Damascus. The comparison remained popular well into the nineteenth century.

More than likely, Luther was indeed frightened by a storm near Stotternheim. By his own account he did vow to St. Anna, the popular patron saint of miners, that he would become a monk.

Were the storm and Luther's vow, however, akin to Paul's conversion? Not necessarily. Luther was certainly not converted in the sense that a formerly indifferent young man suddenly became serious about religion.

Furthermore, Luther regretted having made the vow. He not only adopted the monastic life but also, unlike Paul with Christianity, left it again.

Still, the experience did have marks of a conversion. When Luther entered the monastery, he went from living in the world to living in the cloister—a change that for centuries had been described as “conversion.” Like a new convert, he took his new life seriously. “If ever a monk could have reached heaven through monkery,” he asserted, “then it was I.”

2. “Tower Experience”

Instant discovery?

According to older biographies, Luther discovered the gospel all at once while reading Paul’s Epistle to the Romans in the tower of the Augustinian cloister. That notion was based on direct and indirect sources supplied by the reformer himself.

In the direct source, a flashback written the year before his death, Luther described how a new understanding of God’s righteousness finally came to him after he had meditated day and night on Romans 1:17–18.

The indirect source is Luther’s *Table Talk*, a compilation (by students and associates) of Luther’s observations at meals during his later years. In the *Table Talk*, Luther located his discovery both in the tower and in the *cl.* of the monastery.

Some scholars, especially those favoring a psychoanalytical interpretation, read *cl.* as *cloaca*, “toilet,” and reconstructed a scene that connected Luther’s discovery with both physical and emotional release.

Recent research, however, has generally abandoned the image of Luther’s theological discovery as a sudden, momentary experience. All the sources are flashbacks. It is likely that the discovery came as the culmination of a long, painstaking attempt to understand Paul’s saying that the righteousness of God was revealed in the gospel (Romans 1:17). At the end of his flashback, Luther emphasized how hard he had worked at understanding Scripture, not how quickly he had arrived at that understanding.

Luther scholars still are not united on an exact date for Luther’s discovery. But most agree that between 1515 and 1518, as he diligently studied and lectured on the Bible in Wittenberg, Luther arrived at a new, positive understanding of righteousness as a gift of God received in faith.

3. Posting 95 Theses

Did he nail them to the Castle Church door?

Countless Protestant bulletin covers for Reformation Sunday have pictured Luther as a rebellious monk nailing the 95 *Theses* to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. Luther himself never reported having engaged in such an act of protest.

The depiction of his posting the theses stems from his younger colleague, Philipp Melanchthon, who was not in Wittenberg in 1517, and who did not record the incident until after Luther’s death. Nevertheless, the story became a standard part of Luther lore and Luther biographies until recently.

The posting of the theses was called into question by Catholic historian Erwin Iserloh in 1961. He pointed out that the debate to which the theses were an invitation never took place in Wittenberg. Further, in order to provoke discussion of papal indulgences, Luther sent the theses to his superiors in the church and to other scholars around Germany. According to Iserloh, the theses were not nailed; they were mailed.

This challenge by a Catholic historian at first elicited protests from Protestant scholars. They rightly pointed out that in other ways Luther did attack abuses in the indulgence trade. Attempts were made to prove that Luther had indeed nailed the theses to the church door, even if they were meant only to announce a debate. Gradually, however, Iserloh's view has gained wider acceptance and softened the picture of how the Reformation began.

4. “Here I Stand!”

Did he really say that?

In April 1521, Luther appeared before Emperor Charles V to defend what he had taught and written. At the end of his speech, the story goes, he spoke the famous words, “Here I stand; I can do no other. God help me.”

The earliest printed version of Luther's address added these words, which were not recorded on the spot. It's possible they are genuine, but for almost a half century now, most scholars have believed they were probably not spoken by Luther.

A second misunderstanding arises when the words “Here I stand” are quoted as evidence of Luther's modern stand against the medieval powers of church and empire. Luther's speech was not a defiant, solitary protest, but a calm, reasoned account of why he had written the books piled on the table before him and why he could not recant their content.

Luther asserted that his conscience was captive to the Word of God and that he could not go against conscience. This was not, however, a modern plea for the supremacy of the individual conscience or for religious freedom. Though already excommunicated by Rome, Luther saw himself as a sworn teacher of Scripture who must advocate the right of all Christians to hear and live by the gospel.

5. Hurling An Inkwell at the Devil

How did the spot get on the wall?

Whatever he might say at Worms, Luther had been guaranteed safe conduct back to Wittenberg. Because, however, Charles V declared Luther an outlaw, his prince, the Elector Frederick, had Luther kidnapped and placed in hiding at the Wartburg Castle.

Later stories of Luther's ten-month stay at the Wartburg frequently told of his battle with the Devil. The Devil constantly disturbed his work—as a fly buzzing around his head, or as a large, black dog in Luther's bed, or by making a racket to keep Luther awake. The most famous story told how Luther once threw an inkwell at the Devil. Guides showed enthralled visitors to the Wartburg the spot behind the stove where the inkwell had hit the wall.

The first evidence of a story involving an inkwell dates to the end of the sixteenth century. In that version, a former Wittenberg student claimed to have heard that while Luther was at the Wartburg, the Devil, dressed as a monk, threw an inkwell at the reformer.

In 1650 the first book to refer to an inkspot on the wall appeared, and thereafter the story told how Luther threw the inkwell at the Devil. Gradually, an inkspot appeared on the walls of other buildings where Luther had lived, and the story became a widely-known legend.

Although definitely a fabrication, this legend points to an important truth about Luther. He was a deeply devout man of his age who believed strongly in the existence of the Devil. The Christian life was a constant battle against the Devil, who was behind every evil act and disaster. Christians needed to pray every day, coached Luther in his *Catechism*, that God would forgive their sins and strengthen their faith so they could survive this struggle. The reformer spoke from experience; even though he trusted that God would finally defeat the Devil, he was also subject to attacks of doubt and spiritual despair. If Luther did once launch an inkwell at his most dreaded adversary, he would not have been acting out of character.

APPENDIX F

Luther's Friends and Enemies

HIS FRIENDS

Johann von Staupitz (1469?-1524)

Luther's "most beloved father in Christ"

The dean of the theological faculty at the University of Wittenberg, Johann von Staupitz, became Luther's spiritual adviser when Luther came to study there in 1508. Staupitz, like Luther an Augustinian friar, guided his younger colleague toward Bible study and convinced him to study for the doctorate in theology. Luther addressed his esteemed mentor as his "most beloved father in Christ."

The older man's personal piety and humility deeply influenced the reformer. But Staupitz couldn't always understand the younger man's inner struggles. Luther's scrupulous conscience led him to unceasingly confess his sins to Staupitz. Exasperated, Staupitz exclaimed: "Man, God is not angry with you. You are angry with God. Don't you know that God commands you to hope?"

Summoned to Rome for a hearing in 1518, Luther longed to have his mentor nearby for moral support. So strong was the desire that he dreamed Staupitz came to him, comforted him, and promised to return. The hearing was moved to Augsburg, and Staupitz did, in fact, attend. When the cardinal in charge of the hearing concluded Luther was a heretic, Staupitz—who was vicar-general of Germany's Augustinian friars—released Luther from his vow of obedience to the order. He may have been trying to distance himself from the outspoken friar, or he may have wanted to set Luther free. Whatever the case, Luther felt abandoned. "I was excommunicated three times," he said later, "first by Staupitz, second by the pope, and third by the emperor." In his last letter to Luther, however, Staupitz said that his love for Luther had never been broken, though he didn't understand the direction Luther had taken.

In later years Luther praised Staupitz for having led him into a knowledge of God's grace. "If it had not been for Dr. Staupitz," he said, "I should have sunk in hell."

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560)

"The teacher of Germany"

When Philipp Melanchthon (his real name was Schwarzerd) delivered his inaugural lecture in 1518 as the new professor of Greek at Wittenberg, his fellow faculty member Luther listened expectantly. The young scholar stammered, but when he called for theologians to go "back to the sources, back to the Holy Scriptures," Luther rejoiced. He had found a brilliant new ally. Melanchthon soon came under Luther's influence, taking up the study of theology, and he accompanied the reformer to the Leipzig Debate in 1519. Before long Melanchthon was publishing his own views, strengthening the reformed position with his careful, precise reasoning. He differed with Luther on some issues. But on the whole, he took the teachings of "the charioteer of Israel," as he liked to call the reformer, and cast them into a more rational and systematic form.

In 1521 the first edition of Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* appeared, the first ordered presentation of Reformation doctrine and a standard textbook of Lutheran theology for over a century to come. Melanchthon was also the leading figure at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530, offering there the Augsburg Confession, a Lutheran statement of faith that was largely his work. Melanchthon was a peacemaker. With Luther he participated in the Marburg Colloquy, called in 1529 to settle religious differences between Lutherans and Zwinglians (though unsuccessful in that goal). In addition, Melanchthon's extensive efforts to develop the German educational system earned him the title "the teacher of Germany."

Luther openly admitted that without Melanchthon's methodological skills, his own, largely unsystematic work would have been lost. The depth of Luther's love for his younger colleague was clear on the day a church interrogator at Worms warned him that if he went down, Melanchthon would be pulled down with him. Luther stood firm, but his eyes filled with tears.

Lucas Cranach (1472–1553)

Illustrator of the Reformation

Much of what we know about the physical appearance of Luther, his family, and his friends comes from the portraiture of Lucas Cranach "the Elder," a German master of woodcuts as well as painting. In the early days of the Reformation he joined the Lutheran cause and became Luther's friend.

Works of Cranach include at least five portraits of Luther; pictures of Luther's parents, wife, and daughter Magdalena; portraits of Elector Frederick and his chaplain Georg Spalatin; and views of the town and Castle Church of Wittenberg. He also illustrated the first edition of Luther's German translation of the New Testament.

Cranach's illustrations of the Book of Revelation were so impressive that one of Luther's opponents borrowed them for his own translations of the New Testament. The ironic result: a Catholic version of the Scriptures with illustrations of Rome as the "Babylon" of the Apocalypse!

Cranach was a banker as well as an artist. Though he loved Luther, he knew how the man's generosity could get him in financial trouble. So he once refused to honor the reformer's draft. Luther's response: "At least you can't accuse me of stinginess."

Frederick III "The Wise" (1463–1525)

Pious medieval prince

Frederick III, Elector of Saxony, was both an avid collector of relics and a supporter of modern scholarship.

He was educated at an Augustinian monastery and made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He collected religious relics—19,013 of them, in fact, by the year 1520—with the wish that Wittenberg, as a depository of sacred items, would become the Rome of Germany. He had such rarities (it was claimed) as four hairs from the Virgin Mary, a strand of Jesus' beard, and a piece of the bread eaten at the Last Supper.

The pious Frederick also founded the University of Wittenberg. After inviting Luther (and later Melancthon) to teach there, he found himself having to protect the troublesome professor of Bible.

When in 1518 Luther was summoned to Rome for a hearing, Frederick intervened and arranged for the meeting to take place on safer German soil. He also refused to execute the 1520 bull, *Exsurge Domine*, which condemned Luther. And after the Diet of Worms placed the reformer under an imperial ban, Frederick found him a hiding place at his castle, the Wartburg.

The Saxon ruler's reputation for justice earned him the title "the Wise," but his cautious nature earned him the nickname "the hesitater" from Luther. Scholars have debated how much Frederick accepted of Luther's doctrine; his chaplain and secretary, Georg Spalatin, made him familiar with Lutheran teaching, but Frederick never openly advocated reform. Nevertheless, he refused to suppress Luther, and in 1524 he ended the veneration of relics in Saxony (though he did protest the iconoclasm of Luther's followers).

Perhaps the best clue to Frederick's final position came when he lay on his deathbed in 1525. The prince asked to receive the Lord's Supper in both bread and wine—contrary to papal doctrine but in keeping with Luther's teaching. Luther preached at his funeral, and Melancthon praised him as the prince who had done more than any other to advance the Reformation.

Georg Spalatin (1484–1545)

Go-between and confidant

When the disturbing political implications of Luther's teaching grew clear, he needed a friend in high places. That friend appeared in the person of Georg Spalatin, the chaplain and secretary of Elector Frederick of Saxony.

Spalatin began studying at Wittenberg in 1511 and was soon brought under Luther's influence. When the pope summoned Luther to Rome for a hearing in 1518, Luther asked Frederick to move the meeting to Germany, and Spalatin became the middle man in the negotiations. He also accompanied Frederick to the Diets of Augsburg and Worms to help negotiate with Luther's opponents.

Spalatin supervised the publication of many of Luther's works and became a trusted friend. In 400 letters to Spalatin, Luther shared everything from the deeply personal and intimate (e.g., how Spalatin should make love to his bride!) to the mundane—"I have planted a garden and built a wall, both with marvelous success."

HIS ENEMIES

Leo X (1475–1521)

Prodigal pope who sought income from indulgences

Extravagant son of a notorious Renaissance family, Giovanni de' Medici was made a cardinal at the age of 13 and became Pope Leo X at 38. He has been described as "a polished Renaissance

prince,” and “a devious and double-tongued politician.” Pleasure-loving and easy-going, Leo went on a wild spending spree as soon as he ascended the papal throne.

Expenses for his coronation festivities alone cost 100,000 ducats—one seventh of the reserve Pope Julius had left in the papal treasury. Leo’s plans for rebuilding St. Peter’s Basilica were estimated to cost over a million ducats. Within two years as pope, Leo had squandered the fortune left by his predecessor and was in serious financial embarrassment.

To keep up with his expenditures, his officials created more than two thousand saleable church offices during his reign. The estimated total profits from such offices have been estimated at three million ducats—but still they were not enough for Leo.

The sale of indulgences provided the pope with yet another source of income. To pay for St. Peter’s, offset the costs of a war, and enable a young noble to pay for three offices to which Leo had appointed him, the pope issued an indulgence for special sale in Germany. A Dominican, Johann Tetzel, was given the task of promotion, Luther reacted with his theses, and the rest, as they say, is history.

Leo condemned Luther’s teachings in 1520 with the bull *Exsurge Domine*, calling the reformer “a wild boar” who had invaded “the Lord’s vineyard.” When Luther refused to recant, Leo excommunicated him and called for the secular government to punish him as a heretic.

In 1521 Leo’s armies defeated the French at Milan. Characteristically, he celebrated the triumph with an all-night banquet, from which he caught a chill, developed a fever, and died. In a brief seven years he had spent an estimated five million ducats and left behind a debt of nearly another million. With the papal coffers empty and the papal residence plundered, Leo’s coffin had to be lit by half-burned candles borrowed from another funeral.

Johann Tetzel (1465?-1519)

Peddler of indulgences

In 1516 the Dominican friar Johann Tetzel came to Germany, preaching Pope Leo X’s indulgence to raise church funds. Soon the jingle was echoing: “As soon as the coin in the coffer rings, the soul from purgatory springs.”

Tetzel’s sermons were crassly flamboyant as he played on the fears of simple people. “Listen to the voices of your dear dead relatives and friends,” he told them, “beseeching you and saying, ‘Pity us, pity us. We are in dire torment from which you can redeem us for a pittance.’”

Luther regarded Tetzel as “the primary author of this tragedy,” and it was Tetzel’s commercialism that incited Luther to post his *95 Theses*. Tetzel replied with his own *106 Theses*.

For his actions Tetzel earned a sharp rebuke from the papal envoy and the scorn of the local populace. As Tetzel lay dying in 1519, however, Luther wrote him a letter of comfort: “Don’t take it too hard. You didn’t start this racket.”

Johan Maier Eck (1486–1543)

“That monster” who fiercely debated Luther

Professor of theology at the University of Ingolstadt, Johann Eck was on good terms with Luther until the controversy over indulgences broke out. Eck’s attack on Luther’s theses especially galled the reformer, not only because Eck was an old friend, but also because he was—unlike those “perfidious Italians” who opposed Luther—a fellow German.

A public debate was arranged in 1519 at the University of Leipzig, with Eck on the one side and Luther (with fellow reformer Karlstadt) on the other. The scene was tense: Leipzig’s town council provided Eck with a bodyguard of seventy-six men, while Luther and Karlstadt arrived in town with two hundred students armed with battle-axes. Charges and countercharges flew in sharp repartee for eighteen days.

The debate turned the focus of the controversy from indulgences to spiritual authority. Did the church have the right to issue indulgences? At last, the patron of Leipzig who hosted the debate, Duke George the Bearded, called it to a halt.

The next year Eck helped procure Luther’s condemnation in the papal bull *Exsurge Domine*. In Luther’s public response, *Against the Execrable Bull of Antichrist*, he suspected as much, claiming that the papal document was “the progeny of that man of lies, dissimulation, errors, heresy, that monster Johann Eck. ... Indeed, the style and the spittle all point to Eck.”

The pope appointed Eck as his nuncio and special inquisitor to publish the document in the German areas of Franconia and Bavaria. But Eck met with considerable opposition. In Leipzig he had to hide for his life in a cloister; in Wittenberg, his own works were burned by university students, along with canon law and the papal bull. Nevertheless, for the rest of his life, Eck organized Catholic opposition to the Lutheran Reformation.

Karlstadt (1480?-1541)

The reforming “Judas” more radical than Luther

Andreas Bodenstein, named Karlstadt after his birthplace, was a leading light on the faculty of the University of Wittenber. In fact, he conferred on Luther his doctor’s hood.

In 1518 Karlstadt published his own theses setting forth reformation principles. At Leipzig the next year, he joined Luther in the debate against Eck.

Karlstadt emerged as a radical in the Reformation. In 1521 he held the first Protestant communion service—without vestments for the clergy, and with both bread and wine served to the laity. The next day he announced his engagement, a stunning move in an age of celibate ministers. He soon opposed Luther as a proponent of compromise.

In 1524 Luther issued a tract that attacked Karlstadt’s extreme ideas as the work of a new “Judas.” Karlstadt had to flee Wittenberg, and he denounced Luther as twice a papist and a cousin of Antichrist.

But the next year on Luther’s wedding night, at eleven o’clock when all the wedding guests had departed, Karlstadt showed up at his door, fleeing the Peasants’ War and asking for shelter.

Luther took him in.

Karlstadt eventually joined the Zwinglian branch of the Reformation and settled in Basel, Switzerland, where he died of the plague.

Desiderius Erasmus (1466?-1536)

Star scholar of the Renaissance

Desiderius Erasmus was a moderate man in the most immoderate of times. The most famous Renaissance scholar of his day, he called for reform but remained within the Catholic Church. For his criticism of the church he was denounced by the Catholics, and for his refusal to join the Reformation he was blasted by the Protestants.

Like Luther, Erasmus urged a return to Scripture, helping theologians to do just that with a new edition of the Greek New Testament along with a fresh Latin translation (1516). He too preached a simple evangelical devotion to Christ in *The Handbook of the Militant Christian* (1503). And his scathing critique of contemporary religion in *The Praise of Folly* (1500) and *The Eating of Fish* (1526) easily equaled Luther's attacks on Rome in their ferocity.

Erasmus stated as late as 1524 that he believed Luther had done much good and was no heretic. But that same year he sharply and publicly parted ways with the reformer when he (Erasmus) published *The Freedom of the Will*. Luther responded in 1525 with a treatise insisting on *The Bondage of the Will*.

Luther was actually grateful to Erasmus for centering the debate at this point. "You alone," he said, "have gone to the heart of the problem instead of debating the papacy, indulgences, purgatory, and similar trifles. You alone have gone to the core, and I thank you for it." But he still saw Erasmus as a faint-hearted reformer who would not go far enough. Like Moses, Luther said, Erasmus could lead the people of God only so far, and he would ultimately die in the wilderness "without entering the promised land."

But Erasmus saw the situation in quite different terms. "The wise navigator," he observed, "will steer between Scylla and Charybdis," between the mortal dangers of two extremes.

Thomas de Vio Cajetan (1469–1534)

Judge for Luther's hearing

Cajetan was an Italian bishop, cardinal, theologian, and general of the Dominican Order. He was put in charge of Luther's hearing at Augsburg in 1518, a stormy encounter that lasted three days. Cajetan had promised to proceed as a "father" rather than a "judge," but his instructions from Rome allowed for no discussion of the issues.

On the first day of the hearing, Luther prostrated himself in a gesture of humility, and the cardinal raised him up in a gesture of reconciliation. But Cajetan then informed Luther that he must recant immediately. Cajetan finally concluded the reformer was an obstinate heretic.

Referring to Luther's frequent rudeness in debate, Cajetan wrote confidentially to Rome, "What an animal!" For his part, Luther characterized Cajetan as a man no more fit to handle his case than an ass was fit to play a harp.

Girolamo Aleandro (1480–1542)

Scholar and vocal enemy

Aleandro was an Italian scholar of classical languages. He worked with Erasmus, introduced Greek studies into France, became rector of the University of Paris, and helped fan the flames of Renaissance learning that contributed so much to the Reformation. Nevertheless, he became one of Luther's most vocal enemies.

Pope Leo X sent Aleandro to present Luther with the bull *Exsurge Domine*, which condemned Luther's teachings and threatened excommunication. Aleandro also led the case against Luther at the Diet of Worms, a difficult task given Luther's popular support. As he wrote in a secret message to his superiors in Rome, "Nine-tenths of the people are shouting 'Luther!' and the other tenth are crying 'Death to the Roman Court!'"

In his Ash Wednesday sermon at the Diet, Aleandro vigorously denounced the reformer, saying Luther had "brought up John Hus from hell." Aleandro demanded a condemnation without trial and ordered Luther's books burned in several European cities. He also sent to the stake two monks preaching Luther's ideas in Antwerp—the first martyrs of the Reformation.

Charles V (1500–1558)

Defender of the Catholic faith

When Charles was elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire at the age of 19, he became the most powerful man in Europe. His domains included Burgundy, the Netherlands, Naples, and Spain and Spanish America (and he laid claim to northern Italy as well). Though his rivals and enemies were formidable—France, the papacy, and the Turks—Charles's most urgent problem was the rise of the Lutheran movement.

After Luther's excommunication by the pope, he appealed to Charles: "For three years I have sought peace in vain. I have now but one recourse. I appeal to Caesar."

Charles called Luther to appear before the Diet of Worms in 1521, an already scheduled council of the German rulers. After days of examining Luther, Charles called in the electors and other princes to read them his decision:

"A single friar who goes counter to all Christianity for a thousand years must be wrong. I have decided to mobilize everything against Luther: my kingdoms and dominions, my friends, my body, my blood, and my soul." The Edict of Worms, signed by Charles weeks later, banned Luther from the empire.

For many years other political difficulties preoccupied the emperor, allowing him to pursue only an irregular policy toward the Lutherans, which wavered between concession and repression. At the Diet of Augsburg (1555), the Protestant rulers finally forced him to accept the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*—the princes of the empire are to determine the religion of their lands.

By the following year, the burdens of the realms had grown too great, and Charles abdicated his throne to retire to a monastery, depressed and failing in health. When he died two years later, his last word was "Jesus."

APPENDIX G

Preaching from the Print Shop

Without printing, would there have been a Protestant Reformation? Would Luther have even survived?

Only a century earlier, both John Wycliffe and John Hus spawned movements of intense spiritual fervor. Wycliffe and Hus wrote prolifically also.

But, the absence of adequate printing technology limited the distribution of their works. As a result, their ideas did not spread as rapidly or as far as they might have. Wycliffe was condemned, Hus was burned at the stake, and history casts them as only harbingers of the Reformation.

Would Martin Luther have joined their ranks without access to a “modern” press? Would his revolutionary ideas have been contained? John Foxe, sixteenth-century author of the famous *Book of Martyrs*, would probably have said yes. “Although through might [the pope] stopped the mouth of John Hus,” he wrote, “God hath appointed the Press to preach, whose voice the Pope is never able to stop with all the puissance of his triple crown.”

Luther himself understood that books and pamphlets spoke long after he had left the pulpit. He referred to printing as “God’s highest and extremest act of grace, whereby the business of the Gospel is driven forward.”

Young Technology

It was only in the 1450s that Johann Gutenberg introduced technical printing advancements that made mass reproduction practical. When Luther posted his “95 Theses” some sixty years later, two dozen printing centers dotted Europe. Wholesale booksellers had developed distribution centers, and legions of traveling book hawkers crisscrossed the continent.

Ironically, Luther’s introduction to the press’s effectiveness may have been haphazard. Within two weeks of the posting of his “95 Theses,” they were printed, without his permission, and distributed throughout Germany. Within a month, they had flooded Europe. Six months later Luther explained to Pope Leo X, “It is a mystery to me how my theses...were spread to so many places. They were meant exclusively for our academic circle here...” In a letter of March 1518 he admitted he “had no wish or plan to publicize these Theses,” and that he had left it up to his friends to decide whether they would be “suppressed or spread outside.”

Flooding Germany

Even if the printing of Luther’s Reformation “manifesto” was unintentional, Luther quickly grasped print’s potential for soliciting grass-roots support. He began writing prolifically—more than four hundred works, including commentaries, sermons, and pamphlets that attacked Catholic doctrine and promoted Reformation distinctives. Between March 1517 and the summer of 1520, thirty of his pamphlets ran through a total of 370 editions. If each edition was one

thousand copies, then almost four hundred thousand of his pamphlets alone flooded Germany during the first crucial years. From 1517 through 1523, the first six years after Luther posted the “95 Theses,” publications in Germany increased by seven times. Half of these writings were by Luther.

Luther’s opponents knew the impact of his printed works. A nervous Charles V banned Luther’s works in May 1521. In a letter that September, Catholic theologian Johann Cochlaeus complained, “Nearly all printers are secret Lutherans; they do not print anything for us without pay and nothing reliable unless we stand beside them and look over their shoulders.”

Journalistic Savvy

Luther has sometimes been called the first great journalist. Why did his writings succeed?

1. He spoke in the common language. Luther, a highly-trained academic, was fluent in Latin, the academic’s language. Most writings of the era were printed in Latin and thus reserved for society’s scholarly elite. Indeed, in 1500 probably only 5–10 percent of Europeans could read at all.

But Luther’s passion to promote the priesthood of even the most common believer could be satisfied only by appealing through the common language. He insisted on writing many of his works in German, particularly his monumental translation of the Bible. Soon shoemakers, tailors, and peasants could read the Scriptures and Luther’s writings in their own tongue.

2. He used a common format. A second element in Luther’s success was his use of the pamphlet format. He expanded the existing, single-page “broadsides” to multiple pages in quarto and octavo sizes. His pamphlets also feature some of the finest woodcuts and engravings of the times, so that even the semi-literate could catch the gist of his message. And in keeping with the need to reach all strata of society, his pamphlets were inexpensive. Like the broadsides popularized decades earlier, Luther’s pamphlets were snatched up (or shared) by those of even the most humble means.

3. He was known by common people. Luther’s crowning achievement was a German New Testament. Although it was not the first German translation of the Scriptures, Luther’s fame apparently secured its success before the ink dried. Three thousand copies were printed in the fall of 1522 with a second edition following in December.

In the words of adversary Johann Cochlaeus, Luther’s work was “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...read it eagerly, as if it were a fountain of all truth. Some carried it in their bosoms and learned it by heart.”

Ultimately, Luther’s message of justification by faith filled a longing in the German people that the established church’s teachings did not satisfy. His common pamphlets in the common language ignited hope among common people. Martin Luther spoke to Europe from two pulpits—one in the church, and one in the print shop.

Profit-Hungry Printers

In just three years, from 1517 to 1520, nearly 400,000 copies of Luther's various pamphlets were published. His writings dominated the market; excluding them, Catholics may have outpublished Protestants in the German Reformation's first 25 years.

Martin Luther may not have secured the printing for most of his works. But he certainly reviewed, and sometimes bemoaned, what had been printed. His letter to friend Georg Spalatin in August 1521 reveals Luther's exasperation that his crafted *Sermon on Confession* had been hastily hacked at the press by a profit-hungry publisher:

"I cannot say how sorry and disgusted I am with the printing. I wish I had sent nothing in German, because they print it so poorly, carelessly, and confusedly, to say nothing of bad types and paper. John the printer is always the same old Johnny. Please do not let him print any of my German homilies, but return them for me to send elsewhere..."

"I shall forward no more until I learn that these sordid mercenaries care less for their profits than for the public. Such printers seem to think: 'It is enough for me to get the money; let the readers look out for the matter.'"

But in spite of sporadic poor printing, and a kingdom-wide ban on the books of this "notorious and stiff-necked heretic," Luther's works gained enormous popularity, far more than anything printed up to that time.

APPENDIX H

Excerpts from Luther's 1520 Doctrinal Treatises

Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation

Since the Roman curia would not reform the church, Luther said, the German princes had that right and responsibility. Playing on the German leaders' sense of national pride, he urged them to implement some two dozen church reforms. In the process, Luther set forth the famous doctrine that every Christian is a priest. The work's large first printing sold out in two weeks.

The time for silence is past, and the time to speak has come. ...

The Romanists have very cleverly built three walls around themselves. Hitherto they have protected themselves by these walls in such a way that no one has been able to reform them. As a result, the whole of Christendom has fallen abominably.

In the first place, when pressed by the temporal power, they have made decrees and declared that the temporal power had no jurisdiction over them, but that, on the contrary, the spiritual power is above the temporal.

In the second place, when the attempt is made to reprove them with the Scriptures, they raise the objection that only the pope may interpret the Scriptures.

In the third place, if threatened with a council, their story is that no one may summon a council but the pope. ...

Attacking the First Wall

Let us begin by attacking the first wall. It is pure invention that pope, bishop, priests, and monks are called the spiritual estate, while princes, lords, artisans, and farmers are called the temporal estate. This is indeed a piece of deceit and hypocrisy. Yet no one need be intimidated by it, and for this reason: All Christians are truly of the spiritual estate, and there is no difference among them except that of office. Paul says in 1 Corinthians 12 [vv. 12–13] that we are all one body, yet every member has its own work by which it serves the others. This is because we all have one baptism, one gospel, one faith, and are all Christians alike; for baptism, gospel, and faith alone make us spiritual and a Christian people.

The pope or bishop anoints, shaves heads, ordains, consecrates, and prescribes garb different from that of the laity, but he can never make a man into a Christian or into a spiritual man by so doing. He might well make a man into a hypocrite or a humbug and blockhead, but never a Christian or a spiritual man. As far as that goes, we are all consecrated priests through baptism, as St. Peter says in 1 Peter 2 [v. 9].

Attacking the Second Wall

The second wall is still more loosely built and less substantial. The Romanists want to be the only masters of Holy Scripture, although they never learn a thing from the Bible all their life long. ... Their claim that only the pope may interpret Scripture is an outrageous fancied fable. They cannot produce a single letter [of Scripture] to maintain that the interpretation of Scripture

or the confirmation of its interpretation belongs to the pope alone. They themselves have usurped this power. And although they allege that this power was given to St. Peter when the keys were given him, it is clear enough that the keys were not given to Peter alone but to the whole community.

Further, the keys were not ordained for doctrine or government, but only for the binding or loosing of sin. Whatever else or whatever more they arrogate to themselves on the basis of the keys is a mere fabrication. But Christ's words to Peter, "I have prayed for you that your faith fail not" [Luke 22:32], cannot be applied to the pope, since the majority of the popes have been without faith, as they must themselves confess. Besides, it is not only for Peter that Christ prayed, but also for all apostles and Christians, as he says in John 17 [vv. 9, 20], "Father, I pray for those whom thou hast given me, and not for these only, but for all who believe on me through their word." Is that not clear enough?

Attacking the Third Wall

The third wall falls of itself when the first two are down. ... The Romanists have no basis in Scripture for their claim that the pope alone has the right to call or confirm a council. This is just their own ruling, and it is only valid as long as it is not harmful to Christendom or contrary to the laws of God. Now when the pope deserves punishment, this ruling no longer obtains, for not to punish him by authority of a council is harmful to Christendom.

Thus we read in Acts 15 that it was not St. Peter who called the apostolic council but the apostles and elders. ... Even the Council of Nicaea, the most famous of all councils, was neither called nor confirmed by the bishop of Rome, but by the emperor Constantine. Many other emperors after him have done the same, and yet these councils were the most Christian of all. But if the pope alone has the right to convene councils, then these councils would all have been heretical. Further, when I examine the councils the pope did summon, I find that they did nothing of special importance.

Therefore, when necessity demands it, and the pope is an offense to Christendom, the first man who is able should, as a true member of the whole body, do what he can to bring about a truly free council. ...

God give us all a Christian mind, and grant to the Christian nobility of the German nation in particular true spiritual courage to do the best they can for the poor church. Amen.

On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church

Luther's friend Georg Spalatin asked him to write about the sacraments. Luther did, quickly reducing the traditional seven sacraments to three; he rejected confirmation, marriage, holy orders, and extreme unction. By the end of his work, Luther even made penance, though useful, less than a sacrament. That left only baptism and the Lord's Supper. Luther then challenged traditional understandings of the Lord's Supper: that lay people should not receive the cup; that the elements undergo transubstantiation into Christ's body and blood; that the Mass is a sacrifice.

The work's title refers to the captivity of the Jewish nation under the Babylonian Empire (in the sixth century B.C.). So in his day, Luther argued, Christians had been carried away from the

Scriptures and made subject to the papacy. If the papacy did not free the churches from sacramental abuses, then it "is identical with the kingdom of Babylon and the Antichrist itself."

To begin with, I must deny that there are seven sacraments, and for the present maintain that there are but three: baptism, penance, and the bread [Communion]. All three have been subjected to a miserable captivity by the Roman curia, and the church has been robbed of all her liberty.

First Captivity

Now concerning the sacrament of the bread first of all ... the first captivity of this sacrament, therefore, concerns its substance or completeness, which the tyranny of Rome has wrested from us. Not that those who use only one kind sin against Christ, for Christ did not command the use of either kind, but left it to the choice of each individual, when he said: "As often as you do this, do it in remembrance of me" [1 Cor. 11:25]. But they are the sinners, who forbid the giving of both kinds to those who wish to exercise this choice. The fault lies not with the laity, but with the priests. The sacrament does not belong to the priests, but to all men. The priests are not lords, but servants in duty bound to administer both kinds to those who desire them, as often as they desire them. .

Second Captivity

When the Evangelists plainly write that Christ took bread and blessed it, ... we have to think of real bread and real wine, just as we do of a real cup (for even they do not say that the cup was transubstantiated). Since it is not necessary, therefore, to assume a transubstantiation effected by divine power, it must be regarded as a figment of the human mind, for it rests neither on the Scriptures nor on reason.

Perhaps they will say that the danger of idolatry demands that the bread and wine should not be really present. How ridiculous! The laymen have never become familiar with their finespun philosophy of substance and accidents, and could not grasp it if it were taught to them.

Third Captivity

The third captivity of this sacrament is by far the most wicked of all, in consequence of which there is no opinion more generally held or more firmly believed in the church today than this, that the Mass is a good work and a sacrifice. And this abuse has brought an endless host of other abuses in its train, so that the faith of this sacrament has become utterly extinct and the holy sacrament has been turned into mere merchandise, a market, and a profit making business. Hence participations, brotherhoods, intercessions, merits, anniversaries, memorial days and the like wares are bought and sold, traded and bartered, in the church. On these the priests and monks depend for their entire livelihood.

I am attacking a difficult matter, an abuse perhaps impossible to uproot, since through centuries-long custom and the common consent of men it has become so firmly entrenched that it would be necessary to abolish most of the books now in vogue, and to alter almost the entire external form of the churches and introduce, or rather reintroduce, a totally different kind of ceremonies. But my Christ lives, and we must be careful to give more heed to the Word of God than to all the thoughts of men and of angels.

On the Freedom of a Christian

This treatise, the most conciliatory of the three, was, Luther admitted, “a small book if you regard its size.” However, “it contains the whole of Christian life in a brief form.” He sent it with an open letter to Pope Leo X, since, he wrote, “I am a poor man and have no other gift to offer.” It proved to be Luther’s final attempt to be reconciled to Rome.

A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none.

A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all.

These two theses seem to contradict each other. If, however, they should be found to fit together, they would serve our purpose beautifully. Both are Paul’s own statements, who says in 1 Corinthians 9 [v. 19], “For though I am free from all men, I have made myself a slave to all,” and in Romans 13 [v. 8], “Owe no one anything, except to love one another.” Love by its very nature is ready to serve and be subject to him who is loved. So Christ, although he was Lord of all, was “born of woman, born under the law” [Gal. 4:4], and therefore, was at the same time a free man and a servant, “in the form of God” and “of a servant” [Phil 2:6–7]

Let us start, however, with something more remote from our subject, but more obvious. Man has a twofold nature, a spiritual and a bodily one. ... [and] these two men in the same man contradict each other, “for the desires of the flesh are against the Spirit, and the desires of the Spirit are against the flesh,” according to Galatians 5 [v. 17].

First, let us consider the inner man to see how a righteous, free, and pious Christian, that is, a spiritual, new, and inner man, becomes what he is. It is evident that no external thing has any influence in producing Christian righteousness or freedom. ... One thing, and only one thing, is necessary for Christian life, righteousness, and freedom. That one thing is the most holy Word of God, the gospel of Christ. ...

To preach Christ means to feed the soul, make it righteous, set it free, and save it, provided it believes the preaching. ... Therefore it is clear that, as the soul needs only the Word of God for its life and righteousness, so it is justified by faith alone and not any works; for if it could be justified by anything else, it would not need the Word, and consequently it would not need faith.

...

Since, therefore, this faith can rule only in the inner man, and since faith alone justifies, it is clear that the inner man cannot be justified, freed, or saved by any outer work or action at all, and that these works, whatever their character, have nothing to do with this inner man. ... Wherefore it ought to be the first concern of every Christian to lay aside all confidence in works and increasingly to strengthen faith alone and through faith to grow in the knowledge, not of works, but of Christ Jesus.

APPENDIX I

The Gallery—A Family Album

A closer look at Luther's wife and children

by PAUL THIGPEN

Katherine Von Bora (1499–1552)

Runaway nun who became Luther's "lord"

When Martin Luther heard that the monks joining in his reformation had begun getting married, he rejected the idea for himself: “Good heavens! They won’t give me a wife!”

But time would prove otherwise. In 1523, Katherine von Bora and eleven (some say eight) other nuns wanted to escape their cloister, and they wrote to Luther, whose radical new ideas had filtered into their convent. Though liberating nuns was a capital offense, Luther devised an ingenious plan with Leonhard Koppe, who regularly delivered herring to the cloister. On Koppe’s next delivery, twelve nuns were smuggled out—inside empty herring barrels. As a man in Wittenberg put it, “A wagon load of vestal virgins has just come to town, all more eager for marriage than for life.”

Luther found husbands for most, but he struggled to find a suitable match for Katherine, a feisty redhead in her mid-20s, far beyond the usual age for marriage. He proposed one older man, but she refused him, adding that if Luther himself were willing, she would say yes.

Luther was not interested. “I am not now inclined to take a wife,” he wrote to a friend. “Not that I lack the feelings of a man (for I am neither wood nor stone), but my mind is averse to marriage because I daily expect the death decreed to the heretic.”

Bolstered by his parents’ encouragement to wed, however, Luther married in the summer of 1525, “quickly and secretly.” He knew his best friends would not have approved of his choice: “All my best friends exclaimed, ‘For heaven’s sake, not this one,’ ” he admitted.

The marriage brought even more scorn from his Catholic opponents, such as Henry VIII, who considered the union “a crime.” One pamphlet called Katherine a “poor, fallen woman” who had passed “from the cloistered holy religion into a damnable, shameful life.”

But Luther’s friend Philipp Melanchthon had “hopes that this state of life may sober him down, so that he will discard the low buffoonery that we have often censured.” Kate indeed set about bringing order to Martin’s chaotic personal affairs. He had been a bachelor for many years, and he noted, “Before I was married, the bed was not made for a whole year and became foul with sweat.”

Martin suffered at various times from gout, insomnia, catarrh, hemorrhoids, constipation, stones, dizziness, and ringing in the ears. So Kate became a master of herbal medicines, poultices, and massage. She brewed her own beer, which also served as a medicine for his insomnia and stones.

Finances were a perpetual worry, in part because Martin was always giving away what few funds and belongings they had. Katherine, whom Martin wryly dubbed “my Lord Kate,” often had to take matters into her own hands. Martin once wrote a friend, “I am sending you a vase as a wedding present. P.S. Katie’s hid it.”

The Luther home usually overflowed with, in one observer's words, "a motley crowd of boys, students, girls, widows, old women, and youngsters. For this reason there is much disturbance in the place." Kate supervised the whole with skill and patience. She also planted the fields, cared for an orchard, harvested a fish pond, looked after the barnyard, and slaughtered the livestock.

Though Martin denied having any "burning" passion for his wife, his writings reflect his twenty-year devotion to her. He once chided himself for giving "more credit to Katherine than to Christ, who has done so much for me." And he declared, "I would not give my Katie for France and Venice together."

Upon Martin's death in 1546, Katie grieved: "For who would not be sad and afflicted at the loss of such a precious man as my dear lord was? He did great things not just for a city or a single land, but for the whole world. Therefore I am truly so deeply grieved that I cannot ... eat or drink, nor can I sleep. And if I had a principality or an empire and lost it, it would not have been as painful as it is now that the dear Lord God has taken from me this precious and beloved man, and not from me alone, but from the whole world."

Luther's Children

Six "little heathen" from God

Only four months after Martin and Kate were married, he told a friend: "My Katherine is fulfilling Genesis 1:28." On June 7, 1526, the Luthers were "fruitful," and Johannes, known as Hans, was born. Martin quipped: "Kick, little fellow. That's what the pope did to me, but I got loose."

His parents knew the superstition that if a monk and nun had a child together, it would be a two-headed monster. Instead they received a healthy boy, a source of great happiness. "Hans is cutting his teeth and beginning to make a joyous nuisance of himself," Martin later wrote. "These are the joys of marriage, of which the pope is not worthy."

The next year, 1527, came a daughter, Elizabeth. Her father wrote to a prospective godmother: "Dear Lady, God has produced from me and my wife, Katie, a little heathen. We hope you will be willing to become her spiritual mother and help make her a Christian."

Next came Magdalena (1529), Martin (1531), Paul (1533), and Margaretha (1534). Such a large brood kept both mother and father busy. Luther sometimes had to wash diapers, but he declared defiantly that even if neighbors should snicker at such "unmanly" labor, "Let them laugh. God and the angels are smiling in heaven."

Hans became a lawyer and later a government official. Paul grew up to be a famous doctor. Martin studied theology but never became a pastor, dying young, at age 33. Margaretha married a nobleman.

The Luthers' hearts were broken twice, when they lost Elizabeth at only 8 months and Magdalena at 13 years.

Martin asked Magdalena as she lay upon her deathbed: "Magdalena, my little girl, you would like to stay with your father here, and you would be glad to go to your Father in heaven?"

“Yes, dear Father,” she said, “as God wills.” Then she died in his arms.

“Beloved little Magdalena,” Luther said as she was buried, “you will rise and shine like the stars and sun.”

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APPENDIX J

Changing the Tempo of Worship

For a thousand years of Christian worship, lay people had rarely sung. Then came Luther.

by PAUL J. GRIME

“Next to the Word of God, music deserves the highest praise,” Luther declared. He thus stood in sharp contrast to other reformers of his era.

Ulrich Zwingli, leader of the new church in Zurich, was a trained musician. Yet under his influence, Zurich’s magistrates banned all playing of organs, and some of Zwingli’s followers went about smashing organs in their churches. Though Zwingli later permitted some vocal music, he rejected instrumental music.

John Calvin, though he considered music a gift of God, saw it as a gift only in the worldly domain. Thus, its role in the church was severely limited. He considered instrumental music “senseless and absurd” and disallowed harmonies. Only unison singing of the Psalms was permitted.

Not so for Martin Luther. “I am not of the opinion,” he wrote, “that all arts are to be cast down and destroyed on account of the gospel, as some fanatics protest; on the other hand, I would gladly see all arts, especially music, in the service of him who has given and created them.”

Music in congregational worship remains one of Luther’s most enduring legacies. “Who doubts,” he said, “that originally all the people sang these which now only the choir sings or responds to while the bishop is consecrating?”

In fact, Luther’s hymns—especially “A Mighty Fortress Is Our God”—are the only direct contact many people have with Luther. Modern Lutheran hymnals may contain twenty or more of his hymns, and many non-Lutheran hymnals include several.

What were Luther’s beliefs about music? What role did it play in worship? And what did Luther himself contribute musically to the church?

In Praise of Music

By the sixteenth century, musical composition had developed into a high art, and Luther himself was a well-trained musician. He possessed a fine voice, played the lute, and even tried his hand at advanced composition. He was acquainted with the works of the day’s leading composers, like Josquin des Prez: “God has preached the gospel through music, as may be seen in Josquin des Prez, all of whose compositions flow freely, gently, and cheerfully, are not forced or cramped by rules, and are like the song of the finch.”

Luther observed that only humans have been given the gift of language and the gift of song. This shows we are to “praise God with both word and music.” Furthermore, music is a vehicle

for proclaiming the Word of God. Luther loved to cite examples like Moses, who praised God in song following the crossing of the Red Sea, and David, who composed many of the psalms.

He said, “I always loved music; whoso has skill in this art, is of a good temperament, fitted for all things. We must teach music in schools; a schoolmaster ought to have skill in music, or I would not regard him; neither should we ordain young men as preachers, unless they have been well exercised in music.”

Music was a regular part of the Luther household. After dinner, Luther gave each singer a part, and they would sing both Gregorian chants and polyphonic compositions.

Conservative Reformer

Luther’s high regard for music was matched by a cautious attitude when it came to reforming worship practices. “It is not now, nor has it ever been, in our mind to abolish entirely the whole formal cultus [worship] of God,” he once wrote, “but to cleanse that which is in use, which has been vitiated by most abominable additions, and to point out a pious use.”

He had no desire simply to throw out the liturgy of the church. The cry for mercy in the Kyrie, the praise of Christ in the Gloria in Excelsis, the witness to the apostolic faith in the Credo, the proclamation of Christ’s all-sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the world in the Agnus Dei—these were vital ingredients for the faithful proclamation of justification by grace alone.

Still, Luther sought reform. One of his concerns was the predominant use of Latin in the service. The common people needed to hear and sing the Word of God in their own tongue—German—so they might be edified. In one of his earliest liturgical writings, Luther said, “Let everything be done so that the Word [of God] may have free course.”

Luther also sought to rid the service of every trace of false teaching, which for him centered in the Canon of the Mass, a collection of prayers and responses surrounding Christ’s words of institution. Luther rejected the implicit teaching that the Mass was a sacrifice the priest offered to God. For the Canon, he reserved some of his choicest criticism, calling it, “that abominable concoction drawn from everyone’s sewer and cesspool.”

Luther nonetheless understood that hasty reform would only make matters worse. In his first revised liturgy of 1523 (*An Order of Mass and Communion for the Church at Wittenberg*), Luther said, “I have been hesitant and fearful, partly because of the weak in faith, who cannot suddenly exchange an old and accustomed order of worship for a new and unusual one.” Indeed, the six-year gap between the start of the Reformation and his first liturgical reforms demonstrates Luther’s caution.

Luther’s *Order of Mass* was itself a conservative reform effort. Certainly, the Canon of the Mass was out, replaced with instructions that Christ’s words of institution be chanted loudly. And all communicants would receive not only the body but also the blood of Christ in the sacrament. Still, though the singing of German hymns was encouraged, Latin remained the principal language.

The shift from Latin to German was also delayed because not many hymns or portions of the liturgy had been translated into German. Luther sounded the call for qualified poets and musicians to produce German hymns and liturgies that faithfully proclaimed God’s Word. Near

the end of 1523, Luther wrote to Georg Spalatin, pastor to the prince of Saxony, urging him to write German hymns based on the Psalms. His straightforward advice: use the simplest and most common words, preserve the pure teaching of God's Word, and keep the meaning as close to the psalm as possible.

By 1526, enough materials had been produced to enable Luther to prepare a service entirely in German. This *German Mass* followed the historic structure of the liturgy. Though Luther inserted German hymns to replace Latin, he insisted that Latin services continue to be offered on occasion. In fact, his ideal would have been to conduct services not only in German and Latin, but also in the biblical languages of Greek and Hebrew!

One of Luther's worship reforms was to offer both the bread and the wine for the Lord's Supper—Catholicism had only offered the bread.

Hymn Writer

Between the publication of his 1523 and 1526 services, Luther began writing hymns. Though he had expressed doubts about his ability, he was not one to wait around indefinitely. Besides, Thomas Munzer, the radical German reformer, was already producing German services and hymns. In order to protect his people from Munzer's teachings, Luther decided to provide hymns of his own.

During the final months of 1523 and the beginning of 1524, Luther produced more than twenty hymns—more than half his total output. Four of these appeared in January 1524 in the first Lutheran hymnal (known as the "Hymnal of Eight," since it contained eight hymns).

By the summer of 1524, two other hymnals appeared in the neighboring town of Erfurt; each contained about two dozen hymns, eighteen of them by Luther. In 1524, the first hymnal prepared under Luther's auspices also went to press. Unlike modern hymnals, it was actually a choir book with multivoice settings. Of its thirty-eight hymns, twenty-four were by Luther.

Hymnals proliferated so rapidly that many of them published hymns by Luther without permission. Though Luther did not have the modern-day concern of copyright infringement, he didn't want others making "improvements" to his hymns, lest the pure teaching of God's Word be adulterated.

Luther wrote a variety of hymns. His first, more of a ballad, came following the deaths of the first two Lutheran martyrs (in Brussels on July 1, 1523). Luther used this hymn to counter rumors that the two men had recanted before they died. Luther sings that though enemies can spread their lies, "We thank our God therefore, his Word has reappeared."

Luther's other hymns were intended for church services and for devotions at home. In 1524, Luther wrote six of his seven hymns based on psalms. His final psalm hymn, "A Mighty Fortress," was written about three years later, when Luther was undergoing severe trials. This hymn exhibits a much freer style and is only loosely connected to the text of Psalm 46. Yet "A Mighty Fortress" reflects both Luther's struggles and his utter confidence in God: "Though devils all the world should fill, / All eager to devour us, / We tremble not, we fear no ill, / They shall not overpower us."

Luther also wrote hymns for portions of the liturgy and for all the seasons of the church year. To teach the catechism, he wrote two hymns on the Ten Commandments, a hymn for the Apostles' Creed, one for the Lord's Prayer, and others for baptism and the Lord's Supper. Through these hymns, Luther demonstrated his ongoing desire to teach the faith, especially to children.

Martin Luther forged a new hymnody and church music that continues to express the message he proclaimed.

The “Weak” Man behind “A Mighty Fortress”

In intense turmoil, Luther wrote his greatest hymn.

by MARK GALLI

It was the worst of times—1527—one of the most trying years of Luther's life. It's hard to imagine he had the energy or spirit to compose one of Christendom's most memorable hymns.

On April 22, a dizzy spell forced Luther to stop preaching in the middle of his sermon. For ten years, since publishing his *95 Theses* against the abuse of indulgences, Luther had been buffeted by political and theological storms; at times his life had been in danger. Now he was battling other reformers over the meaning of the Lord's Supper. To Luther, their errors were as great as those of Rome—the very gospel was at stake—and Luther was deeply disturbed and angry. He suffered severe depression.

Then, on July 6, as friends arrived for dinner, Luther felt an intense buzzing in his left ear. He went to lie down, when suddenly he called, “Water ... or I'll die!” He became cold, and he was convinced he had seen his last night. In a loud prayer, he surrendered himself to God's will.

With a doctor's help, Luther partially regained his strength. But this depression and illness overcame him again in August, September and late December. Looking back on one of his bouts, he wrote his friend Melancthon, “I spent more than a week in death and hell. My entire body was in pain, and I still tremble. Completely abandoned by Christ, I labored under the vacillations and storms of desperation and blasphemy against God. But through the prayers of the saints [his friends], God began to have mercy on me and pulled my soul from the inferno below.”

Meanwhile, in August, the plague had erupted in Wittenberg. As fear spread, so did many of the townspeople. But Luther considered it his duty to remain and care for the sick. Even though his wife was pregnant, Luther's house was transformed into a hospital, and he watched many friends die. Then his son became ill. Not until late November did the epidemic abate and the ill begin to recover.

During that horrific year, Luther took time to remember the tenth anniversary of his publication against indulgences, noting the deeper meaning of his trials: “The only comfort against raging Satan is that we have God's Word to save the souls of believers.” Sometime that year, Luther

expanded that thought into the hymn he is most famous for: “A Mighty Fortress Is Our God.” This verse, translated by Frederick Hedge in 1853, comes from one of more than sixty English versions:

*And though this world with devils filled
should threaten to undo us,
We will not fear, for God has willed
his truth to triumph through us.
The prince of darkness grim? We tremble not for him.
His rage we can endure, for lo! his doom is sure.
One little Word shall fell him.*

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APPENDIX J

MAP OF EUROPE



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