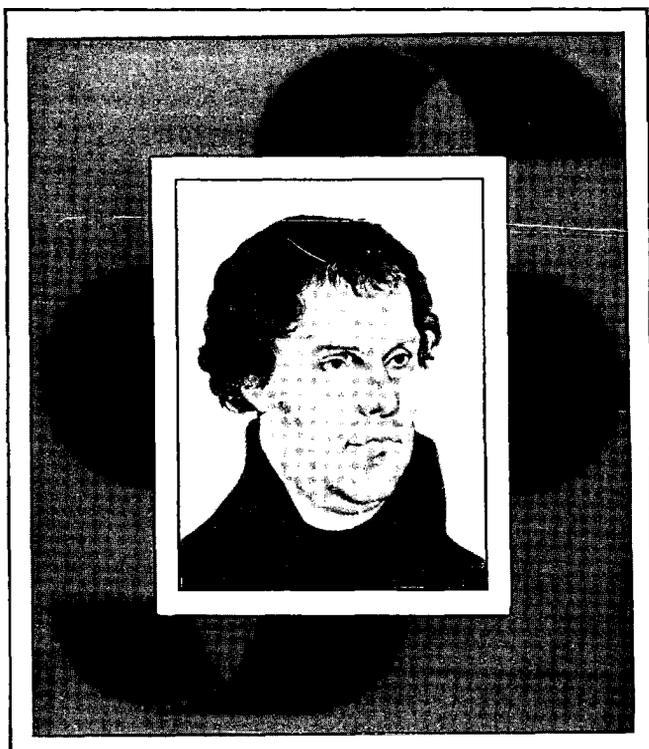


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Number 1

Spring 1984



A Tribute to Martin Luther



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**A TRIBUTE
TO
MARTIN LUTHER**

*(In celebration of the Quincentennial of His
Birth and the 450th Anniversary of His
First Complete German Bible)*

**This Luther Issue of AUSS
is gratefully dedicated
to
DANIEL WALTHER**



Frontispiece

THE FACE OF MARTIN LUTHER

© 1976, William H. Brunie

A TRIBUTE TO MARTIN LUTHER

INTRODUCTORY NOTE ABOUT THIS ISSUE OF AUSS

The past year, 1983, was a rich and memorable one for events and publications giving widespread recognition and honor to the pioneer Protestant Reformer and great religious leader of the sixteenth century, Martin Luther, whose life and achievements, probably more than those of any other individual since the apostolic era, have influenced the course of subsequent Christianity. The occasion for this celebration, which was virtually world-wide, was the quincentennial of Luther's birth in 1483.

The present year marks another important anniversary pertaining to Luther. It was 450 years ago that the first edition of Luther's complete German Bible translation appeared from the press. This Bible translation was undoubtedly the Reformer's greatest single achievement, both from the standpoint of its dissemination of Scriptural knowledge throughout the German lands and with respect to its significant influence in molding the subsequent written German language.

In recognition of these two important Luther anniversary years, the present issue of *AUSS* is devoted to materials that relate directly to the Reformer and his achievements. These materials are:

1. A general introduction to Luther through (a) a captioned pictorial review of fifteen portraits of the Reformer selected and presented by William H. Brunie, and (b) a biographical sketch, plus a chronological table listing some of the more notable events in Luther's own career and in the contemporary world during his lifetime.
2. Six general articles dealing with various aspects of Luther's life and work.
3. A review of current issues in Luther studies, with special notice of some highlights of the Luther Jubilee Year.

Further general comments about the material in each section are provided immediately before the section itself.

It should be added that the Heritage Room of the James White Library of Andrews University has certain materials of special interest in connection with Luther studies. Among these is the "Trefz Collection" of a number of sixteenth-century pamphlets, most of which were produced by Luther. Mary Jane Mitchell, Director Emeritus of the James White Library, is currently preparing a catalog of this collection; and it is our plan to add this catalog in a Supplement to a later issue of *AUSS*. We also plan to include a number of photographic reproductions of some of the more striking woodcuts (usually on the title-pages) from pamphlets in the collection.

The Heritage Room also has a number of other valuable and useful special collections, as well as numerous individual research items; and its Curator, Louise Dederen, will provide for our same Supplement some information on several of these collections. In addition, we will make reference to, and include a few photographic reproductions from, some early Luther Bibles on loan to the Heritage Room by Chester J. Gibson, a prominent dentist in Oregon, who has kindly made a portion of his significant Bible collection available for display and research at Andrews University.

Finally, I wish here to express gratitude to all who have worked so faithfully to make this Luther issue of *AUSS* possible. This includes, of course, the *AUSS* staff itself, members of whom at the initial stages also made helpful suggestions as to the projected contents. In addition, our Andrews University Seminary colleague Daniel A. Augsburg, Program Secretary of the American Society for Reformation Research, deserves special mention for his helpfulness concerning contacts to be made, as well as for general suggestions for the project. And last, but not least, grateful acknowledgement is expressed to Andrews University for some special funding that has made this project manageable from a fiscal standpoint.

To all who have participated as authors and in all other capacities, I express herewith my deepest appreciation and thanks. And we of the *AUSS* staff trust that the contents of this Luther issue of our journal may be especially enjoyable and helpful to all of you, our cherished readers.

Kenneth A. Strand
Editor

PART I

INTRODUCING MARTIN LUTHER

This first section of the current Luther issue of *AUSS* is introductory, and it is therefore somewhat general in nature. Its contents are (1) a captioned pictorial review of fifteen portraits of the Reformer, selected and presented by William H. Brunie (the full sweep of these pictures appears also in reduced form on a single page as the *Frontispiece*—without, of course, the captions); and (2) a biographical sketch, supplemented by a chronological listing of important events in Luther's own career and in the world of his time.

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THE FACE OF MARTIN LUTHER

WILLIAM H. BRUNIE
Glendale, California

Editor's Note: The fifteen portraits of Martin Luther shown in reduced size in the *Frontispiece* are herein presented in the larger scale in which these pictures were provided to us by William H. Brunie, and they also carry here his accompanying captions. Brunie is a practicing physician, with specialization in psychiatry; and he also teaches psychiatry to medical students. His home and offices are in Glendale, California. Martin Luther has been one of Brunie's special interests for many years, and in 1983 (during the Luther Quincentennial) he appeared on NBC Los Angeles television for an interview about the great sixteenth-century Reformer.

Author's Introductory Note: The fifteen portraits of Martin Luther which I here present have been selected from more than 200 paintings, engravings, woodcuts, and drawings of the Reformer. They picture his face at intervals from age 36 to 62—or from the earliest detailed pictorial likeness of him to a painting made shortly before his death in 1546.

Luther's contemporary, Martin Polich von Mellerstadt, Chancellor and one of the founders of the University of Wittenberg, described Luther vividly, in terms which have been paraphrased as follows by Hartmann Grisar: "His strange eyes, with their pensive gleam, ever ready to smile on a friend, and, in fact, his whole presence, made an impression upon all who were brought into close contact with him" (in English ed., *Luther*, 1 [St. Louis, Mo., 1913]:86).



1



2



3

1. Age 36. Copper engraving, the earliest detailed likeness of Luther*
2. Age 37. Woodcut by Daniel Hopfer; a slightly modified mirror image of a Cranach engraving which sold by the thousands when Luther was in Worms for his historic confrontation with Emperor Charles V in April of 1521
3. Age 38. Painting made by Cranach during Luther's secret trip from the Wartburg to Wittenberg during December of 1521.

*Unless otherwise indicated, the portraits reproduced on this page and the following pages are by Lukas Cranach the Elder, a close and trusted friend of Martin Luther.



4



5



6

4. Age 38. Woodcut, probably made from the painting in no. 3
5. Age 41. Miniature wedding portrait, painted within a 10-cm. circle
6. Age 42. Painting after a year of marriage



7



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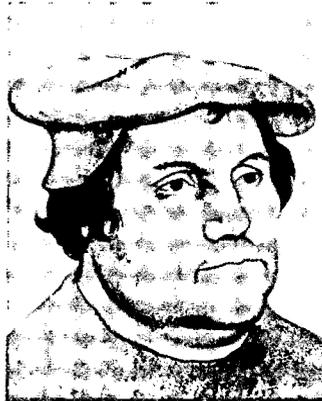


9

7. Age 44. Copper engraving by Jakob Bink, probably made from the Cranach painting in no. 8; this photograph is mirror-imaged from a Bink print
8. Age 44. A painting which Cranach had his studio assistants copy many times; a more melancholy version now hangs in the Uffizi in Florence
9. Age 47. Miniature painting from the title-page of the University of Wittenberg students' registration book



10



11



12

- 10. Age 48. From a painting with Duke John Frederick as the central figure, and including Philip Melanchthon, Georg Spalatin, Chancellor Gregory Brück, six other men, and a cherub; the original is now in the Toledo, Ohio, Art Museum
- 11. Age 49. Drawing, now in a private collection
- 12. Age ca. 50. Woodcut by Hans Brosamer



13



14



15

- 13. Age ca. 58. Drawing by Reifenstein while Luther was lecturing
- 14. Age 59. From a miniature painting in Cranach's "Mémory Album"
- 15. Age 62. Painting, shortly before Luther's death in 1546

MEET MARTIN LUTHER: AN INTRODUCTORY BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

KENNETH A. STRAND
Andrews University

Introductory Note: The following biographical sketch is very brief, given primarily to provide the nonspecialist in Luther studies with an introductory outline of the Reformer's career. Inasmuch as the details presented are generally well-known and are readily accessible in various sources, documentation has been eliminated in this presentation. Numerous Luther biographies are available. Two of the more readable and authoritative ones in the English language which may be mentioned here are Roland H. Bainton, *Here I Stand* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), and Ernest G. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times* (St. Louis, Mo.: Concordia Publishing House, 1950). These or any number of good Luther biographies may be consulted for a detailed treatment of Luther's career. Following the sketch below, a chronological listing is provided of important dates and events in Luther's life and in the contemporary world from the year of his birth to the year of his death.

Just over 500 years ago, on November 10, 1483, Martin Luther was born in the town of Eisleben, in central Germany (now within the German Democratic Republic or "East Germany"). He was the oldest son of Hans and Margarethe (nee Ziegler) Luther, who had recently moved to Eisleben from Thuringian agricultural lands to the west. It appears that before Martin's first birthday, the family moved again—this time a few miles northward to the town of Mansfeld, which was more centrally located for the mining activity which Hans Luther had taken up. In the course of time, Hans became one of the civic leaders in Mansfeld and eventually achieved a considerable degree of affluence as a mining and smelting entrepreneur.

In Mansfeld, the young Martin also had his introduction to schooling, during the years of about 1488 or 1489 to 1497. This was

in a "Latin school" using the standard resources and procedures of the times. Then he spent a memorable year in Magdeburg under the tutelage of a Catholic-Reform group known as the Brethren of the Common Life. This group, which had originated a century earlier in the Netherlands, was well known for its high spiritual ideals, its practical Christianity, and its concern for quality education. It was also in Magdeburg that Luther was much impressed with a monk whom he had seen begging in the streets. This was Prince William of Anhalt, who had given up his earthly possessions to take up the monastic life; and now as a monk, he mortified his body to the degree that Luther, in later recollection, described him as looking "like a corpse of mere skin and bones." "Whoever saw him," Luther reminisced, "was deeply moved and felt ashamed of his own secular way of life."

The three-year period from 1498 to 1501 found Martin in the Thuringian city of Eisenach, near his ancestral homeland. There he studied under an excellent schoolmaster named Trebonius, who gave Luther advanced training in Latin that could hardly have been surpassed. As he attended school in Eisenach for these three years, Martin probably resided at the home of Kunz and Ursula Kotta, at least for a time; and he boarded at the home of the Schalbes, whose son Henry he tutored. At the Schalbe table there was also another frequent dinner guest, John Braun, vicar of St. Marien Church and head of the nearby Franciscan monastery. With this monk Luther established a close and enduring friendship.

Next came Martin's liberal arts training at the University of Erfurt. The city of Erfurt was one that bustled with economic activity. And in religious establishments (churches, cloisters, chapels, etc.) it was so abundantly supplied (some 100 of them!) that the city was nicknamed "Little Rome." Its university was one of the oldest in the German lands, having been founded in 1392, with a reputation in those lands second only to that of the University of Cologne. To be a student at the University of Erfurt was a privilege indeed.

Here Martin Luther completed both the Bachelor's and Master's degrees in liberal arts in the minimum time (the former by the Autumn of 1502, and the latter early in 1505). Upon completion of the Master's degree, Luther entered the law school of Erfurt in May, after a vacation period. This curriculum choice was in harmony with his father's wishes. But his career as a law student was short-lived. On the return from a trip home to Mansfeld in June, as he was

approaching Erfurt on July 2, Luther was nearly struck by a bolt of lightning near the village of Stotternheim. In desperation he cried out, "Dear Saint Anne, please save me and I will become a monk!"

There is no reason to believe that Luther's sudden vow to become a monk was a superstitious or unpremeditated decision. He was a sensitive soul eager to do God's will. Moreover, he had had certain experiences earlier—such as the death of a close friend, and also the fear of his own bleeding to death once when he had accidentally slashed his leg—which had turned his mind toward taking up the monastic vocation. After all, that vocation was considered in those days to be the way *par excellence* to eternal salvation. In addition, Luther's vivid impression of William of Anhalt and his high esteem for Vicar John Braun certainly contributed to his decision, as well. Faithful to his vow, he entered the monastery of the Augustinian Hermits in Erfurt on July 17. His father was at first greatly distressed over Martin's decision, but later took a more positive attitude toward the matter.

In fact, there were certain advantages in being a monk in a *university* city; for it must be remembered that even though numerous monks in many places were very ignorant, the monastic orders also had provided some of the most outstanding scholars of the late Middle Ages. Educated monks in university cities frequently served as theology professors, and this seems to have been the case in Erfurt.

After his traditional year of Novitiate, Luther first prepared for the priesthood, and was ordained in the Spring of 1507, saying his first mass on May 2 of that year. Thereafter he pursued studies that would lead to the basic theological degree of *baccalaureus biblicus*. During his work toward this theological degree, he moved to Wittenberg, where he lectured on moral philosophy (Aristotle's *Ethics*) during the academic year of 1508-09; and while engaged in these lectures, he also completed his *baccalaureus-biblicus* requirements by March 9, 1509. Returning to Erfurt in the Fall, he completed there the *Sententiarius*, qualifying him now to become a lecturer in systematic theology. From 1509 to 1511 he gave lectures at Erfurt in this field (the basic textbook for which was Peter Lombard's four volumes of *Sentences*)—a lecture series interrupted by a trip to Rome in 1510-11. Soon after his return from Rome, he was sent from Erfurt to Wittenberg, where the final steps in his theological education were taken. At the University of Wittenberg, he was

awarded both the licentiate and doctorate in theology in October 1512 (on the 4th and 19th, respectively).

At some time during his early monastic career, Luther underwent a crisis frequently referred to as his "monastic struggle." He seemed to be so unsuccessful in achieving the salvation for which he longed—in spite of an abundance of works and of severe bodily mortifications. In later years, he recalled that "soon after my entrance into the monastery, I was always sad and could not set myself free from this sadness," and that "my whole life was little more than fasting, watching, prayers, sighs, etc., but beneath this covering of sanctity and confidence in my own justification, I had a feeling of continued doubt, fear, and a desire to hate and blaspheme God." Also, he remembered that the doctrine of predestination seemed so enigmatical.

Among sources of help to him in his crisis was Johann Staupitz, the head of the Augustinian Order in the German lands, who indicated to him that "true repentance begins with the love of justice and of God," a remark that led him to further study of Scripture and to a focus on the "sweet wounds of the Savior." Whether or not Staupitz was also the person who called his attention to a certain sermon of Bernard of Clairvaux, that sermon became very meaningful to him—particularly the statement in it "that man, without merit, is justified through faith." Undoubtedly, various other factors contributed to Luther's resolution of his early "monastic crisis," as well; but in any event, he could refer to this crisis as a thing of the past by 1513. Further theological and experiential development continued to take place for Luther thereafter, of course, and thus he had additional "breakthroughs"—the most notable of which is, perhaps, his so-called "Tower Discovery" concerning God's righteousness (a "discovery" usually thought to have occurred either between 1512 and 1515 or in 1518/19).

After Luther's promotion to the doctorate in theology in late 1512, his long and distinguished career as a theology professor at the University of Wittenberg was begun. In 1512–13 he probably lectured on Genesis. Then came his first series of lectures on the Psalms (1513–15), on Romans (1515–16), and on Galatians (1516–17), which have been highlighted by scholars in their efforts to trace Luther's theological development during a critical stage of his emerging new theology. It was during this period also that the sale of indulgences began to receive his severe criticism. In addition to

his professorial role, Luther was pastor of the city church, as well as district vicar for some ten (and later eleven) monasteries in his order; and it was especially because of pastoral concern that he became acutely involved in the crisis over indulgence sales.

The indulgence under Luther's special attack was one that had been proclaimed for the building of St. Peter's basilica in Rome (and to repay the Fugger Banking House for the loan granted Albert of Hohenzollern in order for Albert to secure the important archbishopric of Mainz, after already holding the offices of bishop at Halberstadt and archbishop of Magdeburg). Although the sale of this indulgence was not allowed within Saxony itself, some of Luther's parishioners crossed the nearby border into Brandenburg to make purchase; and at least some folk returned feeling that they had obtained pardon both present and future for sins committed. This obviously was not the intent of indulgences (which were to remit satisfactions, or works necessary, after absolution for sin by a priest); but indulgence salesmen such as Johann Tetzel, a Dominican monk who had sold indulgences for the Fugger Banking House since at least 1504 or 1505, undoubtedly used unscrupulous means to enhance their sales. In any event, there were aspects of the indulgence hawking and even of the indulgence "theology" that Luther felt it imperative to challenge. Hence, on October 31, 1517, he set forth his famous "95 Theses," proposed for academic debate.

Much to his surprise, these theses were soon heralded widely throughout the German lands, having without his knowledge or permission been translated from Latin to German, published, and circulated. It was this particular event, more than anything else, that catapulted Luther into the limelight of the history of that time. From being a Wittenberg-University professor who was relatively unknown to the general public, he suddenly became the most-talked-about figure in the German lands!

It was inevitable that Luther's stand against the indulgences would involve him in conflict with Tetzel and with the Dominican order. It was also inevitable that Archbishop Albert and the Fuggers would be unhappy. As far as Pope Leo X was concerned, he at first simply assessed the situation as another squabble among the monastic orders (of which there had been many in the past). However, as indulgence sales dropped significantly, he became aware of the gravity of the situation for the Papal See. He lent his influence to the Dominican side and sought means to suppress Luther, the recalcitrant Augustinian.

The controversy that ensued from the distribution of the "95 Theses" led Luther into an ever-deeper study of Scripture and church history. He eventually concluded that the Papacy was a late development in the course of Christian history, that it was unbiblical, and that the Pope was even the antichrist referred to in Scripture. Aspects of his thought in this direction were already evident in his Leipzig Debate with John Eck in the summer of 1519; but by 1520, when he penned, among other writings, his famous "Three Reformation Treatises," the case was quite clear. These treatises were, namely, (1) *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* (an appeal to the rulers of the German states to bring reform to the church, calling for radical attention to church-organizational and disciplinary matters from the Papal See to the ground-roots level, and also dealing with such other matters as economic and educational reforms); (2) *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (a document in which he attacked the sacramental system of Roman Catholicism in entirety, rejecting five sacraments and retaining with a different theological perspective only baptism and the Eucharist [some small token of favor was shown toward Penance, too, though not in the sense of a Roman Catholic sacrament]); and (3) *The Liberty of the Christian* (a conciliatory document that outlined clearly and forcefully Luther's understanding of what genuine personal Christianity was all about [see the brief excerpt quoted in "A Tribute to Martin Luther" in *AUSS* 21 (1983): 297-298]).

The year 1520 was significant, too, for the appearance of the Pope's "warning" bull, *Exsurge, Domine*. This bull gave Luther sixty days in which to recant, or he would be excommunicated. It was delivered to Luther on October 10, and on December 10 he responded with a bonfire at the Elster Gate of Wittenberg, into which he threw Pope Leo's bull, together with a copy of the Canon Law and some other Catholic documents.

A few weeks later, on January 3, 1521, the Pope responded with the drafting of the actual excommunication bull, *Decet Pontificem Romanum*, but its publication and promulgation was delayed until October, several months after Luther's condemnation by the Diet which had met in Worms. Luther's appearance before this Diet on April 17 and 18 was, of course, one of the highlights of his career, celebrated and publicized ever since. Arriving with the thought that he would be able to present and debate his position, he found that at his very first audience with the Diet, on the afternoon

of April 17, he was immediately confronted with Emperor Charles's demand to recant. He was asked a double question: With his attention called to a table or bench holding an array of his books, he was asked (1) whether these were his writings, and (2) whether he would recant the heresies in them. After having some two dozen of the titles read, he promptly admitted them as his writings, but felt he needed more time to consider the second part of the abrupt question that had been put to him. A one-day continuance was granted.

The next day, as Luther again entered the presence of the Emperor and the assembled Diet, the demand that he recant was once more placed before him. He responded by pointing out that his works consisted of three basic kinds: (1) those treating practical Christian morality, with which no one could take issue; (2) those against the Papacy and its abuses (books with which his German countrymen would certainly agree); and (3) those against persons defending the Roman tyranny, wherein at times he had admittedly been overly harsh, but whose retraction would only allow abuses to increase. How, then, could he give a simple answer that he would recant, repudiating these works?

But "recant" was the precise sum and substance of what the Emperor, supported by his advisors and encouraged by the Papal party, required; nothing less would be acceptable. Finally, seeing the futility of the situation, Luther made his well-known and often-quoted concluding statement: "My conscience has been taken captive by God's Word, and I am not able nor willing to recant, inasmuch as it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience. God help me. . . ."

Luther and his company departed from Worms on April 26, prior to the Diet's actual decision of his case the next month (the decree condemning him as an outlaw was drafted on May 8 and issued on May 26). On his homeward journey from Worms, he was "kidnapped" and whisked away on May 4 to the Wartburg Castle overlooking Eisenach. Here he was secluded as a measure of safety. And here he continued his work for some ten months, writing a number of instructional works, and most importantly of all, doing the basic draft of his translation of the NT. The "final touches" on this NT translation were then completed after his return to Wittenberg in March of 1522, and the first edition of this new German version appeared in September (known as the "September Bible" or "September Testament"). On his return to Wittenberg, he also had

to quell riots and insurrection that had occurred through over-eagerness to hasten reform on the part of his zealous colleagues, especially Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt and Gabriel Zwilling.

The years 1523 and 1524 were active ones, as well, and two of his famous treatises on politics and education appeared during those years—his *On Secular Authority* and his *Address to Councilmen of the German Cities*. But the year 1525 was a particularly notable one in Luther's career for several reasons. First of all, he became entangled with the Peasants' Revolt in such a way that he alienated the peasants and brought much criticism to himself from the Catholic party as well. His first treatise in relationship to the plight of the peasants, who were often exploited by their overlords, was an *Admonition to Peace* concerning "Twelve Articles" they had proposed. This was actually a very balanced appeal both to the peasants and to their overlords for fairness. But his second booklet, written after personal observation of devastation and havoc created by the peasants as they revolted, was quite the opposite in its tone. This work, entitled *Against the Tempestuous Peasants and . . . Thieving and Murdering Bands of . . . Peasants*, even encouraged outright slaughter of the peasants on the grounds that they had revolted against established authority and had even blasphemed God by revolting in his name. A third treatise, entitled *A Letter on the Harsh Booklet Against the Peasants*, was basically a reaffirmation of his position regarding the peasants, not a retraction or apology.

A more pleasant episode in the year 1525 was Luther's wedding to Katherine von Bora on June 13. This noble woman, an ex-nun, gave the Reformer support at many critical points in his later career, and to them were born six children who brought to them all the joys of family life. These children were Hans (b. June 7, 1526), Elizabeth (b. Dec. 10, 1527), Magdalena (b. May 4, 1529), Martin (b. Nov. 9, 1531), Paul (b. Jan. 29, 1533), and Margarethe (b. Dec. 17, 1534). Unfortunately, two of these children died prematurely: Elizabeth before she was eight months old, and Magdalena at age 13 after a desperate illness during the summer of 1542. (The Luther family experienced other suffering and sorrow, as well. Luther himself had bouts of rather severe illness, especially in 1527 and again in 1537. Moreover, he lost his father in death on May 29, 1530, and his mother on June 30 of the following year.)

Always a keen observer of his surroundings and of people in general, Martin Luther was also an intent and sympathetic observer

of children and their antics. He entered heartily into their dreams and their frolics. On his many trips away from home, not only would he write to his beloved Katie, but also to his children. In one of the interesting pieces of correspondence to his son Hans, he mentioned that he had met the owner of a lovely place where boys and girls were having much fun picking fruit and riding beautiful ponies. He asked the man if sometime his own Hans could come there. Yes, said the man, if he "likes to pray, studies hard, and is good." And, of course, Luther used the anecdote to emphasize in a kind way the importance for his little son to behave well and to pray.

The third truly significant event in Luther's career in the year 1525 was his final break with Erasmus by issuing his *On the Bondage of the Will*, an answer to Erasmus's treatise of the preceding year, entitled *On the Freedom of the Will*. A very basic and deep-seated theological breach had, of course, been widening between the two men over a considerable length of time, even though there is still much truth to the saying that "Erasmus laid the egg of the Reformation, and Luther hatched it."

In the years immediately following 1525, Luther became involved with various projects of educational significance for the emerging Lutheran church. One of the most important arose from a visitation program to the parishes in five districts of the Saxon lands. The First Diet of Speyer in 1526 had ordered temporary territorial settlement (*cuius regio, eius religio*, "as the ruler, so the religion") of the religious situation in the Holy Roman Empire, pending a hoped-for general church council to consider the issues at some time in the future. This decision of the Imperial Diet thrust upon the Protestant territories a new type of responsibility in spiritual care and supervision for the clergy and laity in the parishes. It was in this context that Luther in 1527 gave input for, and then prepared the introduction to, the instructions for the visiting teams that went out in 1528. The deplorable ignorance of both clergy and laity that was consequently reported by the visitors led Luther to prepare some instructional tools, the most famous of which were his Large and Small Catechisms of 1529.

The year 1529 also witnessed a further important step in Luther's ongoing controversy over the Eucharist with the Swiss Reformers—Zwingli of Zurich and Oecolampadius of Basel. That year the literary feud between the Wittenberg and Swiss Reformers

culminated in a meeting, the Marburg Colloquy, which had been arranged by a Protestant prince, Landgrave Philip of Hesse. The end result of the meeting was that on all basic articles except the Eucharist, the two groups of Reformers were in essential agreement. However, Luther rigidly maintained his position on the "real presence" of Christ in the elements of bread and wine, whereas Zwingli and Oecolampadius just as vigorously rejected this concept.

The year 1530 was especially significant in Lutheran-Reformation history, because of the "Augsburg Confession" presented to the Diet of Augsburg. This was not voted by that Diet, but was adopted by the Lutheran princes and theologians and has become one of the main confessional standards of subsequent Lutheranism. The document was drafted by Philip Melancthon, but with input from Luther (who was in seclusion in the Coburg Castle, since he was still an outlaw of the Empire and, lacking safe-conduct to the Diet, could have been apprehended and even killed on sight).

In the years subsequent to 1530, Luther has generally receded from the high visibility given to him by his biographers for his earlier career. This is a situation which is now, however, beginning to be remedied (dealt with in an article later in this journal, "Recent Issues and Trends in Luther Studies"). Although Luther's colleagues, such as Philip Melancthon and Johann Bugenhagen, were taking prominent places (and in church-organizational matters, the Elector of Saxony was doing likewise), Luther was nonetheless very active and influential indeed. During these "later years," he continued his professorial role at the University of Wittenberg, preached frequently, gave input to the upgrading of the ministry, fostered education at all levels, produced a number of treatises, worked on his German Bible translation (ever seeking revisions that would make the biblical meaning more clear), and wrote numerous letters. It must not be forgotten that during these later years, his counsel was constantly sought by theologians, by political leaders (including his own prince), and by others. His input to them may not always have carried his name very visibly to the public of that time, nor to biographers of later times; but its influence was nonetheless there in manifold and significant ways.

Luther's life came to an end in early 1546. His decease occurred while he was on a trip back to his birthplace Eisleben, there to settle a dispute between the two dukes of Mansfeld. As the long and tangled negotiations were about to find solution, Luther wrote to Katie

on February 14 (the last letter he ever penned), expressing his hope to return home that week. On February 17 he affixed his signature to the documents of agreement between the dukes, and that evening fell quite ill with congestion and chest pain. In the early hours of the next morning, February 18, he had two further attacks of severe chest pain. With some of his closest friends at his bedside (together with a physician who had been quickly summoned that morning), he died in a state of peace of heart and mind. The last words he was heard to have uttered were a repetition of John 3:16 three times: "For God so loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life."

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF LUTHER'S CAREER

(WITH NOTICE OF CERTAIN SIGNIFICANT CONTEMPORARY EVENTS)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Luther</i>	<i>Other Events</i>
1483	Born in Eisleben, Nov. 10	Raphael born (lived 1483-1520)
1484	Family moves to Mansfeld	Huldreich Zwingli born Jan. 1 (lived 1484-1531) Innocent III becomes pope (1484-92)
ca. 1488-97	Martin attends Latin school in Mansfeld	Columbus lands in West Indies, 1492 Alexander VI becomes pope, 1492 (1492-1503) Maximilian becomes emperor of Holy Roman Empire, 1493 (ruled 1493-1519)
1497-98	At school of Brethren of the Common Life in Magdeburg	Philip Melancthon born, 1497 (lived 1497-1560) Vasco da Gama reaches India by sea route, 1498
1498-1501	Attends St. George's School in Eisenach	

Date	Luther	Other Events
1501	Matriculates at University of Erfurt, in Spring	
1502	Awarded Bachelor's degree in Arts on Sept. 29	University of Wittenberg founded, 1502
1503		Pius III pope for less than a month; Julius II becomes pope (1503-13)
1505	Awarded Master's degree in Arts in January (or February?); begins law study in May; caught in thunderstorm on July 2; enters monastery of Augustinian Hermits on July 17	
1505-07	Novitiate year (1505-06), followed by preparation for priesthood; celebrates first mass (in Erfurt) on May 2, 1507	
1508	To Wittenberg, to lecture on Aristotle's <i>Ethics</i>	
1509	Earns <i>baccalaureus biblicus</i> in March; returns to Erfurt in Autumn; becomes <i>Sententiaris</i>	John Calvin born, July 10 (lived 1509-64) Henry VIII accedes to English throne (ruled 1509-47) Erasmus writes <i>Praise of Folly</i>
1510-11	Journeys to Rome, Nov.-April (Erfurt to Rome and return to Erfurt); then moves to Wittenberg (and matriculates at U. of Wittenberg in Aug., 1511)	
1512	Appointed subprior of Wittenberg Augustinian cloister in May; granted licentiate in theology on Oct. 4 and doctorate in theology on Oct. 19; begins exegetical lectures at U. of Wittenberg (probably Genesis)	Roman Catholic Fifth Lateran Council begins (1512-17)

Date	Luther	Other Events
1513-15	Lectures on Psalms, 1513-15	Leo X becomes pope, 1513 (1513-21) Albert of Hohenzollern becomes Archbishop of Magdeburg, Bishop of Halberstadt, and Archbishop of Mainz, 1513-14
1515-16	Lectures on Romans, 1515-16 Becomes district vicar for Augustinians, 1515	Francis I accedes to throne of France, 1515 (ruled 1515-47) First volume of humanist production <i>Letters of the Obscure Men</i> , 1515 (second volume in 1517) Erasmus's <i>Novum Instrumentum</i> , 1516
1516-17	Lectures on Galatians, 1516-17 Sermon against Indulgences, Oct. 31, 1516 (had referred to Indulgences earlier too) The seven "Penitential Psalms" trans. into German, 1517 Famous "95 Theses" on Indulgences, Oct. 31, 1517	
1518	Attends Heidelberg meeting, pens <i>Resolutions Concerning the Virtue of Indulgences</i> , and preaches "Sermon on the Ban" in Spring; appears before Cardinal Cajetan in Augsburg on Oct. 12-14	Melancthon joins Wittenberg faculty; inaugural address, Aug. 29 Frederick the Wise refuses to surrender Luther to Rome, Dec. 18
1519	Meeting with Miltitz in January; Galatians commentary publ. in May; Leipzig Debate with Eck in July	Maximilian dies, and Hapsburg grandson—already Charles I of Spain—becomes Emperor Charles V of Holy Roman Empire (ruled 1519-56, d. 1558)

Date	Luther	Other Events
1520	<p>Luther's "three Reformation treatises": <i>To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation</i>; <i>The Babylonian Captivity of the Church</i>; and <i>Freedom of the Christian</i></p> <p>Burns copy of canon law, pope's bull <i>Exsurge Domine</i>, and some other documents, on Dec. 10</p>	<p>Pope Leo's bull <i>Exsurge Domine</i> signed on June 15, reaches Luther on Oct. 10, burned by Luther on Dec. 10</p> <p>Suleiman I begins rule of Turkish Empire (ruled 1520-66)</p>
1521	<p>Excommunicated by bull <i>Decet Pontificem Romanum</i> (drafted Jan. 3, and issued in Oct.); appears before Diet of Worms on April 17-18 (condemned by decree issued on May 26); "kidnapped" on May 4 for seclusion at Wartburg Castle; secret trip to Wittenberg in early Dec.; begins translating NT in Dec.</p>	<p>Wittenberg disturbances begin under Carlstadt and Zwilling, while Luther is at the Wartburg Castle</p> <p>1st Hapsburg-Valois War (1521-26, concl. with Treaty of Madrid)</p> <p>King Henry VIII of England writes treatise against Luther's <i>Babylonian Captivity</i>, and is awarded title "Defender of the Faith" by the Pope</p>
1522	<p>Returns from the Wartburg to Wittenberg on March 6; 1st and 2d eds. of NT published (Sept. and Dec.)</p>	<p>Adrian VI becomes pope (1522-23)</p> <p>"Knights' War" of 1522-23</p> <p>Magellan's party returns to Europe after circumnavigating the globe, 1519-22 (Magellan himself d. in 1521 in the Philippines)</p>
1523	<p>Writes <i>On Secular Authority</i> . . .</p>	<p>Clement VII becomes pope (1523-34)</p> <p>1st ed. of Jerome Emser's critique of Luther's NT</p>
1524	<p>Writes <i>To Councilmen of All German Cities</i> . . . (an educational treatise); lays aside monk's garb in Oct.</p>	<p>Thomas Muntzer writes against Luther; Peasants' War begins</p> <p>Erasmus writes <i>Freedom of the Will</i></p>

Date	Luther	Other Events
1525	Writes three treatises relating to peasants and Peasants' War; is married to Katharine von Bora on June 13; answers Erasmus's <i>Freedom of the Will with Bondage of the Will</i>	Peasants' War is terminated in severe slaughter; death of Müntzer Death of Elector Frederick the Wise; accession of John the Constant (ruled 1525-32)
1526	Publication of <i>The German Mass</i> ; controversy with Swiss Reformers over Eucharist	1st Diet of Speyer and decision of <i>cuius regio, eius religio</i> Suleiman victorious at Mohács, Hungary 2d Hapsburg-Valois War (1526-29, concl. with Treaty of Cambrai)
1527-28	Provides input and writes introduction for the "Instructions to Visitors" for visitations carried out in 1528 (and subsequently)	Pope Clement VII put at mercy of Charles V by Charles's attack on Rome, 1527 Appearance of 1st ed. of Jerome Emser's Catholic German NT, 1527
1529	Luther's Large and Small Catechisms in April and May; Marburg Colloquy on Oct. 1-3	2d Diet of Speyer, and protest of Evangelical estates against Diet's revocation of <i>cuius regio, eius religio</i> of earlier Diet (led to term "Protestantism") Suleiman's siege of Vienna
1530	At Coburg Castle during Augsburg Diet Treatise, <i>Open Letter on Translating</i>	Augsburg Diet; "Augsburg Confession" drafted by Melancthon (rejected by Diet, but accepted by Lutheran rulers and theologians)
1531	Writes <i>Warning to the Dear German People</i> (on question of legitimacy of resistance to the Emperor)	Formation of Protestant "Schmalkaldic League" Suleiman victorious in battle at Güns, Hungary
1532-33	Engaged in polemics with Duke George (and Johann Cochlaeus)	Suleiman threatens Austria, 1532

Date	Luther	Other Events
1532-33		<p>Peace of Nuremberg ("Nuremberg Recess") to Protestants because of Turkish threat (reinstates <i>cuius regio, eius religio</i>), 1532</p> <p>John the Constant dies in 1532, and John Frederick becomes Elector of Saxony (ruled 1532-54)</p>
1534	1st ed. of Luther's complete German Bible	<p>Paul III becomes pope (1534-49)</p> <p>Anabaptists take control of Münster (defeated and driven out in 1535)</p> <p>1st ed. of Johannes Dietsberger's Catholic complete German Bible</p>
1535	Luther begins last lecture series on Genesis (1535-45)	3d Hapsburg-Valois War (1535-38, concl. with Treaty of Nice)
1536	Draws up "Schmalkald Articles" in December (accepted by Lutheran theologians at Schmalkald in 1537)	<p>Formal alliance between Francis I and Suleiman</p> <p>1st ed. of John Calvin's <i>Institutes</i> (final ed., 1559)</p> <p>Calvin begins first period of work in Geneva</p>
1537		1st ed. of John Eck's Catholic complete German Bible
1539	Writes <i>Against the Antinomians</i>	Death of Duke George of Albertine Saxony; succeeded by Henry (ruled 1539-41)
1540		<p>Society of Jesus (Jesuit order) approved by Pope Paul III in Sept. (had originated in a meeting of Ignatius Loyola and six companions on Aug. 15, 1534)</p> <p>Bigamy of Philip of Hesse</p>

<i>Date</i>	<i>Luther</i>	<i>Other Events</i>
1541		Duke Henry of Saxony succeeded by son Maurice (ruled 1541-53) Calvin begins second period of work in Geneva
1542		4th Hapsburg-Valois War (1542-44, concl. with Peace of Cr�epy)
1543	Writes <i>On the Jews and Their Lies</i>	
1545	Writes <i>Against the Roman Papacy, an Institution of the Devil</i> Famous "Preface" to complete ed. of Latin writings Last ed. of Luther's German Bible prior to his death	Council of Trent convenes (1545-63)
1546	Death in Eisleben on Feb. 18, and burial in Wittenberg on Feb. 22	Schmalkaldic War begins

Note: In the foregoing chronological listing events *within* specific years are not necessarily in chronological order—especially in the "Other Events" column. Also, certain facets of Luther's career have been touched upon only lightly in this chronology, lest the listing become overburdened with detail. Among such items are Luther's exegetical-lecture series after 1517 and the development of his Bible translation part-by-part and in its significantly revised editions.

In brief, Luther's lectures from 1517 onward were as follows: Hebrews, 1517-18; Psalms, 1518-21; Minor Prophets (and some attention to the Pentateuch), 1524-26; Ecclesiastes, 1526; 1 John, Titus, Philemon (and also some attention to Isaiah), 1527; 1 Timothy, 1528; Isaiah, 1528-30; Canticles, 1530-31; Galatians, 1531; Psalms, 1532-35; Genesis, 1535-45.

The major steps in bringing out Luther's complete German Bible of 1534 included the appearance of the OT in several sections and a continuing process of revision. Subsequent to the publication of the NT in 1522, the OT appeared as follows: Pentateuch, 1523; Joshua to Esther, 1524; Job to Ecclesiastes, 1524; the Prophets, 1532; and the completed OT (including the Apocrypha), 1534. Various books of the Prophets had appeared separately between 1526 and 1530—Habakkuk, 1526; Isaiah and Zechariah,

1528; and Daniel (and also Ezek 38–39), 1530. A translation of the Wisdom of Solomon had been issued in 1529. When the section from Job to Ecclesiastes was published in 1524, a separate edition of the Psalms was issued as well. The Psalter underwent significant revisions discernible in the editions of 1528, 1531, and 1534.

Subsequent to 1534, the Psalter saw further revisions in 1535, 1538, 1542, and 1544; and other parts of Scripture, too, were revised by scholars under Luther's supervision or working in conjunction with him. The last Bible edition to have received direct input from him was published after his death in 1546, though he had apparently himself begun to see it through the press. The most significantly revised material in this edition is in the section from Romans through 2 Cor 3. Previous to this, the edition of September 1541 appears to have been the *main* edition (since 1534) of the complete Bible that reveals extensive revision. This 1541 Bible contains, incidentally, the last major revision of the OT that reflects Luther's own continuing work on that part of the Bible.

PART II

GENERAL ARTICLES ON LUTHER

In this section, six general articles on Luther are presented. Four are new studies, and two are edited versions of significant materials previously published.

In the new studies, recognized scholars from several disciplines enhance our knowledge of the German Reformer and his work, as follows: Heinz Bluhm, Professor of Germanic Languages at Boston College and a leading authority in America on Luther's German Bible, gives us a fascinating glimpse of Luther as a "creative" Bible translator. Johann Heinz, a theology professor at Marienhöhe, in the Federal Republic of Germany, introduces us to an aspect of Luther's theology that has never, until his research, been thoroughly explored—Luther's concept of "reward" in relationship to the Reformer's understanding of "works" and theology of "justification by faith." Music Professor Herbert R. Pankratz of North Park College in Chicago, Illinois, takes us into another realm of Luther's magnificent activity—the field of music, in which Luther had considerable interest and competence, and to which he made outstanding contributions. And finally, theology professor and specialist in medieval studies Patricia Wilson-Kastner of General Theological Seminary in New York City explores the question of Luther's use of Augustine, a significant problem which has been dealt with frequently, but which she approaches and treats in a new and incisive way.

The two articles that represent edited versions of previously published materials are from works by two renowned Reformation specialists whose death we mourn and whose memory we honor and cherish—Albert Hyma and William M. Landeen. Their essays deal, respectively, with Luther in his later life and with an intriguing episode in the Reformer's career wherein he came to the rescue of the Brethren of the Common Life in Herford. Brief biographical sketches of the scholarly careers of Hyma and Landeen have been supplied at the close of their articles.

It should be noted that in these "reprint" essays, we depart from our general policy of not publishing materials that have already been in print; but for this Luther issue, we have in this respect (as also in some other ways) relaxed our usual policies because of the special situation and occasion. In any event, the two pieces herein from these two renowned scholars will undoubtedly have been unfamiliar to the majority of our readers until their appearance in this edited form in the present issue of *AUSS*.

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MARTIN LUTHER AS A CREATIVE BIBLE TRANSLATOR

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When the young Augustinian monk Martin Luther succeeded Johann von Staupitz as holder of the *Lectura in Biblia* in the University of Wittenberg in 1512, probably no one, not even the vicar-general himself, suspected that the new appointee, promising enough to be sure, was to become one of the most revolutionary figures in the entire history of biblical studies. It is sometimes forgotten that Martin Luther, in addition to being the recognized leader of the Protestant Reformation, was for well over thirty years the most distinguished professor of the university which he, more than any single faculty member, helped put on the European map.

In a way, one may go so far as to say that no matter how important a role he played as the chief Reformer, Luther's first task and achievement lay in the field of the Bible. In fact, one may even hold that whatsoever he did—and his is one of the most illustrious names in European history—stemmed ultimately from his understanding of Holy Writ. What this man had thought out in his cell and presented in the lecture room to his students was destined to shake Europe to its foundations. Yet it should ever be borne in mind that the deeds he wrought emanated from the thoughts he thought, and that these had their origin in, and were inextricably interwoven with, the Bible as he read and taught it.

Luther's work on the Bible was of a twofold nature: exegesis and translation. Although the present essay will deal primarily with Luther as a Bible translator, a very brief overview of his exegetical work will be given first, in order to provide context for his significant role in providing a magnificent German translation of Scripture—a version whose impact on his own time and on all succeeding generations is virtually immeasurable.

1. *Luther as an Exegete*

Luther's work as an exegete antedated by several years, of course, his efforts as a translator. We may fully ignore his early

philosophical and theological annotations from 1508 on, the preserved records of which are disappointingly scanty and which are, in accordance with medieval custom, theological rather than strictly biblical anyway. This exclusion allows us to set down the month of August, 1513, as the actual beginning of his formal university lectures on the Bible, with the informal preparation for them probably commencing either late in 1512 or early in 1513. From 1513 until his death he lectured and wrote on the Bible, his regular classes interrupted only by necessary absences from Wittenberg, war, plague, and personal illness.

It is not my intention in this brief article to enumerate all the books of the Bible he took up in the many years of his professorial activity. Suffice it to say here that his favorite books, on some of which he lectured more than once, were the Psalms and the chief Pauline Epistles. What interests us primarily is the nature of his exegesis and the general spirit of the lectures.

It is not easy to make up one's mind on Luther the exegete. He is at once conservative and radical. The impression one soon gets is that his exegesis faces in two directions, toward the Middle Ages and toward the modern world. The real problem is to decide which is the more important aspect of his work. By and large, it would seem that the medieval approach far outweighs whatever there is of modernity in Luther's exegesis. To begin with, his exegesis is unhistorical, just as practically all of medieval exegesis had been. It does not, in this respect, attain the heights reached by that remarkable thirteenth-century Judaeo-Christian, the Franciscan friar Nicolaus de Lyra.

Still, after the worst has been said about the lack of historical approach in Luther's exegesis from 1513 to 1546, it is very important not to identify it completely with the prevailing medieval method, but to recognize the basic difference. Although this is one of degree only and not really of kind, it is nevertheless of major significance.

What Luther has in common with the traditional exegesis of the Middle Ages is its emphasis throughout the Bible on Christ. He differs from it, not by breaking this magic circle of the medieval mind, but by intensifying the stress on Christ to the exclusion of everything else, by making the entire Bible utterly and completely Christo-centric. In other words, Luther, like the exegetes in the

centuries before him, reads an interpretation *into* the Bible. Instead of exegesis, it is eisegesis; instead of "Auslegen," it is "Einlegen."

The difference between Luther and the preceding Christian exegesis of more than a thousand years is the difference between the fundamental spirit of medieval Christianity and Luther's personal and individual version of the Christian religion. It is, in brief, the distinction between what Christianity had become since the days of Paul and what Luther made of it again in the footsteps of Paul. The religion of *fides et opera* makes way for the religion of *sola fides et gratia*. This basic religious distinction makes itself felt in the very exegesis itself and permeates it completely. While this change is, of course, an intra-Christian affair, it is nonetheless marked and profound and must never be lost sight of.

In order to avoid a possible misunderstanding, it must be constantly borne in mind that although Luther's exegesis is generally unhistorical, as indicated above, it is nevertheless in some ways and places quite historical. Indeed, it is rather more so than that of his medieval predecessors. His interpretation of key passages of the Pauline Epistles is extraordinary. It is no exaggeration to say that his understanding of the heart of Paul's theology is probably matchless: Certainly it is much more adequate than that of any Christian exegete before him. One may safely speak of genuinely historical exegesis when one thinks of the quintessence of the religion of the Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians.

If Luther's understanding of Paul rises far above that of his predecessors and contemporaries and penetrates to the very core of Paul's fundamental thought, however, his interpretation of the non-Pauline parts of the Bible is anything but historical. In these places it is, with respect to a historical point of view, "inferior" to that of, say, Nicolaus de Lyra, mentioned above.

The general exegesis of the ancient and medieval church had strayed from the strictly historical meaning of the Bible, primarily, of course, of the OT. It had permeated the text with Christian views, reading Christ into every verse so far as possible. The only difference between Luther and medieval exegetes is that he read his all-Pauline conception of Christ into the *whole* Bible. We may readily and justly say that whatever is genuinely Pauline in the Bible is fully understood by Luther, usually inadequately by pre-Lutherans; whatever is non-Pauline in the Bible becomes by force

Pauline in Luther's exegesis, while remaining non-Pauline in extra-Lutheran interpretation.

It short, it can be held that Luther actually gave us a new Bible in that he consistently elevated the Scriptures as a whole to the giddy heights of his own profound understanding of the Christian religion. The pre-Lutheran interpretation had begun this arduous task, Luther carried it to completion. His work was done superbly well, coming as it did at the end of an entire epoch of biblical exegesis.

2. *Luther's Translation: Some General Observations*

After this cursory sketch of the role Luther played in the history of biblical exegesis, we are ready to embark on a discussion of his place in the history of the translation of the Bible in the Western world. This is a formidable assignment and has never, so far as I know, been essayed seriously. It will not be possible, in this brief survey, to do more than suggest certain lines of thought along which this intricate and provoking problem may some day be solved.

Let it be said at the outset that Luther himself, at times justifiably proud of his total achievement, had very definite ideas on the position of his German Bible in the history of biblical translations in the West. He was convinced, and said so more than once, that his translation of the Bible was by and large the best rendering of the Bible into any language known to him up to his time. Inasmuch as there were as yet no printed Bibles done into modern languages other than German (except for the Dutch Delft Bible of 1477 and a French version published in multiple editions beginning in 1487), Luther, when he made this proud statement, must necessarily have had in mind the Vulgate and the medieval German Bibles, both High and Low German, and perhaps also the Septuagint (LXX) for the OT.

Since the pre-Lutheran German Bibles can be eliminated almost categorically as serious competitors (and certainly the Dutch and French Bibles can be eliminated), it is really only the Latin Vulgate and, possibly, the Greek LXX that remain as worthy rivals. There can really be little doubt that the translation he had principally in mind was the Vulgate; the LXX probably played only a secondary role at best in the Western world (certainly so up to the sixteenth century). It was thus in all likelihood chiefly the Vulgate,

the translation used by the international medieval church, to which Luther claimed superiority after his German Bible had been completed and even while it was in the making. Let us examine this claim.

It is important, first of all, to be fair to the Vulgate. While there are mistakes in it, it should always be remembered that it is on the whole a faithful and responsible version. Scholars agree that it does not express the great variety of individual styles of the original. There can be little doubt that it presents a far less diversified picture than the Hebrew and Greek materials do. Christ—that is, the Christ of the church of Rome—is the unifying element in the Vulgate as a whole. Besides the undefinable Christianization of the OT, it is essential to point out that the Vulgate, especially in such parts as the Psalter, is a beautiful translation; one must not neglect to note the aesthetic values of the Latin Bible.

Where does Luther's Bible stand in all these respects? First of all, it will be readily granted that Luther's German version has fewer factual mistakes than the Vulgate. That is only as it should be, in view of the fact that it was made in the Age of Humanism. It may safely be said that it is a more faithful rendering than the Vulgate.

Second, the Luther Bible resembles the Vulgate in that it also gives far greater unity to the original than is historically accurate. In fact, Luther's translation, like his exegesis, is considerably more unifying than the Vulgate and the pre-Lutheran German Bibles based on the latter. As we observed earlier that the medieval concept of Christ is at the core of the Vulgate's unification of the Bible, we must now say that the Pauline and Lutheran view of Christ is the unifying element in Luther's German Bible.

While it would be an exaggeration to assume that each and every verse bears the imprint of Luther's personal religion—there are long narrative stretches where it would be difficult to perceive such a note—, we do find in many places unmistakable evidence of the influence of the religion of *sola fides*.

But we must differentiate clearly between artistic and religious emphases and considerations. Artistically speaking, the whole German Bible is Luther's very own, each verse partaking of the marked rhythmic patterns characteristic of his language. Religiously, the situation is naturally not so clear-cut; Luther's rendering is, after all, in many places and ways a straightforward translation.

In other words, Luther's exegesis is far more personal and unhistorical than his translation could be in the nature of the case. The surprising thing is rather that his translation should ever have been as expressive as it is of the deepest religious experiences and valuations of the man. If the Vulgate reflects the spiritualizing influence of Christianity, Luther's Bible mirrors in key passages (of which there are astonishingly many) the religious advance made by him over the post-Apostolic intellectual history of Christianity.

3. *Luther's Translation: Three Specimen Passages*

Assuming that the general literary value of the Lutheran Bible is so well known and widely recognized that specific examples are really superfluous, let us proceed at once to those passages that evince in translation—if indeed it is a question of translation—the definite stamp of Luther's religious individuality. To be more exact, the passages to be discussed here, though they are, of course, artistically pre-eminent (as indeed is true of practically all of Luther's Bible), reveal over and above this artistic superiority the distinctly Lutheran realm of intense religious fervor and highly personal religious value.

I propose to give three kinds of example. The first is a specimen of great literary beauty and exciting personal religiosity—Ps 73:25-26. The second is an OT specimen superbly illustrating the religion of "by faith alone"—Ps 90:7. The third is an example of Luther's ferreting out, as it were, the deepest meaning inherent in the Pauline original, but never before caught in any translation, Latin or German—Rom 3:28.

Ps 73:25-26

Whoever wishes to get an impression of the best that Luther could do in the way of a poetically creative rendering should consider his unequalled and incomparable version of Ps 73:25-26. The full measure of Luther's achievement can be appreciated only, I believe, if one follows the evolution of his translation of these two verses. The first rendering, while by no means slavishly literal, is still literal in a way. Yet it already has distinct literary value. This is how it reads in the first edition of Luther's German Psalter of 1524:

Wen hab ich ym hymel? und auff erden gefellet myr nichts, wenn ich bey dyr byn.

Meyn fleysch vnd meyn hertz ist verschmacht, Gott ist meyns hertzen hort, vnd meyn teyl ewiglich.

It is fair to say that this early Lutheran version is of the same general calibre as the English rendering found in the celebrated KJV:

Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee.

My flesh and my heart faileth: but God is the strength of my heart, and my portion for ever.

If Luther had not revised his first translation of this passage later on, he would still move on the impressive literary plane of the KJV. But Luther's remarkable revision in 1531 of what was a very good translation before is so amazing and breath-taking that it should receive the attention it so fully deserves:

Wenn ich nur dich hab, So frage ich nichts nach hymel vnd erden.

Wenn mir gleich leib und seel verschmacht, So bistu doch Gott allzeit meines hertzen trost, vnd mein teil.

There is no denying that this version approaches the high level of creative poetry, even though suggested by the Hebrew psalm. What interests us most in this connection is the real nature of Luther's accomplishment. This passage, probably as beautiful as any in the entire German Bible, is surely one of the finest examples of Luther's extraordinary ability to put into matchless words what stirred in his religiously ever-so-sensitive and profound soul. Going beyond the Hebrew poet, Luther's literary genius enabled him to find a modern garb of exquisite beauty and depth.

It should also be pointed out that in these two verses Luther, while intensifying the original, did not find it necessary to change or modify the underlying spirit. What this passage contains is a fervent devotion to God. This is as much Luther's concern as the original author's, actually more so it would seem. The principal idea of this passage, the soul's passionate yearning for its Lord and God, is common to all religious minds. Yet there are different levels of religious fervor and linguistic power. Martin Luther belongs to the choicest masters in both realms, combining in one

person, as it were, the depth of Augustine and Bernard and a literary skill greater than that of Jerome. The possession of both these qualities alone marks him as one of the great religious and artistic personalities of all time.

Ps 90:7

But there are other passages, generally unrecognized by a more casual reader of the German Bible, into which Luther saw fit to introduce certain changes, subtle more often than not, which reflect and express, directly or merely indirectly, his religion of *sola fides*. One such passage, combining both great literary beauty and religious depth, is Ps 90:7:

Das macht dein Zorn, dass wir so vergehen, und dein Grimm, dass wir so plötzlich dahin müssen.

Perhaps we can feel the strong individuality of Luther's version more easily if we contrast it with the comparatively literal KJV:

For we are consumed by thine anger, and by thy wrath are we troubled.

What Luther does to this passage is to throw out in the boldest relief possible his fundamental conviction that all our woe and sudden death are due to God's anger and wrath. This idea is by no means lacking in the original and in the KJV, but it is far from being expressed as strongly, even vehemently, as it is in Luther's powerful rendering. Thus a religious idea, not absent from the Hebrew original, is given such emphasis by Luther that it alters the literary structure of the verse.

While Luther should not, of course, be charged with having done violence to the spirit of the original, it can be stated without fear of contradiction that he has immeasurably intensified the religious ardor of the verse. What is breath-taking is Luther's rare ability to express verbally, with extraordinary urgency, what he had experienced in his inmost heart and thoughts. It was his well-nigh incredible achievement to raise the already high level of great passages to still higher, at times giddy, religious heights. This passage illustrates very well the inescapable fact that the German Bible is somehow Luther's very own. The greater the divine anger,

the greater divine grace. Only grace can consume anger. *Sola gratia, sola fides.*

Rom 3:28

The last passage I should like to discuss is one that has been attacked and defended more violently than any other in Luther's Bible: Rom 3:28. Luther himself, it will be recalled, defended it skillfully and, to my mind, convincingly in his *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*. The familiar verse reads like this:

So halten wir denn dafür, dass der Mensch gerecht werde, allein durch den Glauben, ohne des Gesetzes Werke.

Luther's spirited argument that the genius of the German language calls for the word "allein" ("alone") is well-taken. What Luther, when rightly understood, succeeds in doing in this superbly rendered verse is to extract the deepest meaning from Paul's words and to find the most fitting and idiomatic German garb for the original. Martin Luther, having fully understood Paul's intent, probably better than anyone since these immortal words were first uttered, adequately caught the spirit of Paul's famous verse and rendered it ingeniously in another language.

It is of no small interest for a further vindication of the essential correctness of Luther's daring rendering, if that were indeed needed, that recent NT scholarship has pointed out that Paul uses the word $\chi\rho\omega\rho\iota\varsigma$ in this passage, meaning more than simply "without"—meaning namely, "apart from." It is only fair to say that Luther rendered poetically and imaginatively, with all the warmth and enthusiasm of a man stirred to his depths, what cool, prosaic, objective modern scholars translate dispassionately as "apart from." The spirit, however, is the same. Luther's rendition, it would seem, is as scientifically accurate as it is artistically and idiomatically matchless.

4. Conclusion

We have reached the end of our brief survey of Luther's exegetical and translational work on the Bible. It is safe to say, by way of conclusion, that Luther combines in one person the genius

of two of his most distinguished predecessors in these two fields, Jerome the translator and Augustine the exegete. One may hold that Luther excelled both these men in their respective endeavors. If we bear in mind that Jerome merely revised large sections of the *Itala*, leaving many passages almost unchanged, Luther's eminence stands out immediately; for his German Bible, despite a small measure of indebtedness to the German Bible tradition of the Middle Ages, is in every responsible sense an original translation, not just a revision, no matter how extensive or polished, of an already-existing basic text.

Augustine's high place among Christian exegetes is assured. It is he who was the primary authority for all medieval exegesis, which was so largely under his sway for many long centuries. Luther is in a profound sense the last exegete in the Augustinian tradition. But he surpassed his beloved predecessor in matters exegetical to the extent that his theology was profounder than that of the great African father. This ineluctable fact forces itself upon us by a comparison of Augustine's and Luther's interpretations of the psalms, for example. Luther represents the crowning achievement of the great epoch of Christian exegesis of the psalms beginning with Augustine and ending in the sixteenth century.

Finally, from the standpoint of Bible translation, Martin Luther was a creative Bible translator, who has given the world a transfigured, personalized, and individualized Bible in one of the important modern languages. In order to appreciate it fully, it is quite imperative to recognize in it the heritage of the Middle Ages. Although Luther's German Bible also points forward, to some extent, to the future in that it is scholarly, its most characteristic feature points to a great past, which it sums up. But it surpasses that past in a religious intensity crowned by the idea of *sola fides*. Thus, this literary and religious masterpiece stands at the end of the Middle Ages, as their very culmination.

LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF WORK AND REWARD

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Luther's unambiguous rejection of the doctrine of merit must not deceive us into thinking that the Reformer did not hold fast to the biblical sayings about reward. In modern research on Luther by both Protestant and Catholic scholars, his firm stance on this is unquestioned.¹

Respect for the biblical teaching of reward compelled him to maintain the concept of reward. To do this seemed to him all the easier because he saw in Paul's and John's emphasis on the "high doctrine of Christ" (*hoher artikel von Christo*)² the soteriological priority that gave the Synoptics the right to emphasize work and reward.³ For him, Paul and Matthew stand in the unity of the faith which announces itself in works, although Luther also conceded that the emphasis of his opponents on works ("Behold works, works" [*Ecce opera, opera*], should not be taken lightly.⁴

For Luther, it was important that from *praemium* ("reward") we should not conclude a *meritum* ("earning," "merit"),⁵ for

¹Cf. Walther von Loewenich, *Luther als Ausleger der Synoptiker* (Munich, 1954), p. 193; Rudolf Hermann, *Luthers Theologie* (Göttingen, 1967), pp. 151-152; Albrecht Peters, *Glaube und Werk* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 186-207; Otto Hermann Pesch, *Theologie der Rechtfertigung bei Martin Luther und Thomas von Aquin* (Mainz, 1967), p. 321; and August Hasler, *Luther in der katholischen Dogmatik* (Munich, 1968), p. 232.

²*Luthers Werke*, Weimar Ausgabe, 32: 352.37. References to the primary sources will be exclusively from this basic edition, hereinafter cited as *WA* (or as *WA-TR* for the "Tischreden" volumes, and *WA-DB* for the "Deutsche Bibel" volumes). Normally, I will indicate not only the volume (including "part" and "section," where applicable) and page citation, but also the exact line or lines on the page.

³*WA* 32: 352.33-353.6.

⁴*WA* 38: 645.24-27.

⁵*WA* 39/1: 306.14-16.

anyone who wishes to earn will be lost.⁶ The person who serves for the sake of earning a reward has not surrendered completely to God. The one who receives the reward of grace attributes everything to God. This latter sort of individual serves God spontaneously, and all the rest comes about as a result.⁷

Merit, says Luther, implies a morality of reward and a spiritual thinking in class structures ("should not a Carthusian earn more . . . than . . . a housewife?").⁸ However, the biblical reward implies that the work is done for God's sake and is an illustration of the promise of God, which the believer now possesses by faith and will later possess by sight.⁹ Nevertheless, in conjunction with this general reward of grace, which consists of the gift of eternal life and is distributed to all in a similar way, Luther also sees a charismatic reward which will distinguish Paul, Peter, and the martyrs from the mass of other believers.¹⁰ This greater reward is derived from the greater gifts which were given to the Apostles and the martyrs,¹¹ gifts which "without any cooperation and thought" (*on alle zuthun und gedanken*)¹² come from God and therefore do not provide a basis for any merit.

Within the framework of these fundamental theological concepts, Luther's exegesis was concerned with all the texts that his opponents offered for establishing the thought of merit (texts, incidentally, still used for the same purpose). These texts will be discussed under the following broad categories: (1) those that seem to show a final relationship between works and reward (e.g., texts that encourage works in view of ultimate rewards); (2) those which in some sense appear to make a correspondence of work and reward (e.g., Luke 6:38: "The measure you give will be the measure you receive back"); (3) those which express an imperative to do good works (e.g., Matt 19:17, Jesus' command to the rich young ruler to

⁶WA 7: 801.2-13; 18: 694.15-17.

⁷WA 10/3: 280.8-14.

⁸WA 7: 559.24; and 32: 522.26-27—"Solt ein Catheuser nicht mehr verdienen . . . den . . . eine ehewraw?"

⁹WA 7: 559.18-23; 2: 98.34-40.

¹⁰WA 36: 652.15-18; 653.24-27.

¹¹WA 36: 513.35.

¹²WA 36: 516.32.

keep the commandments); (4) NT passages which deal with "judgment according to works" and the "faith"/"works" relationship as treated in the Epistle of James; (5) NT passages that ascribe to "love" (along with "faith" and even above "faith") a justifying or even meritorious value; and (6) several other texts that specify or imply a reward for service or obedience.

1. *Texts on Works and Final Reward*

Texts which seem to show a final relationship of works and reward include the following:

Matt 5:11-12 — "Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you . . . for great is your reward in heaven."

Matt 6:1-4 — Alms are to be in secret, "and your Father, who sees in secret, will reward you openly."

Matt 6:14-15 — "If you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if you do not forgive men their trespasses, your Father will not forgive your trespasses."

Matt 19:27-30 — Peter queries, "What, then, shall we have?" (after stating, "We have left all and followed you"). Jesus responds by referring to final rewards, adding that "many who are first will be last, and many who are last will be first."

1 Cor 9:24 — Counsel is given to so run the race as to obtain the prize.

1 Cor 15:58 — Exhortation to "be steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, knowing that in the Lord your labor is not in vain."

Since the idea of one's own goal-directed accomplishment for the attainment of an appropriate reward lies at the root of the final ethical principle, could not one read the concept of merit into such texts?

Luther thinks not. He knows that the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5-7) is addressed to Christ's disciples¹³ and therefore pertains

¹³WA 32: 543.34.

to the lived faith. But the lived faith presupposes the received salvation. The believer does not need to earn anything more, but he probably needs the encouragement and comfort of knowing that God rewards—even undeservedly.¹⁴

The Beatitudes (Matt 5:3-12) doubtless emphasize “doing.” But from where and how this “doing” comes into being, the Evangelist Matthew says in another place. Nevertheless, the first Beatitude already indicates that all works presuppose the right, believing mind.¹⁵ But this—the work in faith—is God’s working; therefore it does not belong to man, but to God.¹⁶

Again and again, Luther emphasizes that work is a witness to faith—that faith makes one religious, and that works demonstrate this.¹⁷ Faith is the commander in the process; work is the witness. The work does not really need to be commanded, as such, at all; it occurs by itself with the Christian. It is exactly thus that reward is simply the consequence of the work.¹⁸

If reward is proclaimed in the gospel, Luther further points out, it is not that it may be sought and earned, but that it may be recognized.¹⁹ Reward functions, not to build salvation, but to enjoy the promise. Therefore, one should not confuse promise and merit.²⁰ Even if heaven were to be earned by lifting up a straw, Luther would nevertheless not do it, for that would revile the honor of God.²¹ Even with complete obedience of grace, God’s mercy must be called upon, because God so wishes it.²² Thus, Luther rejects not only the doctrine of merit of Scholasticism, but also the teaching of the final way of salvation by Augustine.²³

¹⁴WA 32: 339.34-35; 340.17-19; 543.1-4. See also 10/3: 401.17-18.

¹⁵WA 38: 459.9-11, 16-19.

¹⁶WA 10/3: 286.9-10.

¹⁷WA 10/3: 286.20-287.6.

¹⁸WA 10/3: 297.9-11; 289.14-32; 401.19-20.

¹⁹WA 10/3: 289.28.

²⁰WA 32: 543.28-32 (lines 30-32: “Da mustu mir nicht ein gemenge machen und die zwey unter einander brewen”).

²¹WA 10/3: 280.10-14.

²²WA-TR 1: 32.19-30.

²³Ibid.

Apparently only the Synoptics speak of works-righteousness, says Luther; but in reality they—especially Luke—speak of the *sola fide* which is a *sola fide numquam sola*. John and James agree with this also. The emphasis on works then, as well as now, must be given because even the faithful are always in danger of neglecting obedience.²⁴ In this, there can be no talk of merits in any case. The thought of merit is rejected in the Scriptures. There is neither a *meritum de congruo* for justification, nor a *meritum de condigno* for salvation.²⁵

Jesus' polemic against the Pharisees (Matt 6:1-4) gives Luther occasion to emphasize the difference between human-merit morality and divine-reward morality. Both have works as the goal,²⁶ but merit morality (*der schendliche Tück*) seeks its own honor, while the biblical reward-ethic does all for God's sake—not to attain merit, but in the same way as God also gives gifts daily whether one thanks Him for them or not.²⁷ This the world cannot learn; only as one becomes a Christian can it be learned.²⁸ To the one who seeks no reward and who wishes only to please God will the reward freely come, for God has thus promised and he does not lie.²⁹

Where the forgiveness of man seems to be a precondition for God's forgiveness (Matt 6:14-15), Luther emphasizes that this is only apparently so, for one must distinguish between inner and outer forgiveness.³⁰ Through the gospel and word of God, man receives forgiveness first in his heart through faith. This is God's work alone and can be compared with the trunk or roots of a tree. Only then is the person capable of forgiving. This is the fruit; or as 2 Pet 1:10 puts it, works are to confirm the call and election that has already occurred. This is the proper assurance (*certificatio*) of faith. The one who experiences it knows that this does not spring

²⁴WA 10/3: 293.3-16.

²⁵WA 32: 538.11-14; 539.33-39.

²⁶WA 32: 408.30.

²⁷WA 32: 408.12-15; 409.8-10,16; 411.1-8.

²⁸WA 32: 408.40-409.1; 410.30-31.

²⁹WA 32: 410.20; 413.6-8.

³⁰WA 32: 422.30-32; and 423.15-424.1.

from his own nature but from the grace of God.³¹

Sophists are those who believe that one may earn merits through works. The Christian looks, however, to words such as in Matt 6:14-15, to God's word and promise with the eye of faith. Hence the works that follow become a "sign" (*warzeichen*) that God is gracious.³² Forgiveness of one's neighbor doubtless becomes a condition. However, it is not a final condition, but rather a *consecutively set-up condition*—one which does not strive for salvation, but rather witnesses to salvation. Otherwise, faith would not be genuine.³³

Peter's question, "What, then, shall we have?" (Matt 19:27), gives Luther the occasion to go into the problem of the general and the charismatic reward. A person is redeemed only through faith, but receives the charismatic reward according to works. As now a pastor can stand before a congregation because of the special gift lent to him (*suo dono*), so also there will be differences in the resurrection of the dead.³⁴ But the general reward is totally a reward of grace, for the first will be last and the last first. This is the main point (*heubstuck*) of the whole matter.

Peter's assertion that the disciples had left everything shows that it is only a matter of the work of the Holy Spirit, Luther points out, for no one of himself is capable of it. "Widderteuffer" and "Parfuser Munche" ("Anabaptists" and "discalced friars") act from their own initiative. Thereby they behave as proudly as Diogenes, the saint of the devil, who paraded his poverty.³⁵

Theologians divide grace and merit, says Luther; they act according to the principle that "when you have accomplished this, I will be your debtor" (*Si feceris, tum tibi debitor ero*).³⁶ God

³¹WA 32: 424.1-4.

³²WA 32: 424.17-25.

³³WA 15: 484.14-18.

³⁴WA 30/2: 668.11-15. At first sight, this seems to contradict another statement, where Luther asserts that *coram Deo* Paul would not stand higher than the rest of the saved (WA 15: 425.8). But apparently by this he means concerning the kingdom of God, which is alike for all because Christ is alike for all (*ibid.*, lines 3-4).

³⁵WA 47: 358.12-16; 359.9; 360.9-27.

³⁶WA 15: 424.24.

rewards according to grace. One who recognizes him as King of mercy is spontaneously given gifts a hundredfold.³⁷

Luther responds in a similar way to the Pauline texts that were in like manner put forward as final-meritorious. The challenge to run and to obtain the prize (1 Cor 9:24) does not say anything about *how* this is to happen. Can one conclude from the sentence, "If the Emperor defeats the Turks he will be lord of Syria," that he consequently can both do it and does do so?³⁸ Only through faith in Christ is it possible to obtain the crown; everything else is in vain, even if the person sweats blood.³⁹ The works of faith, however, please God; and this in itself would be a comfort, even if nothing more followed. But more does follow, because God promised the reward of grace, which reward the believer can expect. It is thus that Luther interprets 1 Cor 15:58.⁴⁰

2. *Texts Suggesting Correspondence of Work and Reward*

Even more challenging to Luther than the foregoing category of texts must have been the texts that are seen by some in the sense of a correspondence of work and reward, such as:

Matt 5:7 — "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

Matt 7:1-2 and Luke 6:38 — "... The measure you give will be the measure that you receive back."

Matt 10:41 — The person who receives a prophet "will receive a prophet's reward."

Luther did not allow himself to be irritated by these texts, but he could not find in them the thought of merit.⁴¹ From his theological viewpoint this is understandable, for there cannot be any correspondence if reward is promise, consequence, and result,

³⁷WA 15: 424.17-19.

³⁸WA 18: 693.21-26.

³⁹WA 34/1: 158.12-13; 159.4-5.

⁴⁰WA 18: 695.12-17.

⁴¹"Ego non lego neque invenio in hoc Euangelio, quod aliquid mereamur operibus" (WA 27: 245.9-10).

rather than resting upon worthiness.⁴² Promise, furthermore, can never be coupled with claim and correspondence, for it goes far beyond all human thought of right and measure.⁴³ God himself is indeed the promise!

What, then, do the gospel sayings about work and reward mean? First, the promise should operate similarly to the law. The law commands and at the same time proves one's incapability, for no one can fulfill it. Likewise, the promise encourages and, at the same time, shows that the person can do nothing to attain it.⁴⁴

Second, one must distinguish between command (*praeceptum*) and promise (*promissio*). In the case of a command, the person only produces his indebtedness. Like the servant in Luke 17:10, he has no claim on the reward. He must simply do as he is commanded. It is different with the promise. God out of mercy adds it to the account of what the person owes.⁴⁵ Out of this, therefore, no accounting can arise.⁴⁶

Third, one could, because of the gift-character of the "reward," speak at most of a paradoxical correspondence.⁴⁷ The one who stands before God like a beggar stands simultaneously there like a rich man. For the one who boasts of his possessions loses all, but the one who comes with empty hands receives an unspeakably rich gift. Again and again, as Luther emphasizes, the person stands before God with faith, while works apply to the neighbor.⁴⁸ Thus, from the beginning there can be no correspondence between works and reward. Works stand, as Luther stressed repeatedly to his hearers, in consecutive relationship to faith. They are proof of faith (*preysung, bewerbung, zaychen, sigel, volgen, fruecht, beweynung*).⁴⁹

⁴²WA 18: 693.38-39; 694.37-38.

⁴³"Wohl euch die jr barmhertzig seid, denn jr werdet widder eitel barmhertzigkeit finden beide hie und dort, und solche barmhertzigkeit, die alle menschliche wolthat und barmhertzigkeit unausprechlich weit uberrifft" (WA 32: 323.10-12).

⁴⁴WA 18: 695.2-11.

⁴⁵"Uber das quod debemus, addit promissionem quae non fit ex merito, sed ex misericordia" (WA 27: 246.6-7).

⁴⁶"Si illa [merita] respiceret, wurde er yn ein rechnung treten" (WA 27: 246.14-15).

⁴⁷WA 32: 479.8.

⁴⁸WA 10/1 sect. 2: 314.11-13; 10/3: 222.24-223.8.

⁴⁹WA 10/3: 225.18-226.8 (cf. also 226.22-23); 10/1 sect. 2: 318.15-23.

Fourth, Luther sees in Matt 5:7 and Luke 6:31-38 what are simply examples of the "Golden Rule" in the relationship between persons.⁵⁰ There are "spiritual sayings" (*etliche sprüch füren den gaist*), which deal with faith and the freely given salvation; and there are "bodily sayings" (*die den leib füren*), which deal with works and the responsibility toward the neighbor. The words of Jesus—"Forgive, and so you will be forgiven"; "Give, and thus it will be given to you;" and "With the measure with which you measure, it will be measured to you"—belong in the second group and have reference within the world.⁵¹

The word about "a prophet's reward" (Matt 10:41) Luther calls a Hebraism. It really has reference only to a received gift. As the preacher can be considered to be Christ because he preaches the word of Christ—without there really being a correspondence between Christ and preacher—, so it is with the reward, since it is reward only in a symbolic sense.⁵² The content of the reward during the present is the wisdom of the prophet, which is given by the Spirit; in eternity it will be the everlasting life that God gives. The charismatic reward will be different, for the prophet is a teacher and we are his pupils.⁵³

3. *Texts Expressing an Imperative to Do Good Works*

Since Luther's way of interpreting the Scriptures can be called "biblicism," certain texts must have been especially challenging to him—texts expressing an imperative to do good works and which at first glance would seem to be like erratic blocks in his doctrine of reward. Among such texts are the following:

Dan 4:24-27 — Decree of God's punishment upon Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar, and an appeal to Nebuchadnezzar to "break off your sins by practicing righteousness . . . , that there may perhaps be a lengthening of your tranquility."

Matt 6:20 — "Lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven."

⁵⁰WA 10/1 sect. 2: 323.12-28.

⁵¹WA 10/1 sect. 2: 319.1-19; 323.18-23.

⁵²WA 38: 515.8-10.

⁵³WA 48: 113.4-7, 11-16.

Matt 19:17 — “If you would enter life, keep the commandments.”

Luke 16:9 — “Make friends for yourselves by means of unrighteous mammon, so that . . . they may receive you into the eternal habitations.”

Dan 4:24-27 is a passage of Scripture with which Luther strove repeatedly, both as young and as old Reformer, and to which he devoted a disputation in 1535. He expresses the idea that either unbelief or faith precedes all words about sin and good works.⁵⁴ Therefore, in order to be able to give alms, the person’s heart must first become pure.⁵⁵ This occurs through Christ and faith.⁵⁶ The giving of alms, through which Nebuchadnezzar was to produce righteousness, means the same as the *fides incarnata*;⁵⁷ namely, the faith that makes righteous because it stands the test by good works *coram hominibus*.⁵⁸

The imperative to the deed is not moral; rather, it is theological. That is, it does not automatically apply to the powers of the person; but on the contrary, it applies to faith.⁵⁹

How, though, could Nebuchadnezzar have had faith? Luther says that Nebuchadnezzar had had Daniel as preacher of the true God and could take for himself the salvation in Christ proleptically, as all people in the time of the OT could do.⁶⁰ But since the king did not believe, and therefore did not act accordingly, he was punished for his unbelief.⁶¹ Most important of all for the Reformer was the fact that the *fides incarnata* (life-righteousness as consequence) is not to be played out against the *sola fide* (faith-righteousness as ground).⁶²

⁵⁴WA 30/2: 663.3-6; 39/1: 64.7 and 65.5.

⁵⁵WA 12: 647.3-7.

⁵⁶WA 39/1: 47.11-12.

⁵⁷WA 39/1: 65.6-7.

⁵⁸WA 12: 647.2-3; 10/1 sect. 2: 44.21-23; 30/2: 662.24-26.

⁵⁹WA 40/1: 457.19-23.

⁶⁰WA 39/1: 65.18-19, and 64.3-4.

⁶¹WA 30/2: 663.1-3.

⁶²WA 39/1: 65.26-28.

Such considerations concerning the theological imperative lead us also to Luther's interpretation for the NT texts noted above. For him, the imperative indicated in them is likewise not moral, but theological.

Concerning Matt 6:20, Luther thinks that the imperative really would not be necessary, because genuine faith always fulfills the will of God. Jesus here is not emphasizing the search for merit and reward; he is warning against greed. It is a call to trust in God alone, for no one can serve two masters.⁶³ The reference to the "invisible treasure" (*der unsichtige Schatz*)⁶⁴ does not mean final meritorious accomplishments, but total surrender to God. Jesus wishes to warn against temptations that could destroy faith.⁶⁵

In any case, for Luther it would be a grave misunderstanding if one wished to speak of works and reward *coram Deo* in "human terms" (*menschlicher weysse*),⁶⁶ for with God faith and reward do not follow work. In fact, it is just the opposite: the works follow faith, and living faith has the reward as consequence—"without any seeking for it" (*on alles suchen*).⁶⁷

The passage in Matt 19:17 occupied Luther's attention frequently, for on the basis of that text the pope asserted that it is not faith but works that count before God. This "dark saying" (*finsterer Spruch*), said Luther, can be illuminated by many lucid sayings, all of which emphasize the keeping of the commandments as a consequence of salvation, and not as the cause of salvation. For "must" ("You must keep the commandments") does not mean "can" or "be able to" ("You are able to keep the commandments").⁶⁸ The Scripture always is to be understood from Christ (*pro Christo intelligenda*). "From Christ" means "from faith in Christ" (*in fide Christi*).⁶⁹ That also means that merits have to be diminished, even

⁶³WA 10/3: 289.15-16; 32: 437.12-13; 38: 462.39-463.18.

⁶⁴WA 32: 443.8.

⁶⁵WA 32: 443.9-12; 437.7-8.

⁶⁶WA 10/3: 289.7-10.

⁶⁷WA 10/3: 289.18-22.

⁶⁸WA 47: 341.39-342.3; 342.26-32; 343.15-35.

⁶⁹WA 39/1: 47.3,6; 40/1: 415.18-24.

annihilated. In grace, all people are alike; only in merits = gifts are they different.⁷⁰

Luther attempted to grasp Luke 16:9 in the most systematic way. He felt that in this text we must deal with three questions: (1) Does our relationship with God depend on *works*? (2) Should we perform works for *our* salvation? (3) Are the "friends" who receive us the Catholic *saints*?⁷¹

The first question he answers thus: It is not our works but our faith that makes us friends of God.⁷² Only because the Scholastics always understand faith as the *fides informis* are we even tempted to mingle works with the question of salvation. If people had held fast to fiducial faith, the work question would not have come up at all, for works follow true faith just as fruits are brought forth on a tree. In the gospel we are made aware of works only so that we may know what correct faith is. Only faith makes pious (i.e., religious); works merely demonstrate the piety.⁷³ Faith first makes righteous "inside the spirit" (*inwendig im geyst*); but works, "outwardly" (*eusserlich und offentlich*).⁷⁴

From this, the second question also is solved for Luther: It is a self-evident corollary that works must take place selflessly and freely. Concerning this, he points to Matt 10:8 ("You received without pay, give without pay"). Besides the usual argument—namely, that works serve one's neighbor—the thought is implicit here that works must be done to honor God (*Gott tzu ehren*).⁷⁵

This *Deo, soli gloria* then solves the third question: The saints cannot do anything for us. As sinners, they themselves need God.⁷⁶ Luther sees the "friends" in the parable, not in heaven, but on earth. They are the poor who must be helped. The "receiving" is a portrayal of the way that some day they will bear witness before

⁷⁰WA-TR 2: 450.16-18.

⁷¹WA 10/3: 283.22-29, and cf. lines 12-13.

⁷²WA 10/3: 283.30-284.8.

⁷³WA 10/3: 285.3-286.4, 20-32.

⁷⁴WA 10/3: 286.26-28.

⁷⁵WA 10/3: 288.16-17, 23.

⁷⁶WA 10/3: 290.10-12.

God to our faith; however, basically it is not they, but God, who receives.⁷⁷

4. *NT Texts on "Judgment According to Works" and the Faith/Works Relationship*

Luther, of course, puzzled over the relation between works and reward while interpreting passages in the NT which refer to a "judgment according to works"; and he found it necessary, too, to discuss the relationship of "faith" and "works" as set forth in the Epistle of James. We shall notice here Luther's treatment of the following two passages:

Matt 16:27 — At the Son of man's coming he will "reward everyone according to his works."

Jas 2:14-26 — Faith is evidenced by works. E.g., "What does it profit . . . if a man says he has faith but does not have works? (vs. 14); ". . . I will show you my faith by my works" (vs. 18); "As the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead" (vs. 26).

Reward According to Works (Matt 16:27)

Luther devoted himself to the problem of "judgment according to works" most specifically in connection with his explanation of Matt 16, but indicated his position concerning this question also in dealing with such texts as Matt 25:31-40, Rom 2:6, 1 Pet 1:17, and Heb 6:10.

Luther's treatment of this subject was not an attempt to battle against the concept of works and reward, but was rather a polemic against the theology of a humanly earned justification. Indeed, he felt that there must be a judgment according to works, simply because there is no righteousness in the world. If there were righteousness, he pointed out, then John Huss would not have been executed.⁷⁸

Every worldly judgment is, accordingly, concerned with violations of the commandments from the Second Table of the Law.

⁷⁷WA 10/3: 288.19-27; 290.28-31.

⁷⁸WA 30/2: 670.29-30; 38: 644.30-35 and 645.8-16.

Such a judgment is, therefore, *a priori* only an impoverished one (*Es ist ein bettlerisch gericht und nicht das a, b, c vom gericht Gottes*).⁷⁹

But to conclude something from Matt 16 concerning justification is false, says Luther, for that text does not concern justification, but judgment. It does not ask *how* a person *becomes* righteous, but *whether* a person *is* righteous. The Scripture contains a double aspect: promise and law. Gift corresponds to the first, and work to the second.⁸⁰

Indeed, the works that are done must not be isolated from the person who does them. Before works occur, they are decided in the heart, spirit, will, and understanding. That is to say, the *righteous person* is to be set ahead of the *righteous act*. Concerning this, there is agreement among philosophers and theologians. The difference lies only in that the philosopher thinks in the category of reason-work, while the theologian thinks in the category of faith-works.⁸¹

The "being righteous" occurs through faith alone (*sola fide*). The "being found righteous" occurs through the work of faith.⁸² Faith and work belong together and should not be separated; both form the inseparable sum of being a Christian (*summa des gantzen Christlichen lebens*).⁸³

Once again, Luther emphasizes that the work of faith must not be separated from the person. It is not the works that are judged, but the person who is judged according to the works. The works receive no reward, but the individual who performs the works does (*Quare non opera, sed operans recipiet mercedem*).⁸⁴ Therefore, in the judgment, it is a question of the *root* of the right action—that is, of the *person* changed by faith—not simply a matter of the action itself (*credulitas, not operatio*).⁸⁵

⁷⁹WA 38: 645.1-7.

⁸⁰WA 38: 645.17-22, 32-35.

⁸¹WA 38: 646.8-39.

⁸²WA 38: 647.9-10; 648.21-28.

⁸³WA 38: 647.24-32; 12: 289.23-290.11, 32-33.

⁸⁴WA 12: 647.32-35.

⁸⁵WA 57/1: 23.12-13.

Luther wishes hereby to secure the consecutive aspect of salvation in contrast to the final way of salvation. For faith, the recipient can only be thankful and grateful; on the other hand, with works there is always the danger of self-assertion. Thus, it is clear that Paul, like every other Christian, will be saved only by grace (though nevertheless, independent of the question of salvation, a greater charismatic reward awaits him).⁸⁶

The Relationship of "Faith" and "Works" (Jas 2:14-26)

Luther's exegesis of Jas 2:14-26 mirrors the strained relationship between the Reformer and the Epistle of James which he referred to as "a strawy epistle" and "a papist epistle."⁸⁷ Several different kinds of observations about this epistle's faith/works relationship are found in Luther's writings. Moreover, in an interesting way these run parallel in time.

In his preface to James and Jude in 1522, Luther indeed affirms that James' letter is to be praised for its stress on the law, but that it stands in contradiction to Paul because it ascribes justification to works.⁸⁸ In the sermons from the same year, however, he harmonizes Paul and James in that he has the latter speak of "dead" faith and "living" faith, wherein the living faith is shown by works. James treats these works only in the context of *post justificationem*.⁸⁹

The recorded "table conversations" add some perspectives, too. In one that is dated 1533, Luther explains forcefully that Paul and James cannot be harmonized even if many interpreters, including Melanchthon, have endeavored to do so with "perspiration."⁹⁰ Luther held fast to this view to the end of his life. In fact, in 1542 he repeated the assertion made in 1522, to the effect that the Epistle is not apostolic and does not speak of Christ. It came, Luther

⁸⁶WA 30/2: 670.27-29.

⁸⁷WA-DB 6: 10.33-34; WA-TR 5: 414.7—"Strohern Epistel," "Papisten Epistel."

⁸⁸WA-DB 7: 384.3-6, 9-10.

⁸⁹WA 10/3: 288.3-6; 293.10-11.

⁹⁰WA-TR 3: 253.25-29 (in no. 3292a)—"Wer die zusamen reymen kan, dem wil ich mein pirreth auffsetzen und wil mich yhn einen narren lassen schelten." Cf. WA-TR 5: 414.4.

observed, from a Jew who held the teaching of the law in contrast to the Christian teaching of faith.⁹¹

Over against this sort of explanation stands a table conversation of 1533 wherein Luther explains that James is right if one takes his word as referring to the external behavior according to the Ten Commandments. Apparently, Luther here means the *iustitia civilis*, for just prior to this he had praised the external discipline and training of the "Waldenses," and had reproached them only because they knew no *sola fide* in justification. It is only if the position of James is drawn into the question of justification that it contradicts God and the Holy Scriptures.⁹²

5. *NT Texts that Ascribe to "Love" a Justifying
or Meritorious Value*

From the *sola fide* principle it was also unavoidable that Luther had to face the NT passages which ascribe to love, along with faith and even above faith, justifying or even meritorious value. Luther was all the more unable to avoid this question because of the fact that his opponents again and again boasted of these texts, especially 1 Cor 13.⁹³ The main Scripture passages treated by Luther in this category may be listed as follows:

Luke 7:47 — "... her sins, which are many, are forgiven, for she loved much. ..."

1 Cor 13:1-2,13 — "... If I have all faith, so as to remove mountains, but do not have love, I am nothing." "So these three abide—faith, hope, love—; but the greatest of these is love."

Gal 5:6 — "... faith which works through love."

1 Pet 4:8 — "Above all, have unfailling love for one another, for love covers over a multitude of sins."

⁹¹*WA-TR* 5: 157.17-23 (no. 5443).

⁹²*WA-TR* 3: 38.9-18 (no. 2864b).

⁹³"Bei dem gemeinen Man ist ein abenteuerlich Epistel, weyls selzam wort sind, preiset auch die lieb ubern glauben und hofnung, setzt auch, es sey alles nichts, was nicht lieb ist, sind scharffe word, Papisten schliessen hiraus, Der glaub mache nicht selig" (*WA* 49: 351.23-26).

1 John 4:17 — “Love is perfected with us, so that we may have confidence in the day of judgment.”

In the year 1535 Luther devoted a special disputation to Luke 7:47. For him the exegetical key to the whole section is in vs. 50, which indicates that it was not love but faith that helped the woman before God. Christ did not say to her, “Faith and love [*fides caritate formata*] have saved you.” He said, “Your faith has saved you; go in peace.”

Luther points out, further, the fact that in speaking to the woman, Jesus mentions only her faith and is silent concerning works (vs. 50), whereas in speaking to Simon the Pharisee, he calls attention to the woman’s works and is silent about her faith (vss. 44-47). Jesus did this because the Pharisees looked upon the woman as a public sinner and Jesus could thus rehabilitate her. She saw herself, however, as a sinner before God and was justified by her faith.⁹⁴

Thus, the whole pericope is a commentary on the *sola fide numquam sola*—that is, on the faith that alone redeems, but which does not remain alone through the fact that it reveals itself in love.⁹⁵ Every merit is thereby excluded, for in Rom 4 Paul distinguishes between the “imputed gift” (*donum imputatum*) and the “merited reward” (*merces merita*).⁹⁶

Luther’s views concerning the famous Corinthian passage (1 Cor 13:1-13) have been treated in detail by Paul Althaus,⁹⁷ so that it suffices here simply to summarize his comments briefly. Luther struggled with this passage throughout his lifetime. Until the 1530s he interpreted the pericope in different ways, and only toward the end of his life did he break through to a single interpretation.⁹⁸ According to Althaus, the fluctuations are a sign of the difficulties that the Reformer found here.⁹⁹

⁹⁴WA 39/1: 128.5-129.8; 130.33-35; 131.5-6.

⁹⁵WA 39/1: 129.9-11, 19-20; 131.41-42.

⁹⁶WA 39/1: 130.5-8.

⁹⁷Paul Althaus, *Die Theologie Martin Luthers*, 4th ed. (Gütersloh, 1975), pp. 357-371.

⁹⁸Ibid., pp. 357-358.

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 372.

It is possible to distinguish four explanations of 1 Cor 13 in Luther:¹⁰⁰ (1) The faith of which Paul speaks is not the special faith in Christ but the general faith in God—which even the pagans possess. Such a faith can also work miracles. Luther finds proof for this in Judas. Paul cannot have meant the Christian faith, because that always draws love after it. (2) On the other hand, if one wishes to understand faith here as the Christian faith, then it is a decadent faith which, out of pride in its own power to work miracles, lets love be absent. (3) However, one could also understand that Paul is in a way speaking of unreality (*unmögliches Exempel*). That is, in order to emphasize the indispensability of love, Paul sets forth an impossible example. The impossibility consists of the fact that faith cannot really exist without love. The discussion, though, is only theoretical and has a purely didactic character. (4) At a later time, Luther allowed room for the thought that in 1 Cor 13 the faith mentioned should be understood as the charismatic gift referred to in the context (1 Cor 12); thus, the reference would not be to the salvation-faith at all.

Whereas in 1525 Luther recommended the third interpretation,¹⁰¹ at the end of his life he had swung around to the first interpretation.¹⁰² According to Althaus, Luther would have come closest to Paul with the second interpretation.¹⁰³ Modern exegesis, on the other hand, opts generally for the fourth interpretation.¹⁰⁴

Luther's treatment of Gal 5:6 is quite different. Between the young and the old Reformer there is here a consistency in viewpoint. Luther was completely sure that his opponents falsely interpreted the passage, for this passage does not speak of becoming righteous (justification), but of the life of the righteous person

¹⁰⁰For the first three, see *WA* 17/2: 164.27,34-36; 165.6-20. For the fourth one, see *WA* 39/1: 77.3; 39/2: 236.8-9.

¹⁰¹*WA* 17/2: 165.14.

¹⁰²*WA* 39/2: 310.13-20.

¹⁰³Althaus, p. 371.

¹⁰⁴Cf., e.g., Hans Lietzmann, *An die Korinther I-II*, Handbuch zum Neuen Testament, 5th ed. (Tübingen, 1969), p. 61; Archibald Robertson and Alfred Plummer, *First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, ICC, 2d ed. (Edinburgh, 1958), p. 266; and Frederik W. Grosheide, *Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians* NICNT (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1953), p. 286.

(sanctification).¹⁰⁵ When it is a question of becoming righteous, Paul speaks in Rom 3:11 of a verdict without works and merit.¹⁰⁶ The faith that is effective through love is not the theoretical faith (*fides ficta*),¹⁰⁷ which for its practical completion needs love as an enlivening element and so becomes *fides formata*.¹⁰⁸ The faith of which Paul speaks in Gal 5:6 is the living faith, the *fides efficax*—as Erasmus also refers to it in the original. This faith must be called the genuine faith (*fides vera et vivax*).¹⁰⁹ It already has salvation, hence its activity through love has neither a final nor meritorious character. Indeed, Paul defines this faith, not as one that justifies through love (*iustificat, gratum facit*), but as one that works through love (*operatur*).¹¹⁰ As a gift of love from God it has come into being, and as a love-gift to fellowmen it extends itself further.

Luther is also concerned with the reference to fellowmen in 1 Pet 4:8. The love that covers sins is no activity of “satisfaction” in the subjective process of salvation, but is the reconciliation which ends the quarrel with fellowmen. Before God, only faith covers.¹¹¹ However, in forgiving one’s neighbor, a person bears witness to standing in God’s forgiveness. Faith blots out the sin from God’s consciousness; love blots it out from man’s consciousness.¹¹²

According to 1 John 4:17, the Christian can find peace because his love will be remembered in the day of judgment. Luther struggled for some time with this text, as he had with the passage in 1 Cor 13, because he foresaw in it difficulties for his belief in the assurance of salvation. Since Althaus has thoroughly canvassed this problem, we need here only to summarize his conclusions.¹¹³

At first, Luther advocated the interpretation that the love referred to in 1 John 4:17 is not at all a matter of love of the person

¹⁰⁵WA-BR 9: 407.40-41.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., lines 35-37.

¹⁰⁷WA 40/2: 37.13.

¹⁰⁸WA 40/2: 34.17-20.

¹⁰⁹WA 2: 567.19-23; 40/2: 37.14.

¹¹⁰WA 40/2: 35.21-24.

¹¹¹WA 12: 377.27-378.10.

¹¹²WA 10/1 sect.2: 44.18-28; 45.15-16.

¹¹³Althaus, pp. 372-385.

but that rather it pertains to the love of God.¹¹⁴ In other words, because God loves, we need have no anxiety before God's judgment.

Later, Luther gave up this explanation and—according to the context (vs. 18) and with the majority of interpreters—he referred this love to the love of the Christian, which is revealed through the keeping of the Ten Commandments. Here he naturally had to ask the question: How is such an activity to be united with the assurance of salvation of the *sola fide*?

Working out from his basic theological view, Luther handled this matter in a way similar to that in which he dealt with the judgment according to works. The love of which John speaks is the fruit of faith.¹¹⁵ Through it, faith is made firm¹¹⁶ and exercised.¹¹⁷ Thereby love manifests the genuineness of faith itself, the assurance of its genuineness.¹¹⁸ The "perfect love" is thus, for Luther, not the complete love (for it always stands in tension with concupiscence), but is the genuine love.¹¹⁹

6. *Other Texts Relating to Reward*

Several other texts which drew the attention of Luther with respect to his doctrine of *sola fide* in relationship to the question of reward for service or obedience deserve mention here:

1 Cor 4:4 — "I am not aware of anything against me, but I am not thereby acquitted. It is the Lord who judges me."

2 Tim 4:8 — "... crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, will award me on that Day, and not to me only, but also to all who have loved his appearing."

1 Cor 3:8-9 — "He who plants and he who waters are equal, and each will receive recompense according to his work."

¹¹⁴WA 20: 757.26-27.

¹¹⁵WA 49: 784.33-34.

¹¹⁶WA 32: 423.7-8, 18-19.

¹¹⁷WA 20: 716.3-7.

¹¹⁸WA 39/2: 248.11-15.

¹¹⁹WA 36: 444.10-11.

Matt 20:1-16 — Parable of the laborers in the vineyard who began work at different times of the day.

Luther analyzed 1 Cor 4:4 in great detail because his opponents wished to read from Paul's words—"I am not thereby acquitted"—a refutation of the *sola fide* and of the assurance of salvation. Luther points out that Paul simply wishes to say that when a person has a good conscience before other people, he is not necessarily thereby justified **before God**.¹²⁰ The good conscience comes from good works and would mean work-righteousness. But, continues Luther, Paul denies precisely that with the words "I am not thereby acquitted," for the Apostle indeed knows only justification by faith. The person who is thus justified can peacefully stand in God's judgment, knowing that God accepts, not according to works, but according to faith. What the person does not know is how God will judge his works.¹²¹

Thus, according to Luther, Paul is not here speaking at all about his justification. Rather, he is speaking as a Christian who is already justified, for only such a person does works that give a good conscience. But the true good conscience does not come from the works at all; it comes from grace (2 Cor 1:12).¹²² Indeed, without grace, even the person with a good conscience would be lost.¹²³ Before men, the Christian can stress his innocence and have a good reputation, for indeed he keeps the Ten Commandments; but before God, he always stands with guilt and without glory.¹²⁴

What, then, is the relationship of this interpretation to the meaning of texts like 2 Tim 4:8, which speaks about just such a glory ("crown") which God ("the righteous Judge") gives according to worthiness? Luther allows no doubt to arise that this glory comes to a person, not from worthiness (*non dignitate*), but from mercy (*per misericordiam et gratiam*).¹²⁵ No kind of justification is

¹²⁰WA 10/1 sect. 2: 139.31-33.

¹²¹WA 10/1 sect. 2: 140.1-14.

¹²²WA 10/1 sect. 2: 140.15-26.

¹²³WA 39/1: 221.20-222.6.

¹²⁴WA 10/1 sect. 2: 140.28-141.3; 36: 449.29-450.27.

¹²⁵WA 39/1: 235.32-36.

alluded to in this text, but *comfort* is expressed; for God fulfills his promises now only in part, but the Christian can be sure that the complete fulfillment is to come. The works of the one who is received by God are pleasing to God (*sub ala gratiae sunt placita et meritoria*); but they do not accomplish anything toward the first and second justification (*iustificatio, vita aeterna*), for these are gifts. Works occur—as Luther again and again emphasizes—to the honor of God and for the good of the neighbor (*pro gloria Dei, pro commodo proximi*).¹²⁶

The obedience mentioned in 1 Cor 3:8-9 doubtless makes the person a coworker (cooperator), with God, but this cooperation is no contribution of his own. Instead, it is the experience which by the Spirit is given *inwardly* and exercised in order that the gospel *outwardly* may reach other people. Why God makes use of this method is not to be questioned.¹²⁷

This survey of Luther's doctrine of work and reward would be incomplete if we left unnoticed Luther's numerous positions in reference to the parable of the workers in the vineyard (Matt 20:1-16). In this challenging pericope (*scharff Evangelium*),¹²⁸ he found the basic traits of his work-and-reward doctrine confirmed. Therefore, he regarded this parable as an important teaching (*notige und nutzliche lehr*).¹²⁹

Luther knew that many had already attempted the interpretation of this passage;¹³⁰ he himself, in the course of his reformational activity, put forth various interpretations of the details of the parable. Nevertheless, one thing was irrefutably clear to him from the early (1514-17) to the later (1544) explanations: namely, that the parable annuls the thought of merit.¹³¹

He interpreted the vineyard variably as the Jews,¹³² the Christian church,¹³³ and the Holy Scripture.¹³⁴ The workers are not only

¹²⁶WA 30/2: 667.27-32, 35-37; 668.4.

¹²⁷WA 18: 695.28-34.

¹²⁸WA 37: 275.16; 52: 136.1.

¹²⁹WA 47: 370.8-9.

¹³⁰WA 9: 563.11-13.

¹³¹WA 17/2: 140.33.

¹³²WA 47: 371.2.

¹³³WA 9: 562.30; 47: 371.17-18.

¹³⁴WA 9: 563.1.

the preachers, but also simply the believers of all times—the former under the office of the letter, the latter under that of the Spirit.¹³⁵ In general, he distinguished five groups from among the workers (*funfferley erbeiter*):¹³⁶ (1) There are those who have concluded a contract with the owner and are hungry for reward. Those are the work-righteous Jews in general (*populus Synagogae rudissimus*),¹³⁷ or the Jews at the time of Moses in particular. The contract is the Covenant.¹³⁸ (2) Another group has not made any contract, but are still hired hands (*mercenarii*); they, too, are motivated by hunger for reward (*non libero corde set cupiditate*).¹³⁹ They are the Jews at the time of the prophets in the OT.¹⁴⁰ (3,4) Two other groups are similar to the second, for they also serve, not freely, but by command.¹⁴¹ (5) Luther believes he can distinguish yet another group who serve freely (*aus freyem geyst*) and without reckoning.¹⁴² It is this last group that is set in the first place. It consists of the people of the NT.¹⁴³

So, in reality, the five groups form only two groups: (1) that which serves for reward, and (2) the selfless one. The first can be the Jews with their works orientation,¹⁴⁴ proud Christians (*Schwermeri*),¹⁴⁵ monks, and common people¹⁴⁶—persons seeking temporal goods.¹⁴⁷ Yes, even Luther himself can be included, if he boasts about his works!¹⁴⁸ The second group includes the pagans without works,¹⁴⁹ the people who seek what is eternal,¹⁵⁰ the modest

¹³⁵WA 9: 562.32; 565.8.

¹³⁶WA 29: 38.10.

¹³⁷WA 1: 133.16-18,23; 21: 87.38; 27: 39.34.

¹³⁸WA 9: 563.14-15.

¹³⁹WA 1: 133.27,21.

¹⁴⁰WA 9: 563.24-25.

¹⁴¹WA 1: 133.27-29.

¹⁴²WA 9: 564.38.

¹⁴³WA 9: 563.28-35.

¹⁴⁴WA 21: 87.38.

¹⁴⁵WA 27: 39.5-17,28.

¹⁴⁶WA 27: 40.25; 37: 277.1-2.

¹⁴⁷WA 17/2: 138.34-37.

¹⁴⁸WA 47: 372.2-14.

¹⁴⁹WA 21: 87.37.

¹⁵⁰WA 17/2: 138.34-37.

Christians who stand in danger of despair¹⁵¹—in short, all who serve in the right disposition, without wish for reward.¹⁵²

The first group believes that there is correspondence between works and reward, but with God everything goes against human righteousness.¹⁵³ Luther cites the examples of Cain and Abel, Esau and Jacob, Judas and Peter. Before God they are all equal.¹⁵⁴ Men give according to merit; God gives out of kindness (*umbsonst, sola bonitate, kein recht, blos auff sein barmherzikeit*).¹⁵⁵ Collectors of merit, therefore, are deceiving themselves; those who lay claim to merit are rejected.¹⁵⁶ They want to make God a merchant, but God has radically rejected the idea of merit.¹⁵⁷

One may naturally question—on good grounds—whether all of the details that the Reformer has indicated can be read out of the parable. This, however, is not the decisive matter, and it would seem that Luther has worked out well that which really counts in the parable: (1) Before God, nothing is earned by works. (2) What matters is the disposition (*Gesinnung*). (3) Man has no claims in his relation to God. (4) There is no correspondence between work and reward. (5) God deals with man solely from his kindness (*sola bonitate!*).

7. In Conclusion

Luther's real struggle in the theological arena was his fight against the doctrine of merit. By his radical theocentricity and christocentricity (sovereignty of God, predestination, sole agency of God, concept of extrinsic grace and righteousness, total depravity of the human being), he overcame this doctrine.

It may here be pointed out that in Luther's first lecture series on the Psalms in 1513-15, he allowed the *meritum gratiae* and *gloriae* to be valid only as merit of congruity. In his lectures on

¹⁵¹WA 27: 39.18-25.

¹⁵²WA 9: 563.34.

¹⁵³WA 11: 12.10; 27: 41.4-5; 47: 370.19-20; 52: 136.12.

¹⁵⁴WA 11: 13.2-6; 37: 276.1-36.

¹⁵⁵WA 27: 41.7; 1: 134.21; 27: 41.15; 38: 27.

¹⁵⁶WA 11: 14.1-2; 21: 87.39-40.

¹⁵⁷WA 27: 40.22; 17/2: 140.33.

Romans of 1515-16, he broke with the *meritum gratiae*; and from 1518 onward, he also broke with the *meritum gloriae*.

Throughout his career, however, Luther held the biblical thought of reward. In the consecutive way of salvation, he defined reward as a consequence, granted as a gift and not as a personally achieved goal. Every passion for reward, every correspondence of work and reward, and every claim to reward are abolished. Reward is purely a reward of grace, a synonym for God's promise.

MARTIN LUTHER IN HIS LATER YEARS

ALBERT HYMA

Editor's Note: This article represents an edited version of excerpts from the two final chapters ("Return from Wittenberg to Eisleben" and "A New Appraisal") in Hyma's *Martin Luther and the Luther Film of 1953* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1957), pp. 271-283. (The editing does not indicate ellipses from the original text, but a series of asterisks reveals where the chapter break occurs.)

A brief sketch of highlights in Hyma's academic career is provided at the close of this article.

In Luther's last few years he suffered from severe headaches and spells of extraordinary pessimism. It has been assumed by many biographers that Luther was irascible and disagreeable as compared with his earlier years. He is said to have antagonized many dear friends with his vehemence and unreasonable manners. But a close examination of the original sources indicates that he was superior in many ways to certain famous men who were shocked by his intolerance.

Let us begin with the problem of persecution. Wenzel Link had asked him whether a civil government may execute heretics. He answered as follows:

I hesitate to give capital punishment even when it is evidently deserved, for I am terrified to think what happened when the papists and Jews, before Christ, persecuted with death. Whenever and wherever it has been the law to put false prophets and heretics to death, in the course of time it has come to pass that none but the most holy prophets and most innocent men were slain by this law, for wicked rulers made it a pretext and judged whom they wished as false prophets and heretics. I fear the same will happen with us, if we ever allow ourselves to put men to death for opinions even in one just instance, as now we see the papists shed innocent blood instead of guilty [blood] by this law. Wherefore, I am not able to admit in any case that false teachers be put to death; it is sufficient to banish them, and if our posterity abuse

this penalty at least their sin will be less and will hurt only themselves. . . .

I should console those tempted by doubt and despair, first by warning them to beware of solitude, and rather to converse with others on the Psalms and Scriptures; and then—although this is hard to do it is a very present remedy—let them persuade themselves that such thoughts are not really theirs, but Satan's, and that they should strive with all their might to turn their minds to other things and leave such thoughts to him. . . .¹

Another problem needs further elucidation here. Those who have lightly assumed that Luther was unspeakably critical in his final blast at Rome in 1545 should compare this composition with those published about twenty years earlier. The title was *Against the Papacy in Rome Founded by the Devil*. Philip of Hesse read it carefully, and he liked it very much. King Ferdinand, the brother of Charles V, reported that it had been well written but regretted certain strong statements. It was promptly issued in a Latin translation. At the Council of Trent it attracted considerable attention.²

Very interesting is Luther's composition of six pages published in 1545 at Wittenberg by Joseph Klug. It was entitled *Against the XXXII Articles of the Theological Faculty at Louvain*. His reply contained 75 theses in the original Latin version, and 76 in the German. The first reads as follows: "That which is taught in the Church without the Word of God is a lie and heretical." No. 23 of the German version says that the mass is not a sacrifice, No. 24 that mass should not be said for the dead, No. 25 that the dead do not eat and drink. In No. 28 Luther attacks the Zwinglians for denying that during the communion service the believers receive in their mouths "the natural body of Christ."³ In No. 48 the author says that there is a holy Christian Church upon the earth but the heretics at Louvain are no part of it. Luther admits in No. 35 that penance

¹Preserved Smith and C. M. Jacobs, *Luther's Correspondence and Other Contemporary Letters*, 2 (Philadelphia, 1918): 447.

²Luther's *Werke*, Weimar Ausgabe (hereinafter cited as *WA*) 54: 195-202.

³The Latin text has: "Corpus et sanguinum Christi ore carnali sumi." The German text has: "Mündlich empfangen werde der warhaftige natürliche Leib und blut Christi." See *WA* 54: 427, 434.

is a real sacrament, as long as absolution and the faith of the believer are added. In No. 36 he says that the theologians deny the essence of faith, hence are worse than heathen, Turks, and Jews. Very important is No. 74, which states that kings and princes do not have the power to determine what is the proper creed. They must themselves be subject to God's Word and to God. They must serve God. Here we have a reaffirmation of the principle expressed by Luther in 1523 that the prince may not dictate to his subjects what their religious beliefs shall be. It has been widely assumed that Luther after 1528 gave up his belief in religious liberty. But here we see that in 1545 he had returned to his original position. And as for the invocation of saints, he said in No. 70 that the theologians in Louvain had created new gods by invoking the spirits of dead persons, whether they were holy or not. It is regrettable that Luther's final creed has received very little attention.

Those 75 or 76 articles of faith indicate that Luther in 1545 was a very sedate theologian. He arranged his material with great care and showed a keen grasp of fundamental principles. But he was now sixty-two years old and no longer in possession of youthful vigor. He grew tired of the campus atmosphere, and his thoughts returned to the old ancestral home in Eisleben. Moreover, he wanted to settle a quarrel between the princes of Mansfeld. On January 28, 1546, Luther and his party arrived at the home of the Prince of Mansfeld in Eisleben. On February 17, 1546, the old dispute was finally dissolved, much to Luther's credit. He had become exhausted by the arduous trip in the middle of the winter and by the silly quarrels of the princes. Frequently he had complained about the hardness of people's hearts, both princes and peasants.⁴

Early the next morning he failed to recover from a severe pain in his chest. The doctor tried everything in his power to revive him, but it was all in vain. On Monday, February 22, 1546, his body arrived in Wittenberg. John Bugenhagen, who had officiated at the wedding, led the student body in the funeral procession. Directly behind the hearse followed his wife Catherine and some

⁴WA, *Briefwechsel*, 10: 23, 48, 61, 156, 401, 527, 553-554. On May 5, 1542, Luther wrote Philip of Hesse that Counts Gebhard and Albrecht of Mansfeld were quarreling again.

other ladies in a carriage, while the next contained the three sons, Hans, Martin, and Paul, besides their Uncle Jacob from Mansfeld. At the famous Castle Church the procession halted. The body was carried through the same door on which Luther had posted the *Ninety-Five Theses*. What a strange coincidence! Both Bugenhagen and Melanchthon delivered stirring addresses. The body was finally lowered in a grave directly in front of the pulpit. As was the custom, a stone tablet was placed above the spot where the body had been laid to rest.

* * *

Many faults in Luther's character have recently been exposed by Protestant historians and theologians. In the meantime the Catholic scholars have not ceased to defend themselves against unfair criticism on the part of Protestant writers. It has become very difficult to arrive at a proper evaluation of Luther's career and works. The latest theory has been to the effect that when Luther was a comparatively old man he made statements that do not compare favorably with those of earlier years.

But it would seem that Luther was no worse at the age of sixty than twenty years earlier. As a matter of fact, his behavior in the period from 1518 to 1526 was such that he lost numerous intelligent friends in those fateful years. The loss of the Rhine Valley and all European lands to the west of that river and south of the Alps was partly the result of his actions and thoughts before the year 1527. What he wrote about Erasmus and Zwingli, what he said against the peasants in 1525, the manner in which he condemned King Henry VIII of England in 1522 and the Pope before that, and his discussion of monastic vows in the year 1521—these and many other matters harmed his cause tremendously. In 1535 his most devoted friend of the past, Philip Melanchthon, gave up his belief in Luther's doctrine of the enslaved will and total depravity. He shuddered many times whenever the great master thundered forth with his violent language. But what nearly all biographers have consistently overlooked is Luther's remarkable doctrine and theories in his last three years.

What annoys Protestant writers the most at the present time is Luther's admission of his failure to improve the moral standards of both princes and subjects, high and low, rich and poor. Leon Francis in his booklet, *The Martin Luther Motion Picture*, devotes the

last two pages to quotations from Luther's own pen, written down near the end of his life, when he realized how hard it was for him to correct the evil ways of mankind. He said among other things: "We can then expect that after having driven away the monks, we shall see arise a race seven times worse than the former." Amazing to many readers must be this frank admission: "Men are now more avaricious, unmerciful, impure, insolent . . . than formerly under the Pope."

Luther remembered, he said, that when he was young a nobleman was thoroughly ashamed of his immorality. But after 1525 things became most discouraging: "Drunkenness has spread among our youth so that now the greater part of the finest, most talented young men (especially among the Nobles and at the Court) undermine their health, their body and their life . . . before the time."

On July 25, 1542, Luther admitted that unspeakable crimes had been committed "in Our Church." This was obviously the work of Satan. On October 9, 1542, he told Jacob Propst in Br men that Germany was full of scoundrels and tyrants.⁵ On August 31, 1543, he wrote to Christopher Froschauer at Zurich: "As for the arduous labors of your preachers, with whom I cannot have friendship, they are all in vain, since they are all going to perdition. . . . They will share the same fate as Zwingli." What worried him especially in the year 1543 was the alliance between the Turks and the French.⁶

Another remarkable episode was the imprisonment of Henry of Brunswick by John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse. Numerous persons had requested that Luther write these princes and persuade them to release their prisoner. So he finally released for publication his last printed work (1545),⁷ in which he said some interesting things about the political situation in Germany. He did not recommend that Henry of Brunswick be set free, for the latter had been condemned by God for his attempt to help the forces of the Counter-Reformation.

⁵See *ibid.*, p. 156.

⁶See *ibid.*, p. 553.

⁷*WA* 54: 389-411.

We are not, thanks to God, made out of stone, nor iron. No Christian must wish another man the infliction of God's anger, not even the Turks, nor the Jews, nor his enemies. No demon may wish such a thing to be done to another demon. It is too much, eternal anger. Against that, everybody must pray for everybody, and it is compulsory to do so. I would gladly have seen the Cardinal of Mainz saved, but he would not listen and has gone to damnation. May God protect all human beings against such a demise. Similarly, we must love our enemies and forgive them and be merciful, so that the love and mercy shall not be false. I wish that the prisoner from Brunswick were the king of France and his son the king of England, for what harm would that do to me? But to recommend that he be set free, I cannot do. He has lost the trust of others. Since God has inflicted punishment upon him, who would dare to release him? This could be done only after he had repented of his evil deeds and had shown improvement, lest we should tempt God.

Luther compares the recent event with the relation between Ahab and King Benhadad of Syria. The King of Israel set the latter free, which was all wrong. Benhadad was God's enemy, and so is Henry of Brunswick, for he had behind him "the Pope and the whole body of the papal power." At the Diet of Worms in 1521 these people issued their edict against the Gospel, which they refused to suspend at the Diet of Speyer, though the Emperor would gladly have done so. Again, at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530 they combined against us. Since they failed to get the Emperor to execute their desires, they wrote to each other that they must seemingly support him and threaten him with dire results if he did not carry out their demands. They formed what they call a defensive league, as if powerful forces were bent upon an attack. But neither Emperor nor Pope showed any desire to hurt a hair on their bodies. We on our side begged without ceasing for the maintenance of peace, which we were never able to obtain. They were the people who started an offensive alliance against us. We, not they, were condemned through excommunication and edict. A defensive league is forbidden by imperial laws. But they are the dear children who cannot commit sin, even when they trample upon God and the Emperor. We are sinners when we offer our bodies and lives in the service of God and the Emperor. We are not merely dealing with Henry of Brunswick but with the whole Behemoth and forces of

the papacy. We know that the Pope and his satellites cannot be converted, and so all they can do is to comfort each other.

As for the clergy among the Roman Catholics, they had better do penance and ask for guides to show them how to do this. The sins committed by them are numerous, as has been shown at the Diet of Regensburg. Particularly bad was the invasion of Protestant areas around Goslar, where murder and destruction were rampant. The list of misdemeanors is very large and hellfire has been earned by many. In short, the papists want all the Protestants killed, in body and soul. On the other hand, we want them all to be saved together with us. "Which side will be justified before God can easily be determined."

God has given us a great triumph over our enemies, Luther continues, but we may not assume that we have earned this triumph. No, we have not done so very well. Among us there are many who despise the Word of God and show great ingratitude for their blessings. The thirst for capital gain is so strong now that even among the most humble beings a person with only 100 *gulden* wants to invest this and expects to make 15 or 20 in no time at all. Common laborers have become so vain and so worldly that they all engage in usury, take advantage of their neighbors, steal, cheat, and lie. "It is a wonder that the earth still carries us. Yes, I say it, we have not earned these blessings, nor our recent political triumph, nor God's protection against the devil and his cohorts." But we have one advantage, that is, God's pure Word, unadulterated; also the Holy Spirit. There must be among us a few genuine Christians who have real faith. Such faith cannot be without good works. For Christ says in John 15: "He who dwells in Me and I in him, shall bring forth many fruits." And He says in John 14: "If you dwell in Me and My word in you, pray for what you wish and it shall be given unto you." And in Mark 11: "All things are possible to those who believe."

Such an advantage the papists do not have, for among them there is not only a contempt of God's Word but also persecution of those who accept that Word. . . . Where the faith is not right, there can be no good works, and everything that people try is damned and altogether in vain, including suffering, fasting, prayers, alms, and all other forms of asceticism and garments worn. For this reason we need not worry about their prayers, just as Elijah did not

have to worry about the prayers offered by his enemies to Baal. The same is true of all the labors in the monasteries and convents. The monks and nuns do not know how to pray and do not want to pray as long as they do not have the saving faith.

At the end of his treatise Luther refers once more to political developments. Maurice of Saxony, the son-in-law of Philip of Hesse, is now entitled to the territories which Henry of Brunswick wanted to seize, notably the former archbishopric of Magdeburg and the former bishopric of Halberstadt. The concluding sentence is the famous statement by Jesus in John 14: "He that believes in Me shall do the works that I do."

This curious mixture of politics and religion is a good summary of Luther's career. He continually quoted the Scriptures and used the sacred text to show how certain Lutheran princes were entitled to their recently acquired possessions. In his opinion, millions of fellow-Protestants were plainly heading for eternal damnation, while nearly all Roman Catholics were in serious danger of the same fate.

His final publication was not very different from those that had appeared some twenty years earlier. It showed that he knew "how to play ball" with the secular rulers whose aid he needed. The reader may well wonder how Luther wished to apply the inspiring words of Jesus to the effect that "greater works than these shall you do." Those were obviously spiritual works, not political victories.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE ACADEMIC CAREER OF ALBERT HYMA (by the *AUSS* Editor)

Albert Hyma (d. September 22, 1978, at the age of 85) was one of the most renowned Renaissance-and-Reformation historians of our era. His major books, which include a Renaissance-Reformation textbook and some world history textbooks, number more than forty, and he has written hundreds of articles and book reviews that have been published in numerous scholarly journals here and abroad. He was one of the founding editors of the *Journal of Modern History* in 1929, and he served as editor for the medieval and Reformation articles in the *Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, published in 1955.

Hyma's academic career included instruction in German at Knox College in Galesburg, Illinois, in 1916-17, followed by a doctoral program at the University of Michigan (Ph.D. in 1922), and then history teaching at the University of North Dakota from 1922-24 and at the University of Michigan from 1924 until his retirement in 1962 as Professor of History. His scholarly awards and distinctions and his guest lectureships are too numerous to mention here.

Among his contributions to Luther studies, his biography entitled *Martin Luther and the Luther Film of 1953* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1957) and reissued the following year as *New Light on Martin Luther* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1958) stands out for its insightfulness on various issues that have been too frequently overlooked or given inadequate attention by other biographers. The well-known Reformation specialist Harold J. Grimm (author of the standard textbook *The Reformation Era*) has included Hyma in a list of distinguished scholars he considers to be among the first in America "to arouse an interest in the Lutheran Reformation by their lectures and publications" (Grimm, "Luther Research Since 1920," in *The Journal of Modern History* 32 [1960]: 111). (The others are Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Williston Walker, Henry Eyster Jacobs, J. M. Reu, and Preserved Smith.)

Further information on Hyma's remarkably productive scholarly career has been given in the necrology prepared by the present writer for *The American Historical Review* 85/1 (February 1980): 279-281.

MARTIN LUTHER'S INTERVENTION IN BEHALF OF THE BRETHERN OF THE COMMON LIFE IN HERFORD

WILLIAM M. LANDEEN

Editor's Note: This article is a shortened and edited version of Landeen's chapter "Martin Luther and the *Devotio Moderna* in Herford" in Kenneth A. Strand, ed., *The Dawn of Modern Civilization: Studies in Renaissance, Reformation and Other Topics Presented to Honor Albert Hyma* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1962, 1964²), pp. 145-164. The "*Devotio Moderna*" or "New Devotion" mentioned in the initial paragraphs was an international religious-reform movement which originated in the Netherlands in the late fourteenth century and consisted of three related groups: the Brethren of the Common Life, the Sisters of the Common Life, and the Augustinian Canons Regular of the Congregation of Windesheim. Luther attended a school of the Brethren in Magdeburg during 1497-98.

(The presence of ellipses from Landeen's somewhat longer original essay is not indicated in this edited version, except in the case of some of the direct quotations; but there is herein no discontinuity in the main line of thought.)

A brief sketch of highlights in Landeen's academic career appears at the end of this article.

The problem of the impact of the *Devotio Moderna* on Martin Luther has in recent years received deserved recognition. The first American historian to call attention to the probable influence of Gerard Groote's movement on the Wittenberg Reformer was Albert Hyma, who, in his *Christian Renaissance* and later in *The Brethren of the Common Life*,¹ did not hesitate to assert that "the principles of the 'New Devotion' became the spiritual food of many thousands of devout men . . . , and would later . . . be crystallized in the lives of great reformers, like Luther. . . ."² That Hyma ascribes to the

¹A. Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1924); id., *The Brethren of Common Life* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1950).

²*The Christian Renaissance*, pp. 156-157.

“New Devotion” a not inconsiderable influence on Luther is clear from this and other statements.

More recently this subject has received special attention by Rudolf Kekow in a doctoral dissertation.³ Kekow examines the problem with careful, though not exhaustive, investigation and arrives at the conclusion that the *Devotio Moderna* influenced Luther peripherally rather than essentially. It is not possible to establish a connection between the Reformer and the “New Devotion” in his central thinking.⁴ And, Karl August Meissinger has suggested that the influence of Groote’s movement on Luther was much more passing in character than it was in the case of Erasmus, adding that we meet in Luther’s later life with “no trace of a deeper influence. . . .”⁵

But, Luther did know the *Devotio Moderna* not only from his reading and study but also from considerable personal experience. Various utterances by the Reformer on this subject must not be passed over too lightly. Scholars in the field could read with profit E. Barnikol’s cogent essay on young Martin’s stay in the Brethren School at Magdeburg.⁶ And what shall be said about the influence on Luther of Gabriel Biel, the last and most distinguished leader of Groote’s movement in Germany, except that much research remains before adequate conclusions can be reached on this important question?

The most completely, though by no means fully, documented relationship of Luther and the Brethren of the Common Life in Germany is the case of the Brethren House in Herford. Here we meet the Reformer in correspondence with the Brethren; he defends their rights in a serious crisis, and he pronounces specifically upon their beliefs and practices. It is our purpose in this study to assemble the available materials bearing on this interesting and important story.

³R. Kekow, *Luther und die Devotio Moderna* (Düsseldorf, 1937).

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵K. A. Meissinger, *Der katholische Luther* (Munich, 1952), p. 24.

⁶E. Barnikol, “Martin Luther in Magdeburg und die dortige Brüderschule,” in *Theologische Arbeiten* (Tübingen, 1917), pp. 1-62.

1. *The Herford Brethren: Backgrounds,
and Early Contacts with Luther*

The beginnings of the Brethren in Herford go back to 1426 when the priest Conrad Westerwold from Osnabrück obtained a large manor house on the periphery of Herford and proceeded to install a circle of Brethren who two years later were organized into a Brethren House. Papal approval came in 1431.⁷ The Sisters of the Common Life entered Herford in 1453.

The city of Herford came under the influence of Luther's ideas rather early. In 1522, Gerard Kropp, rector of the Augustinians in Herford, began to preach the new doctrines with success. It is plausible to hold that the Brethren and the Sisters in Herford knew about Kropp's activity, but their interest in Luther came from another source; namely, from Jacob Montanus, scholar, humanist, friend of Melanchthon, member of the Brethren House, and Father Confessor to the Sisters of the Common Life in Herford.

Jacob Montanus, also known as Jacob of Spires, came out of the Münster circle of Brethren and humanists. He was a pupil of Alexander Hegius, the famous schoolmaster of Emmerich and Deventer, a schoolmate of John Busch, and a favorite of Rudolph von Langen, whose reform of the cathedral school in Münster made it a famous center of humanistic culture in the early fifteenth century. It was von Langen who, in or about 1512, sent Jacob Montanus to the Brethren House in Herford to assist the Brethren in their school activities in that city.⁸

Just when and how Jacob Montanus came under Luther's influence escapes us. It must have been before 1523, and the medium could well have been Melanchthon. When the now fragmentary correspondence between Wittenberg and the Brethren in Herford opens with Luther's letter to Montanus on July 26, 1523, there is already a fraternal and well-established relationship between this humanist and the Reformer. Wrote Luther:

⁷L. Hölscher, "Geschichte des Gymnasiums zu Herford I," in *Programm des Friedrichs-Gymnasiums zu Herford 1869*. The Statutes of the house were published in *Theologische Monatsschrift*, 2 (Mainz, 1851): 543-582.

⁸J. B. Nordhoff, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus dem Münsterischen Humanismus* (Münster, 1874), pp. 93, 123.

Grace and peace. It is true, my best Jacob, that one theme keeps me preoccupied constantly, namely, the grace of Christ. This is the reason which you and all my friends must bear in mind if I do not write at all, or write seldom or briefly.

Concerning your latest communication on the subject of confession, I believe most assuredly that it is permissible to omit completely a recital of each and every sin. A general confession of sins is sufficient to receive the solace of the Gospel and the remission of sins. . . .⁹

The adherents of the *Devotio Moderna* in Herford were accepting Luther, and by 1525 both the Brethren and the Sisters of the Common Life had gone over to the Wittenberger. In that year both Gerard Wiscamp, the rector, and Henry Telgte, the prorector of the Brethren House, were imprisoned "as Lutherans and heretics" by Bishop Eric of Paderborn and Osnabrück, and were released only when the Brethren paid the sum of 300 gulden as a fine, and further assured the Bishop that they would pay another 1000 gulden should they ever fall into the same heresy again. Actually, Bishop Eric was suing the Brethren in Herford for this latter sum when his death in 1534 stopped the case.¹⁰

That Luther fell back on Jacob Montanus during these years of change in Herford seems certain. He says so expressly in his first letter to Gerard Wiscamp, rector of the Brethren House, dated September 2, 1527:¹¹

⁹Luther's *Werke, Briefwechsel*, Weimar Ausgabe (hereinafter cited as *WA-Br*), 3:117. Additional light on the Herford Brethren has recently been shed by Robert Stupperich, "Luther und das Fraterhaus in Herford," in *Geist und Geschichte der Reformation. Festgabe Hanns Rühert* (Berlin, 1966), pp. 219-238.

¹⁰The Brethren argued that their promise to pay 1000 gulden had been forced on them and was therefore invalid. See *WA-Br* 4:244, and L. Hölscher, *Reformationsgeschichte der Stadt Herford* (Herford, 1888), p. 16.

¹¹That Luther and Montanus exchanged letters during these years is further substantiated by a letter from Montanus to Willibald Pirckheimer, dated April 23, 1526, in which he asks Pirckheimer "to return the letters to Luther and Melanchthon which, I believe, you have." See *WA-Br* 3:117. The editors of Luther's correspondence say (*WA-Br* 4:244) that Gerard Wiscamp became rector in 1528. This cannot be correct. He was imprisoned with his prorector in 1525 as responsible for the heresy of all the Brethren in his house and was held responsible ever after. Further, Luther's letter to him on September 2, 1527, is plainly written to him as rector.

Grace and peace. My previous letters have not been sent to you but to Montanus; now I am writing you, my dear Gerard, because I know that you and he are as one heart and mind in the Lord. When you show Montanus these lines thank him and ask that the Brethren pray for me the more solicitously, since their prayers and labor are of first concern to me. And I rejoice to be so well remembered by these pious men.

My commentary on Zechariah is now half finished, being delayed by the state of my health. Likewise, the Prophets in the vernacular have had to silence their harps because of our dispersion.¹² Ask Jacob to pray for us without ceasing that the fears and rumors of the pest may be stilled by the strong medicine of our Lord Christ, and that we again may be together to finish what we have begun. . . .¹³

The letter indicates clearly the state of affairs among the Brethren in Herford. Up to this time Jacob Montanus had been the chief spokesman for the Reformer and had actually carried both the Brethren and the Sisters of the Common Life with him in his endeavor. But from this point and on, Gerard Wiscamp, as rector of the house, is recognized as the leader of the Brethren, and Luther is specific in the matter. "You and he" (Montanus), says Luther, "are as one heart and mind in the Lord." It is plausible to hold that Luther had not been fully persuaded until he wrote this letter in response to one from Rector Gerard, that the Brethren in Herford had genuinely embraced his doctrines. His letter leaves no doubt that he had fully accepted them as his followers.

Luther alluded in the letter to his state of health. Soon after, he passed through a period of intense depression (*Anfechtungen*) and sickness. Gerard Wiscamp sent him a letter of consolation which elicited the following reply: "Grace and peace. I have received your communication of sympathy, my dear Gerard, with much pleasure and gratitude. Christ will reward you in eternity."¹⁴

¹²The pest in and about Wittenberg had caused many students and professors to flee to the University of Jena.

¹³*WA-Br* 4:243-244.

¹⁴*WA-Br* 4:319-320, January 1, 1528. Luther's illness fell in October, and Wiscamp's letter of sympathy was probably written in November, 1527.

The correspondence continues, now in a lighter vein. Rector Gerard had sent the Luther family some lamps, and the Reformer replies in his best humor:

Grace and peace in Christ. We have received with pleasure, my dear Gerard the Lightbearer, your letter and the lamps. So much radiancy of spirit and kindness of heart are shown in sending such a gift that it seems right and proper for me, I know not by what oracle or judgment, to nickname you "Lightbearer."¹⁵ For the light of your radiancy and the warmth of your favor are as conspicuous as is your bodily weakness. And so, my Kathy and I make use of your lamps each and every night, and I only regret that we are at this moment not able to send you anything to keep our memory with you alive. It is the more shame in that I cannot even send you something made of paper, which we ought to be able to do easily. But, as the messengers will tell you, nothing has been published recently, and in the meantime the bookdealers steal your purse, to boot. Nevertheless, without indebtedness I might send some items in a package after or at the time that I go to the booksellers. . . .¹⁶

The letters that have survived from this period continue in the fraternal spirit. Luther cannot find Gerard's latest letter and so does not remember its contents. He sends an autographed copy of one of his writings to a Sister of the Common Life in Herford who had sent him a gift. He would gladly send Gerard certain copies of his books, published at Wittenberg, but does not at the moment have them. He requests Gerard to pray for him and for the cause of Christ everywhere.¹⁷ To Montanus, he explains his stand toward Erasmus. He will not enter into further controversy with the humanist regardless of the latter's maledictions. And he sends Montanus some autographed writings.¹⁸

¹⁵Or, "Lampstand."

¹⁶*WA-Br* 4:584-585, October 20, 1528.

¹⁷*WA-Br* 5:87, May 28, 1529.

¹⁸*WA-Br* 5:88, May 28, 1529.

2. *The Brethren's First Conflict with the City Officials, and Luther's Intervention*

This happy state of things was not to continue. As has already been observed, Luther's teachings had entered the Augustinian Monastery in Herford as early as 1522. The Franciscans had also joined the new movement, and both Augustinians and Franciscans had been supported in their actions by the Brethren of the Common Life under the influence of Jacob Montanus and Gerard Wiscamp. The first secular church in Herford to become Lutheran was located in the new city. It adopted the new faith in 1530, and about a year later the old-city church also became Lutheran.¹⁹

The city council had, it seems, appointed in 1525 a special commission of nine citizens to deal with the problems arising out of the monastic establishments in Herford. By 1532 the commission had decided on the usual secularization. The monasteries were to cease as such, their inmates must attend the city churches, partake there of the sacraments, and change their clothing and habits of life.

The Brethren and the Sisters in Herford refused to comply, and they appealed to Luther. They sent him also an "Apology" for their mode of living and asked him to approve of their statement, which they would read before the city council. Gerard Wiscamp's letter is specific:

Grace and peace. Honorable dear doctor and father in Christ. Necessity demands that we send you with this letter an "Apology" for our mode of life, which we plan to read before the city council on Sunday, February 18. Therefore I beg you to examine the statement, and if you find in it anything misleading or false to delete the same, but to let stand whatever is true before God. And kindly state your opinion below (if God impresses you to read the "Apology"), together with your signature. Give my regards to your dear wife. God bless you. January 13, 1532.²⁰

¹⁹The principal agent in winning these churches was John Dreyer, an Augustinian monk in Herford. He became in 1532 the first Lutheran pastor in Herford and drew up an excellent church order for the city.

²⁰*WA-Br* 6:248-249.

The "Apology" or "Lebensgrund"²¹ which the Brethren and the Sisters laid before Luther for endorsement is unique among Reformation documents because it presents two houses of the *Devotio Moderna*, which, though Lutheran in spirit and belief, were still determined to continue to live as they had begun—in the common life with all that is included in that concept. The arguments of the "Apology" are all traditional *Devotio Moderna* arguments and can be found in the constitutions of the various houses in Germany and in the Low Countries.

In the first place, appeal is made to Holy Scriptures as the source of the common life with all its requirements as to labor, dress, sacraments, and good works in Christ "in whose name we have been baptized."²²

Second, the Bible clearly permits in addition to the married state the state of purity, which the Brethren and the Sisters practiced. Historically, this type of life, freely undertaken without binding vows, was found in the schools of the prophets in the Book of Kings, in the Acts of the Apostles, in the school which Mark the Evangelist founded in Alexandria, and in Augustine's life with his clergy.²³

Third, "we desire that our chartered rights in the municipality of Herford shall be protected, just as the canonical status of the school in Wittenberg was left with its rights and honors. . . ."²⁴

The "Apology" ended with the affirmation that everybody in Herford, and especially the Lutheran pastors, knew what the Brethren had believed and suffered, and why their request should be honored.

Luther had been asked to endorse the "Apology," if he could. He responded without reservation: "I, Martin Luther, confess over this my signature that I find nothing unchristian in this statement. Would to God that all monasteries might teach and practice God's

²¹Published by Baxmann, in *Zeitschrift für historische Theologie*, 1861, pp. 632-634.

²²*Ibid.*, p. 632.

²³*Ibid.*, pp. 632-633.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 633.

word so earnestly." In returning the "Apology" with his endorsement to Jacob Montanus and Gerard Wiscamp on January 31, 1532, he wrote almost with abandon:

Grace and peace. I have received your communications and have written about this matter to the senate of your city and asked that your house might be protected and spared the uncertainty which the agitators²⁵ are occasioning you. As for your mode of life, whensoever you teach pure doctrine and live according to the Gospel of Christ, I am greatly pleased. And oh that the monasteries had been or were today so excellent. I scarcely dare wish so much, for if all were thus, the Church would be blessed overmuch in this life. Your manner of dress and other laudable practices have not hurt the Gospel; rather these old usages serve, once the Gospel is firmly planted, to keep under control the raging,²⁶ licentious, and undisciplined spirits which today are bent upon destroying, not building. Stand, therefore, in your state, and under this manner of life propagate richly the Gospel, which, indeed, you are doing. Live well and pray for me.²⁷

The same day Luther sent the city council in Herford a letter most explicit in its language:

Grace and peace in Christ. Honorable, wise, esteemed Lordships! It has come to my attention that some would force the Sisters and Brethren to give up their manner of life and their dress, and live hereafter according to the formula of the parish priest and of the pastor. However, you know undoubtedly that unnecessary changes, especially in sacred matters, are very dangerous in that hearts and consciences are moved without conviction, when all should serve and work for peace and quietude. Since the Brethren and the Sisters, who were the first among you to receive the Gospel, lead upright lives and conduct an honorable and well-ordered community, and also teach and practice faithfully the true Word, it is my friendly wish that your Lordships will not permit them to experience unrest and disappointments

²⁵ . . . *Clamatores*; i.e., John Dreyer and Henry Vogelmann, Lutheran pastors in Herford.

²⁶ . . . *imo[in] genito euangelio multum iuvant contra furiosos*. . . .

²⁷ *WA-Br* 6:255-256, January 31, 1532.

in this matter, but that they be permitted to use clerical garb and practice ancient usages when these do not contravene the Gospel. For such monasteries and Brethren Houses please me beyond measure. And would to God that all monasteries were like these, for then would all parishes, cities, and lands be well served and advised. Pardon me, but your Lordships will know how to deal wisely and according to Christ in this matter, so that neither the pastor nor the parish will suffer but rather gain and improve. I commend you to the Lord. Dated Wittenberg, January 31, 1532.²⁸

3. *The Basis for Luther's Support of the Brethren*

This is Martin Luther, the destroyer of monasticism, defending and praising quasi-monastic practices. Why did he do this? Was it because of his friendship with Jacob Montanus, who had been his firm supporter in Herford for years and who had as humanist, scholar, teacher, and confessor to the Sisters helped so much in making these houses "the first among you to receive the Gospel"?

We may not err in making this factor a reason for Luther's support, but surely it was not decisive. Luther's reason is explicit: "For such monasteries and Brethren Houses please me beyond measure. And would to God that all monasteries were like these. . . ." And he admonished the Brethren: "Stand, therefore, in your state, and under this manner of life propagate richly the Gospel, which, indeed, you are doing." This was the Reformer's argument for endorsing the *Devotio Moderna* in Herford. That he understood full well what he was doing is inescapable. He had had dealings with the *Devotio Moderna* from his youth and up, and he knew the principles and aims of Groote's movement, as is shown by his correspondence with the Brethren and the city authorities in Herford.

In his letter to the Brethren, Luther had strong language for those who were disturbing them. He called his own pastors in Herford "agitators" and then went on to speak about "raging, licentious, and undisciplined spirits . . . bent upon destroying, not

²⁸WA-Br 6:254-255. Luther was ill and could only sign the letter written by an amanuensis.

building." While this was scarcely complimentary speech concerning his own followers, it seems to indicate how essentially conservative Martin Luther was: Ancient usages, vows, clerical garb are not barred provided they do not contravene the pure gospel. Peace and quietude are more important than changes forced upon those whose hearts are not moved by reason. The gospel is not necessarily outward change but inward peace.

4. *The Conflict Renewed*

What effect did Luther's intervention have upon events in Herford?

That his endorsement of the "Apology" of the Brethren and Sisters and his letter to the city council had blocked the plans to secularize the two houses, is certain. Doctor John Dreyer, the Lutheran pastor in the city church, complained bitterly to the prior of the Brethren House over his loss of face and prestige. This led Gerard Wiscamp, in an unguarded moment, to show Pastor Dreyer Luther's personal letter of January 31 to the Brethren. Infuriated by Luther's statements concerning himself and his fellow pastors, Dreyer now began a systematic campaign of slander, vilification, and falsification against the Brethren and the Sisters, which probably did not stop until the Lutheran leader moved to the city of Minden in 1540.

Again, on April 13, 1532, the Brethren appealed to Luther. Again they explained carefully the charges made against them and told how no efforts were spared to malign them on their manner of life, even to the inciting of drunken men to stir up feeling against the houses. The schoolwork of the Brethren, always aimed especially at helping poor boys, was now equated with the monastic schools. Their unmarried status was attacked as contrary to the gospel. Their legal rights to exist were called in question.²⁹

The Brethren fought back. They now showed their "Apology," with Luther's approval, to Anna von Limburg, Abbess of Herford, and asked for help and protection. The Abbess took up their cause and arranged for a legal hearing of the case, only to find that the

²⁹WA-Br 6:290-293, April 13, 1532, Gerard Wiscamp to Martin Luther.

pastors were countering by sending a delegation to Luther to prevent further hearings. She appealed to the Reformer to trust the Brethren completely.³⁰

In his reply to the Abbess, Luther recounted his earlier efforts to aid the Brethren. He reiterated their rights to have their own pastoral care and to hold their own services, and asked the Abbess to act as peacemaker for both sides.³¹

Luther also wrote the Commission of Nine in Herford, which had been appointed by the city council to deal with problems arising between monastic establishments and the city during the period of confessional changes. The Commission had written Luther and had also sent a delegation to him—no doubt, to ascertain his attitude in these matters. The most difficult aspect of the Brethren problem was their insistence on continuing their own pastoral care with all the privileges incident to this right. The Lutheran pastors argued that if the Brethren were permitted this privilege, any citizen in Herford could demand the same right, which, if granted, would result in religious chaos.

Luther was explicit in his response, dated April 22:

... however, when the Brethren desire to retain their own church services and do not in their own interests attend your services, it is our judgment that you should in no way pressure or force them to give up theirs so long as they do not conduct them contrary to the Gospel. For one thing is clear: they do hold the right to have their own pastors, a right which is very common in any city. It does not follow from this, however, that every citizen may employ a pastor in his own household. That is not permitted. This is the important difference between a common and public assembly and a family assembly; namely, that what a citizen does in his home is considered as being done secretly.

Further, you know, as men of understanding, that there should be no interference in matters that lie outside of our jurisdiction. The Brethren are not under your jurisdiction, and so you

³⁰*WA-Br* 6:293-294, April 14, 1532. Anna von Limburg was styled "Abbess in the diocese of Paderborn."

³¹*WA-Br* 6:300, April 22, 1532. Melanchthon wrote the letter for Luther, who was ill.

cannot push or force them into line. This is our advice and request, as you will kindly understand. Therefore, we ask you to consider that time will find its own counsel in this matter. They are old, honorable persons whom we should spare, and as men of understanding we should not permit anyone to practice malice toward them, for God has individuals among them who are His.³²

Both Luther and Melanchthon signed this communication and sent a copy of it to the Brethren. In a separate letter to Gerard Wiscamp, Luther counsels mildly that the Brethren might yield their right of pastoral care but that if they do not so incline, he will not criticize them. Moreover, "if you desire to retain your parish rights we do not disapprove. As for your garb, the possessions of the monastery, and your entire economy, we pronounce that they are altogether under your control. The city has no authority over you."³³

The energetic intervention by the Wittenberg reformers halted, for the time being, the efforts of the Lutheran pastors and the city council to limit the activities and rights of the Brethren. Luther was able to write Gerard Wiscamp: "I am glad, my Gerard, that the racket among you which Satan started, is sleeping. Christ be praised, who will establish His peace and cause it to increase. . . ."³⁴

However, the Brethren were still disturbed over their situation. Especially were they concerned about Luther's statement in his letter to the Commission of Nine that "time will find its own counsel." Could this mean that Luther actually would like to see the Brethren House die out for lack of new members? Gerard Wiscamp besought Luther for an explanation of the statement.³⁵

Melanchthon replied for Luther, who was still indisposed. He sought to quiet the minds of the Brethren but did not explain Luther's statement.³⁶ This caused the Brethren to renew their request for an explanation. They "were greatly disturbed" over the assertion and asked Luther and Melanchthon to clarify its meaning.³⁷

³²WA-Br 6:296-297, April 22, 1532.

³³WA-Br 6:298, April 22, 1532. Melanchthon wrote the letter for Luther.

³⁴WA-Br 6:380, October 19, 1532.

³⁵WA-Br 6:473, June 5, 1533.

³⁶WA-Br 6:472, July 4, 1533. Gives Melanchthon's answer.

³⁷WA-Br 6:535, October 10, 1533.

In their "Apology," sent earlier to Luther, the Brethren had written: "In order to stand in the liberty which Christ has given us, we do not take [binding] vows, but we retain our freedom, as Christ also forced no one to remain at the time when disciples were leaving Him (John 6:[66])."³⁸

The practice of non-binding vows was the very essence of the *Devotio Moderna* as an organized movement. The Brethren were not monks but desired to live lives of purity in the world without vows, which was the biblical custom, they reasoned. If Luther's statement in any way impinged upon this mode of life, it struck at their future existence.

In a letter dated January 6, 1534, Gerard Wiscamp returns to this point, and in so doing he restates the whole philosophy of Brethren life.

We have no other aim than that our life shall be free in Christ, as was at first ordained by our fathers, who 100 years ago stated clearly in writing: "We will not accept vows from anyone, were he even to insist upon them." Our life is meaningful when we can train our own members, which we have done often from our small numbers, to be preachers of God's Word. But, for this office our entire house does not now, so far as I know, have one qualified member, apart from some boys who are scarcely more than children. What will happen eventually? We would like to dedicate ourselves to this task [the training of preachers] permanently. You see, therefore, how you can support us by your confidence because we seek not our own good in this matter but God's. . . .³⁹

It seems that Luther delayed his reply to Gerard's letter. In the meantime, the Brethren were encountering new difficulties. The city school in Herford was languishing, and the senate was pressing the Brethren to take it over and to use their building for it. This they did not have the teaching force to do, and they did not want to engage teachers outside of their own ranks. Jacob Montanus died in the course of this year, and no one could take his place as a pedagogue. The Brethren, therefore, raised serious objections against

³⁸See Baxmann, p. 634.

³⁹*WA-Br* 7:7-8, January 6, 1534.

assuming new teaching responsibilities, which in turn brought on them fresh attacks from both the Catholic and the Lutheran sides. Again they appealed to Luther to explain himself and to succor them. They declared their readiness to train young boys, as they always had done, to live lives of purity without vows, and to become evangelists in their cause. "May the Lord give us good advice through you," they appealed to Luther and Melanchthon.⁴⁰

Again the Reformer took up their cause with the senate in Herford. Again he repeated his earlier opinions concerning these adherents of the *Devotio Moderna*. The Brethren and the Sisters had indeed laid aside the papal yoke and were living in Christian freedom even though they retained their old garb and ancient customs. They lived pious and disciplined lives and worked with their hands as did the Apostle Paul (1 Thess 4:11; 2 Thess 3:12; Acts 18:3).

... I could wish that such people were, as God would give His grace, numerous, since they are not dangerous but useful because they are adherents of the Gospel.

I hear also that they should be burdened with the public school office and its care, although they were never founded for this purpose nor do they receive tax support for this work. Other foundations and monasteries do and should perform this service, but it is not right that these should use what they earn themselves, and are not paid, for such a purpose. . . .

I have written you earlier that the "time would find its own counsel." Now I hear that this is interpreted to mean that they should be forced to comply, although these words meant that time would tell whether they would remain [as they were] or would change of their own free will. I pray your Lordships for Christ's sake to help that no reason is given to speak evil of the Gospel. . . .⁴¹

Luther sent to Gerard Wiscamp a copy of his communication to the city senate. In the covering letter he again expressed concern that the Brethren and the Sisters were troubled by "the hypocrites of the new Gospel," and he reiterated earlier statements approving

⁴⁰WA-Br 7:106-108, October 9, 1534.

⁴¹WA-Br 7:113-114, October 24, 1534.

their manner of life and organization. They should not be disturbed with public functions such as teaching; other institutions or monasteries could assume that task. And his last extant letter to the men and women of the *Devotio Moderna* in Herford closes with this wish: "I desire exceedingly that your mode of life may be preserved so that in the liberty and grace of Christ you can serve and be useful greatly in love. Salute all your Brethren and Sisters in Christ!"⁴²

Luther's intervention stilled the tumult for the time being. In 1537 it broke out again, only to be quieted once more by the efforts of Luther and Melanchthon. Two years later the Lutheran pastors seem to have made a special effort to destroy the Brethren and the Sisters, and it was not until 1542 that their houses were finally allowed to remain. Again it was Luther's and Melanchthon's advice that prevailed.⁴³ However, by then Doctor John Dreyer, the fighting Lutheran reformer of Herford, had gone to Minden,⁴⁴ and Gerard Wiscamp, the stubborn defender of the *Devotio Moderna* in Herford, had gone to his rest.⁴⁵

5. Conclusion: Luther's Posture in the Conflicts

Luther's part in the more than decade-long struggle was difficult but honorable. He criticized his own pastors consistently and, at moments, sharply, while to the city authorities he was courteous but firm. He sought constantly to transfer the conflict from the utilitarian plane of secularization to the higher plane of liberty in Christ to retain old customs and ways of living as long as these advanced the Gospel. That he understood and valued the aims of the Brethren and the Sisters in Herford is clear from his several pronouncements.

The entire episode reveals how many-sided the Wittenberg reformer could really be. Throughout, Luther was the defender of the

⁴²*WA-Br* 7:114-115, October 24, 1534.

⁴³*WA-Br* 7:112-113, gives a summary of these events.

⁴⁴In 1540. His leaving Herford may have been occasioned by his implacable attitude toward the Brethren.

⁴⁵Also in 1540. It was his successor in Herford who helped settle the issue, just as did the successors of John Dreyer.

weak, the counsellor of both the weak and the strong, and the advocate of compromise in the interests of peace.⁴⁶

**HIGHLIGHTS OF THE ACADEMIC CAREER
OF WILLIAM M. LANDEEN
(by the AUSS Editor)**

William M. Landeen (died December 27, 1982, at the age of 91) was well known for Luther research, which at times he conducted even while engaged in heavy administrative responsibilities as President of Walla Walla College in the State of Washington (1934-39) and during two "retirement-years" stints as President of La Sierra College in Arlington (Riverside), California (1960-62 and January 1964 through June 1964). He served from 1939 to 1956 in the Department of History and Political Science of Washington State University in Pullman, Washington, retiring from that institution in the latter year as Professor of History. He had, during his tenure there, a term as acting head of the Department. His long and distinguished career saw him in the role of visiting professor at other institutions. Also, his period of teaching at Washington State University was interrupted from 1943 to 1946 by service in the United States Army, in which he was quickly promoted to the rank of Major and given assignments of an academic nature, first for U.S. troops in England and then as Chief of Education and Religious Affairs for Bavaria.

Landeen's publications on Renaissance and Reformation studies include several which broke new ground in Luther research (such as his convincing data and argumentation to show that Luther studied at an *actual school* of the Brethren of the Common Life in Magdeburg in 1497-98, rather than that he was simply a dormitory resident of theirs while attending another school). His *The Religious Thought of Martin Luther* (Mountain View, Calif., 1971) is a carefully documented account which contains discussion not only of the more common concerns but also of some areas not generally treated in even the larger standard works on the subject, such as that of Paul Althaus. Landeen's doctoral dissertation (completed under Albert Hyma at the University of Michigan in 1939) was on the *Devotio Moderna* in Germany, and included treatment of Luther's Magdeburg experience mentioned above.

⁴⁶That the Brethren in Herford returned to Catholicism cannot be established from the sources.

LUTHER'S UTILIZATION OF MUSIC IN SCHOOL AND TOWN IN THE EARLY REFORMATION

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The name of Martin Luther brings to mind first of all the Reformer, the writer of the 95 theses, his disputes with John Tetzel, his debate with John Eck, the trial before the Council at Worms, his translation of the Bible, and a host of theological treatises. Secondly, perhaps, one thinks of his role as a musician and hymn writer. The particular strategies employed by Luther and his associates to further the cause of the Reformation through music will be the immediate concern of this article.

Behind these strategies would lie a point of view, an attitude toward music as it may relate to a person's spiritual life; and here Luther's convictions were of the utmost importance. Among the *Tischreden* ("Table Talks") of Luther may be found these remarks on music:

It is the best and most glorious gift of God. It serves as a weapon against Satan, for through music many afflictions and bad thoughts can be driven away. . . . It works like a salve to the depressed, renewing the heart. Music serves to control and discipline the people and should be supported by kings, princes, and lords. . . . Music is next to theology in stature. I would not trade my meager musical ability for great material achievements. The youth should be instructed in the art, for it will enable them to become people of worth.¹

¹I have collated and translated these remarks from a number of sources, including the Weimar Ausgabe (*WA*) of Luther's works (see vol. 6 of the *Tischreden*, p. 348 [item no. 7034]. See also *Dr. Martin Luthers Tischreden oder Colloquia*, ed. Friedrich von Schmidt (Leipzig, 1925), pp. 354-356 (*Tischrede von der Musica*).

No exact dates can be set for these remarks of Luther, but they remain entirely consistent one with another and with his views expressed in prefatory remarks to

1. *Luther's Role in Writing and Disseminating Religious Songs*

To these attitudes just noticed Luther brought a considerable skill in music, both as a singer and lutenist. His more significant contribution, however, was as a writer of songs. One category included hymns and chants which were translated into German, so that *Veni Redemptor gentium* became *Nun Komm, der heiden Heiland* ("Now Come, Savior of the Gentiles"). In another category—pieces made up of old tunes, sometimes of secular association but supplied with appropriate texts—we have *Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her* ("From Heaven Above to Earth I Come"). To these must be added songs of specific Lutheran origin, such as *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* ("A Mighty Fortress Is Our God"), a treatment of Ps 46. The total identified with Luther in some fashion is at least thirty-six.²

Considerable as these talents may have been, Luther decided he needed the assistance of other even more highly trained musicians to formulate a musical program to support what had come to be a virtual revolution in Germany. Seven years had passed since the posting of his 95 Theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg. Now, in 1524, he called together Conrad Rumpf,

song collections. We may consider also his collaboration with Johann Walther in issuing a small publication entitled *Lob und Preis der löblichen Kunst Musica*, first printed in Wittenberg by Georg Rhaw in 1538 (facsimile-reproduction ed. by Willibald Gurlitt [Kassel, 1938]). Both the introduction by Luther, subtitled *Fraw Musica*, and the main portion by Walther are in verse form. A key group of lines by Luther are:

Hie kan nicht sein ein böser mut
 Wo da singen gesellen gut.
 Hie bleibt kein Zorn/zanck/hass/noch neid
 Weichen mus alles hertzleid.
 (Here there can be no sour disposition
 Where young men sing well.
 Here remains no anger, strife, hate, nor envy
 All sadness of heart must give way.)

²Various collections of Luther's hymn texts agree on this total of 36. See Karl Gerok, ed., *Die Wittemberger Nachtigall. Martin Luthers Geistliche Lieder* (Stuttgart, 1883). See also Gerhard Hahn, ed., *Martin Luther, Die deutschen geistliche Lieder* (Tübingen, 1967).

Kapellmeister for the Elector of Saxony, and Johann Walther, cantor at the court of Frederick the Wise in Torgau, to form "*die Cantorey im Hause*" (choral association in the home) to work on the new church music.

Once a large collection of sacred songs had been gathered, these were spread to the people in several ways:

1. Wandering singers, who traveled from town to town, would sing the songs before families in their homes until the entire household had learned to sing them from memory. The Salzburger complained that "the beggars and other folk were singing catchy Lutheran songs in the streets and elsewhere in order to lead the people astray."³
2. Luther insisted on the establishment of schools, where the songs were to be learned and then introduced into the homes.
3. The *Kurrende* (or street singers) would sing the Lutheran songs in the streets during the week.
4. The town pipers would play the new melodies several times a day from the town towers.
5. The school cantors would practice part arrangements of the new music in school for performance in church on Sundays.

The foregoing emphasis on the vernacular may be seen also in Luther's decision to produce a German Mass (first published in 1526).⁴ This was in keeping with the general desire to render the text understandable to the congregation as well as to encourage participation in the services. Such participation by the congregation was probably in unison and without organ accompaniment. Unison rendition (melody only) would have applied for the most part, as well, to the first four categories of dissemination listed above. However, the fifth, the practicing of part arrangements, takes us into another category which requires more extended discussion and involves further consequences.

To return to Johann Walther, it was in 1524 at Wittenberg that he published the first edition of the *Geystliche Gesangk-Buchleyn*. Printed originally in part-books, it contains a total of forty-three pieces; five of these are Latin motets, but the remaining

³E. L. Koch, *Geschichte des Kirchenliedes und Kirchengesanges*, 3d ed. (Stuttgart, 1866-76), 1:454.

⁴*Martin Luther. Deutsche Messe, 1526* (facsimile ed., 1934; ed. Johannes Wolf).

thirty-eight are German Lieder.⁵ The close relationship between Walther and Luther may be seen in the fact that twenty-three of the German Lieder employ texts by Luther.

Of considerable interest is the foreword to the first edition (specifically to the Tenor part-book), penned by Luther himself. Luther provides examples from both the OT and NT supporting the value of music in the worship of God. Accordingly, he says, this collection is being issued to help spread the gospel in song. Noteworthy is Luther's explanation for the four-part settings of these songs: this is to enable the young, who so much need training in music and other suitable arts, to pursue wholesome objectives. The arts are not to be crushed; rather, they are to be used to God's glory and the furtherance of his kingdom. In this way Luther set himself against the bigoted element that would have swept aside an advanced type of music and assured, instead, the development of a Protestant style. His statements, furthermore, support the evidence that such singing was an art to be pursued by the young, both in the schools and in civic organizations.⁶

2. Luther's Texts and Walther's Musical Style

As representative of Luther's texts as well as of Walther's musical style, we may examine *Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir* ("Out of the Depths I Cry to Thee"):

1527, XIII. 1544, XV. 1551, XV.

The image shows a musical score for the hymn "Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir". It features five staves: four vocal parts (Discant., Alt., Tenor., Bass.) and one keyboard part (Klavieranszug.). The lyrics are written below the vocal staves. The score is in G major and 4/4 time. The lyrics are: "Aus tie - fer not schrei ich zu ... dir, Herr und
dels gno - dig o - ren hor zu ... mir und
dels tie - fer not schrei ich zu ... dir, Herr und
dels gno - dig o - ren hor zu ... mir und
dels tie - fer not schrei ich zu ... dir, Herr und
dels gno - dig o - ren hor zu ... mir und"

⁵The various original part-books have been drawn together and printed in score in vol. 7 of *Publikation älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke*, ed. Otto Kade (Berlin, 1878).

⁶Ibid.

Gott, er - hö - re mein - ru - fen, denn so du wilt das se -
 und - mer bit - ste of - fen, fen.

Gott, er - hö - re mein ru - fen, denn so... du wilt das se -
 und - mer bit - ste of - fen, fen.

Gott, er - hö - re mein ru - fen, denn so du wilt das se -
 und - mer bit - ste of - fen, fen.

Gott, er - hö - re... mein ru - fen, denn so du wilt das se -
 und - mer bit - ste of - fen, fen.

he - an was sünd und... un - recht ist ge -
 he - an was sünd und un - recht ist ge - lan, ...

he - an was sünd und un - recht ist... ge -
 he - an... was sünd und un - recht ist ge - lan,

lan, wer kan, Herr, für dir... blei - ben? ...
 wer kan, Herr, für dir... blei - ben?

lan, wer kan, Herr, für dir... blei - ben? ...
 wer kan, Herr, für dir... blei - ben?

Der Text, 8 Strophen, ist im Wäcker Nagel p. 127 No 188 abgedruckt.

1) In den spätern Ausg. steht: 2) Im Bass: 1525 hat keine Ligatur.

Aus tiefer Not schrei ich zu dir

(This is a rhymed paraphrase of Ps 130:1-3)

Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord. Lord, hear my voice: let thine ears be attentive to the voice of my supplication.

If thou, Lord, shouldest mark iniquities, O Lord, who shall stand?

This version by Luther of Ps 130 is set in four-part harmonization in almost note-against-note style. The first section repeats for an identical treatment of the music to the second portion of the text. The second half becomes a bit more imitative at times so that the words do not always correspond, although the style remains essentially homophonic. The melody is in the tenor. The ranges of the four parts are moderate in scope. It should be borne in mind that the alto was designed for men's voices (like a first tenor part) and does not lie much above the tenor.

Although this selection, as noted, incorporates some slight degree of independence of the four parts, we may consider now the opening of a longer and more complex piece in motet style from the same collection, again with the text by Luther:

1524
Discant.

1525
Alt.

1524
Tenor.

1524
Bass.

1527, II. 1544, II. 1544, II.

Kom Gott schü pfer, kom Gott schü
Kom Gott schü
Kom Gott schü
Kom Gott

Klavierauszug.

Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist

(The following is a poetic translation of the German text)

Come, O Creator Spirit, come,
 And make within our hearts thy home:
 To us thy Grace celestial give,
 Who of thy breathing move and live.

Both melody and text are based on the chant *Veni, Creator Spiritus*. Luther renders the first phrase as "Komm, Gott Schöpfer, heiliger Geist, besuch das Herz der Menschen" ("Come, God Creator, Holy Ghost, visit the heart of man"). The melody again is in the tenor, but is varied and extended. Beyond that, we have the anticipation of the tenor entry in the preceding alto and discant

and a subsequent imitative entry in the bass. The voices have a much greater independence as compared to *Aus tiefer Not*, both as regards melody and text alignment. Furthermore, the melody shifts to the discant at the bottom of the page, beginning with "besuch" and remains there for the rest of the piece. All in all, we have a higher level of expectation in terms of proficiency of the singers.

3. *Music Instruction and Performance*

To what extent were the schools able to perform these part arrangements of the new music—particularly such as had the degree of complexity noted in *Komm Gott, Schöpfer*? Luther had been faced with a situation of considerable neglect with respect to the state of musical instruction in the schools. To counter this decline of interest and participation of the pupils in the singing in the worship services, Luther issued his famous *Sendschreiben an die Ratsherren aller Städte deutschen Landes, dass die Christliche Schulen aufrichten und halten sollen* ("Circular to the Princes of All German States, That Christian Schools Should Be Established and Maintained") of 1524.⁷ Thus, as a result of Luther's insistence that the schools once more assume the responsibility for taking over the musical obligations in the church services, the Protestant schools which were established during the ensuing decades placed a heavy emphasis on musical instruction.

At this point, it is appropriate to distinguish between the various kinds of school or school-related choirs that made their appearance in German towns of this time. First, there was the common school choir, which could sing only in unison chant style (*choraliter*) in the services. From this choir, the *Kurrende* went forth in large numbers, fulfilling a task which increasingly came to

⁷Printed by Lucas Cranach in Wittenberg (modern reprint in *WA*, vol. 15, with analysis on pp. 9-15, and text of the circular on pp. 27-53). Here Luther presents arguments from both the OT and NT concerning the importance of educating the youth. He sets up no guidelines as to curriculum or organization, but rather expresses the urgency for setting up these programs and states the philosophical basis for doing so. That his appeal was successful may be seen in the speedy adoption of reforms in the same and following years in such towns as Magdeburg, Nordhausen, Halberstadt, Gotha, Eisleben, and Nürnberg.

be regarded as befitting the poorer scholars rather than the well-to-do. Second, in the higher or Latin schools we find the *chorus symphonicus*, which directed its efforts to the mastery of contrapuntal singing. Here the male parts below the discant were bolstered by teachers and former students as section leaders or *Vorsänger*. Third, there was often a *chorus musicus* or *Kantorei*, in which the students generally sang only the discant, while the remaining parts were sung by town citizens, drawn largely from the ranks of the *Astanten* or alumni—young men of near-professional caliber. This *chorus musicus*, under the control of the town cantor, had as its obligations the major burdens in the Sunday church services as distinguished from the daily choral responsibilities in the matins and vespers. Finally, in festivals of all kinds in the life of the town (anniversaries, commemorations, holidays, school celebrations), the *chorus musicus* had to function outside of the worship service too.

In order to participate in the work of a *Kantorei*, the musical group rooted in both school and town, the boys in the German town schools and Latin schools of Saxony were required to spend a considerable amount of time in rehearsal. Singing instruction was a regular major class subject and generally held four hours per week, usually from 12 to 1 on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. Since no classes were scheduled for Wednesday afternoon, the rehearsals for special occasions might be continued in the home of the cantor on that day. In the four-class Latin school, singing instruction began with the third class (comparable to our second year of high school), taught by the *Baccalaureus*; the second class (third year) was taught by the cantor, and the first class (fourth year) by the schoolmaster.

It may be assumed, with some reason, that the level of ability of these school choirs was fairly high. Areas dealt with included scales, clefs, solmisation, transposition, the modes, and vocal production. The cantors themselves were well-trained, the instruction imparted was quite thorough, and the practice times were frequent and long. Certainly the repertoire was of the best: Masses, motets, hymns, and magnificats by Ockeghem, Obrecht, Josquin, Pierre de la Rue, Isaac, Finck, Agricola, Senfl, and Lassus.

Additional music by the best contemporary German masters was also included. In the earlier part of the century, Rhaw's *Neue deudsche geistliche Gesenge* (1544) was one of the most widely used

publications,⁸ while later in the century the various individual collections came into general favor. Rhaw's collection, also issued in Wittenberg, contained compositions by such men as Balthasar Resinarius, Arnold von Bruck, and Thomas Stoltzer, and were issued specifically "for the common schools" (*für die gemeinen Schulen*). As for the town pipers, they were regular employees of professional caliber.

The culmination of the activities of the various choirs and town musicians was the main worship service (*Hauptgottesdienst*). As Arno Werner so vividly describes the situation in Saxony, the actual service was preceded by a solemn procession, the participants being clad in black mantle and hat. The *Astanten* constituted one group. From the Latin school came the cantor and the other instructors with the Latin pupils; from another quarter came the German schoolmaster (*Schulmeister*) and his boys. As these took their place in the choir loft, they joined forces with the town pipers with their cornets and trombones to sound forth the chorales in a grand expression of praise.⁹

Although participation in the work of the *Kantorei* may have constituted the crowning achievement of the school choir, there remain two other areas of activity of considerable importance which were for the most part the special province of the school choir: street singing, and singing for special festive occasions like weddings and funerals. Of these two, it is the street singing that needs further comment at this point.

The best voices in the school would be selected for both the street-singing (*Kurrende*) group and the choir of the *Kantorei*; and although these were often one and the same, in the larger schools a class division was apparent. Here only the sons of important and well-to-do burghers belonged to the *Kantorei*, and those of lesser standing were assigned to the task of street singing whereby they might gather funds for themselves and the school. The richer boys

⁸See vol. 34, ed. Johannes Wolf (1908), in *Denkmäler deutscher Tonkunst*, Erste Folge, 65 vol. (Leipzig, 1892-1931).

⁹Arno Werner, *Geschichte der Kantoreigesellschaft im Gebiete des ehemaligen Kurfürstentums Sachsen*, in *Beihefte der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* (Leipzig, 1901-1914), 9 (1902):28-31.

tended to look down their noses at such a task. Thus, although others—the older or the more well-to-do—might on occasion join in, street singing was a particular responsibility of the poorer pupils.

In Danzig, the street singing was done from Monday through Friday in systematic fashion. One of the boys would carry a basket to receive the bread that would be given them, and two others would carry locked boxes which they would take to the doors of the houses on either side of the street to collect contributions of cash. School regulations indicated that the responses which were sung were to fit the season of the year and be rendered capably without yelling. The boys, furthermore, were not to honor the requests of the townspeople to sing indecent songs. Any money so collected would be placed in another container by the choir regent; later a teacher would unlock the box and divide the contents.¹⁰

Christmas and New Year's saw a great deal of such activity, but presented special problems. According to regulations, places of drinking and dancing were not to be entered. On the other hand, if requested, the group might enter a tavern (*Stube*), but must not stay over a half hour and not drink to excess nor permit the boys to drink at all. Since the various school statutes are full of warning to the students not to waste their funds, but to spend them on paper, music, etc., the inference is that at times the money *was* squandered in gambling and drinking, or that it was simply ill-spent. Nevertheless, Luther thought well of these boys who traveled through the cold streets in rain and snow. "Do not despise one of these young men; I, too, was one of their number."¹¹

¹⁰Hermann Rauschnig, *Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig* (Danzig, 1931), pp. 48-49. Note that the money, however tainted, was not thrown away but put to good use!

¹¹This quotation may be found in such secondary sources as Frierich Adolf Beck, ed., *Dr. Martin Luthers Gedanken über die Musik* (Berlin, 1825), p. 26, and Paul Nettl, *Luther and Music*, trans. Frida Best and Ralph Wood (Philadelphia, 1948), pp. 8-9. However, the source for these and related remarks is a sermon by Martin Luther to the officials of Nürnberg in the year 1530: *Ein Sermon oder Predigt, dass man solle Kinder zur Schule halten* (A Sermon That Children Should Be Kept in School), given in the larger context of the duties of parents toward their children.

This sermon may be found in full in Vol. 10 of the Walch ed. of Luther's works (the relevant remarks appear in items 61-62, cols. 524-525); in *WA* 30:508-588; and in

4. *Tightening of the Regulations*

After the first ardor of the Reformation began to cool, the practice of free-will assistants waned and there was a tendency to replace the loose organization with more rigid control, including the use of written laws (constitutions) so as to encourage faltering members to attend more regularly. The manner in which the membership was classified in such a more tightly-organized arrangement was often as follows:

1. Honorary members
2. Non-singers
3. School pupils and town pipers, who belonged because of their official position
4. Free-will singers, *Astanten* (*Adstanten*, *Adjuvanten*)

The first two categories were absolved of performance responsibility, while the third and fourth were "Cantoristen" or performers.¹²

The regulations of Belger in the year 1595, which have small-town conditions in mind, give us some idea concerning the circumstances and vicissitudes of such musical fellowship:

Any person, who can sing but is uncertain, so that he cannot be entrusted with carrying a part by himself, should be required to sing along on the first three pieces. If he will not sing along, he shall be fined six pence. After these first three pieces he shall remain silent, withdraw, and participate in some other activity. However, no one who so withdraws shall disturb the others who

several English translations. The exact words of Luther, as given in the Walch ed., are as follows: "Man spricht, und ist die Wahrheit, der Pabst ist auch ein Schüler gewesen; darum verachte mir nicht die Gesellen, die vor der Thür *panem propter Deum* sagen, und den Brodreigen singen. . . . Ich bin auch ein solcher Partekenhengst gewesen, und habe das Brod von den Häusern genommen, sonderlich zu Eisenach, in meiner lieben Stadt. . . ." ("It is truly said that even the Pope was once a student; therefore do not despise these young men, who say before the doors [of those they serenade] *panem propter Deum* [bread for the Lord], and sing songs for donations of bread. . . . I too was such a *Partekenhengst* [alms-gathering rapsallion] and received bread from the homes, specifically in Eisenach, in my dear home town. . . .')

¹²Werner, pp. 13-21.

are still singing; much less shall he take their copies from them or ridicule them for their singing. Whoever is guilty in these matters shall be fined one *Groschen* [a small silver coin].

He who sings the discant shall always have with him one or two boys who have agreeable voices, so that they may follow the copy with him and gain practice in singing and in time sing a discant part by themselves. However, they shall have nothing to do with the beer drinking; and as soon as the singing is concluded, they shall be sent home, so that their parents will not become unwilling [to send them again] and have reason to raise complaints against us.

Those songs, which are to be sung in the churches, should be practiced more than the others, and should occasionally, when possible, be rehearsed in sol-fa with *Adjuwanten* [*Astanten*], so that they will learn them more readily and become accustomed to mutation [transition from one hexachord to another]. Care should be taken to avoid getting candle drippings or drops of beer on the copies or to ruin or desecrate the copies in any way; whoever does this, must pay the penalty.¹³

Aside from the rather amusing aspects of the foregoing disciplinary regulations, it is highly significant to note the implications of the second paragraph of the quotation. It would appear that in such organizations as these, the upper voice or discant (let alone the alto or other lower parts) was sung regularly by adult males. The purpose of having the boys present was mainly to improve their skill in singing so that in time, perhaps as adolescents, they might be able to carry a part without assistance—rather than that their assistance at this time was an absolute necessity. This would indicate that the art of singing in this high range (by the employment of the falsetto voice, not by virtue of the castrato practice) was normal practice for these men. It would follow, of course, that in the rendering of any drinking songs or songs of fellowship after the boys had left, the discant would be sung entirely by adults.

The overall control of these organizations was essentially in the hands of the clergy, so that a great deal of the possible success of the musical organization depended on the ability and energy of

¹³English trans. of the German quoted in Arno Werner, *Vier Jahrhunderte im Dienste der Kirchenmusik* (Leipzig, 1933), p. 38.

the church fathers. The cantors themselves were not only well-educated generally, but had theological training specifically. They were frequently those who for some reason had had to stop theological preparation short of the ministry, or were, perhaps, looking for temporary employment before becoming pastors. The cantor would judge the musical ability of an *Adjuvant* seeking admission. The level of the test would depend on the size of the town and on the quality of the musical curriculum pursued in the schools.

5. *Conclusion*

In conclusion, it may be seen that the steps for reform undertaken by Luther were of great importance in spreading the new faith in its earliest phases. His insistence on quality and organization led, in turn, to the generally high level of instruction and performance in the church services and other town observances.

Aside from instrumental resources, this meant not only regular choral participation by the pupils but also that of adult alumni, where alto and occasionally soprano parts, as well as tenor and bass, were sung by them. All resources combined to provide a strong musical support to undergird the Reformation in its first flowering in the sixteenth century.

ON PARTAKING OF THE DIVINE NATURE: LUTHER'S DEPENDENCE ON AUGUSTINE

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Martin Luther was an Augustinian monk; he acclaimed Augustine of Hippo as the greatest influence on theology after the Bible. Thus it seems appropriate to inquire about Augustine's influence on Luther.¹ Because of the variety of interpretations which have been made of Augustine over the course of the centuries, one must ask what Augustine himself said, how Luther interpreted him, and what the significance of "Luther's Augustine" was within the context of Luther's whole theology.

Such an undertaking is obviously far too massive for a brief article. My present proposal is somewhat more modest: to limit the question to the theology of grace as our partaking of the divine life. I shall note the general shape of Augustine's theology of grace, look at main lines of Luther's modification of Augustine's scheme, and finally make some observations about relationships between Augustine's and Luther's theologies of grace.

1. *Augustine's Theology of Grace*

Various scholars have attempted to distinguish Greek from Latin Christian thought about divine grace by asserting that the

¹Cf. Anders Nygren, *Augustin und Luther* (Berlin, 1958); A. G. Dickens, *Martin Luther and the Reformation* (New York, 1967), pp. 22-31; Heiko Oberman, *Fore-runners of the Reformation* (New York, 1966), p. 127; Daniel Day Williams, "The Significance of St. Augustine Today," in *A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine*, ed. Roy W. Battenhouse (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1955, 1979), pp. 3-5; Frederick Brosché, *Luther on Predestination* (Uppsala doctoral dissertation, distributed by Almqvist and Wiksell International, Stockholm, 1978), pp. 19-20 (gives a basic bibliography about Luther's use of Augustine); Axel Gyllenbrok, *Rechtfertigung und Heilung* (Uppsala, 1952), pp. 3-5.

Greeks understood grace as "deification," and that the Latins understood it as a juridical forgiveness of sins and divine assistance to do good. "Deification" in this theological sense (the sense in which the term will be used in this article) is an ontological relationship between God and humanity based upon the participation of human beings in the divine perfection. God created all human beings in the divine image and likeness, and because they are so created, they have intrinsically certain godlike qualities. The creatures' qualities are genuinely like the divine, in a measure appropriate to their nature.

Such a position finds its philosophical foundation in the Neoplatonic notion of the participation of the "many" in the "One." But Greek theologians insist that the idea is deeper than merely the philosophical one.² This relationship established in creation is disturbed because of the reality of sin. Through the sin of Adam and Eve, humanity's relationship to God is changed; the image and likeness of God in human beings has been injured, darkened. In its new situation, humanity is not in right relationship to God. It shares in some of the divine perfections, but it has lost the divine friendship and communion which gives eternal life, unending life with God.

Human participation in the divine life must be restored and perfected; it must be returned to the communion with God which was intended in creation. Such participation in the divine life involves a process of "deification," in which through the work of God in Jesus Christ, who gives the Holy Spirit, we are transformed. Through our cooperation with this grace, we enter into a process of transformation into beings who are godlike and who imitate the divine goodness.

However, the notion of deification is not restricted to Greek theology. A central theme in Augustine's theology sees grace as a partaking of the divine life.³ Augustine especially stresses this theme

²Cf. John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (London, Eng., 1975), pp. 138-139; W. Pesch and H. R. Schlette, "Participation," in *Encyclopédie de la Foi* (Paris, 1966), 3: 308-320.

³Victorino Capánaga, "La deificación en la soteriología agustiniana," in *Augustinus Magister* (Paris, 1954), 2: 745-754; Patricia Wilson-Kastner, "Grace as Participa-

in his sermons and commentaries, wherein he addresses those who share his own beliefs.

Also in his commentaries, and particularly in the anti-Pelagian polemical works, another dimension of Augustine's theology of grace appears: His doctrine of sin underlines humanity's radical separation from God after the Fall. The image of God remained in fallen humans; but no saving, personal communion with God was possible, because the Holy Spirit, the giver of this communion, was absent from the human heart.

How could humans come to know God truly and share in the divine life? Only through God's predestination and free election. By 396 or 397 Augustine clearly asserted this, in contrast to his earlier opinion, which identified merit as the cause of God's choice of people.⁴ The Pelagian controversy forced Augustine to clarify with increasing precision and rigor his concepts of the gratuitousness of the divine choice, double predestination, unmerited justification by grace alone, and sanctification dependent on God's gracious justifying. Augustine's juridical and moral concern derives from his focus on humanity's helplessness to achieve its own salvation and its need for redemption by God according to the inscrutable divine will.⁵

These two understandings of grace might at first appear to be in conflict. The one focuses on the *relationship* between God and the believer, on the Holy Spirit's dwelling in the person to aid the process of deification. The other lays stress on the *distance* between God and humanity, on the unmeritedness of grace, which no human deed can deserve or adequately respond to.

Seen in another way, however, these two understandings simply explain the divine/human relationship from quite different perspectives. When Augustine spoke of grace as participation in the divine life, his concern was *pastoral nurture* of his flock, to encourage and guide believers in their ongoing relationship to God. He encouraged their sense of incorporation into the eternal life of God, graciously

tion in the Divine Life in the Theology of Augustine of Hippo," *Augustinian Studies* 7 (1976): 135-152.

⁴Eugene TeSelle, *Augustine the Theologian* (London, Eng., 1970), pp. 176-182.

⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 278-294, 313-338.

shared with humanity. On the other hand, when he wrote of predestination and human helplessness, he was concerned to *defend God's primacy* from sinful human beings, who attempted to usurp God's place as the center of both personal and world history. Predestination guaranteed divine primacy and confessed God's ultimate triumph in chaotic history. It underlay the mystery of personal lives and relationships to God, and asserted the power of God to draw and convert the previously unworthy. It explained, as well, the apparent indifference of those to whom all the "means of grace" had been made available.⁶ Thus, predestination tamed the "terror of history,"⁷ both personal and corporate.

When twentieth-century readers explore Augustine's works, they identify different strands of thought, with different origins, sources, concerns, etc. But at least until the Renaissance, such an approach was almost unheard of. Medievals almost exclusively read the corpus of Augustine's works as a whole. They solved any tensions, incongruities, or contradictions, either by explaining them according to a logical method (for instance Abelard's *Sic et Non*) or by ignoring or denying those parts of his works with which they disagreed.⁸ Part of the influence of Augustine's theology of grace on them involves their own transformation, change, or omission of various elements which Augustine had combined.⁹ We must try to understand their reading of Augustine as a living, authoritative totality to be dealt with. This must be borne in mind also as we analyze Luther's use of Augustine.

2. *Luther's Theology of Grace as Influenced by Augustine*

Luther's theology of grace emerged in a quite different age and spirit from Augustine's. James McCue has focused on one specific

⁶Frederick van der Meer, *Augustine the Bishop* (New York, 1961), pp. 123-125; Wilson-Kastner, pp. 151-152.

⁷Mircea Eliade, *Cosmos and History* (New York, 1959), pp. 143-145, 153-154.

⁸Ives M.-J. Congar, *A History of Theology* (Garden City, N.Y., 1968), pp. 57, 72-73.

⁹No comprehensive study of Augustine's influence in Western theology has been written. For some studies with bibliography, see these articles of mine: "A

new concern (subsequent to Augustine's day), which influenced Luther's theology and his use of Augustine: the personal confession of sins—viz., the obligation, universalized in the thirteenth century, of confessing all of one's mortal sins as the ordinary condition of salvation.¹⁰ Such a responsibility could encourage either a complacency or a despair which had to be addressed in a theology of grace. Augustine himself never thought of grace within this context, and so Luther had to reformulate and restructure Augustinianism from a perspective which focused on the individual with a centrality and intensity that had never occurred to Augustine.

The full intensity of Luther's search for the individual conscience's perfect righteousness before God must be considered together with Luther's eschatology. Luther firmly believed that the end of the world was rapidly approaching, and that his time was the last of the six ages of the history of the world. The rule of the Pope and the reign of the Turk both pointed to the imminent end of the world, which the believer was helpless to change or stop; only God's intervention could help.¹¹

Thus, any account of Luther's worldview must note that Luther read Augustine with an urgent and personalized sense of hopelessness which Augustine did not share. Augustine did not expect the imminent end of the world, even though the Roman Empire was crumbling around him; nor was his doctrine of the radical need of the grace of God for salvation dependent on an insistence on individual guilt; Augustine's was a deeply felt confession about the condition of humanity as such.

Luther's theological horizon was thus bounded by a sense of the imminent day of divine judgment for the world, interwoven

Note on the Iconoclastic Controversy," *AUSS* 18 (1980): 139-148; "Grace in the Soul: an Aspect of Augustine's Influence on Bonaventure," *Medievalia* 4 (1978): 161-178; "Andreas Osiander's Theology of Grace in the Perspective of the Influence of Augustine of Hippo," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 10/2 (Summer 1979): 73-91, esp. p. 75, n. 10, which discusses bibliography relevant for Luther studies as well.

¹⁰James F. McCue, "Simul justus et peccator in Augustine, Aquinas, and Luther: Towards Putting the Debate in Context," *JAAR* 48 (1980): 81-96, esp. pp. 92-94.

¹¹George W. Forell, *Faith Active in Love* (Minneapolis, 1954), pp. 157-159, 176-177.

with a fear of judgment of the individual. His theology of grace, and especially his use of Augustine, reflected his reforging of Augustine's theology within this significantly changed worldview. Those elements in Augustine which responded to the new concerns were retained and emphasized by Luther; those which did not were shifted towards the edges of Luther's system.

Luther unquestionably perceived himself to be a faithful follower of Augustine. Indeed, in his preface to the *Theologia Germanica*, he places Augustine next to the Bible as a source of religious truth.¹² Even when in later works his appraisal of Augustine is somewhat less glowing, he still identifies Augustine as a major theological source, especially about grace.¹³ Luther continued to acknowledge his debt to Augustine as the interpreter *par excellence* of the biblical doctrine of salvation by grace alone. The question we must now ask is: How did he use the various strands of Augustine's theology of grace? Did he, for instance, appeal exclusively to the Augustine who spoke of election and predestination, and who in this setting opposed human claims to merit before God?

As one might expect, the answer to this question is extremely complex. One suggestion is that after a brief initial encounter with a theology of deification, Luther eliminated from his theology any suggestion of inhering grace.¹⁴ Yet, Luther's own relationship to medieval mysticism is more nuanced. This medieval mystical theology, while affirming the sanctification of the deified person, insisted also that such deification takes place within the context of absolute human helplessness and of utter dependence on God for the receiving of the divine life and for the ongoing process of "divinization."¹⁵ In the *Theologia Germanica*, which Luther edited

¹²*The Theologia Germanica of Martin Luther*, trans. Bengt Hoffman (New York, 1980), p. 54.

¹³E.g., "Preface to the Complete Edition of Luther's Latin Writings," in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings*, ed. John Dillenberger (Garden City, N.Y., 1961), p. 12.

¹⁴Dickens, pp. 24-26.

¹⁵Bengt Hägglund, *The Background of Luther's Doctrine of Justification in Late Medieval Theology* (Philadelphia, 1971), pp. 4-14, and p. 34, point 4; Bengt R. Hoffman, *Luther and the Mystics* (Minneapolis, 1976), pp. 160-177.

in 1516, the author asserts that even if God became human in all people and they were divinized in God, unless it happened to *me*, "my fall and my apostasy would never be mended. . . . In this return and healing I can, may, or shall do nothing from myself. . . . God alone works here. . . ." ¹⁶ Both the notions of *sola gratia* and salvation *pro me*, so crucial for Luther's theology of grace, are present here, along with the notion of divinization.

Does this remain Luther's own position during the rest of his life, or does he change fundamentally, as some have suggested? ¹⁷ In a few pages, one can scarcely assess the voluminous writings of Martin Luther. A few references, however, from Luther's theology over the years indicate some of the complexity of Luther's relationship to a theology of deification.

Luther, in his *Preface to the Latin Writings* (1545) attributes his own formulation of a theology of grace to the influence of St. Paul's epistles. After he had gained his understanding through Paul, Luther asserts, he read Augustine's *The Spirit and the Letter*, and found that Augustine also "interpreted God's righteousness in a similar way, as the righteousness with which God clothes us when he justifies us." Even though Augustine did not write of it perfectly and did "not explain all things concerning imputation clearly," nonetheless Luther judges him to have taught rightly about God's righteousness with which we are justified. ¹⁸

Luther wrote this about a year before his death. Even at this late time in his career, he perceived himself as being in fundamental agreement with Augustine about grace, even though Luther had arrived at his interpretation of Paul independently. The Reformer acknowledged differences between his own and Augustine's opinions, but he identified them as being due to Augustine's incompleteness or lack of clarity, rather than to any wrong understandings.

¹⁶*Theologia Germanica*, p. 63.

¹⁷E.g., Dickens, p. 24.

¹⁸"Preface to the Complete Edition of Luther's Latin Writings," Dillenberger ed., p. 12. One must balance Luther's image of being "clothed" with grace, underscoring its alien character, with the picture of the divine Word imparting its qualities to the soul like a heated iron in the fire, an image which emphasizes the transforming power of grace. I am indebted to James McCue for pointing out to me in private discussions that both of these notions in Luther's theology have to be taken together.

Where does Luther differ from Augustine about deification? Most often, scholars suggest that Luther insists that grace works in human beings through imputation. According to A. G. Dickens and Bengt Hägglund, Luther's notion of alien righteousness is his distinctive contribution to the theology of grace.¹⁹ Such a notion of grace would appear to be radically different from one which underscored the idea of gradual transformation.

However, Luther himself does not seem to have found the two notions mutually exclusive. Luther identifies the righteousness which Christ gives us as foreign to our own intrinsic human capabilities (in much the same way that original sin is also foreign or alien to our basic, God-given humanity). The alien character of righteousness expresses the gratuitous character of grace; it comes from God alone and not from anything within us.²⁰

When in a sermon in 1519 Luther describes alien righteousness, however, his metaphor provides contrast to a coat—an object which is not of human substance and which never changes nor is changed in relationship to the person wearing it. Rather, he insists that this alien righteousness is “not instilled all at once,” but has a beginning, increases, and “is perfected at the end through death.” Furthermore, alien righteousness produces in us a second kind of righteousness, “our proper righteousness,” through which we crucify ourselves and draw closer to God and love our neighbors. This righteousness in us destroys sin, follows the example of Christ, and is transformed into his likeness.²¹

It appears that to Luther the notion of alien righteousness does not in and of itself exclude a process of real change and transformation. At the same time, he insists that God's energy, not the person's, is the source of any change. In that sense, the change is not inherently the person's, but it is an inhering change. Righteousness is alien, inasmuch as it is not produced by the person; but it is not opposed to human capabilities or human character. Furthermore, it does indeed cause change and progress in a person.

¹⁹Dickens, p. 30; Hägglund, p. 34.

²⁰“Two Kinds of Righteousness,” in *Martin Luther*, ed. John Dillenberger, p. 88.

²¹*Ibid.*, pp. 88-89.

In his biblical commentaries, Luther takes a similar position. As a focus for identifying his opinions, I will refer to his comments about two key texts which were used in the early and medieval church's teaching about grace and deification: Ps 82:6, "I have said that you are gods and all of you sons of the Highest,"; and 2 Pet 1:4, "That through these . . . you may become partakers of the divine nature." If Luther were specifically to repudiate any notion of transformation of the person through grace—of "deification" in this theological sense—these *loci classici* would surely provide him with an excellent opportunity.

In 1530, Luther commented on Ps 82, outlining the duties of a Christian prince. He notes concerning verse 6 that "the Word of God hallows and deifies everything to which it is applied."²² This deification does not derive from an intrinsic characteristic of the person or offices, but from their living relationship to the Word of God. The "holiness and divinity" which they possess is not theirs, for it derives from God's Word; nonetheless, it is really and truly in them because of the divine call.

In an earlier set of lectures on the Psalms, completed in 1515, Luther's exegesis moved in a more traditional direction. There he distinguished these "gods and the sons of the Most High," who anagogically are the children of God, from those who are sinners and will die, as is proper for those who are not God's children.²³ He did not depart from the classical identification of the children of God by grace as "gods"; he perceived the term as expressing their relationship to God. He did not ask about the ontological character of the person before and after grace enters the soul; nor would he assume that to be an answerable question for us. He focuses on the human relationship to God.

In his commentary on 2 Peter (1523), Luther identified the promise offered in 1:4 as unique in the OT and NT. How do we partake of the divine nature? Through faith. "But what is the divine nature? It is eternal truth, righteousness, wisdom, everlasting

²²"Psalm 82," in *Luther's Works*, American ed. (hereinafter cited as *LW*), vol. 13, *Selected Psalms II*, p. 71.

²³"Psalm Eighty-two," in *LW*, vol. 11, *First Lectures on the Psalms II*, pp. 110-111, 115.

life, peace, joy, happiness, and whatever can be called good." One who is a partaker of divine life has eternal life, the joy and peace of God, and is "pure, clean, righteous, and almighty against the devil, sin, and death." Just as God has eternal life and truth, so does the Christian. Such riches, Luther underscores, are ours through faith, not because our works lay a foundation for them.²⁴

Augustine would have agreed with such an explanation of our partaking of the divine nature, and with the reality of our sharing qualities of the divine nature through our participation in them. However, Luther appears to have changed one central aspect—or at least, emphasis—of Augustine's theology of human participation in the divine life. Augustine asserts that we share in God's life through charity; that is, through the Holy Spirit poured out into our hearts, through whom we are made able to partake of God's own life. For Luther, we share through faith, and our ability to respond to God always remains by grace through faith.

Even though Luther was willing to accept the classical notion of humanity's being created in the image of God and therefore intended for a higher life with God through its creation, his notion of salvation insisted on the distinction between creation and redemption. The gospel restores the image of God and makes it something better in us, Luther asserts in his commentary on Genesis (1535). However, the change comes through faith and the grace of trust in God.²⁵ Even though Luther employs Augustinian language about humans as "image of God," redemption is not by love (a divine quality that is mirrored only imperfectly in our love), but by faith, a human need which has no counterpart in God. To make faith rather than love the link between human beings and the divine nature only underscores the discontinuity in this present life between the divine and the human.

²⁴"Sermons on the Second Epistle of St. Peter," in *LW*, vol. 30, *The Catholic Epistles*, p. 155.

²⁵Comment on Gen 1:26, in *LW*, vol. 1, *Lectures on Genesis Chapters 1-5*, pp. 55-68.

3. *Conclusions*

Several important conclusions emerge from this comparison of Augustine and Luther with respect to their theologies of grace and from the analysis which has been made concerning Luther's use of Augustine in the Reformer's own formulation of the doctrine of grace.

1. When they are writing about the *activity* of divine grace, both Luther and Augustine consider this to be the partaking of the divine nature. The notion is unquestionably present throughout Luther's theology, although it is not so central as in Augustine's theology. Luther also professes a belief in the Christian's growth in sharing of the divine life, in partaking of righteousness.

2. Luther repudiates both the notion of inherent sin and inherent goodness in human beings. Although Luther admitted an *imago Dei* in humanity because it was created as such by God, the Scripture references to "the image of God" serve to remind us of what humanity has lost through sin, how blemished our present condition is, and what we will be given when we are reborn to a condition which is even greater than a restoration to Adam's state in the garden of Eden. For us in our present condition, both sin and grace must come from God alone. Any quality in the human which might indicate some inherent relationship to God cannot be the link between God and humanity. Only an intervention from God can save; only faith given by God can bind God and humanity.

3. Two reasons why Luther never explicitly dealt with the ontological dimensions of grace ("deification") may be suggested. One was his nominalist theological training, which would not have given him the theological systematic framework to integrate Augustine's notion of a participation in God by nature. More importantly, Luther did not really care about the ontological foundations of participation in God either by nature or by grace. In certainty that he was preaching God's unmerited grace to a world to be judged on the last day, Luther correspondingly shaped the content of his preaching and his commentaries. If the language of participation in the divine life and transformation in God could be used within the context of *sola gratia*, Luther would employ that part of the theological tradition. Only if such language was thought to obscure the absolute primacy of grace, did Luther omit or change it. At the same time, both Luther's pastoral context on an individual

level (to console the scrupulous and chasten those trying to justify themselves before God) and his historical and eschatological setting and outlook were significantly different from Augustine's. This difference insured that for Luther "deification," or participation in the divine life, would not have either the same significance or meaning as the concept had had for Augustine.

PART III

CURRENT ISSUES AND EVENTS CONCERNING LUTHER

As indicated in the Autumn 1983 issue of *AUSS* in "A Tribute to Martin Luther" (pp. 291-294; see especially p. 292), one of the main reasons for deferring this special Luther issue of our journal into 1984 was our purpose to be able better to survey some of the events and literature of the Luther Quincentennial Year. The present section of our journal seeks to accomplish this purpose through its four main components: (1) an article by the editor on some of the more prominent issues currently of interest in Luther studies, as evidenced by literature and other discussions (such as interconfessional dialogues); (2) a brief bibliographical essay covering major works on Luther which have appeared in America in 1983 (with some attention, too, to 1984); (3) reports on three of the more significant Luther-Year conventions in the United States (by persons responsible for organizing and convening these conferences); and (4) an overview of two of the European celebrations of the Luther Quincentennial—in Uppsala, Sweden, and Erfurt in the German Democratic Republic (the former by Ellen S. Erbes, who was in Uppsala at the time of the celebration; and the latter by Daniel A. Augsburg, a participant in the research congress which he reports).

Numerous publications—from scholarly journals, to popular magazines, church papers, and the general news media—have, of course, reported in profusion on the events of the "Luther Year." Nevertheless, it is hoped, believed and trusted that the presentations given herein will provide their own unique contribution towards broadening the horizons concerning the events and developments of that "Luther Year," and will enlarge and enhance our understanding of the impact of Luther's life and work upon our own day.

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CURRENT ISSUES AND TRENDS IN LUTHER STUDIES

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Could the Luther Quincentennial Year 1983 and the present 450th anniversary of Luther's complete German Bible *possibly* bring forth anything significantly new concerning the great sixteenth-century Reformer—a personage whose life, work, and thought have been so abundantly and painstakingly scrutinized for four to five centuries?

Yes indeed! For not only have there been lacunae in the attention given Luther, but Luther seems ever new, even when well-worked terrain is revisited. The ongoing exploration of his career, achievements, and legacy—as an individual whose deep and pervasive impact in shaping the modern Christian world is easily discernible and readily acknowledged—provides, in fact, a study area of continuing challenges and fresh insights.

The present essay proposes to take an “over-the-shoulder glance” at some of the more significant recent developments in the study of Luther, with emphasis on areas wherein there has been special interest during the two back-to-back Luther anniversary years of 1983 and 1984. The discussion will, of course, include background to the current situation. Also, focus will be primarily, though not exclusively, on Luther *literature*; therefore, this article will take somewhat the form of a bibliographical-review essay.

The purpose herein will be to provide a sampling of recent developments relating to six selected themes or topics within the somewhat broad category of “Current Issues and Trends in Luther Studies.” These themes or topics are (1) Luther as Bible translator, (2) Luther's later years, (3) Luther and the Jews, (4) Catholic research and Catholic-Protestant dialogue on Luther, (5) Luther in the German Democratic Republic (“East Germany”), and (6) Luther's so-called “Reformation breakthrough.” The final two topics are treated in somewhat more brevity than the others, and therefore are grouped together in the fifth and final section of this essay.

Before we move on to a discussion of these six topics, one item that does not fit readily under any of them should be noted because

of its monumental significance: announcement in 1983 of the long-awaited completion of the Weimar edition of Luther's works. This project was begun on the 400th anniversary of Luther's birth, in 1883. With some 90 or more huge volumes (about 100, if all separately bound parts are counted as volumes), it is considered to be the most exhaustive and authoritative edition of Luther's works in their original languages. Aside from its numerous volumes of "collected works" (including treatises, commentaries, lecture notes, and sermons), there are multi-volume sections devoted to correspondence (*Briefwechsel*, which includes letters to Luther as well as letters written by him); the "table talks" (*Tischreden*); and Luther's German Bible (*Deutsche Bibel*).

1. LUTHER AS BIBLE TRANSLATOR

Because 1984 is the 450th anniversary of Luther's first complete German Bible edition of 1534, I have chosen to begin this essay on this topic, even though it is one which in recent years has received rather minimal attention in comparison with other areas of Luther research—especially on the American scene. However, at least one significant new work will appear in print during the present year, as will be noticed below.

The general lack of attention to Luther in his Bible-translational activity is unfortunate indeed, for as Albert Hyma stated so aptly nearly three decades ago, in his *Martin Luther and the Luther Film of 1953* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1957), republished as *New Light on Martin Luther* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1958):

One of his [Luther's] most important labors was the translation of the Bible into virile German. Although fourteen editions had already appeared in High German and four others in Low German, Luther was the first to produce a translation that met the demands of the masses. He literally produced the modern language of Germany. Being situated in the center of the German-speaking countries, about half-way between North and South, and also between East and West, he was destined to become a tremendous figure in the field of philology. At the Wartburg he translated the whole of the New Testament. . . .

It is remarkable that Luther's most important contribution to the making of German civilization in modern times has been

treated with indifference on the part of many theologians and even historians. His creation of modern High German is a tremendous feat, worthy of untold eulogy. But endless thousands of pages have been written about his little disputes with insignificant persons, as if those were the main theme of Luther's life at the Wartburg. Even his debate with Eck at Leipzig is not a matter of world-shaking importance, as compared with his translation of the New Testament. What he had in mind particularly was the proper diction, the choice of certain phrases. He was thinking about his own relatives near the castle. They were the sort of people who were dwelling in darkness to a certain extent, because so much of the ritual of the Church was in Latin and the translations of the New Testament in their language were unsatisfactory. His linguistic work is of staggering significance. . . (p. 111 in both editions).

However, in addition to the immeasurable impact of Luther's German Bible both on the German language itself and on the very progress of the Lutheran Reformation (due to the wide circulation and acceptance this translation enjoyed¹), one must take note of the fact that Luther's work in wrestling with the text in the original languages of Scripture unquestionably had an impact on his own life and reformatory activity, as well. His translational work brought him to the "heart of Scripture" in a new and deeper way than had his preparation for his earlier exegetical lectures. In fact, this new experience significantly supplemented and added to the extensive grappling with the biblical text that he had already done as an exegete. His basic religious understandings, attitudes, and insights; his

¹It has been estimated that the multiple editions of Luther's German NT between 1522 and the appearance of the 1st ed. of his complete Bible in 1534 totaled some 200,000 copies. When subsequent editions of the NT and of the complete German Bible that appeared before Luther's death are also taken into account, the dissemination which Luther's translation enjoyed during his own lifetime becomes staggering indeed. In fact, it has been determined that at least some 430 editions of Luther's rendition of the complete German Bible or parts of the Bible (notably the NT and the Psalms) appeared from the presses of various printers throughout the German lands between 1522 and 1546. Most of these were in High German, but some represented Low-German translations. (Information on the printings may be gleaned from introductory materials in the *Deutsche-Bibel* volumes of the Weimar ed. of Luther's works [cf., e.g., 2: xxviii] and from the analysis by E. Zimmermann, "Die Verbreitung der Lutherbibel zur Reformationszeit," *Luth. Vierteljahrsschrift der Luthergesellschaft*, 16 [1934]: 83-87.) On the basis of the information available, if the editions averaged some 2000 to 3000 copies each, about a million copies of Luther's translation in full or in part would have been in circulation by 1546!

sermons, letters of spiritual counsel, and theological treatises; his basic reformational activities in general—all these were undoubtedly highly influenced by, and heightened through, his personal experience as a Bible translator working more precisely and in greater depth with Scripture in the *original languages*. Herein lies a vast and significant field for Luther research, concerning which too little has been done to date. Indeed, in this 450th anniversary year of Luther's first complete Bible edition, one of the chief desiderata for Luther studies is, to my mind, further in-depth research as to the impact of Luther's translational work in refining his own religious thought and in influencing his reformatory activities.

But now, what is the present status of studies on Luther as a Bible translator? Before we focus on 1983–84, it will be well to take a glance at certain high points in the earlier attention given this topic. At the outset, it must be stated that the *Deutsche Bibel* volumes of the Weimar edition of Luther's works are rich with information and are fundamental to research concerning Luther as a translator. Still useful, too, is the rather comprehensive overview given by Johann Reu fifty years ago (on the 400th anniversary of the publication of the first edition of Luther's complete German Bible): *Luther's German Bible* (Columbus, Ohio, 1934). As a backdrop to Luther as a translator, Reu first surveys Latin and pre-Lutheran German editions of the Bible (plus *plenaria* and History Bibles, etc.); treats Luther's own developing acquaintance with Scripture (beginning with the Latin version, of course), and discusses his early exegetical lectures; notes Luther's progress in dealing with the Scriptures in their original languages; and reviews Luther's training and travel experiences that fitted the Reformer exceptionally well to utilize an elegant German that could be readily understood throughout far-flung regions of the German lands by princes and common people alike. Reu's treatment of such "preliminaries" and of Luther's translational work itself is followed by a section of endnotes rich in information, and is further supplemented by a hefty section of excerpts from the primary documents—pre-Lutheran sources, Luther's exegetical lectures, his commentary on Galatians, and his Bible translation itself as represented in various editions.

In the half century since Reu's magnificent volume, major attention to Luther's German Bible has been only intermittent, especially in America. Reu himself made some further contributions, but perhaps the first really giant step forward was the appearance of

Heinz Bluhm's *Martin Luther: Creative Translator* (St. Louis, Mo., 1965). Bluhm, who in my opinion is today the leading expert in America on Luther as a Bible translator, broached new questions and produced new insights by making a rather thorough study of Luther's translational method and also by revealing that Luther's "Christmas Postil" prepared at the Wartburg was based on the Latin in contrast to the "September Bible" (or "September Testament," Luther's first German NT edition, printed in September 1522), which was translated from the Greek (pp. 49-77). (This discovery of the difference between the nature of these two translations shatters the earlier thesis put forward by W. Köhler, A. Freitag, and Reu that suggested the "Christmas Postil" as a background or preliminary step to Luther's German NT.) Another intriguing suggestion by Bluhm is that whatever use Luther may have made of earlier German translations in producing his own Bible version, he was making more use of *plenaria* than of the pre-Lutheran printed editions (pp. 5, 15).

Moving seven years onward from Bluhm's publication, we would quite naturally expect that the year 1972, as the 450th anniversary of the appearance of Luther's celebrated "September Bible," would bring forth publications on Luther's Bible version. And indeed this was the case. In America, Ann Arbor Publishers produced a magnificent reproduction (in full size) of that particular NT, entitled *Luther's "September Bible" in Facsimile* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1972), for which I prepared the "Historical Introduction." This Introduction, which actually appears at the end of the volume, touches very briefly on most of the significant points relating to the background, immediate setting, and translational activity involved in the production of that first Luther NT. It also looks quickly beyond that edition in a brief survey of some of the Reformer's continuing translational activity.

As a sort of supplement to this project, the same publisher also published in 1972 a two-volume set of materials compiled by the present writer from various editions of Luther's German version subsequent to the "September Bible" and illustrating the text of two of Luther's favorite NT books. The set is entitled *Facsimiles from Early Luther Bibles*, and the subtitles for the separate volumes are as follows: vol. 1, *The Gospel of John from the "December Bible" and Wittenberg Editions of 1534 and 1545*; and vol. 2, *The Epistle to the Romans from the "December Bible" and Wittenberg Editions of 1530, 1534, and 1545*.

Another impressive venture was undertaken that same year in Germany, where Hans Volz (already well-known among the specialists for his outstanding work on German Bible translation, pre-Lutheran as well as Lutheran) edited a two-volume set in which the text of Luther's 1545 edition is given in complete form (not, however, in facsimile): *Die gantze Heilige Schrifft Deudsch. Wittenberg 1545* (München, 1972). A supplemental volume (*Anhang und Dokumente*), appearing at the same time, provides many helpful items, such as identification of the vocabulary used by Luther (as compared with modern German) and even a glossary/lexicon to Luther's German. Working with Volz were Heinz Blanke and Friedrich Kur, the latter being responsible for the text redaction. Six years later, Volz produced a further volume delineating the history of Luther's Bible translation: *Martin Luthers deutsche Bibel. Entstehung und Geschichte der Lutherbibel*, ed. Henning Wendland (Hamburg, 1978). This magnificent volume is profusely illustrated (some 416 illustrations).

In 1973, an intriguing analysis of Luther's translational method was presented by John Bechtel in his "The Modern Application of Martin Luther's *Open Letter on Translating*," *AUSS* 11 (1973): 145-151. After first determining six basic translation principles or guidelines indicated by Luther in his *Open Letter on Translating*, Bechtel draws a comparison with principles set forth by the American Bible Society (and subsequently the United Bible Societies) in producing *Today's English Version, Good News for Modern Man*.

Over the years, there have been text-probe studies dealing with the linguistic aspects of Luther's German rendition—at times in comparison or contrast with Catholic German versions subsequent to his—; but this sphere of research is beyond the scope of the present survey. However, because of its appearance during the Luther quincentennial year, the following title may be noted: Hans Gerhard Streubel, "Sprechsprachlich-kommunikative Wirkungen durch Luthers Septembertestament (1522)," in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, Jg. 32, Heft 1/2 (1983): 65-84.

This brings us again to Heinz Bluhm and the most current exploration in the area of Luther as a Bible translator. In scholarly papers presented to conventions during the Luther quincentennial

(in St. Louis, Missouri, on June 1; in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on September 28), Bluhm provided some interesting insights as to the relationship of the English Bible to Luther's translation. It has long been known that there was, indeed, an influence from Luther's German Bible to the English Bible of William Tyndale (see, e.g., L. Franklin Gruber, *The First English New Testament and Luther: The Real Extent to Which Tyndale Was Dependent upon Luther As a Translator* [Burlington, Iowa, 1928]). What is remarkable now, in view of Bluhm's researches, is that much stronger ties seem to link subsequent English editions, such as Coverdale's, to the Luther version. The significance and implications of this discovery for the history of the English Bible are self-evident.

During the present year (and perhaps off the press by the time this issue of *AUSS* appears), Bluhm's monumental new volume on Luther's Bible is to be published in Bern, Switzerland, by the Peter Lang Verlag. This volume, entitled *Luther—Translator of Paul: Studies in Romans and Galatians*, treats two of Luther's favorite NT books by means of an in-depth probe that covers a remarkable array of data pertaining to backgrounds to Luther's Bible, that Bible itself, and its impact on the English translations. The total contents are too extensive to describe here, but the following brief summary may be of interest to *AUSS* readers: Part I, "Romans," first delves into pre-Lutheran Latin Bibles, three of the pre-Lutheran High-German printed Bibles (Mentel, Zainer, and Koberger) and the earliest Low-German editions, the Gotha MS of the NT, the Bämle *Plenarium* of 1474, and the Augsburg *Spiegel* of 1489. Then Bluhm discusses the Wyclif English translation, follows the development of Luther's rendition beginning with the "September Testament" of 1522, and examines Jerome Emser's "emendation" of Luther's translation. Finally, he returns to the English scene, devoting three chapters, respectively, to the sources behind the Tyndale NT, that NT itself, and a panoramic view of the subsequent history of the English Bible from the Matthew Bible to the NEB. A rather similar format pertains to Part II, "Galatians," but there is somewhat less attention to the pre-Lutheran sources, considerably more material provided on the Luther translation and its revisions, and only one chapter relating to the English Bible ("Luther and the First Printed English Bible" [the Tyndale Version]).

Aside from this massive production by Bluhm—both in its range of coverage and in its size (expected to be some 500 or 600

pages)—we still wait to see what other productions concerning the Luther Bible may possibly be forthcoming during this 450th anniversary of Luther's 1534 edition. It may be mentioned that in the German Democratic Republic there has been a special interest in Luther as a Bible translator, but this interest is basically on linguistic and philological grounds rather than with regard to theological concerns. (Sect. 5 of this article will take brief further note of the current scene with regard to Luther in the German Democratic Republic.)

2. LUTHER IN HIS LATER YEARS

A cursory glance at the massive literature that is available today will reveal a decided predilection for treatment of the "young Luther"—a phrase used, in fact, as the title for a work by Herndon Fife (*The Young Luther* [New York, 1928]) and which traced the Reformer's career to 1517. A subsequent, much-enlarged volume by Fife carried the account to 1521: *The Revolt of Martin Luther* [New York, 1957]). Curiously, earlier than Fife's work, the "young Luther" title had also appeared in Germany at the hand of Heinrich Bornkamm (*Der junge Luther* [Gotha, 1925]).² But the trend toward looking primarily at the "young Luther" was much broader and more widespread than simply what is represented by book titles.

For some specialists, 1517 seemed a good terminal point (e.g., Fife's first work mentioned above; and Otto Scheel's celebrated two-volume biography in German, *Martin Luther* [Tübingen, 1916 & 1917], does not reach quite that far!). For other scholars, the year 1521, during which Luther stood before the Diet at Worms, came to be a sort of apex or acme to his career, after which the Reformer supposedly waned in significance. But perhaps 1530, the year of the Augsburg Confession, can be considered the *terminus non post quem* for most major attention to Luther on the part of biographers in general.

²As we will notice later, however, Bornkamm by no means restricted his attention to only the early Luther; his last work is a monumental volume, published posthumously, on Luther's "mid-career" (title and publication facts will be given below).

There are at least two main reasons for the sort of limitations indicated above: (1) Luther had by 1521—or certainly by 1530—made his major contributions theologically (in a sense, true; but also in another sense, not so true³); and (2) his almost single-handed domination of the German-Reformational scene now gave way to an increasing number of participants who came to the limelight and began even to overshadow him (again, true in one sense, but not in another⁴). Furthermore, inasmuch as some of his later years were characterized by literature that had become increasingly venomous—to our twentieth-century minds, even uncouth, barbaric, and puerile—, scholars (especially Protestant scholars) have tended to shy away from any in-depth discussion of the later Luther. (An earlier generation of Catholic scholars, it is true, kept faulting Luther for bitterness and harsh language, but really did not research the matter to find out the full contextual background, setting, and significance of his statements.)

But, we may well ask, did Luther's influence terminate or become quite minimal after 1521, or even after 1530? Did he not in the last two decades of his life provide major input to a number of important areas of Reformation concern—university teaching, pastoral care, general education, church-organizational guidance, counsel to political rulers, and profuse theological literature, to say nothing of his continuing work on the German Bible?

³Although Philip Melancthon became the true systematic theologian of the early Lutheran Reformation, the impact of Luther's theological insights did not by any means vanish. As is evident from a work by Mark U. Edwards, Jr., to be noted later in this section, *even* Luther's polemical treatises of his later years had theological rationale and content, and they certainly did not go unnoticed. Cf. also the article by Albert Hyma in this issue of *AUSS*.

⁴It is true, for instance, that the visible constructive work in educational reform for the school systems in various cities and towns was largely in the hands of Philip Melancthon and Johann Bugenhagen; but both the background guidance and overt attention by Luther should not be overlooked. The same may be said with regard to a number of other areas of reformational activity. Even in the sphere of the paternalistic encroachment on church affairs by Elector John Frederick after 1532, Luther and his colleagues were not out of the picture; and Luther, in particular, was still looked upon for leadership in providing needed support for implementation, as well as for theological rationale. A survey of Luther's correspondence in his later years—with whom, topics covered, etc.—is alone sufficient to call into question any theory that deprives him of significant influence, even though his early high visibility may well have become somewhat dispersed to others.

Although there has been in the past a general tendency to look at only selected facets of Luther's later life—even by those biographers who have not totally omitted discussion of those years (they would deal primarily with such items as glimpses of Luther's family life, his Schmalkald Articles, and the activities of his last days, including especially the scene at his deathbed)—, a relatively small amount of detailed attention to this period has been in evidence. Until very recently, perhaps the one truly significant example of rather extensive attention is the two-volume Luther biography by Julius Köstlin, *Martin Luther. Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (the 5th ed., rev. by Gustav Kawerau, was published in Berlin in 1903). The second volume of this set was specifically devoted to Luther's later years. But since then, until 1983, relatively little has been done toward securing a comprehensive picture of the Luther from 1531 to 1546.

However, in 1957 Albert Hyma ventured a sensitive appraisal of “sticky” issues pertaining to this segment of Luther's career—issues that frequently have been sidestepped or “glossed over” by historians and theologians. Portions of Hyma's material have been compiled into the article bearing his name in the present issue of *AUSS* (pp. 71–79, above), and a further word will be said about this material later.

Another, more recent work is an intriguing different-from-ordinary type of biography: H. G. Haile, *Luther: An Experiment in Biography* (New York, 1980). It endeavors to capture a portrait or “cross-section” of the total Reformer at a certain time in his mature life, focusing toward the year 1535. Rather than taking a diachronic journey through Luther's entire career or some segment of it, Haile seeks to uncover the “mature Luther” as a real, live, many-sided human being, who as such made a tremendous impact on the world about him.

It seems to me, however, that the major publication by Mark U. Edwards, Jr., *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531–46* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983), comes as close to any that we yet have toward significantly filling the gap pertaining to Luther's last years, although admittedly the volume does so in only the one basic area designated in its title. Edwards takes us through Luther's major writings from 1531 onward that attack Papacy, Papal supporters (such as Duke George of Albertine Saxony), Turks, Jews, and “false brethren.” In contrast to the usual glib observations made about the

Reformer's vehement and unbecoming language—often attributed to old age, to physical or psychological deterioration, and/or to the fact that his enemies also used such language—, Edwards has carefully analyzed the contents and line of argument of the various major polemical works and has argued persuasively that these publications are the product of an organized rather than disoriented mind. The vehement, coarse, and (to us) distasteful language is, he points out, a calculated rhetorical device in view of the rationale and purpose underlying the polemical treatises. These treatises were produced in a *consolidation* phase of the Lutheran reform movement; they were not intended to win converts or even to convince the enemy, but rather to undergird the faithful by drawing the lines clearly between them and all of Satan's minions.

Indeed, Edwards relates the language in Luther's polemical works to the Reformer's growing and deepening apocalyptic conviction that (1) the end of the age was near and the foes he was attacking (whether Papists, Jews, Turks, or radical reformers) were enemies of the truth, who as such were also signs of that nearness of the end; and (2) these enemies of truth were only puppets of the true enemy, Satan, who in the background was the real culprit under his attack and for whom Luther felt that no vituperation which he could spew out would be harsh enough.

It should also be pointed out that Edwards rightly places Luther's polemical activity of 1531 and onward within the framework of altered political conditions that constitute a significant consideration in assessing and understanding his writings of that period. In 1530, the Protestants were outlawed by the Diet of Augsburg, and early in 1531 a number of Protestant princes and imperial cities established the defensive League of Schmalkalden, in which Philip of Hesse and Luther's own ruler, Elector John of Saxony, were prominent. These circumstances shortly led to Protestants and Catholics being divided into two armed camps. That new situation, with the need for theological rationalization to support the Protestant rulers' position (which seemed to strike against Luther's earlier-enunciated "Two-Kingdoms" doctrine), was one facet of the changing political scene.

Another significant political development for Luther and the other Wittenberg Reformers was the accession of John Frederick to

the electoral title and rulership of Ernestine Saxony⁵ in 1532. His father, John the Constant, had taken a somewhat paternalistic attitude toward the Reform movement, but John Frederick took the reins into his own hands to an even much greater degree. This heightened attention of the civil government to church affairs actually cut two ways, as far as Luther was concerned: He and the other Wittenberg theologians were frequently called upon *post facto* to justify theologically the political decisions made by John Frederick, Philip of Hesse, and the Schmalkaldic League. On the other hand, in his own polemical battles, Luther now had support from his ruler to a degree far beyond that given previously by John. In fact, whereas the latter ordered Luther to desist in polemics against Duke George,⁶ John Frederick urged him to engage in polemical responses to this Catholic prince.

In short, what Edwards has done in his *Luther's Last Battles* is to put the later Luther into *context*. Whereas previously the tendency has been to seek explanations for Luther's polemics within Luther himself—"in his theology, in his apocalyptic world view, or in his ill health and age"—, Edwards, while recognizing the "co-gency and usefulness" in that approach, also recognizes its shortcomings. He places before us an enlarged view—one which duly considers, as well, "the changed character of the Reformation

⁵In 1485, the Leipzig Partition had divided Saxony into domains governed by two brothers (who were hereditary heirs in the Wettin House, the ruling house of Saxony)—namely, Ernest and Albert. It is from their names that the designations "Ernestine Saxony" and "Albertine Saxony" have derived. Ernest inherited the electoral title as well (he was thus one of the seven electors in the Holy Roman Empire, as set forth by the *Golden Bull* of 1356), and this obviously gave him an especially high degree of power and prestige. Wittenberg was in Ernestine Saxony, and the successors of Ernest of Wettin with whom Luther had contact were Frederick "the Wise" (ruled 1486–1525), John "the Constant" (ruled 1525–32), and John Frederick (ruled 1532–54; but through an arrangement by Charles V, and as a result of his own defeat in the Schmalkaldic War of 1546–47, John Frederick lost the electoral title to Maurice of Albertine Saxony at the time of that war).

⁶Concerning Ernestine and Albertine Saxony, see n. 5, above. The strongly Catholic Duke George ruled Albertine Saxony from 1500 to 1539, being succeeded by his Protestant brother Henry (1539–41), who because of the principle *cuius regio eius religio* made Albertine Saxony officially Lutheran. Henry was, in turn, succeeded by his son Maurice (1541–53). (Interestingly, another Protestant prince, Landgrave Philip of Hesse [d. 1567], was Duke George's son-in-law.)

movement by the late 1520s,⁷ the new pressures impinging on Luther, and the severely limited alternatives that he faced" (pp. 4-5 in Edwards's "Introduction").

In concluding this section, note should be taken of one further recent publication that is particularly helpful in filling gaps in Luther's "middle years," the years from the Diet of Worms in 1521 to the Diet of Augsburg in 1530. This is Heinrich Bornkamm's posthumously published *Martin Luther in der Mitte seines Lebens. Das Jahrzehnt zwischen dem Wormser und dem Augsburger Reichstag* (Göttingen, 1979). This was edited by his daughter Karin Bornkamm. The Luther quincentennial year has seen it appear in an English edition, translated by E. Theodore Bachmann and published by Fortress Press: *Luther in Mid-Career, 1521-1530* (Philadelphia, 1983). This massive volume of over 700 pages gives an unprecedented amount of careful attention to both the various crises and the reform activities of Luther during the decade covered. In spite of its depth of research, fullness of treatment, and attention to detail, the work displays a literary style and manner of presentation that makes it eminently readable.⁸

3. LUTHER AND THE JEWS

We next will take note of certain significant contributions of the Luther quincentennial year with respect to research on, and practical attention to, Luther's attitude to the Jews. First of all, we may observe that Mark Edwards has devoted a full chapter to Luther's attitude toward the Jews in his *Luther's Last Battles* (a book

⁷Inasmuch as Edwards himself deals with Luther's polemical writings in the period from 1531 onward, I have accordingly made mention above of only the changing environment relating to the rise of the Schmalkaldic League and to the accession of John Frederick; but there was earlier change also, as a certain consolidation phase of the Lutheran movement set in during the late 1520s (particularly as a response to the situation created by the 1st Diet of Speyer in 1526). Some of the earlier developments have been noted in my introductory article in this issue of *AUSS*, "Meet Martin Luther: An Introductory Biographical Sketch."

⁸Another recent publication on Luther's later life that deserves mention (though at the time of this writing I have not been able to consult it) is Helmar Junghans, ed., *Leben und Werk Martin Luthers von 1526 bis 1546*, 2 vols. (Göttingen, 1983).

treated in Sect. 2 of this article): chap. 6, pp. 115–142. As we shall see in a moment, Edwards first takes note of the environment and of Luther's early somewhat favorable attention to the Jews; but the really thought-provoking part of his chapter is the section wherein he deals more specifically with the contents and significance of the 1543 Luther treatises which have brought the Reformer such a considerable amount of criticism: *On the Jews and Their Lies*, and *On the Ineffable Name and on Christ's Lineage*. A third treatise in the 1543 series, *On the Last Words of David*, was not basically polemical.

The treatment that Luther, in his *On the Jews and Their Lies*, recommended should be given the Jews by the secular authorities is enough to make one shudder; and the bald references to defecatory and urinary excrements when describing rabbinic exegesis and supposed Jewish beliefs is enough to make one blush. In the former category, Luther recommended such measures as destruction of the Jews' synagogues and homes; confiscation of their Talmudic writings and prayer books; revocation of their safe-conducts on the highways; prohibition of their usury, and even the confiscation of their money (this to be allocated to Jewish converts to Christianity); and sending them into the fields to work, or preferably expelling them from the country after a portion of their wealth had been taken from them.

Both Edwards and Heiko A. Oberman have noted the anti-Jewish sentiments of the times, the latter having devoted a work specifically to the question of the deeper and more pervasive roots of anti-Semitism. This work in its German original is entitled *Wurzeln des Antisemitismus: Christenangst und Judenplage im Zeitalter von Humanismus und Reformation* (Berlin, 1981) and is to be published in 1984 by Fortress Press in an English translation (the translator is James I. Porter), under the title *The Roots of Anti-Semitism: In the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*.

As Edwards has outlined (and also Eric W. Gritsch, in a publication that will be noted below), Luther grew up in an environment hostile to Jews, but in 1523 penned a treatise favorable to them, *That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew*. This treatise was produced ostensibly with the hope of securing conversions from among the Jews; however, Luther's later unfavorable contacts with some of them (especially a disputation which he had with several learned Jews) led him to the thought that work for the Jews was virtually

futile. To his mind, they were a race condemned of God and hopeless to reach with the Gospel. In addition, their own proselyting efforts were an endangerment to his religious-reform work. And thus, he felt called upon to usher forth vehement blasts against them.

That Luther's theological concern for the christological emphasis on OT Scripture (which obviously the Jews denied) lay somewhat close to the heart of the matter is not to be disputed, for the polemical treatises themselves are devoted partly to a concern with proper biblical exegesis of the OT. But Luther's unusually harsh language can hardly be explained on such grounds alone. A pertinent point that Edwards notes is the fact that Luther's language was even harsher to the Papists and almost as harsh to the Turks and "false brethren" (Edwards, pp. 140-141). Oberman has equally aptly pointed out that Luther's eschatological views lay very much at the center of his attacks on all four of these "enemy" groups (i.e., enemies to God and to God's work, in the view of Luther): The Papists, the Turks, the Jews, and the fanatics were all, in Luther's thinking, Satan's special tools in the final assault before Judgment Day; and as such, they must definitely be resisted with all the energy and all the vehemence possible (Oberman, *Wurzeln*, pp. 155-156).

Another significant publication in anticipation of the Luther Year is Walther Bienert, *Martin Luther und die Juden. Ein Quellenbuch mit zeitgenössischen Illustrationen mit Einführungen und Erläuterungen* (Frankfurt/M., 1982). This volume is, as its title indicates, a compilation of the sources on Luther in his relationship to the Jews. These sources are provided in modern German rendition. The basic compilation is given in seven chapters, followed by an "Afterword," a bibliography, and an index. The commentary that accompanies the collected source materials sets forth the thesis that Luther's attitude toward the Jews changed several times—from opposition to them (illustrated in the *Dictata* on the Psalms), to a change in the positive direction (most forcefully in evidence by 1523, in his treatise *That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew*), to a reversion from 1538 onward. The author also ventures the suggestion that in those later years Luther came to look upon the Jews as a threat, not only to the Gospel religion, but also to civil government.

Luther's anti-Semitism has, of course, been drawn upon with baleful effect in later German history, by those who have failed to notice that his attitude was largely theologically based, not built on concepts of any social superiority of one race over another. After all,

to Luther, *all humanity*, irrespective of race, was in utter ruin, except as the grace of Christ was accepted through faith. This is a point overlooked by those who would draw support from Luther for their criminal misdeeds or who would stand passively by to watch such crimes committed. A point well made by Edwards (p. 142) concerning Luther's anti-Jewish polemics is worth quoting here in full:

To insist on the importance of context for a proper understanding of Luther's anti-Jewish treatises is not merely good history. It also makes it more difficult for modern anti-Semites to exploit the authority of Luther's name to support their racist beliefs. This is all to the good. But we cannot have it both ways. If the anti-Jewish treatises cannot be divorced from their context without serious distortion, then the same should be true for his other writings. It is not intellectually honest to pick and choose.

But when all is said and done—and even as appreciative as we can rightfully be for the contextualization indicated by Edwards, Oberman, and others—, the fact remains that Luther's polemics of 1543 against the Jews were ugly. Had his prescribed course of action against them been taken, their lot would even at that time have been made immeasurably harder than it already was within a prejudiced society. Whether the grounds were theological, rather than social and/or economic, makes no real difference as to the nature of the persecution and the plight and suffering of the persecuted. Placing Luther in context may perhaps make us less judgmental toward him, and it should indeed give us an awareness of the introspection we ourselves need so as to avoid allowing what may be legitimate theological concerns to disintegrate into bigotry and intolerance.

In contrast to this sordid episode in a great Reformer's career, stand some monumental events of the Luther Year in bringing Luther's spiritual descendants and Jews into a closer bond of fellowship and mutual understanding. On May 18–19, 1983, the Lutheran Council in the USA devoted part of its seventeenth annual meeting to a discussion of "Luther and the Jews." Guest speakers were Eric W. Gritsch of the Lutheran Theological Seminary in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, and Marc H. Tannenbaum, national inter-religious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee. A condensed version of their presentations—irenic and ecumenical in tone—appears in a booklet entitled *Luther and the Jews*, published in 1983 by the Lutheran Council in the USA, in New York City.

This booklet first lists Luther's "sincere advice" as to what Christians should do to the Jews (a summary of Luther's specific recommendations has already been given above). This listing is rightly introduced with the heading "A Difficult Subject" (p. 1). Next, Gritsch reviews the history of anti-Jewish sentiment up to and including the Reformation era; deals with Luther's attitude toward, and contacts with, the Jews (again, outlined briefly earlier in this article); assesses several of the explanations that are given for Luther's vehement castigations set forth in his 1543 treatise;⁹ notes three "essential aspects" that he feels must be considered in properly assessing Luther in this episode;¹⁰ and then draws conclusions that recognize a weakness in Luther's constructs, but exonerates him from the lion's share of the blame so long as anti-Semitism lingers on among Christians. In his concluding remarks, Gritsch states:

Luther's attitude toward the Jews illustrates the fragility of faith in a world plagued by suffering, evil and death. Despite pioneering insights into the universality of God's love, Luther turned the "good news" of this love into "bad news" for Jews and others whose hearts seemed to him so hardened. . . .

Luther may not be of much help to post-Hitler Christians on the "Via Dolorosa" toward better Christian-Jewish relations. But as long as anti-Semitism survives among Christians, Luther cannot take the lion's share of the blame. We honor him best when we search our own hearts and cleanse our own minds from at least those evils which prevent us from living in tolerant solidarity with others.

⁹These explanations are: "1. There is a basic difference between the young and the old Luther. . . . 2. Luther's anti-Jewish stance was fueled by a radical, apocalyptic world view. . . . 3. In his latter days, Luther was too ill to be his true self. . . . 4. Luther's attitude never really changed. . ." (p. 7).

¹⁰These "essential aspects" are: "First, neither Luther's life nor his work was dominated by the issue of anti-Semitism. . . . Second, Luther's 'final solution' for the Jews must be seen in the context of a fast-moving reform movement threatened by various forces from within and without. . . . Third, Luther succumbed to the evil of anti-Semitism through a theological failure of nerve. He so desperately tried to communicate God's unconditional love for Israel, as well as for the people of God called 'Christians,' that he could not stop moving from the proclamation of divine mercy to conclusions about God's wrath. When faced with what he considered self-righteous Jewish stubbornness in the matter of conversion, Luther no longer let God be God. One can know the hidden God with regard to his plans for the Jews, he decided: God had rejected them and was in favor of their rejection in the world he created!" (p. 8).

Rabbi Tannenbaum likewise traces the history of anti-Semitism up to and including Luther and the Reformation era, and then moves on to consider the impact that Luther has had on modern anti-Semitism, especially in Hitler's regime. In concluding his final section, entitled "Our Present Challenge," Tannenbaum states:

A fundamental principle of the Lutheran Reformation was that papal infallibility was not a Lutheran doctrine. And if the pope in Rome is not to be infallible, should infallibility then be transferred to Martin Luther?

If there's anything that should characterize the observance of the 500th birthday of Luther, I feel it should be the determination to face the bad in past tradition and to replace it by building a culture filled with caring, understanding and—above all—knowledge of one another, not as caricatures and stereotypes, but as we are, committed Jews and Christians.

Undoubtedly even more significant than the meeting of May 18–19, which included on its agenda the presentations by Gritsch and Tannenbaum, was a three-day consultation in Stockholm, Sweden, devoted specifically to dialogue between Jews and Lutherans. This consultation, on July 11–13, 1983, was the second official dialogue between the International Jewish Committee on Interreligious Consultations and the Lutheran World Federation. The statement released by the Lutheran participants is worth quoting here in full:

We Lutherans take our name and much of our understanding of Christianity from Martin Luther. But we cannot accept or condone the violent verbal attacks that the Reformer made against the Jews.

Lutherans and Jews interpret the Hebrew Bible differently. But we believe that a christological reading of the Scriptures does not lead to anti-Judaism, let alone anti-Semitism.

We hold that an honest, historical treatment of Luther's attacks on the Jews takes away from modern anti-Semites the assumption that they may legitimately call on the authority of Luther's name to bless their anti-Semitism. We insist that Luther does not support racial anti-Semitism, nationalistic anti-Semitism and political anti-Semitism. Even the deplorable religious anti-Semitism of the 16th century, to which Luther's attacks made important contribution, is a horrible anachronism when translated to the conditions of the modern world. We recognize with deep regret, however, that Luther has been used to justify such anti-Semitism in the

period of national socialism and that his writings lent themselves to such abuse. Although there remain conflicting assumptions, built into the beliefs of Judaism and Christianity, they need not, and should not, lead to the animosity and the violence of Luther's treatment of the Jews. Martin Luther opened up our eyes to a deeper understanding of the Old Testament and showed us the depth of our common inheritance and the roots of our faith.

Yet a frank examination also forces Lutherans and other Christians to confront the anti-Jewish attitudes of their past and present. Many of the anti-Jewish utterances of Luther have to be explained in the light of his polemic against what he regarded as misinterpretations of the Scriptures. He attacked these interpretations, since for him everything now depended on a right understanding of the Word of God.

The sins of Luther's anti-Jewish remarks, the violence of his attacks on the Jews, must be acknowledged with deep distress. And all occasions for similar sin in the present or the future must be removed from our churches.

Hostility toward the Jews began long before Luther and has been a continuing evil after him: The history of the centuries following the Reformation saw in Europe the gradual acceptance of religious pluralism. The church was not always the first to accept this development; yet there have also been examples of leadership by the church in the movement to accept Jews as full fellow citizens and members of society.

Beginning in the last half of the 19th century anti-Semitism increased in Central Europe and at the same time Jewish people were being integrated in society. This brought to the churches, particularly in Germany, an unwanted challenge. Paradoxically the churches honored the people Israel of the Bible but rejected the descendants of those people, myths were perpetuated about the Jews and deprecatory references appeared in Lutheran liturgical and educational material. Luther's doctrine of the Two Kingdoms was used to justify passivity in the face of totalitarian claims. These and other less theological factors contributed to the failures which have been regretted and repeatedly confessed since 1945.

To their credit it is to be said that there were individuals and groups among Lutherans who in defiance of totalitarian power defended their Jewish neighbors, both in Germany and elsewhere.

Lutherans of today refuse to be bound by all of Luther's utterances on the Jews. We hope we have learned from the tragedies of

the recent past. We are responsible for seeing that we do not now nor in the future leave any doubt about our position on racial and religious prejudice and that we afford to all the human dignity, freedom and friendship that are the right of all the Father's children.

4. CATHOLIC RESEARCH AND CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT DIALOGUE ON LUTHER

One of the more intriguing aspects of this ecumenical age is the effort to see Luther as an "ecumenical person" (a Reformer to be claimed, in a certain sense, by Catholics as well as Protestants), or at least to engage in interfaith discussions of him in an ecumenical way. The Jewish consultations with Lutherans mentioned in the preceding section of this article furnish a notable example.

Perhaps there is no more striking example, however, than that which is to be found in recent Roman Catholic attention to Luther. This is manifested both in the independent studies by Catholic scholars on Luther and in an ongoing Catholic-Protestant dialogue. The trend, which began some years ago, is one of the "new directions" that was also much in evidence during the Luther quincentennial.

But before we come to the year 1983, it would be well to take a quick survey over some of the other more recent developments. Richard Stauffer's handy little volume, *Luther As Seen by Catholics* (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1967) traces developments from the time of the bitterly negative treatments of Luther by Heinrich Denifle and Hartmann Grisar early in this century to the beginnings of an era of more favorable attention to the Reformer. One of the significant pioneers in this re-evaluation of Catholic historiography on Luther was Joseph Lortz in 1939. Several other Catholic historians and theologians continued this more positive approach soon thereafter.¹¹

¹¹Perhaps most notably the three-volume work by A. Herte, *Das katholische Lutherbild im Bann der Lutherkommentare des Cochläus* in 1943; and a significant work with theological approach by J. Hessen, *Luther in katholischer Sicht* in 1947. These and other German works of similar tone are reviewed by Stauffer in his chapter on "The Reassessment in Germany," pp. 37-62 in his *Luther as Seen by Catholics*; and the new approach to Luther in the English-speaking world is reviewed in his next chapter, "The Anglo-Saxon Re-evaluation," on pp. 63-70.

Subsequent to Stauffer's publication, a noteworthy ecumenically spirited Catholic-Protestant dialogue took place in New York City: the joint symposium in 1967 sponsored by Union Theological Seminary (Protestant) and Fordham University (Catholic) to honor the 450th anniversary of Luther's "95 Theses" of 1517. This symposium presented papers on Erasmus, Loyola, and Luther, and a number of the papers were subsequently published in a volume edited by John C. Olin, James D. Smart, and Robert E. McNally, *Luther, Erasmus, and the Reformation: A Catholic-Protestant Reappraisal* (New York, 1969). The irenic spirit which characterized the whole endeavor appears repeatedly throughout the pages of this volume. As just one example, Catholic John T. McDonough's opening statement in his chapter on "The Essential Luther" is indicative of the spirit that was evident on the Catholic side: "From the outset I would like to state that a phenomenon as widespread and as powerful as the Reformation cannot be attributed to sin and error alone. . . . Could such a phenomenon occur without being part of God's design, without contributing something positive to our salvation? After all, God is Master of History, at least for the Christian" (p. 59). Such a comment is, of course, a complete reversal of the position set forth earlier by Denifle, Grisar, and a host of Catholic writers who followed their lead and drew upon their arguments in attacking Luther.

McDonough also suggests that "there is a growing consensus among Catholic scholars that Martin Luther, on the fundamental issue of the Reformation, was absolutely right." This issue, he says, was "not politics, or economics, or indulgences, or papal authority, or even protest," but rather "simply the sovereignty of God" (*ibid.*).

It may be interesting to note that this sort of Protestant-Catholic symposium would have been unthinkable fifty years earlier, at the time of the 400th anniversary of Luther's 95 Theses. In fact, a Lutheran writer, William Hermann Theodore Dau, in *Luther Examined and Re-examined: A Review of Catholic Criticism and an Appeal for Re-evaluation* (St. Louis, Mo., 1917), discussed in a very non-irenic way the status of the then-current Catholic understanding of Luther. (Was it, perhaps, a return "in kind" to the Catholic harsh negative appraisals of Luther?)

A further volume of interest in the emerging new evaluation of Luther on the part of Catholic scholars is that of Jared Wicks, comp., *Catholic Scholars Dialogue with Luther* (Chicago, 1970). In

this volume are presented chapters by Joseph Lortz, Erwin Iserloh, Otto H. Pesch, Paul Hacker, Harry J. McSorley, and Peter Manns. These chapters take the form of genuinely dialogical studies that endeavor to see Luther in his own setting. As Warren A. Quanbeck states in an "Afterword": "Roman Catholic Luther scholarship is quite clearly no longer a branch of theological polemics, but is historically informed, theologically sensitive, and possesses a genuine interest in the message of the Reformer" (p. 160). This statement describes not only the volume itself but the general trend that has been occurring in Catholic discussions of Luther. Two monographs by Wicks also deserve mention for their sympathetic approach to the Protestant Reformer: *Man Yearning for Grace: Luther's Early Spiritual Teaching* (Washington and Cleveland: Corpus Books, 1968); and *Luther and His Spiritual Legacy* (Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1983).

During the past two or three years, several Catholic works on Luther by European scholars, or originally appearing in Europe, have been forthcoming. These generally reveal an irenic and ecumenical tone, and include Otto H. Pesch, *Hinführung zu Luther* (Mainz, 1982), and Yves Congar, *Martin Luther, sa foi, sa réforme* (Paris, 1983), plus English and German translations of an earlier French work by D. Olivier (*La foi de Luther. La cause de l'évangélie dans l'église* [Paris, 1979]; *Luther's Faith: The Cause of the Gospel in the Church* [St. Louis, Mo., 1982]; *Luthers Glaube* [Stuttgart, 1983]) and an English translation of a German work by Peter Manns (*Martin Luther: An Illustrated Biography*, with introduction by Jared Wicks and photos by Helmut Nils Loose [New York, 1982]). Not quite so irenic, on the other hand, are Theobald Beer, *Der fröhliche Wechsel und Streit. Grundzüge der Theologie Martin Luthers* (Einsiedeln, 1980); and Jean Wirth's *Luther: Étude d'histoire religieuse* (Geneva, 1981).

The book by Manns, which is valuable for its illustrations as well as for its text, is a magnificent folio volume of some 223 pages. The American publisher responsible for the English edition of the work, Crossroad Publishing Company in New York City, has now abbreviated the material into a more popular version published in 1983—this in celebration of the Luther quincentennial. This shorter version bears the same title as the larger book, but carries the added notation, "New Popular Edition." This smaller edition contains 70 full-color photographs showing historical sites in

Luther's life, and portraits of Luther, his family, and various of his contemporaries.

John H. Todd is another Catholic writer who in recent years has devoted a significant amount of attention to Martin Luther. His extensive biography entitled *Martin Luther: A Biographical Study* appeared some two decades ago, published by the Newman Press in Westminster, Maryland (copyright date, 1964). A more recent Luther biography by Todd, which appeared in 1982, is entitled *Luther: A Life*, published by Crossroad Publishing Company (first published in Great Britain by Hamish Hamilton Ltd.). This biography is considerably more extensive than the earlier one and is also far more than a simple "rewrite." It is structured quite differently in organization, as well (to my mind, definitely not an improvement, however). As a sample and summary of this Catholic biographer's view of Luther, we may note the concluding paragraph of his main text in the 1982 publication (p. 373):

Of Luther himself it is impossible to speak summarily. The complex and remarkable story of his life, the tally of his works, and the witness of a great number of friends, acquaintances and enemies are there. Many loved him, many revered him, some were frightened of him, a few resentful. No one accused him, with any semblance of justification, of double dealing, or of cowardice. My principal image is of a man driven, driven by a passion for the Divine, driven, too, by a horror of evil; convinced of its eventual futility, he was ever conscious of its threat, and his life was one of prayer. His friends remembered him standing by the window of his room praying, often aloud. Under the rumbustious lover of life lay sensitivity, intelligence and imagination, and a failure to come to terms with a world which was never good enough, a failure he found confirmed in the crucifix, but glorified in what followed. At the Wartburg he wrote: "They threaten us with death. They would do better to threaten us with life."

Two further items pertaining specifically to the Luther quincentennial year deserve mention here: (1) an interconfessional consultation (and its resulting publication), and (2) a brief study guide on Luther co-authored by a Catholic and a Lutheran. The interconfessional consultation was held in Germany in October 1983, and was sponsored jointly by the Institute for Ecumenical Research in Strasbourg, France, and the Institute for European History in Mainz, Germany. The publication which is emerging from this

consultation (not yet available at the time of the present writing) will bear the title *Luther's Ecumenical Significance: An Interconfessional Consultation*, and will be published by Fortress Press in Philadelphia. It is edited by Peter Manns and Harding Meyer, in collaboration with Carter Lindberg and Harry McSorley. Although the entire volume, like the conference itself, manifests an ecumenical thrust, the first chapter is the one of primary interest to us here. It is a presentation by Peter Manns and Otto H. Pesch, entitled "The State, Method, and Ecumenical Relevance of Catholic Luther Research." It is a balanced presentation which is self-critical and opens the door for dialogue.

A shorter work which has appeared in 1983 represents another dimension of the Catholic-Protestant cooperative venture concerning Martin Luther. This is a small book co-authored by Lutheran scholar Mark Edwards and Catholic scholar George H. Tavad, *Luther: A Reformer for the Churches—An Ecumenical Study Guide* (Philadelphia, 1983). This publication, by Fortress Press, takes Luther through his career and considers briefly also Luther's world, his concept of justification by faith, some of his other basic beliefs, his personality, his later years and polemics of those years, and his general influence. An interesting feature in this volume is that the individual chapters are apparently co-authored, neither individual being indicated as responsible for any one chapter. The book is actually a popular study guide (it contains questions for review at the end of each chapter), and can certainly be used effectively as such. The presentation is fair and balanced.

In summary, Roman Catholic attention to Martin Luther has gone almost full circle. Following the lead of Luther's Catholic contemporary Johann Cochlaeus in his extremely derogatory biography, Roman Catholics for centuries took a comparably negative attitude toward the Protestant Reformer. Fairly detailed treatments by Heinrich Denifle and Hartmann Grisar during the first two decades of the present century prolonged the myth (in spite of certain valuable contributions which these Catholic scholars made). Their unjustly rabid or cynical attitude toward Luther was carried forward by other Catholic researchers and biographers with varying degrees of intensity. Some amelioration was taking place in the 1930s, with Joseph Lortz providing, toward the end of that decade, a watershed for a new sympathetic approach that later scholars tended to pick up. By 1983, the Catholic interest in better understanding Luther and in endeavoring to be fair to him had been

manifested repeatedly, and this Luther Year itself marked another high point both in sympathetic Catholic treatment of Luther and in Catholic-Lutheran dialogue.

5. OTHER AREAS OF CURRENT INTEREST

The two final topics to be surveyed here are grouped together because of the brevity with which they will be treated. It is hoped that at a later time, both of them may find a more detailed discussion in *AUSS*, either as articles or by way of literature reviews.

Luther in the "Luther Lands"

It is clear that Martin Luther has been given notable visibility by the German Democratic Republic (hereinafter referred to as "GDR," or "DDR" in German citations) during 1983, a year which that German state designated officially as a Luther Jubilee Year. In June 1980, the head of state, Erich Honecker, announced a special committee to direct the preparations, himself being the chairman. In his programmatic statement, he referred to Luther as "one of the greatest sons" of Germany, extolling this important historical figure for his outstanding accomplishments in behalf of the German people. It was clear that the official position looked upon Luther (1) as a revolutionary champion who broke the shackles of Roman tyranny, and (2) as a prominent figure in developing the German language, music, and arts. (Luther's Bible translation was valued, but from the linguistic and philological point of view, rather than for its theological significance and spiritual impact.) Huge sums of money were also devoted by the government to embellishing the chief sites in the "Luther Lands," such as Eisleben, Mansfeld, Eisenach, Erfurt, Wittenberg, and the Wartburg Castle.

This sort of expenditure was not new in the years immediately preceding 1983, for a similar effort had been made just prior to the celebration of the 450th anniversary of the "95 Theses" in 1967. But there were differences between the emphases of the two celebrations, and it will be helpful here to give a quick historical overview so as to highlight the changing scene.

In the early years of the Third Reich (1930s), Luther historiography in Germany began to undergo a metamorphosis that reinterpreted Luther's "Two-Kingdoms" theology into a conceptualization

(or conceptualizations) which so reduced the “spiritual” sphere of operation—the “divine realm” (the proper realm of the church)—that a new sense of passivity to secular politics set in. The church could now feel free to give full support to the national-socialist regime and also to stand idly by even when that regime perpetrated gross atrocities. Thus, a reinterpretation (and I would say, misinterpretation) of Luther allowed the Lutheran Church in Germany (though happily, not elsewhere) to become, as it were, either active participants or passive onlookers in the war crimes, holocaust, etc., perpetrated by the Nazi government (with some notable exceptions, such as Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Niemöller).

The years immediately following World War II found Lutherans in Germany increasingly remorseful for the Lutheran Church’s stance during the former regime. The feeling was stronger in the Eastern occupied zone (later to become the GDR), inasmuch as the population in that zone was very largely Lutheran (some 90%), whereas in the Western zone there was also a considerable Roman Catholic population. Along with this repudiation of the Lutheran stance in Nazi Germany—and with the process of denazification in general—came a repudiation of the Martin Luther who was considered responsible for the misguided behavior of his followers in the 1930s and 1940s.

However, continuing research on Luther in the GDR began to rehabilitate him from connection with the earlier reinterpretation of his “Two-Kingdoms” doctrine. Moreover, although the communists could not appreciate the religious character of the sixteenth-century Reformer, they began to recognize a certain commonality with the Lutheran church in Germany—in that both the church and the communists had suffered at the hands of the National Socialists. Undoubtedly also, the communists, as their government was established and began to mature, came to recognize that a majority Lutheran population must somehow be taken into account with due respect. And furthermore, as Germans, they naturally began to look into the past for heroes who could be heralded as forerunners that would help to strengthen a feeling of German community and solidarity.

Just how, and precisely when, the foregoing factors developed and functioned—and in what relationship to each other—may not be fully determinable; but the Luther historiography of the post-War years does show that by the 1960s and 1970s there was in the

GDR considerable rehabilitation of Luther as a German hero, even though not as a great Christian leader. As we look at the 1967 celebration, however, we find that although the date was in commemoration of an important event in Luther's career, the emphasis was more on the Reformation itself as a revolutionary movement than on Luther personally. He was but one of various significant figures within this movement.

The sort of conceptualization in vogue in the GDR at that time may perhaps be further illuminated by attention to the fact that in 1974-75 a great celebration anniversary was established to commemorate Thomas Müntzer, the revolutionary leader of the Peasants' Revolt. This individual was considered to be, it seems, fully as significant as Martin Luther—in a revolutionary process in which they both were leaders!

During the intervening years up to the Luther quincentennial, there has been further reinterpretation. Indeed, this is to the place where it appears that Luther is now being considered *in his own right* to be "one of the greatest sons" of Germany. This 1983 celebration, in contrast to the 1967 one, honored him specifically, and not simply as one great individual among many. But that honor has, of course, been basically within the context outlined by Erich Honecker. (The Evangelical Lutheran Church in Thuringia has, though, made a degree of breakthrough in giving Luther *religious* recognition in its pronouncements and celebrations.)

The Luther quincentennial was characterized by various symposia and conventions in the "Luther Lands" (generally reported in the news media), and naturally that celebration year drew also an abundance of pilgrims to those places. Massive literature, promotional and otherwise, has also appeared; and there have been some major scholarly productions, including superbly done pictorial collections.¹² (At

¹²In addition to numerous introductions by journalists and other popular writers, there have recently also been scholarly reviews of literature on Luther in the GDR, studies on the developing and current status of Marxist attention to the German Reformer, etc. Note may be made here of but a few more recent short pieces from historians or other specialists: Max Steinmetz, "Betrachtungen zur Entwicklung der marxistischen Deutung des Lutherbildes in der DDR," in *Mühlhäuser Beiträge* 5 (1982): 3-8; Wolfgang Geierhos, "Die DDR und Luther," in *Deutsche Studien* 20 (1982): 371-384; and Franklin Bormann, "Martin Luther—Reformat. Theologie und gesellschaftlicher Fortschritt," in *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, Jg. 32, Heft 1/2 (1983): 11-25.

a future time, some of the more scholarly works may be reviewed in the "Book-Reviews" section of *AUSS*.)

For somewhat of a "feel" of what a tour to the Luther sites would be like, one may read the lead article in the October 1983 issue of the *National Geographic Magazine*. This article gives a delightful survey of highlights in the Reformer's career, set in the context of the author's visit to the various sites (in the order of their chronological importance in Luther's life). The author is *National Geographic* assistant editor Merle Severy, and his appealing narrative is accompanied by numerous color photographs by the magazine's photographer James L. Amos. The article, incidentally, gives certain glimpses, too, of the current situation of the Lutheran Church in the GDR, and of Catholic attitude toward Luther.

Just what has the Luther Jubilee meant in the GDR, and what may be expected, if anything, in the further rehabilitation of the German hero Martin Luther? These are questions that must await an answer in the future. In the meantime, the official stance has been set forth. As a further indication of it, we may close this section of our survey with Honecker's words posted on the visitors' bulletin board in Eisenach:

Zu den progressiven Traditionen,
die wir pflegen und weiterführen,
gehören das Wirken und
das Vermächtnis all derer, die
zum Fortschritt, zur Entwicklung
der Weltkultur beigetragen haben,
ganz gleich, in welcher sozialen
und klassenmässigen Bindung sie
sich befanden.

Erich Honecker

In diesem Sinne würdigt die DDR
die historischen Leistungen von
MARTIN LUTHER

(To the progressive tradition
which we foster and promote
belongs the influence
and legacy of all those who
have contributed to the advance,
to the development of world culture,

irrespective of the social
and class-level strictures in which they
found themselves.

Erich Honecker

In this sense the GDR values
the historical accomplishments of
MARTIN LUTHER)

Luther's So-Called "Reformation Breakthrough"

On the question of Luther's so-called "Reformation breakthrough" and/or "Tower Discovery," the literature to date is massive—indeed, so much so that this question can probably qualify as the most overworked topic in recent Luther studies. There are various areas of continuing debate, but in a broad sense the debate is still very much alive between the "traditionalists" who consider Luther's "breakthrough" to have occurred between 1512 and 1515 (most likely, as he prepared his lectures for either Psalm 31 [32] or 71 [72], and the "revisionists" who would place that "breakthrough" in 1518–19. But there has also been a growing recognition that Luther's was indeed a *developing* theology and an experience wherein there might have been multiple times when the Reformer could have had "breakthroughs." W. D. J. Cargill Thompson, for instance, has surveyed the lines of argument for the early (1512–15) and late (1518–19) "Tower Experience," adding the possibility that the "Tower Experience" referred to in several of Luther's "Table Talks" and the "breakthrough" to which he refers in the Preface to the 1545 Latin edition of his works were in reality two different occurrences—in any event, the former being a *biographical* question, and the latter a *theological* one. (See the chapter entitled "The Problem of Luther's 'Tower Experience' and Its Place in His Intellectual Development," pp. 60–80 in his posthumously published volume, *Studies in the Reformation: Luther to Hooker* [London, 1980], ed. C. W. Dugmore.)

Heiko A. Oberman at the Fourth International Congress for Luther Research held in 1971 in St. Louis, Missouri, seemingly opened up a whole new and fruitful line for investigation: namely, that through Johann Staupitz, Luther had learned, embraced, and developed a strain or variety of Catholic theology (including, specifically, a soteriological view) already in evidence among the Augustinians—at least since the days of the earlier generals of the order,

Gregory of Rimini (d. 1358) and Augustinus Favaroni (d. 1443).¹³ Whether or not this was so has, of course, implications as to how one should define what was “Catholic” and what was “Reformational” in Luther. And when, in the long process of Luther’s theological development, did he then cease to be truly a “Catholic” and become a genuine “Protestant”? In any event, David C. Steinmetz, in his *Luther and Staupitz: An Essay in the Intellectual Origins of the Protestant Reformation* (Durham, N.C., 1980), reported negative results concerning his investigation of Staupitz’s influence *theologically* on Luther; and these results, if correct, naturally place any special Augustinian variety of theology held by Staupitz outside the realm of Luther’s own development. It would seem that as of now, however, the question is not fully settled, and the debate goes on.

The whole subject is much more complex, of course, than the foregoing brief introduction would indicate. The details picked up here and there in Luther’s treatises, lecture notes, sermons, letters, table talks, etc., to support one view or another, surface almost *ad infinitum* in the recent literature on this subject. Is it possible that the discussions have become bogged down—entrapped in their own web, as it were—by an overworked too-exclusive investigation of *only* what Luther himself has to say? Is it time, perhaps, to look at the *broader context*; namely, to see the “breakthrough” in terms of the interaction between Luther and his contemporary Catholic society? That is to say, what precisely was involved in getting him into the position of being a “Protestant Reformer,” rather than simply a “Catholic Reformer”—in *his* time and in *his* context? Such an added dimension to the study, it would seem, is certainly germane.¹⁴

But these and other considerations cannot be explored here. It is my hope that at some later time I will be able to provide the type of detailed review and analysis that this topic deserves.

¹³Oberman’s paper has been published as chap. 3 in a volume of papers and reports from that Congress: Heiko A. Oberman, ed., *Luther and the Dawn of the Modern Era: Papers for the Fourth International Congress for Luther Research*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 8 (Leiden, 1974).

¹⁴It may be of interest to observe here that in the Preface to the 1545 complete ed. of Luther’s Latin writings—the basic source from which departures to other sources is generally made in studying Luther’s so-called “Reformation breakthrough”—, Luther himself gives prominence to the historical developments that took him away from the Papacy and Roman church. An English translation of this Preface is given in the American ed. of *Luther’s Works*, vol. 34, *Career of the Reformer IV*, pp. 327–338.

A BRIEF BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY:
BOOKS ON LUTHER APPEARING IN AMERICA
DURING 1983 AND 1984

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In the immediately preceding article, we have already noted a number of titles that have appeared during the Luther quincentennial year or are appearing during the current year. A few further works bear mention at this point. To a considerable extent, in that earlier discussion we have taken note of *books*, rather than the massive periodical literature that has been appearing. The discussion below will be even more restrictive, in that except for the introductory remarks in the next section, our focus will be *exclusively on books* on Luther—books, moreover, that have appeared or are appearing *in America* during the limited period of 1983 *through the winter of 1984/85*.

1. *Introduction: Bibliographical Tools*

As a preliminary statement, it should be mentioned that during 1983 numerous journals and also magazines of a popular nature, including church papers representing many denominations, carried one or more articles in honor of Martin Luther on the quincentennial anniversary of his birth. Luther was indeed celebrated across both interdisciplinary and interdenominational lines. Some journals aside from those devoted specifically to Luther studies (such as the *Luther-Jahrbuch*) have devoted a whole issue or a substantial portion of an issue to Luther (for instance, the current number of *AUSS*; and also the entire Autumn number of *His Dominion* [vol. 10, no. 1, Oct. 1983], a bulletin of the Canadian Theological Seminary in Regina, Saskatchewan. Moreover, various serials have provided bibliographical updates on Luther and Luther studies. These updates may range from extensive surveys to short book notices or to the review of but a few titles.

One of the more comprehensive studies of this sort is that by Egil Grislis, "Luther in Review: Approaches in Major Studies; a Bibliographical Perspective," in *Word and World* 3 (Fall 1983): 435-447. The headings for this literature review are "Present Roman Catholic Assessments," "Luther and His Medieval Heritage," "Luther as Theologian," and "Luther on Particular Doctrines and Issues" (the last category being subdivided into various specific topics, such as "Faith and Justification," "The Church," "The Lord's Supper," and others). The treatment given to the various titles mentioned in this bibliographical essay is extremely brief, at times becoming merely a sequential listing of the works and their publication data; but the comprehensiveness in noting such a great number of major publications throughout a fairly wide range of topics of current interest marks Grislis's treatment as a significant and very useful one. His coverage through 1981 is extensive, with some references to works appearing in 1982, and there are even at least two or three references to 1983 publications. Another review article that treats recent Luther literature may be mentioned here, though it is fairly short: James M. Stayer, "Luther Studies and Reformation Studies," in *Canadian Journal of History* 17 (Dec. 1982): 499-505.

For information concerning works on Luther published prior to 1983, numerous bibliographical essays and bibliographical updates that have appeared are useful. A most helpful introduction to a number of current issues in Luther research, with emphasis on resources, is a chapter by Mark U. Edwards, Jr., "Martin Luther," in Steven Ozment, ed., *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research* (St. Louis, Mo.: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), pp. 59-83. In addition to an excellent preliminary discussion, Edwards provides (in the general style of the volume) a bibliographical listing. This furnishes information on significant productions under four headings: "Research Aids," "Literature Reviews," "Literature Reviews: Catholic Luther Research," and "Issues in Luther Research." The entries that identify important literature reviews total 48 for the general section and 22 for the "Catholic-Luther-Research" section—a truly comprehensive survey! One valuable title I would add to Edwards's list is the extensive bibliographical essay by Harold J. Grimm that covers exceptionally well the four decades between 1920 and 1960: "Luther Research Since 1920," in *Journal of Modern History* 32 (1960): 105-118.

Annual updates, as Edwards has pointed out, appear in the *Luther-Jahrbuch* and in the *Literature Review* Supplement to the *Archive for Reformation History*. The former is a journal totally devoted to Luther studies, and each year provides a truly comprehensive review of the literature from mainly the year or two earlier. The second annual update covers Reformation studies broadly, but includes a section on "Luther." In the 1983 issue there are some seventy-four entries in this "Luther" section, with major publications frequently receiving rather extensive summaries of their contents.

In addition to these sources, it should be mentioned that the tri-annual publication by the American Historical Association entitled *Recently Published Articles* frequently includes notice of articles on Luther. The publication surveys an astoundingly large number of journals both here and in many countries abroad, and is quite current in its presentations. The Luther articles are generally to be found in a subsection entitled "Germany: 1500 to 1648," within a larger section bearing the caption "Germany, Austria, and Switzerland."

Another helpful tool, especially useful for locating recent articles, book reviews, and contributions to symposia, is the American Theological Library Association publication of February 1982 entitled *Luther and Lutheranism: A Bibliography Selected from the ATLA Religion Data Base*. It lists articles and book reviews since 1949, and *Festschriften* essays from 1960 to 1969, followed up by the broader category of multi-authored works from 1970 to the present.

In the following two sections of this article, we will note some of the more significant *books* on Luther that have appeared in America during 1983 and/or are scheduled to appear in 1984 (or even by the winter of 1984/85). This rather stringent limitation is imposed by space restrictions, and should not obscure the fact that some exceedingly important publications on Luther appeared in 1982 as anticipatory of the Luther Jubilee, and thus in a sense also celebrated this event, even though somewhat in advance. Moreover, the Luther literature appearing abroad during 1983-84 is massive and impressive; but except for the references to such literature in the preceding article, we must desist from entering upon a consideration of it at this time. This literature will be duly noted in upcoming issues of annual Luther bibliographies, such as those mentioned above; and a few of the more prominent works may possibly find book reviews devoted to them in upcoming issues of *AUSS*.

For convenience, the first subsection below lists titles referred to in the immediately preceding article. The reference in parentheses following each entry is to the section in that article where the particular title is mentioned. The second subsection below takes the form of a brief review article on several other publications that are worthy of note.

2. *Titles Mentioned in the Immediately Preceding Article*

The simple bibliographical entries given here are provided alphabetically by author. For further information about these works, see the preceding article (the sections indicated within parentheses).

- Bornkamm, Heinrich. *Luther in Mid-Career: 1521-1530*. Ed. by Karin Bornkamm, and trans. from the German by E. Theodore Bachmann. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983. (See sect. 2.)
- Edwards, Mark U., Jr. *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531-46*. Ithaca, N.Y., and London, Eng.: Cornell University Press, 1983. (See sects. 2 and 3.)
- Edwards, Mark, and George H. Tavard. *Luther: A Reformer for the Churches—An Ecumenical Study Guide*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983. (See sect. 4.)
- Manns, Peter. *An Illustrated Biography, New Popular Edition*. New York: Crossroad, 1983. (See sect. 4.)
- Manns, Peter, and Harding Meyer, eds., in collaboration with Carter Lindberg and Harry McSorley. *Luther's Ecumenical Significance: An Interconfessional Consultation*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1983. (See sect. 4.)
- Oberman, Heiko A. *The Roots of Anti-Semitism: In the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*. Trans. from the German by James I. Porter. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984. (See sect. 3.)
- Wicks, Jared. *Luther and His Spiritual Legacy*. Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1983. (See sect. 4.)

3. *Other Titles*

This subsection will mention a sampling of books that have appeared in America in 1983 or are to appear no later than the winter of 1984/85. These works vary from new publications, to English translations, to one case of a reprint of an earlier English edition.

Source Materials

With regard to primary *source materials*, in late 1983 the Baker Book House in Grand Rapids, Michigan, republished, in eight volumes, the Lenker edition of *Sermons of Martin Luther*. These extensive materials had originally appeared between 1904 and 1909 as part of the Lenker *Standard Edition of Luther's Works*. It is indeed gratifying to have the 175 sermons in this edition in print again, inasmuch as very few of the sermons represented herein appear in other English translations—none, e.g., in the Philadelphia Edition, and only seven in the American Edition.

Another title of 1983 that sets forth *compilations* of certain types of Luther materials is *The Martin Luther Easter Book*, translated and arranged by Roland H. Bainton and published by Fortress Press in Philadelphia. It presents, in narrative form, statements by Luther concerning Holy Week, the Lord's Supper, the arrest and trial of Jesus, his crucifixion, and his resurrection.

Reformation Art

Portrayal of the *artistic side* of the Lutheran Reformation has been another highlight of the Luther Year. Bainton's work that has just been mentioned enhances the text by inclusion of woodcuts by Luther's contemporary, Virgil Solis—a procedure not uncommon in publications by Bainton.

The title by Peter Manns listed in the immediately preceding subsection of this bibliographical survey is, of course, basically a book of pictures, as is its more elaborate predecessor of 1982. (Concerning Manns, see the discussion on pp. 148–149, above.)

A further title of somewhat similar nature is Dietrich Steinwede, *Reformation: A Picture Story of Martin Luther*, published by Fortress Press. It contains some 97 pictures and illustrations relating to the principal places, personalities, and events surrounding Luther's career and the progress of the Reformation. There is succinct textual commentary accompanying the pictures.

Biographical Treatments

Two *biographical treatments* of 1983 deserve mention here: Eric W. Gritsch, *Martin—God's Court Jester: Luther in Retrospect*, published by Fortress Press in Philadelphia; and George Wolfgang Forell, *The Luther Legacy: An Introduction to Luther's Life and Thought for Today*, published by the Augsburg Publishing House in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Gritsch's is a full-scale biography of some 300 pages that captures both the man himself and his theological contributions, and treats the Reformer's sense of humor in a captivating manner. It is carefully documented throughout and contains a useful bibliography, plus a chronological appendix that parallels Luther's life with events of the times.

Forell's *Luther Legacy* is a short popular work of 79 pages (in paperback) which in its first eight chapters touches on "The Setting of Luther's Life" and then surveys some of the high points in the Reformer's career up to his stay in the Wartburg Castle in 1521–22. The succeeding chapters are more topical than biographical—though chap. 9, "Conflict and Controversy," does, in a very sketchy fashion and without chronological perspective, deal with Luther in relationship to the Peasants' Revolt and to the Jews. The final chapters, 10–12, deal briefly with "Word and Sacrament," "Faith Active in Love," and "The Legacy."

English Translations of Recent German Works

Two fairly recent significant German works are scheduled for publication in English translation by the *winter of 1984/85*, both by Fortress Press. These are Martin Brecht, *Martin Luther: Sein Weg zur Reformation* (Stuttgart, 1981), to appear under the title *Luther: His Way to Reformation*; and Bernhard Lohse, *Martin Luther: Eine Einführung in sein Leben und sein Werk* (München, 1981), to appear under the English title *Luther: An Introduction to His Life and His Work*. (The exact English titles are perhaps tentative at the time of this present writing, but the works will be easily recognizable if there is any alteration in the specific wording.)

Luther as a Preacher

Luther's sermons and *Luther as a preacher* constitute a subject field in Luther studies that has seen growing interest. Luther indeed

prepared sermons that were to be model sermons for preachers of his own day, and his sermons are instructive for the same purpose in our day. This, incidentally, is another benefit of having the Lenker edition, mentioned earlier, in print again.

To close this bibliographical review I should like to call attention to a handy little volume on Luther as a preacher which was published in 1983 by the Augsburg Publishing House: Fred W. Meuser, *Luther the Preacher*. In paperback edition of but 94 pages, Meuser surveys (in three chapters) Luther's passion for preaching, his style of preaching, and his gift for preaching. The second chapter, on "Luther's Style of Preaching," includes discussion of Luther's sermon preparation and his preaching method, and it also investigates the question of what Luther was like in the pulpit. The final chapter provides a number of illuminating samples from Luther sermons. The book is decidedly popular in form, but contains substantial documentation (provided in endnotes). It represents the published form of Meuser's Hein Lectures of 1983 (the C. C. Hein Memorial Lectures are an annual lectureship instituted by the American Lutheran Church in honor of its first president).

A REPORT ON SOME SIGNIFICANT CONFERENCES OF THE LUTHER QUINCENTENNIAL YEAR IN THE UNITED STATES

Editor's Note: Among the notable events of the Luther Quincentennial Year, 1983, were a number of conferences and symposia devoted to Luther studies, both in America and abroad. Obviously, we cannot here provide comprehensive coverage of such conventions, either in the number treated or in the detail which will be given about those we do mention. We feel, however, that it may nevertheless be of interest to our readers to have brief information on at least a small sampling of the special meetings of the Luther Quincentennial.

The following report deals with several conventions in the U.S.A. (at St. Louis, Missouri; Wheaton, Illinois; and Ann Arbor, Michigan), and the subsequent article (pp. 173-183) provides information about two sets of meetings in Europe (at Uppsala, Sweden; and Erfurt, in the German Democratic Republic).

1. QUINCENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF LUTHER'S BIRTH HELD AT ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

WILLIAM MALTBY

A Quincentennial Celebration of Luther's Birth, organized by the Center for Reformation Research, was held on the campus of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri, on May 31-June 4, 1983. The American Society of Church History, the American Society for Reformation Research, and the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference served as co-sponsors, while funds for the plenary speakers were provided by the Missouri Committee for the Humanities, the state-based arm of the National Endowment for the Humanities.

William Maltby is Director of the Center for Reformation Research in St. Louis, Missouri.

The purpose of the celebration was to bring scholars, pastors, and laymen together for a look at the most recent work on Luther, his life, and work. After an opening colloquium in which Mark U. Edwards, Jr. (Purdue University), Scott Hendrix (Lutheran Theological Southern Seminary), and Jared Wicks, S.J., (Gregorian University) discussed "Interpreting Luther Today," the participants attended sixteen sessions in which forty-five scholars presented their recent work. Topics included such diverse issues as Luther and Bible Exegesis, Luther and the Jews, Luther and the Ministry, Luther and Catholicism, Luther and Liturgy/Hymnody, Luther and Women, and Luther and the Reformation in Popular Culture.

The sessions were supplemented by two public lectures. The first, by Lewis W. Spitz, Jr., of Stanford University, dealt with "Luther the Man." The second, by George Forell of the University of Iowa, was entitled "Luther Now," and involved an appreciation of Luther's importance for our own time. All of these events were punctuated by dinners, receptions, and a performance of sixteenth-century music by St. Timothy's Recorder Consort.

Attendance was excellent, with over 140 registered guests from Canada, the United States, and Europe, and at least an equal number of laymen from the St. Louis and southern Illinois area who attended the lectures and some of the sessions on an informal basis. The event was widely reported in the national press.

2. "LUTHERFEST" AT WHEATON COLLEGE

THOMAS O. KAY

Wheaton College in Wheaton, Illinois, recognized the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther in a "Lutherfest" throughout the fall term of 1983. The first major event was an "Academic Conference" held September 19-21 and featuring three addresses by Heiko Oberman of Tübingen University. Oberman's opening address called for a return to the sixteenth century to see Martin Luther in his own context and to accept him for who and what he was. Such an approach would gain for us a more complete and accurate understanding of Luther which would enhance his relevance for people today. This emphasis on method was refreshing and novel, and it served to support the information about Luther that was a part of the presentation. Oberman's second lecture, "Truth and Myth about Luther," sought to evaluate some twentieth-century characterizations about Luther which Oberman believes hide the true Luther from accurate contemporary understanding. Such a characterization is that of "der deutsche Luther." Oberman's concluding presentation was an interpretation of Luther's remarks regarding the Jews. It was essentially a summation of his recent publication on this theme, and built upon the methodology outlined in his previous two lectures.

Other highlights of the program included a thorough discussion of Luther's text, translation, and commentary on Galatians by Edwin Yamauchi of Miami University of Ohio. His extensive paper is a major contribution to this area of scholarship. A unique presentation was made by T. Thottumkal of St. Augustine's Seminary of Toronto, who argued that the doctrine of the priesthood of believers, while present in the church all along, was only recently brought to light in the Second Vatican Council.

The discussion of Lutheran views of the millennium by Robert Clouse of Indiana State University at Terre Haute, and the presentation of papers in the area of Luther's impact on literature and music by Leland Ryken and Daniel Limkeman, respectively, were very informative and well received. Also, the session on the family was of great interest. David Koss of Illinois College and Thomas Miller

Thomas O. Kay was Chairman of the Wheaton College History Department Lutherfest Committee.

of the University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire presented discussions of Luther's views on family and marriage. Koss considered the significance of social mobility in the Luther family, while Miller developed Luther's concept of the home. A perceptive and well-balanced comment was given by Lenore Schneider, a young scholar in family history.

In addition to discussions regarding Luther and science, and Luther and Calvinists, there were papers which treated the Lutheran influence in later generations. Of special note was the paper of Duane Elbert of Eastern Illinois University on the American roots of German Lutherans in Illinois. This is part of a larger study on the development of Lutheranism in nineteenth-century America.

The sessions concluded with two fine papers which discussed the impact of Luther in modern Germany. Richard Pierard of Indiana State University at Terre Haute developed the theme, "The Lutheran Two Kingdoms' Doctrine and Subsistence to the State in Modern Germany," and Stephen Hoffman of Taylor University discussed "The Official View of Martin Luther in East Germany."

In addition to this Academic Conference, two other programs were developed to honor the contributions of Martin Luther. On Sunday, October 9, following nearly eighteen months of planning, Wheaton College and the Lutheran Churches of the area sponsored a festival worship service. For many of those who participated, this experience was the spiritual highlight of the entire Lutheran celebration. Nonliturgical evangelicals opened themselves to share in worship with the Lutheran community—an extremely enriching and rewarding experience for all. The President of Wheaton College, J. Richard Chase, welcomed the congregation. In the course of the liturgy, responses were given by officials of three Lutheran groups, all of whom participated in November in the joint Catholic-Lutheran service held at Holy Name Cathedral in Chicago. Richard Jensen, radio speaker for Lutheran Vespers, was the preacher, music was provided by the choirs of the Lutheran churches, and communion was served to all who were present.

The second additional special event was an open recital on October 11, presented by Warren Schmidt, Professor of Music at Wartburg College, Waverly, Iowa. Notice of Luther's stress on the importance of music provided an opportunity for Schmidt to draw from a variety of sources, including his own compositions, to show how music does indeed enrich the Christian experience.

Copies of the programs may be obtained by writing to the History Department, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL 60187. Also, cassette tapes are available for all sessions and programs. Order forms may be requested from Wheaton College Recordings, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL 60187.

3. THE MARTIN LUTHER QUINCENTENNIAL CONFERENCE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

VALENTINE C. HUBBS

The 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's birth was celebrated in Ann Arbor, Michigan, by the Martin Luther Quincentennial Conference of the University of Michigan, on September 26-29, 1983. This convention brought together scholars from various disciplines who could view the Reformer and his impact on Western civilization from different perspectives and in a variety of aspects. The conference co-chairmen were Gerhard Dunnhaupt and Valentine Charles Hubbs of the Department of Germanic Languages and Literatures at the University of Michigan.

Even though the Conference itself did not officially begin until the morning of September 27, the opening address was delivered the previous evening by Hans Küng to an audience of more than two thousand. Küng, a Roman Catholic priest whose theological views have resulted in his censure by Rome, is a professor of ecumenical theology and the Director of the Institute for Ecumenical Research at the University of Tübingen. During the fall semester of 1983, he was a Visiting Professor of Religious Studies at the University of Michigan.

Küng has noted the disunity of Christianity as evidenced in the Catholic Church's refusal to abrogate its adherence to medieval theology and in the Protestants' rigid commitment to their particular brand of absolute dogma. He believes that only when the Christian world rejects legalism and pettiness, as Martin Luther did in the sixteenth century, can there be peace within the Church.

Valentine Charles Hubbs is Professor of German at the University of Michigan and was Co-chairman of the Martin Luther Quincentennial Conference of that University.

The scholarly conference itself began, as noted above, on September 27. There were two sessions each day for three days, concluded with a banquet on the evening of September 29. Attendance at the regular sessions numbered about three hundred. The general topics treated at these sessions, each of which had multiple papers, were "Luther the Man," "Luther the Humanist," "Luther the Reformer," "Luther in Modern Literature," "Luther and Contemporaries," and "Luther and His World."

The keynote address at the concluding banquet was given by Heiko A. Oberman of the University of Tübingen on "The Unecumenical Martin Luther." As was the case with the papers presented in the earlier sessions, Oberman sought to rediscover the historical Luther, attempting to separate the popular concept of the Reformer from the actual historical facts about him. In an account to appear in *Michigan Germanic Studies*, vol. 10, nos. 1 & 2 (1984), p. vi (forthcoming at the time of the present writing), the following summary of the high points in Oberman's lecture is given:

Speaking with a great deal of humor, he [Oberman] emphasized Luther's Catholic aspects. "Martin Luther was a Catholic, and not the first Protestant," he stated. Professor Oberman also placed emphasis on Luther's attitude toward the sensual in mankind and on Luther's belief in the devil. According to Oberman, Luther conceived of the conscience as the devil's domain. Thus he [the devil] only bothered with the people who were already children of God. He was a "sour spirit," who sought to negate the positive message of Christianity, which was one of joy and sensuality.

In addition to the lectures, the Conference provided other highlights: One of these was an English version of Niklaus Manuel's satirical play against Roman Catholicism, *The Pardon Peddler* (*Der Ablasskrämer*) of 1525, presented by the Harlotry Players (in four well-attended performances). The translation of this play into Chaucerian-flavored English was by Martin W. Walsh and his wife, Margarete Orlik-Walsh (Martin Walsh is head of the Residential College Drama Program at the University of Michigan). A second additional special feature was a concert of Luther's music for organ and voice, presented at St. Andrew's Episcopal Church in Ann Arbor, on the evening of September 27. Also, during the course of the convention, two films on Luther were shown, and one on Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who achieved fame for having become a Lutheran martyr during the Nazi regime in Germany.

Various displays and exhibitions on the University campus were available to the conference participants, as well. These included prints from the Reformation era (Museum of Art); rare books and pamphlets of the Reformation, plus an exhibit of publications by the Conference speakers (Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library); and a Luther exhibit from the German Democratic Republic (Rackham Art Gallery). (The William L. Clements Library participated, as well, by having a display that gave an overview of 300 years of history of "The German Americans.")

Various papers from the University of Michigan Martin Luther Quincentennial Conference are being published in the first 1984 number of *Michigan Germanic Studies*, and simultaneously in a hardcover edition by Wayne State University Press in Detroit, Michigan (orders for the volume should be sent directly to Wayne State University Press). This publication of the papers is made possible through a grant from the Max Kade Foundation.

SOME HIGHLIGHTS OF THE LUTHER JUBILEE IN EUROPE

1. A QUINCENTENNIAL CELEBRATION IN UPPSALA, SWEDEN, AND A GLIMPSE OF SWEDISH CHURCH HISTORY

ELLEN S. ERBES

The Luther Anniversary in Uppsala, Sweden

On the 500th anniversary of his birthday—November 10, 1983—, Martin Luther drew a full house at a special celebration at the University of Uppsala, Sweden. From an easel, his portrait (signed Lucas Cranach the Elder) looked out over a packed auditorium of church dignitaries (foremost among them the Swedish Archbishop Bertil Werkström), scholars and students from the University, and the general public.

Three jubilee lectures dealt with “Luther and Different Luther Images”; “Luther on Law and Justice”; and “The Swedish Church as a Cultural Factor.” Actually, the celebration stretched from October until December, with a special series of lectures on Luther, held at the Theological Faculty of Uppsala University. The topics presented were: “The Psychological Aspect of Justification by Faith”; “Only with Idols and Images: Luther’s Attempt to Understand the Book of Revelation”; “Luther and Olaus Petri Regarding the ‘Mission Call’”; “Tradition and Renewal in Luther’s Liturgical Work”; “Reformation and Nationalism: The Specific Nature of the Swedish Reformation”; “Luther’s Catechisms and Modern Catechetical Work”; “Luther’s Exegesis of the Psalms”; “Luther’s Image in Modern Catholic Theology”; and “Jews and Muslims in Luther’s World.”

The birthday-anniversary celebration began with the opening of a special Luther exhibition in the University library. Among the

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eye-catching treasures were Leo X's excommunication bull of 1521, the edict of the German Emperor Charles V against Luther from the Diet of Worms that same year, and Luther's answer of June 15, 1520, to the threat of excommunication. A central feature of the exhibition was an array of important works by Luther himself: editions of his Bible translation (among them an original copy of the 1526 edition of the OT); the Large and Small Catechisms (1529); the original edition of the Postil (1544); polemical writings against Erasmus; etc. An interesting rarity, brought to Sweden as a war trophy from Denmark, was a copy of the 1541 Bible, with autographs and Bible quotations by Luther, Melanchthon, and others. The exhibition also displayed important Swedish religious documents.

One may play with the thought that with today's copyright laws Luther could have become quite wealthy as a writer. But such a calculation was far from the Reformer's mind. For him, writing was a point of honor and duty, for which he did not want to receive payment.

Luther understood the importance of the printed word, and he knew how to utilize the newborn art of printing. He produced, in modern printed pages, about a hundred volumes with a total of some 60,000 pages. But the overwhelming number of books *about* him, his life and work, can hardly be registered even with the help of a modern computer!

(In passing, it may be noted that the first book ever printed in Sweden appeared on December 20, 1483, from the Stockholm workshop of German printer Johann Snell. It was a collection of moralizing fables and tales, *Dyalogus creaturarum*. Martin Luther was but six weeks old then.)

The anniversary day at Uppsala concluded with a festive worship service in the Cathedral, the Archbishop stressing in his sermon that the Reformation is not finished, but must go on. All the hymns that were sung stemmed from the pen of Martin Luther, one page of the program showing Luther's own handwriting and prominent musical notes to "A Mighty Fortress." It had indeed been a day of "spiritual fireworks," as the Uppsala Theological Faculty had promised the week before.

Inasmuch as Sweden became the prototype of the professional Lutheran national state, a few glimpses of Swedish church history and the Reformation in Sweden (in its consequences typical also for the rest of Scandinavia) may be more useful and of greater interest

to the reader than further description of the Uppsala celebration of 1983. But even this history itself frequently centered on Uppsala, as we shall see.

The Swedish Reformation

A thousand years ago, long before Stockholm was founded, the Swedes had their capital, with its great heathen temple, at Uppsala. It was the last bastion of paganism, offering resistance until the beginning of the twelfth century. Since the Middle Ages, the Swedes have been Christian; and since the Reformation, they have been Protestant. Uppsala remained the religious heart of the nation, being the Swedish archbishopric since 1164.

The Swedish Reformation was at its outset a political maneuver, rather than the natural consequence of a new religious conviction. After centuries of internal and external crises and political storms, of struggle for power by the Roman Catholic Church and aristocracy, the young Swedish captain Gustavus Vasa led a rebellion against the Danish king, who also ruled Norway and had been made king over Sweden. The revolt was successful, and Gustavus Vasa was elected Swedish king in 1523. National liberation and independence achieved, the work for national unity and restoration could begin.

Already at an early stage, Gustavus Vasa showed a critical attitude towards the almost-independent and economically strong Catholic Church, which in turn felt indignant about the king's financial and political demands. Furthermore, he favored two spokesmen of the Reformation, Olaus Petri and Laurentius Andreae, and entrusted them with important political posts. Petri, who had studied in Wittenberg from 1516-18, had been impressed by Luther's doctrines. After his return to Sweden, he became secretary to the bishop of Strängnäs, and deacon and teacher at the cathedral school there, where he preached the ideas of the Reformation and won the leader of the chapter, Laurentius Andreae.

The decisive blow was struck in 1527, when the Parliament decided to cut the power of the Church dramatically. This "Church Reduction" resulted in the confiscation of a large portion of the Church's estates and income. (One example was that from 1539 on, two-thirds of the Church tithe had to be given to the Crown.) Stripped of most of her possessions, her hierarchical independence reduced considerably, the Catholic Church turned into a national, Catholicizing state church.

An official connection with the Reformation was not, however, to be proclaimed for quite some time yet, the only claim with direct Protestant implication being that God's word should be preached "purely and clearly." Great caution prevailed concerning the internal conditions of the Church: Pictures were not removed, but declared to be in the spirit of the Reformation; most monasteries were allowed to continue, even if they gradually disappeared because of the reduction and the new teachings; celibacy was yet maintained; etc. Different parties in Parliament resisted the Reformers' suggestions for a new order of worship and liturgy.

Gustavus Vasa was cautious towards Rome, but he sharpened his tone when the Pope demanded the reinstatement of a Catholic archbishop and threatened punishment for failure to do this. The king took no risks. On the ridge above the Cathedral in Uppsala and the archepiscopal residence, he built a citadel. Cannons, placed on a fortification wall, were pointed right at the archbishop's residence—"just in case." (Tourists can admire the cannons to this day.)

In 1531, two days before the king's wedding, Sweden got its first Protestant archbishop, Laurentius Petri, the brother of Olaus. The country had been without an archbishop for ten years. Gustavus Vasa promised that "everyone may remain in the Christian practice he wishes."

For the monarch, the Reformation was very much a matter of practical political concern. It would take decades for the new ideas to take root in the hearts and minds of his subjects. Craftsmen in Stockholm had probably been the first to hear and adopt the Protestant teachings, but it was not until around 1600 that the new doctrines were accepted among the peasants. Even then, there was still no radical break with the form of worship. (The Swedish Church is the least reformed of the Protestant churches. To this day, the priestly robes, the Sunday morning worship—"The High Mass"—, liturgy, etc., remind one very much of the Catholic tradition.)

The establishment of Gustavus Vasa's national monarchy and reformation of the church resulted in an upswing of the Swedish economy, but in a decline of culture and education. The Roman Catholic Church, mother of all higher education, had provided cathedral schools for the preparation of priests and monks; but for a successful ecclesiastical career, extended education abroad was necessary. A half century before Gustavus Vasa's reign, in 1477, a bull of Pope Sixtus IV had granted the establishment of the first

Scandinavian university at Uppsala (then the world's northernmost university), complete with all the usual faculties, a *studium generale*. But as a consequence of the Lutheran Reformation, this university, which had been a stronghold of Catholic faith and teaching, licensed by the Pope, was abandoned (probably in 1531).

Gustavus Vasa realized that he needed competent persons in his administration and diplomatic missions. Many offices formerly occupied by prelates and other highly educated clergy of the Catholic Church, would now have to be filled with men from noble ranks. As early as 1527, the king had sent three young Swedes to Wittenberg with letters of introduction to Luther, and in the 1550s between ten and twenty Swedes periodically studied with Melancthon, many of them taking degrees. Earlier, Melancthon had already written a letter to Gustavus Vasa, saying that a university in Sweden would "redound to God's glory and the King's honor."

As another problem for Sweden, Denmark now entered competition by reestablishing the University of Copenhagen on a grand scale, with the University of Wittenberg as its model. The earlier Copenhagen University, which had been founded in 1478, had also been dissolved during the early Reformation. Gustavus Vasa could see the need for higher education in Sweden, but it was not until the reigns of his sons that the situation brightened, through a reestablished University of Uppsala.

By 1526, the Swedish NT (translated probably by Olaus Petri or Laurentius Andreae) had been printed in Stockholm. Now Archbishop Laurentius Petri was commissioned to translate the OT. Both the translation from German and the printing were done in Uppsala. Gustavus Vasa called German printer Jurgen Richolff to carry out the task. Archives tell how this enormous project was financed: The office of the Archdeacon was suspended from 1534-42, the salary being used for the printing. Moreover, each parish in Sweden was called upon to contribute a barrel of barley, the so-called "Bible barrel."

The first complete Swedish Bible, also called "Gustavus Vasa's Bible," appeared in 1541. It was a joint work of the Petri brothers. The Bible, together with the writings of the Reformers, played a vital role in the further development of the Swedish language, just as Luther's contributions did to the German language.

After the death of Gustavus Vasa in 1560, and the deposition of his son Eric XIV, the second son, John III, succeeded to the throne

in 1569. Married to the Catholic Katarina Jagellonica, sister of the Polish king, he sought political connections with some of Europe's Catholic powers. Also, he planned a mediation between the Catholic and Protestant doctrines. He had a new liturgy drawn up, the so-called "Red Book," leaning towards a Catholic form of worship. He initiated negotiations with the Pope, who sent a legate to Sweden. Nevertheless, Sweden's first Protestant Church Law was passed in 1572, with Laurentius Petri being the driving force for its adoption. This law also included the oldest Swedish School Law.

Immediately after John III's death in 1592, a national movement, led by his brother Duke Charles and supported by most of the clergy, was formed, and at New Year 1593, an assembly was summoned to meet at Uppsala. The 306 participants swore to adhere to the Augsburg Confession, and the detested Red Book was abolished. This resolution marked the consolidation of the Swedish Reformation. An official confessional church of Sweden had at last been created. This would be of no value, though, unless confirmed by John III's son, the Catholic Sigismund, king over both Sweden and Poland. Exactly a year later, Sigismund arrived at Uppsala to be crowned in the Cathedral. The coronation was performed only after the king had first signed a document in which he promised to respect the synod's resolution.

In 1611, the famous Gustavus II Adolphus began his reign at the age of seventeen. Under his intelligent and powerful leadership, the nation flourished. Thanks to his magnificent private donations, unparalleled in Swedish history, Uppsala University soared to heights never reached before.

In 1630, Gustavus landed his troops in Germany. Sweden had entered the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), and the king's skillful strategy resulted in overwhelming success on the Protestant side. However, he fell in battle in 1632 (and lay in state in the City Church of Wittenberg). He had had plans to form a permanent Protestant alliance, a "Corpus evangelicorum," under Swedish leadership in Germany. These plans, if carried out, might have had a far-reaching influence on Europe's continued development.

The daughter and successor of Gustavus Adolphus was the brilliant and learned Queen Christina, one of the most remarkable women of her time. After a decade of reign, she abdicated and converted to the Catholic faith. She spent the rest of her life in Italy,

trying first to gain the crown of Naples, and later of Poland, but without success.

It may be regarded a slight irony of fate, that the same place where Catholic Sigismund had celebrated his elevation over a Lutheran country—the Imperial Hall of Uppsala Castle—witnessed, sixty years later, the abdication of the daughter of the warmly Protestant Gustavus Adolphus, because she wanted to return to the religion of her forefathers.

In the Aftermath of the Reformation

The danger of a Catholic Counter Reformation in Sweden resulted in special laws against Catholics. Also, towards the end of the seventeenth century, Pietist ideas reached Sweden. As people flocked to Pietist meetings, the so-called conventicles, and as Pietism even gained a foothold among the clergy, the Conventicle Act of 1726 was issued. This forbade, at the risk of severe penalty, all conventicles, i. e., private religious meetings beyond the circle of family devotions.

Somewhat later, in 1781, the Edict of Toleration gave immigrants holding other Christian confessions the right to practice their religion. (Swedish citizens, however, were not allowed to abandon their adherence to the official Lutheran Church.) In 1782, Jews received certain rights. In 1809, religious liberty was established in principle, but not until 1858 was the Conventicle Act revoked. Two years later, punishment for apostasy from the official religion was abolished, so that congregations other than those of the Swedish Lutheran Church could be formed. Swedish citizens now could leave the Lutheran Church, provided they joined another Christian denomination recognized by the State. It was not, however, until 1951 that the latest step toward full religious liberty was reached, when Swedish citizens acquired the right to fellowship with or dissociate from the Lutheran state church at will. Nonetheless, Sweden does have a well-deserved and long-standing reputation for tolerance in the truly humanistic spirit.

The Swedish Lutheran Church, though, is still indeed a state church (as is also the case in the other Scandinavian countries). The archbishop (*Primus inter pares*) has thirteen bishops at his side. He has no power over them, but is considered foremost among them. In international and ecumenical connections, he is the official representative of the Church.

Some 5% of the Swedish population today belong to free churches. Roman Catholicism is a small minority, but, along with the Orthodox Church and Islam, it is gaining in numbers, due to immigration.

Every Swedish citizen is automatically a member of the state church, unless he or she chooses to withdraw. Relatively few have used this privilege, for it is a social custom (more or less, a matter of course) to belong to the state church, and its adherents rarely have convictions that make them leave it. In fact, many members of the free churches stay nominal members of the state church as well. Moreover, the Swedish Lutheran Church still plays a main role in all civil registration, with all recording of births, weddings, deaths, divorces, moves, etc., being done through the clergy. Attempts have been made to separate church and state in Sweden, but so far without success.

In our century, Sweden has been active in ecumenical efforts. Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, of Uppsala, for instance, was the main organizer of the first international Conference on Life and Work, held in Stockholm in 1925. In 1968, the Fourth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches was held in Uppsala, with some 2000 delegates, participants, and visitors in attendance. And in the "Luther Year" 1983, Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme paid a visit to Pope John Paul II, reestablishing relations with the Holy See that had been cut off 450 years earlier.

The Gothic Cathedral of Uppsala still towers over the city, timeless and majestic, undaunted by change or strife, always the obedient servant of its masters. Only a stone's throw away, in the main building of the University, a speaker so aptly commented on Luther's birthday:

The two ancestral mothers, *alma mater* and *mater ecclesia*, University and Church, have not always been on good terms with each other. They have lived a stormy life, shaken by internal and external attacks, but in spite of this, both have maintained their positions and their lives. The Church, which is the older, gave birth to the University, and has always kept a watchful eye over her daughter.

Now, when both ladies celebrate the anniversary of Martin Luther, it is because the Reformation has been an important step towards freedom of thought and religious liberty, and because it was in the form of the academic disputation that the learned monk and theologian formulated his theses.

2. THE LUTHER RESEARCH CONGRESS IN ERFURT

DANIEL A. AUGSBURGER

Approximately 300 Luther scholars gathered at Erfurt on Sunday, August 14, 1983, to mark the 500th anniversary of Luther's birth by devoting a week to a sharing of the results of the latest research on the main facets of the life and thought of the great Reformer. For this Luther Research Congress, they met together for almost a week in the unforgettable setting of the Augustinian monastery where Luther spent his monastic years. The building had been almost completely restored for the occasion. The many nations, the many religious traditions, and the many political systems represented—all gave a vivid idea of the spread of Luther's influence.

On Sunday night, Lewis Spitz of Stanford University presented the opening address on "Luther, the Man." He stressed the fact that Luther was first of all a pastor.

During the week, the morning plenary sessions held in the church of the monastery were devoted to four major themes: "Luther's Cause," discussed by Leif Grane and Martin Seils; "Luther and the Church," by Inge Lönning and Otto Pesch; "Luther and Culture," by George Forell and Helmar Junghans; and "Luther and Society," by Thomas Brady, Jr., and Geoffrey R. Elton. Vigorous and lively exchanges followed the exposés of the speakers, which gave the participants the chance to realize that in spite of all the books that have been written on Luther, scholars are still far from any general agreement on many a point.

On Wednesday night Gerhard Ebeling announced the completion of the Weimar edition of Luther's works, and recalled the toil of those who through the years edited the different volumes.

The afternoons during the week were devoted to seminars, which dealt with topics such as "Luther and the Jews," directed by Heiko Oberman; "Luther and the Papacy" (Ulrich Kuhn); "Luther and Aristotle" (Karl Heinz zur Mühlen); "Luther and Humanism" (Lewis Spitz); "Luther and the Beginning of the Reformation in the

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Cities" (Gottfried Seebass); "Luther and the Princes" (Eike Wolgast); "Luther and the Peasants" (Siegfried Bräuer); "Luther's Ecclesiology" (Martin Schloemann); "Luther and the Change in the Understanding of the Sacraments" (James McCue); "Spirit and Word" (Horst Beintker); "Luther's Christology" (Gerhard O. Forde); "Baptism and New Life" (Bengt Hägglund); "Luther's Sixteenth-Century Successors" (Robert Kolb); "Luther and Women" (Jane Dempsey Douglass); "Luther's Confession in the 'Vom Abendmahl Christi'" (Jan T. Bakker); "The Exegesis of the Epistle to the Romans" (Martin Brecht); and "Luther and the Other Saxon Reformers" (Gert Haendler). One afternoon was devoted to field trips which took some to the Wartburg and Eisenach, others to Mansfeld and to Eisleben, and still others to Allstedt, where they viewed the still-unfinished mausoleum to Thomas Müntzer. Wittenberg was the object of a special visit on the Saturday after the Congress.

During breaks, and especially during the receptions held in the evenings, the participants had the opportunity to visit old friends and become acquainted with new ones. The elaborate fare offered on those occasions contrasted rather sharply with the rather limited choice of fruits and vegetables available in the local stores. The Monday-night reception offered by the government at the Erfurter Hof gave an opportunity to observe the fine blend of tension and acceptance that must characterize the relations of church and state in the German Democratic Republic. The Secretary of Cults and Joachim Rogge, head of the Union of Evangelical Churches in the GDR, exchanged good wishes, sweet-sour observations which only the initiates could fully comprehend, and gentle "ribbing" as they proposed toasts in honor of their guests. Although words and signs of welcome greeted the participants on every hand, they were often overshadowed by posters and huge red banners marking the centennial of Marx's birth. At times, mottoes such as "Marx for the present and the future," in obvious contrast to all the references of the admirers of Luther to the past, gave away the true cultural setting of the Congress. There was place in the program, however, for religious fervor. After the reception by the Evangelical Church on Wednesday night, a moving, under-the-stars worship was held in the cloister of the Augustinian monastery. Beautiful dahlias were passed out to everyone; and the blending of word, music, and flowers created an atmosphere that is unforgettable.

With so many appointments, there was difficulty for the members of the Congress to find time to visit the points of historical interest that are found everywhere in that beautiful city of Erfurt. Exhibits had been prepared in several of the local churches. The account of Luther's young years in the monastery library, located just beside Luther's cell, brought out vividly the traits of his education and his experience as a monk. Moreover, everywhere in Luther's land, monuments connected with those fateful years had been restored and made attractive. As an additional effort to immerse the guests of the Luther Research Congress in the atmosphere of the sixteenth century, meals at Erfurt were taken in two restaurants that had already been opened at that time.

The immense significance of Luther, however, was best manifested by the presence not only of Lutherans, but also of Catholics, Marxists, and representatives of many Protestant traditions besides Lutheranism. This fact led Leif Grane, who will head the next Luther Research Congress—to be held in Oslo, Norway, four years from now—to comment that Lutherans claim Luther, Catholics claim Luther, and even Marxists claim him. Does it mean, he wondered, that Luther is a man without a face? "No," he uttered loudly, "for Luther was a seeker for truth, and we who love Luther must share that concern." Certainly, the Luther Congress at Erfurt was a forceful witness to the power of truth upon those who commit themselves to proclaim it.

Abbreviations (cont.)

JAAR	<i>Journ., Amer. Acad. of Rel.</i>	RenQ	<i>Renaissance Quarterly</i>
JAC	<i>Jahrb. für Ant. und Christentum</i>	RevExp	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
JAOS	<i>Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.</i>	RevQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
JAS	<i>Journal of Asian Studies</i>	RevScRel	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
JB	<i>Jerusalem Bible, Jones, ed.</i>	RevSém	<i>Revue sémitique</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>	RHE	<i>Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique</i>
JBR	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>	RHPR	<i>Revue d'hist. et de philos. rel.</i>
JCS	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>	RHR	<i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>	RL	<i>Religion in Life</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical Hist.</i>	RLA	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i>
JEOL	<i>Jaarbericht, Ex Oriente Lux</i>	RPTK	<i>Realenzykl. für prot. Th. u. Kirche</i>
JES	<i>Journal of Ecumenical Studies</i>	RR	<i>Review of Religion</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>	RRR	<i>Review of Religious Research</i>
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>	RS	<i>Religious Studies</i>
JMeH	<i>Journal of Medieval History</i>	RSPT	<i>Revue des sc. phil. et théol.</i>
JMES	<i>Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>	RSV	<i>Revised Standard Version</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>	RTP	<i>Revue de théol. et de phil.</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>	SB	<i>Sources bibliques</i>
JPOS	<i>Journ., Palest. Or. Soc.</i>	SBLDS	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Dissert. Ser.</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>	SBLMS	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Monograph Ser.</i>
JR	<i>Journal of Religion</i>	SBLSSB	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Sources for Bibl. Study</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of Royal Asiatic Society</i>	SBLTT	<i>Soc. of Bibl. Lit. Texts and Trans.</i>
JRE	<i>Journal of Religious Ethics</i>	SBT	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>
JRelS	<i>Journal of Religious Studies</i>	SCJ	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
JRH	<i>Journal of Religious History</i>	SCR	<i>Studies in Comparative Religion</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>	Sem	<i>Semita</i>
JRT	<i>Journal of Religious Thought</i>	SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
JSJ	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>	SMRT	<i>Studies in Med. and Ref. Thought</i>
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of OT</i>	SOR	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
JSS	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>	SPB	<i>Studia Postbiblica</i>
JSSR	<i>Journ., Scient. Study of Religion</i>	SSS	<i>Semitic Studies Series</i>
JTC	<i>Journal for Theol. and Church</i>	ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theol. Studies</i>	TAPS	<i>Transactions of Am. Philos. Society</i>
KJV	<i>King James Version</i>	TD	<i>Theology Digest</i>
LCC	<i>Library of Christian Classics</i>	TDNT	<i>Theol. Dict. of NT, Kittel and Friedrich, eds.</i>
LCL	<i>Loeb Classical Library</i>	TDOT	<i>Theol. Dict. of OT, Botterweck and Ringgren, eds.</i>
LQ	<i>Lutheran Quarterly</i>	TEH	<i>Theologische Existenz Heute</i>
LTK	<i>Lexikon für Theol. und Kirche</i>	TGI	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
LW	<i>Lutheran World</i>	THAT	<i>Theol. Handwört. z. AT, Jenni and Westermann, eds.</i>
McCQ	<i>McCormick Quarterly</i>	TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
MLB	<i>Modern Language Bible</i>	TP	<i>Theologie und Philosophie</i>
MQR	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>	TQ	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
NAB	<i>New American Bible</i>	Trad	<i>Traditio</i>
NASB	<i>New American Standard Bible</i>	TRev	<i>Theologische Revue</i>
NCB	<i>New Century Bible</i>	TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
NEB	<i>New English Bible</i>	TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
Neot	<i>Neotestamentica</i>	TT	<i>Teologisk Tidskrift</i>
NHS	<i>Nag Hammadi Studies</i>	TToday	<i>Theology Today</i>
NICNT	<i>New International Commentary, NT</i>	TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i>
NICOT	<i>New International Commentary, OT</i>	TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
NIV	<i>New International Version</i>	UBSGNT	<i>United Bible Societies Greek NT</i>
NKZ	<i>Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift</i>	UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
NouT	<i>Nouum Testamentum</i>	USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
NPNF	<i>Nicene and Post. Nic. Fathers</i>	VC	<i>Vigiliae Christianae</i>
NRT	<i>Nouvelle revue théologique</i>	VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
NTA	<i>New Testament Abstracts</i>	VTSup	<i>VT, Supplements</i>
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>	WA	<i>Luther's Works, Weimar Ausgabe</i>
NTTS	<i>NT Tools and Studies</i>	WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
ODCC	<i>Oxford Dict. of Christian Church</i>	WTJ	<i>Westminster Theol. Journal</i>
OIP	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>	WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitsch. f. d. Kunde d. Mor.</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>	ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie</i>
Or	<i>Orientalia</i>	ZAS	<i>Zeitsch. für ägyptische Sprache</i>
OrChr	<i>Oriens Christianus</i>	ZAW	<i>Zeitsch. für die altes. Wiss.</i>
OTS	<i>Oudtestamentische Studien</i>	ZDMG	<i>Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenl. Gesellschaft</i>
PEFQS	<i>Pal. Expl. Fund, Quart. Statem.</i>	ZDPV	<i>Zeitsch. des deutsch. Pal.-Ver.</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>	ZEE	<i>Zeitschrift für evangelische Ethik</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia graeca, Migne, ed.</i>	ZHT	<i>Zeitsch. für hist. Theologie</i>
PJ	<i>Palästina-Jahrbuch</i>	ZKG	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte</i>
PL	<i>Patrologia latina, Migne, ed.</i>	ZKT	<i>Zeitsch. für kath. Theologie</i>
PW	<i>Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyl.</i>	ZMR	<i>Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft</i>
QDAP	<i>Quarterly, Dep. of Ant. in Pal.</i>	ZNW	<i>Zeitsch. für die neues. Wiss.</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéol.</i>	ZRGG	<i>Zeitsch. für Rel. u. Geistesgesch.</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Chr.</i>	ZST	<i>Zeitschrift für syst. Theologie</i>
RArch	<i>Revue archéologique</i>	ZTK	<i>Zeitsch. für Theol. und Kirche</i>
RB	<i>Revue biblique</i>	ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>
RechBib	<i>Recherches bibliques</i>		
RechSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>		
REG	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>		
RelS	<i>Religious Studies</i>		
RelSoc	<i>Religion and Society</i>		
RelSRv	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>		