

CHAPTER XII

THE DECISIVE YEARS, 1525-1530

I. CHARLES V, CLEMENT VII, AND THE TURKS

The first war between Charles V and Francis I of France ended in the defeat of the French at Pavia, on February 24, 1525, and the capture of their king. The imperial army, composed of Spaniards, Italians, and the dreaded German lansquenets, won a decisive victory. The treaty of peace concluded at Madrid between Charles and Francis on January 14, 1526, was entirely too severe for France. The release of the King was purchased at an exorbitant price.

Pope Clement VII, an astute politician, was of the opinion that the treaty and the oath of King Francis were not binding because they had been obtained by force. It has been frequently asserted that he formally released the King from his oath; but the statement is uncertain.¹ Nevertheless the Pope, fearing the ascendancy of the Emperor in Italy, and apprehensive of his own position in Rome, unfortunately shaped his policies to favor Francis. This proved fatal to the status of the Church in Germany. The action of the Emperor and the Empire against the religious upheaval was paralyzed by the demands made upon the latter in the war-like complications which had arisen, especially in Italy. The so-called Holy League of Cognac, which had been formed in opposition to the Emperor between certain Italian States and France, strengthened by the accession of the Pope, led to a profound schism between the supreme spiritual and the first temporal authority in Christendom.

In the new conflict between the Franco-Italian and the imperial forces, which lasted from 1526 to the "Ladies' Peace" of Cambrai (1529), Rome was stormed and fearfully sacked in 1527 by the mutinous soldiers under Bourbon, the imperial field-marshal, and George von Frundsberg, the commander of the "Landsknechte." The capital of Christendom, degraded by the morals of the Renaissance, suffered

¹ Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, Vol. IV, Part II, p. 208.

a most abject decline. Clement VII, made a prisoner in the Castle of Sant' Angelo, was compelled to sign a humiliating capitulation and lived in exile at Orvieto and Viterbo until he was able to return to Rome, on October 6, 1528. The Emperor was exceedingly alarmed at the capture and humiliation of Rome, which were contrary to his intentions, and was told by Francesco Quiñones, the intrepid General of the Franciscan Order, that if he did not hasten to fulfill his obligations toward the Pope, it would be impossible to call him emperor henceforth; men would prefer to regard him as Luther's captain, since the Lutheran mercenaries had committed the most disgraceful atrocities in his name and under his banner.²

Luther, on his part, was jubilant at the course of events. When apprised of the misfortune that befell the Eternal City, he wrote to his confidant, pastor Hausmann of Zwickau: "Rome and the Pope have been miserably devastated. Thus Christ governs, since the Emperor, who, being in the service of the Pope, persecutes Luther, is compelled to destroy the Pope on behalf of Luther. Thus Christ must do everything for the sake of His own and against the enemy."³ In another letter, however, he says: "I would not like to see Rome burned; for it would be too prodigious a sign."⁴ Melanchthon, the humanist, was disturbed rather at the destruction of the ancient classical sites.⁵

In consequence of the conciliatory attitude of Charles V and the overtures made by the Pope to the Emperor, a reconciliation was effected between them. Charles V was crowned emperor at Bologna by Clement VII on February 24, 1530. It was bruited about, however, that he did not intend to allow the Papal States to attain to complete sovereignty and independence.⁶ His long separation from Germany was a source of grievous injury to Catholicism as against the reform movement. After the Emperor's energetic stand at Worms his failure to intervene in Germany was regretted. The loyal adherents of the Church loudly clamored for his return. But they were disappointed from year to year. In 1530, when the diet assembled at Augsburg, the Emperor returned temporarily to the field of German activity, which was very much desired by himself, as the country was

² *Ibid.*, p. 311.

³ On July 13, 1527; *Briefwechsel*, VI, p. 69.

⁴ On November 11, 1527 to Jonas; *Briefwechsel*, VI, p. 117.

⁵ Cf. *Corp. Ref.*, Vol. I, n. 445; XI, p. 130.

⁶ Pastor, *l. c.*, pp. 382 sq.

in a sorry religious plight. The complaint was heard that neither the Emperor nor the Pope was properly informed about the condition of the Church in Germany.

Besides the absence of the Emperor and the disturbances in Italy, the events on the eastern boundary of the Empire proved of great advantage to Lutheranism. These events completely engaged the attention and the strength of the imperial regent, Ferdinand of Austria. The approaching danger of a Turkish invasion diverted the thoughts of the princes who remained loyal to the Empire, from the religious question.

During his captivity, the French king had appealed to Sultan Soliman for aid. Since his victory over the Knights of St. John on the Island of Rhodes, Soliman was consumed with a strong desire to resume the ancient campaign of the Crescent against the West. He invaded Hungary with an immense army and defeated King Louis, a brother-in-law of Charles V, at Mohacz on the Danube. The King succumbed in a morass on his flight (1526). His crown, together with that of Bohemia, passed over to Ferdinand of Austria. The danger to Germany remained, yea, became even more aggravated, since Ferdinand's rival in Hungary, John Zapolya of Transylvania, favored the Turks. In order to protect Zapolya, Soliman renewed his attack and besieged Vienna (1529), but was repulsed.

Luther for a long time maintained his unfavorable attitude towards united action against the Turks, but finally perceived its necessity.

The cause of his well-nigh inexplicable attitude of aloofness was the prominent participation of the papacy in the Turkish war. By virtue of its primacy, its ancient activities at the head of the Christian family of nations, and its traditional efforts to check the expansion of infidelity, the papacy was the natural leader in this movement. Luther's pseudomystical state of mind originally inclined him to regard the Turks as a scourge of God which neither could nor ought to be resisted, and to expect that that portion of Christendom which suffered from this scourge would accept his gospel.⁷ One of his theses, which was formulated in opposition to the Turkish wars, was condemned among other errors in the Bull "Exurge" of Leo X in 1520.⁸ Luther naturally sustained this theses with all the more energy.

⁷ Cfr. his letter to Spalatin, December 21, 1518 (*Briefwechsel*, I, p. 333).

⁸ Cfr. Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. III, p. 78.

He accused the Pope of selfish and imperialistic designs because of his demand for a crusade against the Turks.⁹ In an impassioned treatise, "Two Discordant Imperial Commandments" (1524), he wrote: "We refuse to obey and to march against the Turks or to contribute to this cause, since the Turks are ten times cleverer and more devout than our princes." Because the Catholic princes had rejected his demands at the diet of Nuremberg, he delivered himself thus in opposition to their resolution in favor of the crusade: "How can such fools [the princes], who tempt and blaspheme God so greatly, expect to be successful against the Turks?" The Emperor—"a perishable bag of worms"—shamelessly constitutes himself, together with the Pope, the supreme defender of the Christian religion," whereas "the divine power of the faith has no need of a protector."¹⁰ He delights in repeating his assurance that "the government of the Pope is ten times worse than that of the Turk. . . . If ever the Turks were to be exterminated, it would be necessary to begin with the Pope."¹¹

Thus he availed himself of the extreme need of Christendom to agitate against Rome and to promote the interests of his own cause.

When, finally, in 1529, Vienna was threatened and cries of alarm rang through Europe, he changed his tone. In his little book "On the War against the Turks" he now demanded protection against the Turks and asked that they be proceeded against as robbers and destroyers; but there was to be no crusade such as had been undertaken against the infidels in the foolish days of old.¹²

The edict of Worms had been renewed at Augsburg, where it was further resolved that arrangements be made for a "free general council" to be assembled at some accessible place in Germany. The diet of Spires, in 1526, was forced to wage an even greater battle with the partisans of the new religion who had increased their forces in the interim. Its efforts were but partially successful. The diet, it is true, received a declaration from the Emperor attesting his firm resolve to act. He left no doubt that he meant to uphold the edict of Worms and its demands upon the cities and princes. Nevertheless Electoral Saxony and Hesse boldly led the other friends of Luther-

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 79 sq.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 81.

anism in their resistance. If the edict of Worms were upheld, the partisans of the reform movement now threatened to refuse their assistance in the war against the Turks and the necessary contributions for the support of the imperial government. This placed Ferdinand of Austria and the Catholic party in a quandary. Finally the regulation of affairs was once more deferred until the convocation of a general council, which was definitely expected. The recess stated in rather doubtful language that, pursuant to the edict of Worms, the estates had "unanimously agreed, in matters pertaining thereto, so to live with their subjects, to govern, and to conduct themselves, as each expects and trusts to be held accountable for to God and his imperial majesty."

Was this a legal recognition of the new system of territorial churches?

It has been so affirmed, but without any warrant. What is true is that the elastic statement was thus interpreted at an early date.

The declaration, however, "does not imply what was inferred from it; the right of reformation could be deduced neither from its wording, nor from its origin, nor from its spirit."¹³ "One can scarcely say that this formula granted a formal right to the evangelicals to secede from the ecclesiastical communion and to institute a reformation on their own responsibility."¹⁴ The wish of the Emperor, referred to in the formula, was quite clear. Then, too, the diet of Spires only intended to promulgate a temporary norm of peace until the assembly of a general council. True, the edict of Worms was not formally renewed, but the German estates could hold themselves "accountable to the imperial majesty" only for conduct in conformity with that edict. Luther himself during the first three years never interpreted the proposition in question as a legal foundation justifying the formation of national churches. It must be admitted, however, that the expression was ambiguous, and can be explained only as a sorry expedient in the situation created by the opposition. It is more excusable in the light of the diet's concomitant appeal to a general council; for this appeal the diet presupposed, "not the dissolution, but rather the acknowledgment of ecclesiastical jurisdiction."¹⁵

The misuse to which the recess of the diet of Spires was subjected, promoted the development of territorial churches of the new religion

¹³ A. Kluckhohn in the *Histor. Zeitschrift*, Vol. LVI, p. 217.

¹⁴ W. Friedensburg, *Der Reichstag zu Speier 1526*, p. 482. Cfr. Janssen-Pastor, Vol. III, pp. 53 sq.; also Köstlin-Kawerau, II, p. 27.

¹⁵ Janssen-Pastor, *l. c.*

which were in process of formation. A fine opportunity was furnished by the delay in the execution of the edict of Worms. Philip of Hesse had a synod held at Homberg in 1526, under the presidency of a Frenchman, the apostate Franciscan, Francis Lambert of Avignon. This body drafted a radically new ecclesiastical regimen, based upon a purely synodical constitution. Mainly on account of Luther's opposition, however, this regimen was never enforced. On the contrary, the landgrave himself assumed the government of the Church and ruled it as supreme territorial bishop. The monasteries were suppressed, sacred images in the churches and shrines abolished, and the ritual ruthlessly altered.

Philip's personal interest in religion was so feeble that, after his change of religion, he partook of the Eucharist but once in fifteen years and lived persistently in adultery and public vice. According to his own confession he did not observe conjugal fidelity towards his wife Christina for even three weeks. As early as 1526 he harbored the idea of taking a second wife during the lifetime of his first spouse—a design which he executed on March 4, 1540, with the sanction of the Wittenberg reformers, as will be set forth in the sequel.

2. LUTHER AND THE STATE CHURCH OF SAXONY

In the Saxon Electorate, which was his home, Luther urged the introduction of visitations by commissioners to be nominated by the secular ruler. This he did with increased zeal, the longer matters were delayed by the prince, who proceeded in an arbitrary and autocratic manner. The decadence of morals and discipline forced him to take this stand.

He deplored "the ingratitude of the people for the holy Word of God." "They live like swine," he says. "There is no longer any fear of God nor discipline, because the jurisdiction of the Pope has ceased and everyone now does as he pleases. . . . If the elders do not want to, let them go to the devil for all I care. But where youth is neglected and raised without discipline, the authorities are to blame, and the land will be filled with dissolute savages." Thus Luther to the Elector John of Saxony, on November 22, 1526.¹⁸

In respect to parishes and schools he adds: "Since religious compulsion is

¹⁸ Erl. ed., Vol. LIII, pp. 386 sqq. (*Briefwechsel*, V, p. 406).

at an end and all cloisters and foundations fall into the hands of the prince as the supreme ruler, there arises the duty and inconvenience of regulating such matters, to which no one else attends and in which no one can or should be interested." He contends that God has "summoned the prince to attend to these matters in such an event."

He demands, therefore, that the prince should entrust the visitation, which had already begun in a tentative way, to four persons, two of whom were to manage the property and stipends, while the other two—they should go about the matter with "discretion"—were to be entrusted with the regulation of doctrine and personnel.

The Elector's instruction, which followed in 1527, prescribes the course of the visitation and presupposes a direct right of the State in spiritual matters,¹⁷ formally setting up the territorial government of the Church which was already in existence. In doing so, however, the Elector to some extent exceeded the wishes of Luther, who, accordingly, wrote a preface to the "electoral instruction" which in some respects amounted to a restriction. Luther tries to preserve a certain autonomy for the Church and to prevent the danger of a ruinous dependence. In the preface which he added to the published edict of the prince, he tries to justify the extensive measures which the territorial lord was about to exercise in the sphere of religion by the distressed condition of the Church and the fraternal duty of a Christian ruler, whom he characterizes as an "emergency bishop." But his suggestions were disregarded and proved futile. They are an ineffectual monument of his vacillation and embarrassment in a question of fundamentals, namely, the authentic concept of the Church. The voice of the court and its jurists, and the facts created by the government were mightier than the vague and impotent aspirations of Luther.

The ideas of the territorial government were, however, influenced by an humble invitation extended to the Elector John by a friend of Luther. In this invitation the Elector was styled a prince "of sacred Christian lineage and descent" and exhorted to ameliorate the conditions of the Church by becoming an example to other rulers and following in "the heroic footsteps" of the pious Jewish king, Josaphat. The religious functions of the kings of ancient Israel were held up to him as worthy of emulation—an exhortation "afterwards fre-

¹⁷ Weimar ed., Vol. XXVI, pp. 195 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. XIII, pp. 1 sqq.

quently repeated by the evangelicals.”¹⁸ There is no mention of the prince’s functions being restricted by the distressed condition of the Church, nor of fraternal duty; but the ruler, in virtue of his plenary powers as prince, is competent to exercise authority over the churches.

In the name of the territorial ruler, Melanchthon supplemented these general instructions by a set of additional “articles” for the guidance of the visitators. They concerned the method of teaching and set up a church discipline effective throughout the country. These supplementary articles met with Luther’s approval and, after having been examined and supplemented several times, by order of the Elector, were formally promulgated.

Many individuals, both Lutherans and Catholics, were astonished at the reactionary nature of these articles, which cautioned against a declaration of the forgiveness of sins by faith alone, without previous penance. The law which penalized sin was emphasized much more forcefully than Luther had been wont to do. As a result, Luther had to hear the objection: “We are crawling backwards again.” Nevertheless, he stuck to his approbation of the articles of visitation and remarked that they determined everything in the simplest possible manner for the benefit of the mob; the objections of the dissenters, he predicted, would soon cease.¹⁹

In 1528, he himself composed a set of “Instructions for the Visitators,” which was introduced into the territory of Duke Henry of Saxony in 1538, and into the bishopric of Naumburg in 1545. Having become quite disillusioned in consequence of his experiences, Luther began to yield considerably in the matter of law and penance. When his pupil, John Agricola, raised strong objections to the proposed modifications, Luther opposed him.

On account of doctrinal differences, Agricola, at Eisleben, vehemently opposed Melanchthon, with whom he was at personal enmity. In general, he combated penance and, in part, the rules of a devout life. A satire on the Wittenberg theologians classified him as an Epicurean, “a discriminating voluptuary who knows how to choose among pleasures.” His opposition to Luther at a subsequent period caused the latter serious trouble in the so-called antinomian controversy. At the same time, however, it gave him an occasion to recede to an even greater extent from his original attitude toward law

¹⁸ Köstlin-Kawerau, *M. Luther*, Vol. II, p. 25.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

and penance. "The first official act of the evangelical State Church (the announcement of the visitation) thus became an occasion of strife, yea, of charges of heresy within the most intimate circles of the reformatory theologians of Wittenberg."²⁰

The protocols of the visitators show the existing conditions among the people, their preachers and new pastors, in the years 1527 to 1529, and later. It is not worth while to enter upon the melancholy details. Luther's summary complaint in a letter to Spalatin will suffice: "Everywhere the congregations present a deplorable picture, since the peasants neither learn, nor pray, nor do anything else but abuse their freedom; they neither confess, nor go to communion, as if they had completely cast off religion."²¹ He adds: "Just as they spurned the papal system, so now they condemn ours." It is only fair to remark that no such conditions existed under the papacy. The new gospel of liberty and the Peasants' War which sprung from it had brought a return to barbarism. The vain excuse has recently been put forth that the protocols of the Lutheran visitators exhibit a state of decadence which "originated in the religious life of the Catholic past."²² Though, as we have seen, the Catholic ages had their shortcomings, it was nevertheless to be expected that a thorough-going religious movement, such as the Reformation claimed to be, should have produced a reform precisely at its inception. Indeed it should have manifested decided signs of the spiritual spring which Luther had persistently announced, especially when, in his extravagant manner, he spoke of the breath of God which would renew all things without violence.

An endeavor was made to increase the effectiveness of the visitations by creating the permanent office of superintendent. It was another seal affixed to the State Church. The office was established by the Elector in his instructions governing visitations for 1527, and entrusted to the pastors of the principal cities. It was their duty to supervise the belief, teachings, and official functions of the clergy within their respective jurisdictions and to report those who obstinately persisted in error to the officials appointed by the prince, and through these to the territorial lord. Where else was there authority that could inflict punishment?

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Middle of January (?), 1529; *Briefwechsel*, VII, p. 45.

²² Köstlin-Kawerau, *M. Luther*, Vol. II, p. 40.

In order to fortify the new religious system still more, the German Mass was introduced for Sundays, to be uniform throughout Electoral Saxony. It was an arrangement suggested by the territorial lord. Luther had elaborated a set of hymns with the assistance of John Walther, of the castle of Torgau, which was submitted to the Elector towards the end of 1525. This Mass was prescribed for all the pastors in the articles of visitation and was to be introduced with the least possible disturbance. The article pertinent to this point cautiously says: "It is not necessary to preach extensively to the laity about it." The deceptive resemblance to the Latin Mass was retained.

In all these ordinances there was not one word relative to that assembly of "genuine and freely confessing Christians" which Luther had regarded as desirable. The ideal was interred in consequence of the sad results of the visitation. In lieu thereof, the new church was overrun by unspiritual members, whom Luther calls "pagans," and developed more and more into a compulsory organization. The Anabaptists and other fanatics who rebelled against its doctrines, were severely penalized. Luther even went so far as to demand the penalty of decapitation for such heretics as were found guilty, not of insurrection against the State, but of a fundamental deviation from his doctrine.²³

Walter Köhler, a leading Protestant historian of the Reformation, writes of the tendency resulting from the regulations governing the visitations due to Luther's intervention: "Capital punishment for heresy was legitimized by the Lutheran authorities. . . . Freedom of conscience and of religion was out of the question with Luther." According to this writer, there is no doubt that the trial of heretics by the Protestant churches was introduced by Luther. When the preaching of the Word proved ineffectual, he appealed to the secular authorities, with whom he was closely allied.²⁴

The Protestant scholar, P. Wappler, who has made a special study of the Protestant proceedings against heretics, and also of the Anabaptist movement, shows by a number of concrete cases how, shortly after the inception of the visitations, Luther decided in favor of the execution of heretics, especially on account of the teachings of the Anabaptists. "The many executions," says Wappler, "of Anabaptists who are known not to have been revolutionaries and who were put to death on the strength of the declarations of the Wittenberg theologians, refute only too plainly all

²³ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. VI, index s. v. "Intolerance" and "Heretics."

²⁴ For the resp. passages see Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. VI, p. 266.

attempts to deny the clear fact that Luther himself approved of the death penalty against such as were merely heretics.”²⁵

The formula which Luther applied to representatives of the new heresies was that they were to be remanded to “Master Hans,” *i. e.*, handed over to the executioner. At Rheinardsbrunn, for example, six heretics were simultaneously remanded to Master Hans towards the close of 1529 and the beginning of 1530, and were decapitated on January 18, 1530. Of the inquisition of laymen which was provided for in the electoral regulations of 1527, Wappler justly observes: “The principles of evangelical freedom of belief and liberty of conscience, which Luther had championed two years earlier, were most shamefully repudiated by this lay inquisition;” and yet Luther said never a word in protest.

An impartial and critical Catholic historian, Dr. Nicholas Paulus, has filled a whole volume with convincing evidence of the intolerance of the leaders of the religious schism, particularly Luther and Melanchthon, which went even so far as to recommend capital punishment.²⁶

Whilst obstinate denial of the faith was to be avenged thus severely,—a measure which, of course, it was impossible to carry out universally—an attempt was made to penalize also gross violations of the moral law within the religious communities. The lack of the Catholic ban was perceptible. The object of the regulations governing visitations was to discipline notorious sinners by a refusal of the Lord’s supper. Luther’s first aim was to have obstinate sinners declared pagans in the eyes of the congregation, after a futile warning in the presence of witnesses. Later he decided in favor of greater severity by adopting a kind of excommunication. Various efforts on the part of others to install elders for the supervision of morals were condemned to failure.²⁷ The only measure that was finally retained was the office of beadle, who, according to a phrase of Luther’s uttered in 1529, had to hale those to church who despised the catechism, so that they might learn the Ten Commandments, etc. Whoever scorned to learn the catechism, he said, should be exiled by the civil authorities.²⁸

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

²⁶ *Protestantismus und Toleranz im 16. Jahrhundert*, 1911.

²⁷ Köstlin-Kawerau, *M. Luther*, Vol. II, p. 47.

²⁸ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. V, pp. 484 sq.

3. NEW DOCTRINAL AND CONTROVERSIAL WRITINGS

Luther's efforts to regulate doctrine and religious discipline are associated with the publication of his two catechisms, which have attained great significance. They originated in three series of catechetical sermons preached in 1528. At that time it was a prescribed custom at Wittenberg to preach week-day sermons on the catechism four times a year, for two consecutive weeks.

"The Little Catechism, for children and simple folk," first appeared in the form of tables, designed to be affixed to various parts of the home according to Catholic custom. Its arrangement, particularly the sequence of Commandments, profession of faith, and "Our Father," also followed the old tradition. A section on Baptism and another on the Eucharist were appended. Its arrangement in the form of questions and answers is a model of simplicity and clearness. Though heterodox doctrines are emphasized in the Little Catechism, polemical attacks upon the ancient Church are avoided. In the preface, however, the bishops are blamed for the ignorance of Christian doctrine existing among the common people, especially in the villages.²⁹

The Large Catechism was intended to instruct pastors and to enable them to explain the smaller one in their sermons. It is not composed in the form of questions and answers, and is rather prolix. Nevertheless, certain characteristic doctrines, which were apt to give rise to dispute, are omitted, as in the case of the smaller book. Thus the readers are not informed of their right to pass judgment on the Bible and on matters of faith, two things formerly so strongly emphasized by Luther. Its pages are silent on the doctrine of original sin as the destroyer of every inclination to good, on the enslaved will, and on predestination.

The two catechisms were very widely adopted and often reprinted. Numerous Electoral regulations provided for their propagation and use. In 1580 they were incorporated in the "Book of Concord" and thereby raised to the rank of symbolical writings of the Lutheran Church.

It cannot be denied that the desire not to be outdone by Luther proved very beneficial to the development of Catholic catechetics. The religious instruction of the people, it is true, had not been neg-

²⁹ *Ibid.*

lected. To them Luther holds up his own example. Even in his manner of presentation he completely followed the old method.³⁰ But the copiousness and systematic method of Catholic religious instruction necessitated a certain gradation. It became necessary that it should be transferred from the home, to which it had been previously entrusted, to the school and the church. Then, too, the existing and quite estimable number of elementary text-books had to be multiplied. The splendid work of Peter Canisius perfected the great amount of good literature which was already in existence.

Luther believed himself justified in stating that, prior to his time, there had been "no doctor on earth who had known the whole of the catechism, that is, the Our Father, the Ten Commandments and the Creed, much less understood them and taught them as now, God be praised, they are taught and learned even by little children. In support of this I appeal to all their books, those of the theologians as well as those of the lawyers. If even one article of the catechism can be learnt aright from them, I shall allow myself to be broken on the wheel or bled to death."³¹ He is better advised when he recommends people to occupy themselves with the study of the catechism. He makes his recommendations in a manner characteristic of himself. In the preface to the Large Catechism he tells his preachers that whoever does not heed and abide by the catechism, is to be classified with the "shameful gluttons and belly-servers, who are better fitted to look after the pigs and the hounds than to be pastors having the cure of souls."³² Daily, every morning and evening, he himself, though a doctor and preacher, recited "the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Our Father, etc., like a child." The preface exhorts all pastors "to practice well and always to occupy themselves with" the catechism, and contains many practical ideas, in proposing which Luther pleads with those "lazy bellies or presumptuous saints, that, for God's sake, they let themselves be persuaded." His words have borne fruit, and in many Protestant districts his catechisms have established and sustained positive Christian beliefs.

Other minor writings support the Little Catechism. Thus, in 1526, he wrote a little treatise on the ceremonies of Baptism, which supplied the majority of Lutheran churches with the trinitarian formula and the exorcism. In 1529, he composed a "Small Book on the Marriage Ceremony for Simple Pastors," which exercised a similar influence on the marriage rite. According to the latter work, the nuptial ceremony

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 489 sqq.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 485.

³² *Ibid.*

is a blessing joined with prayer, freely solicited by the bridal couple, but not necessary for the validity of marriage.

At the head of his treatise "Von Ehesachen,"³³ which he commenced in 1529 and published in 1530, as well as in other writings, Luther enunciates the doctrine, which he makes the basis and starting-point of his instructions, that Matrimony is not a Sacrament, but "a purely temporal matter, such as raiment and food, house and court-yard, subject to secular authority." The matrimonial problems with which he had been overwhelmed, had crushed him. After the Catholic laws on matrimony had been discarded, great confusion inevitably ensued, and this disorder was augmented by the Peasants' War and the moral decadence which followed. "I have a lot of trouble with it," he writes to Spalatin; "I resist strongly, cry out and exclaim that such matters should be left to the secular authorities."³⁴ In the treatise mentioned, as elsewhere in his writings, he does not propose to give any regulations pertaining to Matrimony, since temporal matters do not pertain to the clergy and the Church has no right "to govern or to enforce the law," but her province is "to inform and console the consciences." Hence, he speaks only as one offering advice.

It is not necessary to demonstrate that his usual distinction between the Church and the world, between the spiritual kingdom of Christ and the external realm of the civil authority, between the forum of law and the forum of conscience, was bound to involve him in vacillations and contradictions, especially in the realm of Matrimony. An arbitrary subjectivism all too frequently replaces objective law in his teaching. Because this teaching—if it be possible to speak of uniform teaching—sprang from the soil of his passionate attacks on the religious vows and sacerdotal celibacy, it had a sensuous and dangerous aspect.³⁵

Nevertheless, he extols Matrimony as a dignified, yea, sublime institution of divine provenience and delineates the natural side of conjugal life in glowing phrases. He even boastfully claims that it was he who "sang the praises" of the matrimonial state "in sermons, writings, and examples," whereas the papists did not recognize harlotry as a sin.³⁶ It is surprising to note how many Protestant writers repeat this self-

³³ Weimar ed., Vol. XXX, III, pp. 205 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. XXIII, pp. 93 sqq.

³⁴ Similarly in a letter to Spalatin, January 7, 1527 (*Briefwechsel*, VI, p. 6), in consequence of the experience "that mankind could not be governed by the gospel."

³⁵ Cf. S. Baranowski, *Luthers Lehre von der Ehe*, Münster i. W., 1913, especially the summaries at pp. 4 sqq. and 207 sqq.

³⁶ *Tischreden*, Weim. ed., Vol. IV, n. 5116.

praise and at the same time overlook the tangible shortcomings inherent in Luther's theory of matrimony as well as the fatal consequences of that theory when put into practice.

In his book "Von Ehesachen" Luther refrains from dealing with the confused mass of questions which had arisen from the new concept of Matrimony. For the jurists, even Schurf at Wittenberg, strictly defended many of the traditional canonical regulations and interpretations against his liberal notions. On the matrimonial impediments, particularly those derived from consanguinity, as well as on divorce, Luther expresses himself only in a cursory manner. He concedes the right of divorce on the grounds of adultery and malevolent desertion.

One of the principal objects of this work is to combat clandestine marriages contracted without parental consent. Matrimony, so he teaches, is a public state of life and hence must be contracted publicly, in the presence of witnesses and in the sight of the congregation. Clandestine marriages contracted against the wishes of father and mother or their representatives, are null and void. However, the rights of parents should not be exaggerated. If parents wantonly prevent their children from marrying, he says, the civil authority or, in the event of the latter's refusal, the pastor, with the assistance of worthy friends, should permit and confirm the marriage. Luther was confronted with severe conflicts with the secular authorities because of his opposition to the constantly increasing secret marriages, or secret betrothals, as he termed them. Because of his vexatious experiences with matrimonial problems, his disgust increased to such an extent that he subsequently wrote to Count Albrecht of Mansfeld: "I have cast it [the matter of regulating marriages] from me and have written to several persons that, in the name of all the devils, they should do as they see fit."³⁷

Among other works written by Luther, mention should be made of his "Reply to the Libel of the King of England," written in 1527,³⁸ —a crude rejoinder to the published reply of Henry VIII in which the latter declined to co-operate with Luther, who had previously endeavored to interest the King in his cause. In his rejoinder Luther says that he "upholds his doctrine in defiance not only of princes and kings, but of all the devils." No less violent is his tract "On Secret and

³⁷ October 5, 1536; Erl. ed., Vol. LV, p. 147 (*Briefwechsel*, XI, p. 90).

³⁸ Weimar ed., XVIII, pp. 26 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. XXX, pp. 1 sqq.

Purloined Letters,"³⁹ written in 1529 against Duke George of Saxony, in connection with the affair of the alleged secret league of the Catholic princes for the destruction of Lutheranism, discovered by Otto von Pack. Luther had written a letter on this subject to his friend Link, which had come into the possession of the Duke and was made public by him, to the chagrin of the writer. In this letter, as well as in the tract written to defend it, Luther asserts the existence of the League, which had already at that time been shown to be a myth, and maintained that George and his counselors were possessed by the devil, and consequently he (Luther) was constrained to believe that they harbored most wicked designs.⁴⁰

In 1527, Luther dedicated two treatises to the two "martyrs" of his theological system, as he calls them. One of these is entitled, "Consolation to the Christians of Halle on the Death of their Preacher, George [Winkler]"; the other is a tract on "Leonard Kaiser, who was Burnt in Bavaria for the Gospel."⁴¹ Winkler had been attacked and murdered in 1527 by unascertained culprits. Without proof, Luther accuses the canons of Mayence of being accessories to the crime. The second "martyr," Leonard Kaiser (Käser), was a Bavarian ex-priest who had studied at Wittenberg and was executed at Schärding after being tried for heresy by Ernest of Bavaria, administrator of the bishop of Passau.

In his printed message "To the Christians of Bremen"⁴² Luther glorified several other "martyrs": two Augustinians of Brussels; the Augustinian Henry of Zütphen (Henry Müller, died 1524); Caspar Tauber, who was burnt at the stake in Vienna in 1524; a Lutheran colporteur named George, who was executed in the same year at Ofen, and an unknown individual of Prague. He pathetically exclaims that "their blood would drown the papacy and its god, the devil."⁴³

If several of his later utterances were taken seriously, many more bloody victims of his party would have to be included among the "martyrs" of the new faith. The number mentioned has been increased by historical authorities; for the medieval laws against heretics con-

³⁹ Weimar ed., Vol. XXX, II, pp. 25 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 sqq.

⁴⁰ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. III, pp. 325 sq., V, p. 343.

⁴¹ Weimar ed., Vol. XXIII, pp. 401 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. XXII, pp. 294 sqq. and Weim. ed., Vol. XXIII, p. 452; *Briefwechsel*, VI, pp. 156 sqq.

⁴² Erl. ed., Vol. XXVI, 2nd ed., pp. 40 sqq. (*Briefwechsel*, V, p. 112.).

⁴³ Letter to Hausmann, November 17, 1524; Erl. ed., Vol. XXVI, 2nd ed., p. 403 (*Briefwechsel*, V, p. 112.).

tinued in operation. According to Riezler it is possible to demonstrate that in Bavaria, which was accused of being especially cruel, relatively few obstinate heretics were executed. In Württemberg, it appears, capital punishment was more frequently inflicted upon apostate Catholics. But it must be recalled that many of those who were executed there and elsewhere were guilty of participation in the revolts connected with the Peasants' War as well as of other crimes which constituted one of the grounds, if not the chief ground, for their execution. Others were put to death because of their Anabaptist doctrines and machinations, which were dangerous to the State; and for this reason Lutheranism cannot claim them as confessors. A case in point is the frequently cited one of Balthasar Hubmaier, who, having come into prominence as an apostle of the revolutionary Anabaptist movement, was burnt at the stake in 1527. In every religious conflict there have been deluded individuals who wrought up their errors to the point of dangerous madness and did not hesitate to risk their very lives. The history of the severe laws formulated against heresy since the early Middle Ages furnishes ample proof of this statement.

Among the polemical tracts which Luther issued against Catholic worship, is his "Advice to a Dear Friend on Both Forms of the Sacrament in Reply to the Mandate of the Bishop of Meissen," published in 1528.⁴⁴ The exclusion of the laity from the chalice, decreed for practical reasons by the Church, constituted one of the chief grounds of attack against her. When, in 1528, the bishop of Meissen renewed his regulations proscribing the use of the chalice for the laity, the Lutherans availed themselves of these regulations in order to attack the Church, and this afforded Luther an occasion to recapitulate his former alleged proofs in support of the reception of the Sacrament under both forms by the laity. The papal Church, thus he declared in opposition to the bishop, sets the Word of God at naught in this respect, thereby proving that she is the Church of the devil and the bride of Satan.

The following two years saw a series of excellent Catholic replies relative to the lay-chalice. The authors easily demonstrated that the reception of the Eucharist under the form of bread alone does not constitute a mutilation of the Sacrament, as Luther, appealing to the alleged "clear, forceful words of Christ," contended. They demonstrated that the blood of Christ as well as His divinity were insepa-

⁴⁴ Weimar ed., Vol. XXVI, pp. 560 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. XXX, pp. 373 sqq.

rably united with His body. The Church in introducing the custom of giving the host alone to the laity, because of the danger that the consecrated wine be spilled or profaned, was within her rights, as she was the administrator of the Sacraments for the glory of God. The demand for the chalice was not prompted by zeal for divine worship, but rather founded upon a spirit of opposition and provocation, since the adherents of the new religion did not exhibit any great activity in the reception of the Eucharist, and since, moreover, most of them did not desire to receive the Eucharist under either form. Among those who defended the traditional practice we find, for example, the Dominican Michael Vehe of Halle, who, in a treatise, "On the Law of the Reception of the Holy Sacrament," composed in 1531, which was a model of objectivity and calmness, demonstrated the right of Cardinal Albrecht to prohibit the faithful at Halle to receive their Easter communion under both species.⁴⁵

By means of popular polemical pictures Luther endeavored to arouse the passions of the people against the papal Church. In a pamphlet, "A Vision of Friar Claus in Switzerland,"⁴⁶ published in 1528, he circulated an alleged vision of the papacy had by Blessed Nicholas von der Flüe, which, he pretended, exhibited to the world Rome's "tyrannical, murderous, bloody dominion over body and soul." He sees in this utterly unhistorical representation a dismal head, crowned with a tiara, whence six pointed swords are projected. In Luther's mystical interpretation, the triply serrated beard signifies the three classes of men who adhere to the pope, "the sanctimonious, such as monks, priests, and nuns; the scholars, such as jurists, theologians, *magistri*; the mighty of the earth, such as kings, princes, and lords." The pamphlet is a mental aberration, corresponding to its author's frame of mind.

Very bitter, even if droll, are the supplements which he appends to his "New Intelligence of Leipsic" and "The Fable of the Lion and the Ass."⁴⁷ Two authors of Leipsic, John Hasenberg and Joachim von Heyden, had attacked Luther's marriage to Catherine of Bora. The above-mentioned document was intended to be Luther's reply,

⁴⁵ N. Paulus, *Die Dominikaner im Kampf gegen Luther*, pp. 219 sqq.

⁴⁶ Weimar ed., Vol. XXVI, pp. 130 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. LXIII, pp. 260 sqq. Cf. Grisar-Heege, *Luthers Kampfbilder*, Vol. III (*Lutherstudien*, n. 5), pp. 44-56, with illustrations, especially p. 53.

⁴⁷ Weimar ed., Vol. XXVI, pp. 539 sqq.; Vol. LIII, pp. 549 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. LXIV, pp. 324 sqq. Cf. Grisar-Heege, *l. c.*, pp. 37-44, with illustrations, especially p. 43.

or, at any rate, a sort of reply. The former work is ornamented with a square, in which the word ASINI is written with checkered letters in such wise that, commencing with the center, the word "ass" can be read forty times. The fate which, as he tells us, the writings of the two Leipsic authors were to experience at his hands in his private chamber cannot be described in decent language. The second of these tracts depicts how the ass is made king of beasts; it is aimed at the pope, whom the Leipsic professors honored, but whom Luther frequently describes as "pope-ass." An artistic illustration; furnished by Cranach, which accompanies the work, presents two young asses, *asini Lipsienses*, holding a large crown above the head of a braying, lean old ass, which is followed by two young prancing asses, carrying halberds on their shoulders. The text ironically ascribes to the pope-ass "the ability to administer both the temporal and the spiritual government" and asserts that there is "nothing about the entire ass which is not worthy of royal and papal honors."

Quite serious was Luther's literary warfare against the Anabaptists. His "Address to Two Pastors on Rebaptizing," published in 1528, was particularly characteristic.⁴⁸ Contrary to the principal objection of the rebaptizers, namely, that infants could not possibly have the faith which Luther required as a condition for the efficacy of the Sacrament, he obstinately asserts that children can and do have the faith and denounces as a vain conceit the statement that they are as yet devoid of reason. The constant practice of the Church supplies him with a bulwark in support of Infant Baptism. The Church could not have been permitted by God to remain in error for so long a time. He speaks on this topic as if he did not accuse the preceding centuries of the Christian era of the most glaring errors in other essential doctrines. When he was in an agitated frame of mind, he took no account of such contradictions.

The writings which were evoked by Luther's controversy with Zwingli occupy a special place among his literary productions.

4. ZWINGLI AND THE CONTROVERSY REGARDING THE LAST SUPPER

In the celebrated controversy on the Eucharist which arose between Luther and the quick-witted Swiss reformer Zwingli, two

⁴⁸ Weimar ed., Vol. XXVI, pp. 144 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. XXVI, 2nd ed., pp. 281 sqq.

characteristic traits of Luther are made manifest. In the first place, a more credulous tendency is discoverable in him, even to the extent of accepting the miraculous and incomprehensible features of the doctrine of the Eucharist, as contrasted with the subtlety to which Zwingli and his partisans, Oecolampadius and Bucer, inclined. Secondly, there is discernible that uncouth controversial method which seeks to put down an opponent by every available means of rhetoric, even if it be never so insulting, combined with most questionable arguments. In the thought of mankind, the Last Supper is usually enveloped by a divine peace. The Sacrament unites unto itself the souls of men by the strongest bond of union ever bestowed upon mankind. But now the holy table became the arena of a horrible quarrel which was to last for a number of years and led to a desecration of the pearl of Christian worship by the contending factions of the reformed religion.

The controversy was not confined to the two protagonists, Luther and Zwingli, and their more intimate friends, but extended throughout southern Germany, Switzerland, and the neighboring countries.

Zwingli, in virtue of his rationalistic conception of history, as set forth in a letter written in 1524 to Alberus, in his "Commentary on True and False Religion," in which he discussed the words by which Christ instituted the Holy Eucharist, had professed the following proposition: "The Lord understands by bread and eating nothing but the gospel and the faith. . . . He absolutely does not speak of any sacramental food." The consecrated species, according to his idea, are only a symbol of Christ, of His testament and His grace; there is no Real Presence, which reason could not comprehend and which appears contradictory, since the Body of Christ can be only in one place, namely, in Heaven, at the right hand of His Father, and not wherever the Lord's Supper is celebrated.

The literary controversy with Zwingli was taken up on the Lutheran side by Bugenhagen, whereupon Oecolampadius espoused the cause of Zwingli by his denial of the Real Presence. Luther had on a former occasion defended his teaching on the Eucharist against Karlstadt and the "fanatics" and now repeatedly expressed himself against Zwingli, whose bold attacks on the Eucharist filled him with indignation. He persistently classified Zwingli among the "fanatics," though Zwingli had openly declared himself opposed to the views of Karlstadt. Hence, when Zwingli, in his "*Amica Exegesis*" (1527),

renewed and intensified his opposition to the doctrine of the Eucharist as formulated by the Wittenberg divines, Luther drew his sword against his rival of Zurich by means of a violent polemical tract entitled, "That the Words: 'This is my Body' are Still Firmly Established."⁴⁹ Zwingli replied in a tract which bore the scarcely less vigorous title, "That These Words . . . Shall Retain Their Same Ancient Significance Forever."

Luther at last determined to put an end to the controversy by means of a final tract, which he entitled, "Profession of the Lord's Supper" (1528).⁵⁰

This tract is not merely a summary and expansion of the reasons which he had hitherto advanced against the "abominable heresy" of the "three leaders of the Sacramentarians," Karlstadt, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius, as well as the Silesian Schwenckfeld; but it is at the same time a solemn profession of faith, to which he is resolved to adhere with increased firmness, now that its articles have been imperiled by the Sacramentarians. He analyzes these articles, commencing with that "on the divine Majesty, on the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost." The earnestness with which he discusses this article is touching. In this part of his work he is also desirous of marking his attitude towards the Catholic Church. He condemns her doctrine of free-will and sin, represents the Mass as an abomination exceeding all other abominations, rejects the invocation of the saints, and, relative to the Zwinglian iconoclasts, asserts that, according to Holy Writ, sacred images are "very useful;" finally, he contends that the Church consists in the communion or assembly of all Christians without a hierarchy.

This so-called "Great Profession" made no impression upon the opponents of Luther. Zwingli and Oecolampadius jointly published a sharp reply. Luther, however, reverted only incidentally to the great question of the Eucharist, until the memorable debate between him and Zwingli at Marburg.

It cannot be denied that his presentation of the case against his Swiss rival possesses certain merits in spite of obvious defects and the injection of personalities. The necessity of adhering to the simple, literal meaning of the words of institution is demonstrated by splendid arguments and with convincing clarity. The obligation of be-

⁴⁹ Weimar ed., Vol. XXIII, pp. 64 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. XXX, pp. 14 sqq.—On the history of the controversy cf. W. Köhler, *Zwingli und Luther; ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religiösen Beziehungen*, Vol. I, Leipsic, 1924.

⁵⁰ Weimar ed., Vol. XXVI, pp. 261 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. XXX, pp. 151 sqq.

lieving religious truths that transcend human reason is emphasized in inspiring words. If, he says, Christ after His Resurrection passed through closed doors, then His glorified body in the Eucharist is not bound by the ordinary laws of nature, and it is simply a question of submitting one's intellect to the plain words of the Almighty. He triumphantly appeals to the unequivocal belief of the Church in the real presence, which she has held since the primitive period of her existence. In these pages he is animated by the faith which he had received in the days of his childhood and nurtured during his long monastic career—a faith that resounds in the sonorous verses of the *Lauda Sion* of St. Thomas Aquinas: "*Quod non capis, quod non vides, animosa firmat fides praeter rerum ordinem.*" He pretends to have gained a most intimate conviction of the real presence of Christ by personal experience, nay, even to have been instructed in this truth by angels.

A comparison between the two antagonists reveals the fact that both are guilty of monstrous theological errors. Luther stands on Biblical ground with only one foot as it were; his head is enveloped by theological and philosophical clouds which completely obscure the truth. As regards his demonstration from the Bible, he hesitates to make a logical application of the literal interpretation. He rejects the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation and contends that the body of Christ is simultaneously present with the bread. His arbitrariness is manifested in his denial of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist as maintained in the Bible.

In the theological and philosophical discussions of the past, this sacred mystery, in as far as it was accessible to human reason, was expressed in clear formulas. These Luther, because of his contempt for Scholasticism, rejected as the product of "sophists." As a result, he founders in his attempt to escape the objections of Zwingli, as when, e. g., he asserts that the body of Christ is at the throne of God, but also participates in the divine omnipresence, so that it is found everywhere throughout the universe (ubiquity), and, hence, also in the Eucharist.⁵¹ The important thing is, he says, that Christ, in virtue of a special promise, desired His presence to be tangible to us somewhere, and this precisely in the Eucharist. In Luther's opinion this "special promise" of Christ as regards the Eucharist resides in His intention

⁵¹ Erl. ed., Vol. XXX, p. 67.

to strengthen our faith through the Sacrament and thus to mediate our salvation. Nevertheless, he maintains that infidels actually receive Christ when they receive the Eucharist.

Zwingli objected that, according to Luther's doctrine, the Sacrament does not constitute a thing *sui generis*, since there are other and even more effective means of confirming faith in the divine promises, and therefore a superfluous miracle is postulated. Luther can only meet this objection by asserting that in the Eucharist the remission of sins, which is effected in a general way by the preaching of the Gospel, is personally imputed to each individual. His main object is to uphold his contention that the Sacraments do not sanctify *ex opere operato*, as taught by the Catholic Church.

Zwingli is equally arbitrary. It would be a most disagreeable task to follow up this controversy in detail. Frequently one does not even know to what extent both parties are sincere in their assertions, so much are their assertions involved in contradiction. Thus Luther does not approve of the expression that Christ suffered for us only in His human nature, for the reason that this might cast doubt upon the doctrine of the two natures in Christ. Julius Köstlin, the Protestant biographer of Luther, says that, as regards the controversy about the Eucharist, one is "justified in asking whether Luther really understood what he maintained; especially whether he had a definite and clear idea of what we call the distinction between real and merely dynamic presence."⁵²

The style in which this, the sublimest doctrine of the Christian religion, is treated by the two leaders of the new theological systems is anything but edifying. Ridicule, animosity, and misrepresentation alternate with one another. Each is determined to remain master of the situation and to capture the reader. How differently the same theme is treated by the defenders of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, as, for instance, the scholarly Bishop Fisher of Rochester in his Latin treatise, "On the Truth of the Real Presence" (Cologne, 1527).

Luther says that either his antagonists, above all Zwingli, or he himself and his followers are servants of the devil; no other alternative exists. Satan, he asserts, has crept into the Bible, which he (Luther) had once more drawn from under the bench, and now produces rubbish and winks his eyes, insinuating that Baptism, original sin, and Christ are of no conse-

⁵² Köstlin-Kawerau, *M. Luther*, Vol. II, pp. 100 sq.

quence. Zwingli's objections are dictated by a "desperate black devil" and his interpretations of Luther's words are "impudent lies."

The leaders of the "Sacramentarians," he declares, are not persuaded of the truth of their cause; in fact they cannot be, but must sincerely regret (as he undertakes to demonstrate) that they began the quarrel. But the devil is determined to be victorious.

"Whoever is willing to be warned, let him beware of Zwingli and avoid his books as he would the poison of the infernal Satan; for that fellow is thoroughly perverse and has lost Christ completely."

In discussing Zwingli's objection to Christ's being seated at the right hand of God, he mockingly speaks of the cope which Christ must wear in Heaven, and asks whether all creatures are not there simultaneously with Him, "such as lice and fleas, that infest the monk's cowl." His opponent replies with undignified acerbity that he is not in need of the phantasmagorical heaven of Luther, nor does he want his cowl or dog's hood; Luther should take them home and deck himself out in them.

Such were the depths of triviality to which these controversialists descended. Nevertheless Zwingli assures his readers that he did not intend to berate Luther with such "unrestrained language" as the latter employed to insult him, but that he abstained from the use of such invectives as "fanatic," "devil," "scoundrel," "heretic," "contumacious fellow," "blockhead," etc. Indeed, his tone is more moderate in the beginning of his argument and somehow betrays the cultured humanist. Eventually, however, he repays Luther in his own coin and uses an uncouth, Swiss-German dialect.

In the interests of decency, especially of religious decency, it was well that Luther made no further reply after his "Great Profession," but left the matter where it was by saying that "it was not the proper thing for him to concern himself any longer with the doltish replies and idiotic performances of his opponents."⁵³

5. THE PROTEST OF 1529

At the diet of Spires, which convened in April, 1529, under the presidency of Archduke Ferdinand, the Catholic estates of the Empire and their theological advisers appeared to be more united and determined than before. They were prepared to put an end to the abuse to which the recess of the diet of 1526 had been put by the innovators during the last three years. For the flexible phraseology

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 102. Most of the passages cited above appear in Köstlin-Kawerau, *op. cit.*

of the resolution, which had been forced from that assembly, was unscrupulously exploited by the reformers to advance their cause.

Hence, the Catholic majority of the estates at the new diet in Spires succeeded in having the following modification adopted and published by authority of the Emperor:

Those who adhered to the edict of Worms "shall and are required to abide by the same until a future council"; in the case of the other estates, all further "innovations" should be prevented, at least until the assembly of the council, where it is impossible to abolish the new doctrine without disturbance. In those parts where the new doctrine is upheld, preaching against the Sacrament of the altar and placing obstacles to attendance at Mass were specifically prohibited. Severe penalties were prescribed against the Anabaptists and others who incited the people to rebellion. It was finally declared, in order to safeguard religious peace, that no estate was to "protect the subjects and relatives of one 'faith' against the authorities of the other"; that the public peace declared by the diet of Worms was to continue; and, if any one estate be "violently overrun" by another, it was the duty of the "Kammergericht" (supreme court of judicature) to intervene.

There was nothing in these decrees which the reformers could reasonably have represented as unfair, had they sincerely wished to live in peaceful concord and in a temporary arrangement until the assembly of the council which they themselves had desired. But they harbored no such desire; on the contrary, they were eager to advance farther and resolved to make a solemn protest against the legitimate recess of the imperial diet.

This protest was made on the nineteenth of April, 1529, and from it the entire party which made it derived the name of "Protestants." However, not all the princely estates which were favorably inclined either to religious reform or to Lutheranism, concurred in this hazardous protest. The Elector John of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse took the lead. They were joined by Margrave George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, Duke Ernest of Brunswick-Lüneburg, and Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt. Their following was considerably increased when thirteen cities of Upper Germany, who were almost exclusively in favor of Zwinglianism, joined their ranks. These cities were Strasburg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Isny, St. Gall, Weissenburg, and

Windesheim, Nuremberg also went over to their side. On April 22, Electoral Saxony, Hesse, and the cities of Strasburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm secretly formed a defensive alliance.

Whilst the Eucharistic controversy completely separated the majority of the above-mentioned cities of Upper Germany from the Lutheran faith, they nevertheless, in their inglorious procedure against the authority and peace of the Empire, overlooked the religious differences which prevailed in their own ranks and united against the self-defense to which the Catholic Church was bound to resort.

The Protestants, moreover, frustrated the proposed movement against the Turks. When the imperial diet convened, it was impressed in the name of the absent Emperor with the necessity of energetically repelling the danger of a Turkish invasion, which was declared to be the most important subject before the assembly. The report had reached Spires that the Turkish fleet was cruising along the coast of Sicily, threatening the Occident. "It is an undeniable fact," says Wilhelm Walther, a Protestant authority, "that the [Protestant estates] would not promise to render aid against the Turks, unless the Catholic estates of the Empire arrived at some other conclusion concerning the religious question than that under discussion, which [they declared] it was impossible for them to accept."⁵⁴

Luther was naturally very much in favor of the idea that the parties who espoused the new religion should issue a protest against the resolution of the imperial diet. Two things, however, worried him, and Melanchthon even more: namely, the formation of an armed alliance of his followers in opposition to the Emperor; and the approximation to Zwinglianism, which, though so far merely exterior, might result in an intrinsic religious coalescence. Melanchthon implored them not to break with Charles V, with Ferdinand, and the "whole empire"; for thus far the Protestants had maintained the semblance of not actually wishing to secede from the Empire, nor even from the Church, but of desiring only a reform of the same. For Luther, Zwinglianism, which he detested, constituted the chief source of anxiety. In his worry concerning the new alliance, he wrote to the Elector of Saxony on May 22 that the impetuous temperament of the Landgrave [Philip of Hesse] would create havoc in the Empire, that trust was to be placed in God, not in man, but worst of all was the fact that, by uniting with the Zwinglians, the

⁵⁴ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. II, p. 383.

Lutherans would incur the sins of those who antagonized the Sacrament and were deliberate enemies of God.⁵⁵ The Elector bowed to his representations and desisted from further attempts to bring about an alliance.

With increased energy Landgrave Philip, on the other hand, pursued his and Zwingli's project of forming a close union of all the adherents of the new religion in Germany and Switzerland, against the Hapsburg power and against the Catholic Church. Before this could be accomplished, however, it was necessary to effect some kind of reconciliation between Luther and Philip. The latter was resolved to go to impossible lengths, and it was decided that a personal conference should take place between Luther and Zwingli.

6. LUTHER AND ZWINGLI IN THE CASTLE OF MARBURG

On April 22, 1529, the Landgrave of Hesse proposed to his friend Zwingli that he and Luther, as well as the principal representatives of the two parties in the controversy concerning the Eucharist, hold a theological disputation. It was not zeal for religion which induced him to suggest this conference, but the desire of realizing his political ambitions, which, in conformity with Zwingli, were directed against the Emperor and the house of Hapsburg. The exiled Duke Ulric of Würtemberg had won over the Landgrave to this hopeless idea of a conference. The intrepid Zwingli favored it at once, without, however, holding out any hope of union on his part. When the matter was broached to Luther, he at first expressed himself against it. Melanchthon also had his scruples. The Elector John at that time was not disposed to have anything to do with the Sacramentarians, as he feared the designs of the Swiss. Eventually, however, the urgent invitations of the Landgrave were crowned with success. On September 29, Zwingli and Oecolampadius, representing the Swiss, came to Marburg, as guests of Philip of Hesse. Bucer, Hedio, and Jacob Sturm represented Strasburg; Jonas, Cruciger, Myconius, and Menius; besides Luther and Melanchthon, represented Wittenberg.

At the first meeting, which was held on October 1, Luther and Melanchthon engaged Oecolampadius and Zwingli, respectively, in private conferences. But, apart from the burning question of the Sacrament, the latter only succeeded in removing some suspicions of

⁵⁵ Köstlin-Kawerau, *M. Luther*, Vol. II, p. 120.

the Wittenberg theologians against the doctrines of the Zurich reformer.

The second day witnessed a solemn public disputation between Luther, on the one hand, and Zwingli and Oecolampadius on the other. Luther had written on the table the words of institution in large letters: "This is my Body." In response to the sophistical arguments of his opponents, he always repeated, after expounding the contrary thesis, that he would not yield one tittle of these clear words. Without yielding his position, Zwingli cordially demanded that they come to a fraternal agreement.

After the conference had continued for three days, and a number of futile meetings had been held, it was decided, upon motion of the Landgrave, that at least a fraternal union, as desired by Zwingli, should be established. But Luther refused to accept the hand that was extended to him; for to him the existing theological differences about the Eucharist appeared prohibitive. When Zwingli pleaded for Christian charity, Luther was prepared to grant the request, provided it meant love of peace. He stuck to his oft-repeated declaration: "You have a spirit which differs from ours," perceiving and fearing the frank rationalism of Zwingli, and believing it was this spirit which induced Zwingli to regard the existing point of controversy as not so important as to become an obstacle to the union of both parties, and that eventually it would induce him to abandon all religion.

The Fifteen Articles of Marburg, personally composed by Luther, were to constitute a bulwark against the danger of infidelity, which he secretly feared.⁵⁶ Contrary to his expectations, however, they were accepted by the Swiss and Strasburg theologians. They expressed Luther's position relative to the Trinity, Christology, faith and justification, Baptism and private confession. A further article, superscribed, "On the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ," agrees with Zwingli in its negative aspect, namely, in its opposition to Catholicism; for it repudiates the reception of the Eucharist under one species and also the sacrifice of the Mass. This is followed by the vague declaration that "the Sacrament is a Sacrament of the true body and blood of Jesus Christ, and the spiritual reception of this same body and blood is necessary for every Christian." It states, furthermore, that "we all believe

⁵⁶ "Marburger Gespräch und Marburger Artikel," Weimar ed., Vol. XXX, III, pp. 110 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. LXV, pp. 88 sqq.

and maintain the custom of receiving the Sacrament, as it has been given and ordained by the Word of God, the Almighty, that the delicate consciences be thereby moved unto faith and love by the Holy Ghost." Thereupon the existing dissension relative to the doctrine of the Eucharist is expressly admitted and the necessity of charity (to a certain degree) is taught: "Although we have not at this time settled the question whether the true body and blood of Christ are corporeally in the bread and wine, nevertheless, Christian charity, to the extent that every one's conscience can tolerate, should be mutually manifested by both factions, who should diligently supplicate Almighty God to confirm us in the right understanding through His Spirit."

Thus the opponents separated, having settled nothing. In the practical field of the religious life the schism opened by the new theology grew proportionately wider. Fortunately for Germany, one good result came of this conference, namely, that the plan of an alliance against the Emperor and the Empire, as fostered by Zwingli and the Landgrave of Hesse, failed to materialize.

Although intimate union with the Swiss reformers was frustrated, the Zwinglian doctrines continued to make progress in a portion of Germany. In many parishes of the Swabian and Alemannic districts, there arose a powerful Zwinglian faction. The Swiss doctrine and idea of the Church, combined with the denudation of altars, the destruction of sacred images, and certain political projects, extended down the Rhine from Basle over Strasburg into the Netherlands.

In virtue of the attitude of Luther and his Elector, an alliance of the Upper German Zwinglians with the Wittenberg reformers became impossible. Nuremberg on the whole followed Luther, whereas Ulm expressly joined the so-called "Burgrecht" of Zurich. The result was dissension everywhere.

Luther looked in vain for another bridge to span the chasm. He caused the so-called Articles of Schwabach to be proposed to the towns of Upper Germany.⁵⁷ These articles had been drawn up by the theologians of Wittenberg in July or August, and were more or less opposed to the Zwinglians. On the sixteenth of October they were rejected by Strasburg and Ulm at a congress held in Schwabach

⁵⁷ Weimar ed., Vol. XXX, III, pp. 86 sqq.; Erl. ed., Vol. XXIV, 2nd ed., pp. 334 sqq. Cfr. H. v. Schubert in the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXIX (1918), pp. 342 sqq.

and likewise at a convention held at Schmalkalden on November 29. Landgrave Philip, whom Luther regarded with suspicion, oscillated between the two great factions of the new religion, whilst Zwingli hoped, through the mediation of the Landgrave, "to isolate Wittenberg and thus finally to make it agreeable to his plans."⁵⁸

7. PERSONAL EXPERIENCES. TEMPTATIONS

On his return to Wittenberg from the Marburg Conference, Luther, as he states in a letter to Link, was seized with grave spiritual afflictions and temptations at Torgau.⁵⁹ It is possible that the excitement experienced at Marburg and the sermons he preached on his homeward journey may have contributed to this state of soul. While he boasted of his victory over Zwingli, he fully and painfully realized the latter's obstinacy and the dangers that threatened his own doctrine. In addition, terrible accounts of Turkish aggressions tormented him. His heart, which once before, at Wittenberg, had caused him trouble, again became affected. He wrote to Link that he was scarcely able to reach Wittenberg, since Satan's angel had tormented him so that he despaired of being able to return to his own.

At Wittenberg his suffering continued. Whilst blaming the Turks to a great extent for his condition, he complained to his friend Amsdorf that they (the Turks) had been sent by God to chastise the blasphemous enemies of the gospel and to punish the people for their intolerable ingratitude towards him. He said he sensed their fury in the struggles of his soul, but with the aid of Christ hoped to overcome their god, the devil.⁶⁰ Only gradually a period of relative quiet assuaged him.

Previously, in July, 1527, Luther had survived an attack which had brought him to the verge of death. At that time his mental sufferings and self-reproaches were preceded and accompanied by fainting spells. Bugenhagen, who attended him and also heard his confession, wrote at the time that Luther's internal sufferings were comparable to the spiritual darkness "which is often mentioned in the descriptions of the infernal torments of the soul that occur in the Psalms"; they were more severe and dangerous than the mortal weak-

⁵⁸ G. Kawerau, *Reformation und Gegenreformation*, 3rd ed., p. 104.

⁵⁹ Letter of October 28, 1529, from Wittenberg; *Briefwechsel*, VII, pp. 179 sq.

⁶⁰ On October 19; *ibid.*, p. 173.

ness of the body. He adds that Luther had "been through a number of such attacks," although they were not all so severe. Luther himself at the time said to his confidant Jonas, that those who observed his exterior conduct were of the opinion that "he lay on a bed of roses, though God knew how it stood with him."⁶¹

In the language of Luther and his friends, those painful conditions are termed spiritual temptations (*tentationes spirituales*). We learn more about their nature by his frank epistolary communications during this period of severe internal struggles, through which he passed at the close of the year 1529, after a temporary surcease in July. These communications contain a vivid delineation of his despondent mood and his theological fears—they are the most melancholy chords of his entire life.

Undoubtedly his bitter experiences in connection with the visitation of Electoral Saxony, the irritating discussions between himself and Zwingli, the negotiations caused by the alleged papal conspiracy discovered by Pack, the dangerously arbitrary conduct of Philip of Hesse, the latter's violation of the public peace and his hostilities against Bamberg, Würzburg, and Mayence, were contributory causes. Above all, the pathological condition of his nerves and his irregular heart-action must be taken into consideration. When he was attacked by spells of weakness and fear, his physical infirmities would combine with the spiritual unrest caused by his reformatory efforts. His fears centered around such questions as: Why have you disturbed the peace of the Church? Are you sure that your cause is just? How will you account for the ruin of so many souls? The bright memories of his monastic days and of the happy hours he had spent within the Catholic Church simply would not subside. His fears, therefore, did not originate solely in his physical ailments; at least they were frequently present without any concomitant sense of illness, as he protested at times when they were most violent, that "as far as my physical condition is concerned, I find myself tolerably well"; or, "I feel well in body."

"For more than the whole of last week," he writes to Melanchthon on August 2, 1527, "I was tossed about in death and hell, so that I still tremble all over my body and am exhausted. Billows and tempests of despair and blasphemy assailed me, and I had lost Christ almost completely."

⁶¹ Cfr. Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. V, pp. 333 sqq.

He complains to his friends that he is suffering from the buffetings of the prince of this world, the devil, who would be avenged on him; that reason cannot comprehend how difficult it is to know that Christ is our justice; and that "he seeks or thirsts after naught else than a merciful God." Consequently, he had not yet found Him with an abiding certitude, notwithstanding the fact that when he apostatized, he based his entire doctrine and fight against the Church and the pope upon this supposed discovery.

"I am well in body; but as to how it stands with me in spirit I am not certain. . . . I seek only for a gracious Christ. . . . Satan wants to prevent me from writing [in behalf of the gospel], and to drag me down with him to hell. May Christ tread him under foot. Amen!"

"My Katie is strong in faith," he wrote at that time; but of himself he is constrained to say: "I am scarcely able to breathe because of tempests and despondency." He laments that pope and Emperor, princes and bishops, nay, the whole world assail him, including "Erasmus and the Sacramentarians." His very brethren torment him. In the words of St. Paul, he cries aloud: "Combats without, fears within" (2 Cor. VII, 5). By citing his favorite Biblical passages, he endeavored to fortify himself in his own doctrine; but he felt that the "prince of demons," who had risen against him, was "armed to the teeth with Biblical quotations, so that his own knowledge of Sacred Scripture vanished before him."

With foolhardy temerity he nevertheless forces the habitual notions of his own upon his conscience, lest he perish. "Christ, indeed, has become weak" (in him); nevertheless, he would "believe with firmness (*fortiter credo*) that his work was pleasing to the Lord."

What oppressed him most is the thought that Satan alone is active in the attacks upon his conscience; that he (Satan) assumes the form of Christ and decks himself out as an angel of light. Is it not probable that all his spasmodic imaginings of Satan concealed from him the just reproaches with which he accused himself? To him the voice of his conscience is the voice of Satan.

But this is not the place to penetrate more deeply into Luther's dismal mental struggles during those months. It was the most tempestuous period through which he had to pass. It approached its close at the beginning of 1528, but there were painful after-effects. "Blessed be my Christ," he says amid a sight of relief, "blessed in the midst of despair, death, and blasphemy. . . . It is my glory to have lived in the world in conformity with the will of Christ, forgetting the very wicked life of the past." The story of his sufferings reveals the extent to which an impetuous will is capable of torturing the

soul. Scarcely another man ever commanded such titanic forces as did Luther in his interior and exterior struggles.

An echo of his internal experiences is his famous hymn, "Ein' feste Burg" (A safe stronghold our God is still), which he composed in those days and which is still widely sung by his admirers, but properly understood only by a few. In its ponderous verses, expressive of the ardor of the battle which he at that time waged against the pope and the devil, against the "ancient evil one," he clung to the Christ of his Gospel: "But for us fights the proper Man, whom God Himself hath bidden. . . . And were this world all devils o'er . . . they cannot overpower us."⁶²

Towards the end of January, 1528, he declared to a confidant quite in his own fashion, relative to the Sacramentarians who annoyed him, that he was determined, in order to get rid of his fears still more effectively, "still further to provoke Satan, who was raging against him with the utmost fury."⁶³

In the middle of the same year he told another friend that it is always necessary, when temptations assail one, to exert oneself to the utmost against the devil, who is plainly to be discerned; and that "it is imperative to achieve salvation by blindly assuming as certain that all thoughts to the contrary are mere devil's treason."⁶⁴

From time to time, nevertheless, his writings and addresses reecho his lamentation of a "struggling conscience." He hears how the devil speaks through man: "It will not be easy for you to die." Yet, as time went on, his mental gymnastics increasingly overcame the reproaches of reason and conscience, aided by the distractions of his polemical life, the delirium of his successes, and the intoxicating eulogy of his friends.⁶⁵

His courage found a more worthy cause to display itself when, in mid-summer, a lingering disease, described as the plague (*Pest*), broke out in Wittenberg and the rest of Germany. The university was temporarily removed to Jena; many fled, but Luther and Bugenhagen, the local pastor, remained to administer spiritual consolation to the sick and the dying. The contagion also entered the former

⁶² See Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. V, pp. 549 sq., for the full text, and also Grisar, *Luthers Trutzlied "Ein' feste Burg"* (*Lutherstudien*, 1922, n. 4), pp. 14 sqq.

⁶³ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. V, p. 338. Letter to John Hess in Breslau, January 27, 1528 (*Briefwechsel*, VI, p. 199.)

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 338 sq.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, cfr. pp. 356 sqq.

monastery which was now his home. But he was not concerned about his own life. "Christ is here," he wrote to Spalatin, "so that we may not be alone; and He will be victorious." ⁶⁶ At that time he composed the little treatise, "Whether one May Flee from Death," ⁶⁷ intended to inspire courage. Pastors and preachers, such is his exhortation, ought to remain at their post, especially in such dire trouble, when the flock is more than ever in need of spiritual help.

Luther exhibited the same courage during the epidemic of the so-called "English sweat," a fever which broke out in Wittenberg and other cities in 1529. Again, in 1538 and 1539, he braved new outbreaks of the plague at Wittenberg, regarding perseverance as a duty imposed upon him by his office, which was watched by many with distrust. "God usually protects the ministers of His Word," he writes in 1538, "if one does not run in and out of the inns and lie in bed." ⁶⁸

Although many demands were made upon him, he willingly succored the suffering and the poor, aiding them as generously as his circumstances permitted. Thus he was able to say in a sermon to the people of Wittenberg that "he himself was poor, but the joy with which he utilized what had been given to him to satisfy his needs exceeded that with which the wealthy among them enjoyed their accumulated riches." At the same time he censured the avarice which he detected at Wittenberg. It was a theme to which he often reverted. He was not accustomed to seek comfort in the pleasures of the table. He loved simplicity in his domestic life no less than in his manners, conversation, and intercourse with men. In this respect he wished to be an example to those who were associated with him in his work. When not afflicted with melancholy, his familiarity and cordiality were a source of refreshment to his friends. He gladly displayed his characteristic humor, occasionally even in dark hours, in order to distract his mind. He speaks of this as a motive of his jovial talks.⁶⁹

It is not true that the scene of his conviviality was a tavern where he was wont to consort of an evening with his friends and pupils. The account in question is a fabrication. As a matter of fact Luther spent his evenings with his family, in the one-time monastery where,

⁶⁶ On August 19, 1527 (*Briefwechsel*, VI, p. 76.)

⁶⁷ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. IV, p. 272.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 272 sq.

⁶⁹ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. V, pp. 306 sqq.

with Catherine von Bora, he was usually surrounded by those who were associated with him in his work, pupils or newcomers.⁷⁰

Nor is it true that he drank to excess.⁷¹ The so-called fanatics, the Anabaptists, who were often strict in outward appearance, as well as misinformed Catholic opponents, propagated unconfirmed rumors to this effect. Some controversial writers discovered a pretext for these accusations in certain misunderstood utterances of his. But these critics overlooked the fact that their charges were based upon jocose speeches or innocent quips by a man who was not always cautious in his utterances. It is nowhere credibly reported that Luther was drunk, even though there is evidence to show that he imbibed rather freely, according to the prevailing German custom. He was not exactly a model of abstemiousness, but he severely censured the excesses of princes and courtiers. In theory he was undoubtedly too compliant when he permitted a "good drink" (which in those days meant a considerable quantity) in cases of depression of spirit due to evil reports, worries, and heavy thoughts in general, oppression owing to troubles and labor, temptations of the "devil" resulting from sorrow and despondency. In his opinion, sleeplessness and spiritual exhaustion alone were sufficient to justify a "good drink."⁷²

Mathesius, his pupil and eulogist, who was in many respects his mouthpiece, is even more indulgent. He says in one of his "wedding sermons" that one must have "a certain amount of patience" with those who sometimes, for a quite valid reason, "get a little tipsy" or "kick over the traces."⁷³

If Luther had been addicted to the use of wine and beer in an excessive manner, he would not have been able to develop his marvelous energy. A drunkard does not write books and pamphlets filled with serious and thought-provoking ideas with the ease and facility with which Luther composed his writings. Even the violent and indecorous controversial tracts of the later period of his life are not saturated with alcohol, as a Protestant writer in America has recently endeavored to demonstrate; but they evince the spirit of an infernal hatred which is to be adjudged pathological. The so-called "drunken doc-

⁷⁰ H. Grisar, "*Ein unterschobener Bericht*," etc., in *Ehrengabe für Herzog Johann Georg von Sachsen*, 1920, pp. 693-703.

⁷¹ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. III, pp. 294-318.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 310.

tor" (*doctor plenus*) must be obliterated from history. In passing it should be remarked that this description of himself, which was said to have been found in one of his letters, is based upon an incorrect reading.⁷⁴

The existence of natural children of Luther, with which ignorant polemicists of a former age frequently concerned themselves, is also unhistorical. Erasmus says in one of his letters that Catherine von Bora was confined a fortnight after her marriage with Luther. Subsequently he retracted this false rumor.⁷⁵ An alleged illegitimate child, called Andrew, born at a later date, proved to be Luther's nephew, Andrew Kaufmann. The maid servant in Luther's home, Rosina Truchsess, turned out to be an immoral woman, but there was not the least excuse for the gossip that Luther had sexual intercourse with her prior to his dismissing her in a fit of anger. The *adulter infans* (adulterine child) discovered in the controversial writings of Aurifaber (1569) is merely a printer's error for *alter infans* (the other child), as correctly printed in the edition of 1568.⁷⁶

History records that five children were born of Luther's union with Catherine von Bora: Hans, born June 7, 1526; Magdalen, born in 1529; Martin, born in 1531; Paul, born in 1533; and Margaret, born in 1534.

In mid-summer, 1525, Luther secretly sheltered among his guests in the Black Monastery, his former friend and Wittenberg associate, Andrew Karlstadt, who had become his bitter enemy. This was a pleasant trait of his character. After the unfortunate issue of the Peasants' War, in which Karlstadt was accused of having participated in virtue of his sermons in Rothenburg ob der Tauber, he lacked the necessities of life and now solicited Luther's aid at any price, prepared to suffer any kind of humiliation. He was willing to keep silence with regard to his own special doctrines and to work for a living, provided he was permitted to return to the Electorate of Saxony. Luther was prepared to intercede for him with his sovereign. Karlstadt came to visit him and secretly spent several weeks in the former monastery. For a time not even Catherine was aware of

⁷⁴ H. Grisar in *Histor. Jahrbuch*, XXXIX (1919-20), pp. 496-500; cfr. *Luther*, Vol. III, pp. 316 sq.

⁷⁵ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. II, pp. 187 sq.

⁷⁶ Op. cit., Vol. III, pp. 280 sq.

his presence. Only Luther's servant Wolf Sieberger had been initiated into the secret and daily brought food to Karlstadt. After Luther had obtained from him a forced declaration concerning his teaching on the Last Supper, he interceded with the Elector John, who gave Karlstadt permission to remain in his Electorate.⁷⁷

After residing at various places, Karlstadt betook himself to Kemberg, where he labored as a peasant and kept a small shop. Luther published several new tracts against this backslider; whereupon he evaded arrest in October, 1529, by fleeing from the Electorate of Saxony to Holstein, where he joined the Anabaptist Melchior Hoffmann, with whom he went to East Frisia. This vacillating man is next found in Strasburg, then in Zurich with Zwingli, and finally in Basle, where he joined the Zwinglians as a teacher in the theological faculty, though still persevering in his peculiar opinions, and completely at odds with Luther.

8. CATHOLIC APOLOGETICS AGAINST LUTHER

The attack on the ancient Church summoned to her defense a great host of writers, among whom were many illustrious minds. The number of theologians, preachers, secular and regular clerics, and laymen who wielded the pen in defense of the Church is surprisingly great. Naturally not all their writings are valuable. The products of the trained theologians transcend the works of mere preachers or occasional writers. Many of these productions bear the stamp of haste, the ephemeral polemics of the day, and the heat of battle; but not a few possess permanent scientific and historical interest.

Unfortunately, it is a fact that this literature has not been sufficiently noted, or at least not properly esteemed in its ensemble,⁷⁸ though, on the other hand, it labored too much under the influence of contention and lacked unity and organization in its development. Even to-day, it is often hardly possible to discover the most telling achievements. The odiousness, moreover, with which the Protestant partisans criticized these writings, lay as a heavy weight upon them. In consequence of the disparagement with which these Catholic authors were treated by the victoriously advancing reform move-

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 388. Barge, Karlstadt, Vol. II, pp. 369 sqq., treats extensively of this incident and the sequel.

⁷⁸ In G. Wolfs *Quellenkunde der deutschen Reformationsgeschichte* (II, ii, 1922, pp. 206 sqq.) the seventh section: "Die katholischen Gegner," is unduly abbreviated.

ment, it became customary to detect in them impotence of language as contrasted with the fiery eloquence of a Luther, or intellectual poverty in comparison with the bright flashes of his wit. It is true that the recklessness of Luther's language, by which he enthused the masses, was lacking in the replies of those who defended the Catholic Church. They do not possess the tempestuous force of the Wittenberg reformer. In that tempest Luther alone was endowed with an epochal linguistic talent far outdistancing in this respect even his own followers.

In recent times a more appreciative estimate of the Catholic apologists of the Reformation period has gained ground. The general progress of objective historical research has contributed to this, as well as numerous special studies, such as those of the scholarly Dr. Nicholas Paulus. It has been aided particularly by the labors embodied in the monumental *Corpus Catholicorum*, a collection of reprints intended to unite all those old publications in a critical edition.

A more diligent study of these writings has revealed various excellences possessed by many of the apologists of the old theology and the rights of the Church. Versatility and brilliancy preponderate in a surprising degree in the works of Jerome Emser, secretary to Duke George of Saxony. Extensive reading and circumspection dominate the writings of the cathedral canon, John Cochlaeus. Sincerity, directness, and acumen characterize John Eck, the professor of theology. Dignity, nay, even a certain solemnity, are the marks of John Faber, bishop of Vienna. Ingenious, though occasionally unrefined, humor is discoverable in the writings of Thomas Murner, the popular Franciscan. Theological and religious austerity characterize the works of the Dominican Jacob von Hochstraten. Erasmus, who originally inclined towards Luther, in his subsequent controversial writings shows great intellectual power and abounds in satire. These seven men form a constellation of polemical writers around whom many other able and distinguished defenders of the Church grouped themselves.

It was no easy resolve, but rather a certain risk for these men to rise in opposition to the powerful Luther, or to resist the religious revolt in general. These writers could expect no appreciation at the hands of their opponents, but only derision and contempt.

This was particularly the case when Luther took notice of them. He loaded them with opprobrium and often horribly distorted their teachings.

"I despise the opposition," he says, "and regard them as downright fools." His adherents imitated his tactics.⁷⁹ In the event that an opponent of his achieved prominence, he was liable to be depicted as a beast in the cartoons and pamphlets of the opposition. Thus Emser was represented as a goat, Cochlæus as an ass and a snail, Murner as a cat, Lemp as a dog. Luther and his supporters accused the apologists of the Church that deep down in their hearts they were convinced of the untruth of their own writings and the justice of his cause; that they wrote as they did because they were friends of the papacy or expected a liberal reward. If these accusations failed to dissuade a courageous writer from his undertaking, he encountered difficulties in procuring a publisher for his writings, as is evidenced, for example, by the case of Cochlæus, who made indefatigable efforts to maintain at least two efficient Catholic printing presses. The reformed or religiously indifferent publishers literally flooded the market. What they were after was profit. Their production brought a good return in money, whereas Catholic books and pamphlets were not acceptable to the colporteurs who traveled through the country selling popular literature. Royalties as a rule were paid by neither party. The Catholic apologists were confronted with the additional disadvantage of insufficient material support on the part of the bishops, who were mostly remiss in this respect, and by the absence of any stimulus for the work that was so urgently needed.

If, despite these hindrances, a noteworthy and timely literature was provided in defense of the Church, this fact was due to disinterested zeal for the cause. Timely above all else were the recommendations made by Catholic writers for a reform of the internal conditions of the Church. Correctly sensing the need of the age, many popular writers, whilst combating the new evangelical liberties, endeavored at the same time to bring about a genuine reform of the morals of clergy and laity. In reply to the criticisms of their opponents, they unhesitatingly acknowledged the prevalence of abuses in the Church. In many instances, effective notice of these evils was taken only as a result of public criticism. Thus many Catholics admitted that Lutheranism furnished the occasion for perfecting catechetical instruction. For this reason the apologists of the time also exposed without fear or favor the moral decadence which everywhere accompanied the religious revolt. In forceful language they demonstrated the fatal social consequences of the new gospel, especially on the occasion of the Peasants' War.

The defenders of the Church were benefited by the labors of the

⁷⁹ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. III, p. 172.

theologians, which were often truly profound. They illustrated topics which had hitherto been but inadequately treated, such as the Church and her authority, the papacy as the center of unity, etc. The greatest services in this regard were rendered by Cajetan de Vio. Other Italians, such as Catharinus, as well as Germans, Frenchmen, and Englishmen, followed his example. The foundations were laid for the development of the theology of the Council of Trent and of the flourishing post-Tridentine period *in re* justification and grace. The apologists also discussed Biblical questions more freely than before. This change of tactics was necessitated by the Lutheran principle that the Bible was the sole source of faith, and by the popularity of Luther's German translation of the Bible. As a consequence, several new translations were made, such as those of Emser, Dietenberger and Dr. Eck. Luther himself declared: "I have driven them to the Bible."⁸⁰

In general, the tone and style of these Catholic controversial writings is moderate and convincing, free from the excesses of the opposition. Not as though the indignation of the Catholic apologists did not occasionally flare forth in their writings, as when, e.g., they saw how ecclesiastical institutions and doctrines, with which they had been acquainted since their youth, were subjected to monstrous distortion. In their replies, however, they did not employ the rude style of Luther, not even when, for instance, they, as cloistered religious, defended their state of life against his vile book "On Monastic Vows," or when, as priests, they undertook to defend the most sacred thing in their religion, the holy sacrifice of the Mass, against scandalous defamation.

Many are strikingly calm and conciliatory in their writings. This is true, especially at the beginning of the controversy, of certain Franciscans who had been well educated in the humanities. John Findling, whose Hellenized name was Apobolymaeus, in 1521 published a "Warning" to Luther, in which he addresses him as "dearest friend" and refuses to characterize him as a heretic, although the papal condemnation had already been issued. He challenges Luther's divine mission because of his unheard-of and hostile revolt—of course without any prospect of influencing the reformer.⁸¹ Such works were inspired by the laudable intention of not wishing to aggravate matters, and also by a certain narrowness of view. The basic sentiment under-

⁸⁰ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. VI, pp. 432 sqq.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 171 sq.

lying Humanism, which was very pronounced among the learned and which particularly animated Erasmus, proved to be harmful.

Other apologists move more freely, for instance, the accomplished, energetic Franciscan Caspar Schatzgeyer, a model of moderation combined with correctness and vigor. He was the most prominent defender of monastic life in southern Germany. At the time of his death, which occurred in Munich, in 1527, he had composed more than twenty works, most of which are excellent.

One of the grievances against Luther which pervades the works of the Catholic apologists is his obstinate mendacity. They style him a father of falsehood and a gross calumniator, sustaining this severe indictment by many facts. Nearly all of them hold that the ex-monk of Wittenberg is completely under the dominance of the devil, the father of lies. Some of the most daring among them, in speaking of the demoniacal traits in Luther's character, insinuate that his is a case of diabolical possession. It was their persistent belief that his obstinacy and uncanny dexterity in inventing constantly new attacks could not be explained except on the assumption that he was in league with Satan. John Dietenberger, a learned Dominican, author of a catechism and other works, calls Luther "the devil's hired messenger" and says that "here everything reeks of devils; nothing that the devilish man writes can stand without the devil, who endevils all his products."⁸² The erudite and moderate Willibald Pirkheimer of Nuremberg writes in a letter, in 1529: "Luther seems to have gone quite mad, or to be agitated by some wicked demon." Elsewhere this author cites more than a dozen passages from varied contemporary writings, which speak of a diabolic activity on the part of Luther.⁸³ Luther himself gave occasion to the formation of such charges, among other actions by such unintelligible performances as his alleged disputation with the devil concerning the Mass. The general propensity of the time to discover a special intervention of Satan in extraordinary phenomena undoubtedly contributed to the formation of the afore-mentioned accusations. Cochlæus traces them to certain idiosyncrasies of Luther shown when he was a young friar.

Elsewhere—first of all, so far as we know, in the writings of the former Dominican, Peter Sylvius (who was, by the way a very ordinary writer)—this contention of Satanic intervention is expanded into

⁸² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 355.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

the fiction, founded on fabulous narratives, that the devil himself had begot Luther. This senseless babble was propagated by other writers.⁸⁴ In general, distortions caused by the readily accepted false legends about Luther, crept into the writings of lesser, nay, at times, even of major authors. One of the most common of them concerns his alleged drunkenness. This story plays its part both at home and abroad. Thus, in Italy, the Dominican theologian Catharinus expatiates at length on the inebriety of the religious reformer of the North. Other authors, in view of the uncertain rumors which were spread by the Anabaptists and other fanatics, write more objectively. The learned Cardinal Cajetan, for instance, prefers to clarify the questions at issue, without attacking the person or character of his opponent, with whom he had become sufficiently acquainted at Augsburg.

Only a few of those who discuss Luther's character intimate that he was abnormal in thought and sentiment. His nervous malady and its influence upon his mental life were naturally hidden to the controversialists. Men at that time were not interested in such observations. The keenly penetrating mind of Erasmus, who was kept informed by humanistic acquaintances of Luther, was ahead of his contemporaries in this respect. In his controversial works, "Hyperaspistes" (1526) and "Purgatio" (1534), and also in his letters, he calls attention to this aspect of Luther's nature,⁸⁵ though in his unrefined language he at times goes too far. He states that Luther is mentally deranged in various ways, imputes mental and emotional aberrations to him (*insanus, lymphaticus, non sobrius, febricitans, temulentus, sine mente, delirus*, etc.). On one occasion he appraises him as follows: "In writing thus, Luther, abandoned by the spirit, he is not himself active, but there is active within him another spirit with his diatribes."⁸⁶ Pirkheimer would not offer an opinion as to whether Luther was "demented or actuated by an evil demon." As early as 1524 John Clichovaeus describes the mental state of the ex-monk as "drunkenness or demoniacal possession." In 1522, the gentle Schatzgeyer is impelled to use almost similar terms. The phenomenon was inexplicable to him

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 356, 358.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*: "Quis non videt, haec sine mente scribi, nec agere Lutherum, quum haec scribit, sed agi spiritu quodam maledicentiae?"

and therefore the admixture of falsehoods and exaggerations in the delineation of Luther's character is excusable.

The Catholics but rarely employed cartoons in combating Luther. Their efforts in this direction are lacking in those captivating and mordant elements which Luther did not shrink from applying in his polemical cartoons. These are very vulgar in many respects, and it is evident that the Catholic controversialists preferred to avoid such indecencies on moral grounds. But they also lacked experienced artists of the kind the reformers had in the person of Luther's friend, Lucas Cranach, and others who espoused their cause. Thus, while the well-known effigy of *Lutherus septiceps* (the seven-headed Luther) by John Cochlaeus is based upon a sound idea, *viz.*, to illustrate in graphic fashion the contradictions of Luther and his vacillating attitudes, the artistic representation is very defective and illustrates the impossibility of tolerably representing a human being with seven heads.

In a rapid review of the most prominent protagonists and defenders of the Catholic cause up to about 1520, the names of Eck, Cochlaeus, and Faber must occupy a prominent place.

Dr. John Eck was such a prolific writer that he wrote thirteen short treatises on the religious questions of the day in 1518 and 1519. He combated not only the doctrines of Luther, but subsequently also those of Zwingli. On sundry journeys to Rome he acted as adviser to the popes. As professor of theology at Ingolstadt he founded there a veritable centre for the preservation of the faith. His incessant and prolific literary activity was interrupted only by his pastoral labors. He also achieved distinction as a powerful preacher. After his victory in the disputation at Leipsic, he celebrated a great triumph in 1526 at Baden (Switzerland) when he triumphantly defended the Catholic teaching on the Eucharist in a disputation with the Zwinglians. With a genuine mastery of the subject, he expounded the doctrine of papal primacy in the first of his major works, which appeared in 1520. In a second treatise, published in 1522, Dr. Eck set forth the Catholic practice of penance and confession. He discussed other leading points of the religious controversy in his writings on Purgatory (1523), on the Sacrifice of the Mass (1526), and on the monastic vows (1527). In 1530-1531 he began the publication of his exposition of the Gospels, originally in three parts, a work which achieved great practical results.

The most widely spread of his writings was his excellent and practical "Enchiridion against the Lutherans," a handy synopsis of all the questions at issue, with a concise refutation of errors, accompanied by citations from the Bible, the Church councils, and the Fathers. It was an armory (*armamentarium*, as he himself calls it) against the heretics. No one combined such indefatigable activity with such practical insight and such a forceful style as this Bavarian scholar, whom Luther feared and endeavored to ridicule by applying to him epithets like Dr. Geck (German for coxcomb) and Dr. Saueck (German for sow's comber).⁸⁷

John Cochlaeus, small of stature, but very active—styled the "puppet" in Luther's circle—was a native of Wendelstein near Schwabach (whence the name Cochlaeus). As a humanist he had composed some serviceable text-books.⁸⁸ While still a dean at the cathedral of Our Lady at Frankfort on the Main, he was undecided what attitude to take toward Luther, but after 1520 openly opposed him. In 1526 he went to Mayence as a canon of Archbishop Albrecht. Upon the demise of Jerome Emser, in 1528, he obtained the influential position of secretary to Duke George at the court of Dresden, which he held until the latter's death, in 1539. The writings of this industrious and self-sacrificing man number 202 distinct titles. They are noted for their extensive learning and ready wit and, after the death of Eck, advanced him to first place among the defenders of the ancient faith. They are less conspicuous for theological depth. Luther made but one reply to Cochlaeus, whose criticism proved very annoying to him, and then chose to observe silence. The work to which Luther replied was the first published by Cochlaeus. It bore the title, "De Gratia Sacramentorum," and appeared in 1522.⁸⁹ Other products of his pen appeared in rapid succession, among them one in which the author, inspired by patriotic motives, deplores the condition of Germany caused by the religious controversy. His "Seven-headed Luther" bore the sub-title: "Luther everywhere in contradiction with himself," and was published in Latin and German; it decisively influenced many of those who still floundered in doubt.⁹⁰

John Faber, a native of Leutkirch in the Allgäu, was frequently

⁸⁷ Cfr. Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. VI, Index s. v. "Eck."

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, s. v. "Cochlaeus."

⁸⁹ Luther's Reply was entitled: *Adversus Armatum Virum Cochlaeum*.

⁹⁰ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. IV, pp. 380 sqq.

mistaken for the Dominican writer John Faber of Heilbronn and for John Faber of Augsburg. He was a secular priest and originally assumed an attitude towards the religious innovation which resembled that of Erasmus. Subsequently, however, he initiated a great movement against Lutheranism by his work "Against Certain New Doctrines of Martin Luther" (1522) and his "Hammer against the Lutheran Heresy," which appeared in 1524. He, too, occupied himself, and that most effectively, with the contradictions in Luther's writings, to which he devoted his "Antilogies" of 1530. In the interim he composed other works on the burning questions of the day. As vicar-general of the bishop of Constance, Faber participated with his friend Eck in the religious conference against Zwinglianism which was held in Baden in 1526. In 1527, Archduke Ferdinand sent him on important politico-ecclesiastical missions to Spain and England. In 1528 this prince recalled him to Vienna, where he was to raise the religious consciousness of the university and to oppose the spread of Lutheranism in Austria. In 1530, at the urgent request of Clement VII, he took over the vacant episcopal see of Vienna.⁹¹

The Dominican John Faber, incidentally mentioned above, was surnamed "Augustanus" (a native of Augsburg), because Augsburg was his native city and for many years the scene of his activities. He was an erudite scholar whose mentality closely resembled that of Erasmus. Towards the close of the year 1520 he wrote a pamphlet ("Ratschlag") in which he judged Luther far too favorably. After the appearance of the latter's book on the "Babylonian Captivity," he decidedly changed his views, severed his connection with the Humanist party, and combated the new theology in his sermons at Augsburg so courageously that he was driven out of the city in 1525. He died abroad in 1530, a victim of his incessant labors.⁹²

Faber of Augsburg had been vicar-general of the Dominican Congregation of Upper Germany, which had seceded from the more numerous body of "Observantines" of the same Order, who were subject to the jurisdiction of separate provincials. This Congregation of the Dominicans flourished side by side with the Saxon and Upper German provinces of the same Order. All three of these great

⁹¹ Concerning Bishop John Faber, see Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. VI, Index, s. v.

⁹² Cfr. N. Paulus, *Die deutschen Dominikaner im Kampfe gegen Luther*, p. 292. This substantial and careful monograph also provides more particular information relative to the following defenders of the faith.

bodies produced many learned and enthusiastic defenders of the Catholic religion. The Order of St. Dominic, who had made the defense of the faith a special object of his foundation, shared with the Franciscans the leadership in the contest against Luther.

In the Saxon province of the Dominicans, two men achieved distinction by raising their voices against the Lutheran innovation. They were: John Mensing, a versatile theologian and author, preacher at Magdeburg and Dessau, afterwards preacher and professor at Frankfort on the Oder, and finally auxiliary bishop of Halberstadt; and Peter Rauch, likewise an able protagonist of Catholicism in the pulpit and by means of his pen, who died as auxiliary bishop of Bamberg.

The Upper German province of the Dominican Order, on its part, was proud of Jacob Hochstraten of Brabant, professor, prior, and inquisitor at Cologne. His first work against Luther, entitled, "Conversations with St. Augustine," which appeared in 1521-22, demonstrated that, in virtue of his Scholastic training, he had a more correct and penetrating insight into the errors of Luther than many other contemporary Catholic scholars. His "Conversations" at the same time reveal a comprehensive knowledge of the writings of St. Augustine, the Doctor of the Church, whose utterances he contrasts with the teachings of Luther. The "Conversations" were followed by treatises on the veneration of the saints, Purgatory, Christian liberty, and, finally, on justification and good works. They were composed in a style which at times lacked due moderation. When Hochstraten died, in 1527, the hatred of his enemies pursued him. They charged that he had died amid tortures of conscience, having realized that he had defended error—a calumny which was meted out to a large number of Catholic apologists.

Conrad Köllin, a member of the same province, was a professor at Cologne, celebrated for his knowledge of the writings of St. Thomas of Aquin. Among other theses, he defended the doctrinal infallibility of the pope, the indirect authority of the latter over temporal matters, and the right of resistance to tyrannical rulers. In 1527 he published a ponderous and rather mordant refutation of Luther's doctrine of matrimony. Luther had denounced the Dominicans of the University of Cologne as asses, dogs, and swine.

Ambrose Pelargus of Hesse, John Fabri of Heilbronn, Bartholomew Kleindienst of Annaberg, John Dietenberger, a native of Frank-

fort on the Main, and Michael Vehe of Biberach were members of the same Dominican province. Dietenberger was the author of an excellent catechism. He also translated the Bible and composed about fifteen controversial works, which are noted for their learning and acumen. They place their author in the first rank of the Dominican champions of the faith. He labored chiefly in Frankfort on the Main, in Treves, and in Koblenz. His works, composed exclusively in German, are written in a plain and fluent style, whereas many other controversialists of the time, less practiced in the use of their mother-tongue, wrote ponderously in Latin.

Michael John Vehe labored in the service of Archbishop Albrecht of Brandenburg. After the diet of Augsburg, he was appointed by the archbishop a member of the "Neues Stift" of Halle, of which he subsequently became provost. In 1531 he published an excellent treatise on the "Reception of the Blessed Sacrament under One Species." It was composed in good German.

Next to the Dominicans, the Franciscans were represented by a gallant host of apologists of the Church. At the close of the Middle Ages, an energetic spirit of religious reform, sprung from the bosom of this Order, had made its influence felt throughout Germany. Life within the monasteries of the Poor Man of Assisi, as described by John Eberlin, a Franciscan who had apostatized to Lutheranism, was very edifying, characterized by penance, prayer, and zeal for souls.⁹³ Eberlin makes only one, and that a curious, complaint, namely, that "the devil artfully uses their piety in order to corrupt humanity with a false religion." The example of good monastic discipline alone was a defense against the religious innovation—a brilliant refutation of the Lutheran attack upon Catholic morality. This practical defense was seconded by the writings and sermons of excellent and learned religious.

The Franciscan Augustine Alfeld, for example, entered the lists at Leipsic, in the beginning of the religious controversy, with his work "Super Apostolica Sede." Owing to his clear insight, he at once made the question of the primacy of the Roman see the central point of controversy. His industrious and popular pen produced fifteen Latin and German works, the style of the latter being superior to that of the former, "remarkable alike for vigor and fervor."⁹⁴ Caspar

⁹³ Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. II, pp. 128 sq.

⁹⁴ Thus L. Lemmens, O. S. Fr., in his monograph *Pater Aug. v. Alfeld* (1899), p. 99.

Schatzgeyer, provincial of the Upper German province of the Franciscan Observantines, was another capable writer whose works enjoyed even greater popularity. Thomas Murner, John Findling and Conrad Kling were members of the same Order, as were also Nicholas Ferber of Herborn, who labored with success in Hesse and Cologne; John Wild (Ferus), a preacher and writer at Mayence, and many other apologists and controversialists.

Of the Augustinian Order we shall only mention Bartholomew Usingen (Arnoldi), Luther's one-time teacher, and Konrad Träger. The learned Nicholas Ellenbog of Ottobeuren was a member of the Benedictine Order, and Paul Bachmann belonged to that of the Cistercians.

Certain converts who excelled in writing, among them Vitus Amerbach, Theobald Billican, and later George Witzel, constituted a special and very remarkable phalanx of apologists.

A great number of secular priests, besides those already mentioned, deserve recognition for their apologetic labors in the academic spheres and in the pulpit. Let us but mention Jerome Dungersheim of Leipzig, Ottmar Luscinius (Nachtingall) of Augsburg, and Konrad Wimpina, the soul of the newly-founded university of Frankfort on the Oder. An idea of the great number of German authors who wrote prior to the commencement of the Council of Trent, may be formed when it is recalled that the learned historian F. Falk published the names of 105 such writers in the *Katholik*, in 1891, and Nicholas Paulus, writing in 1892 and 1893, supplemented this list by the addition of 161 names of writers, without making any claim to completeness.⁹⁵ Who knows how many wavering souls were brought back to the Church, or confirmed in the faith, through the efforts of these apologists! That German Catholicism laid down its arms and surrendered to Luther is an assertion which, at the present time, can be attributed only to ignorance.

Non-German countries also furnished quite a number of defenders of the faith, some of whom were very brilliant. Thus, in the Netherlands, Jacob Latomus (Masson) of the University of Louvain was very active in opposing Luther as early as 1518, and again in 1525, when his work "De Primitu" appeared. Luther regarded him as superior to all his other opponents, including Erasmus, who, he

⁹⁵ *Katholik*, 1891, Vol. 71, pp. 450 sqq. (Falk); 1892, Vol. 72, pp. 545 sqq.; 1893, Vol. 73, pp. 213 sqq. (Paulus).

said, in comparison with Latomus, could only croak. In France, Jodocus Clichtovaeus, of the Paris Sorbonne, achieved celebrity by his "Antilutherus" (1524) and his "Propugnaculum Ecclesiae adversus Lutheranos (1526)," etc. In England the apologetical writings of King Henry VIII and his famous chancellor, Sir Thomas More, as well as those of John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, published in 1523, 1525, etc., were preëminent. More and Fisher sealed their opposition to the subsequent schism of Henry VIII with their blood and to-day are honored by the Church as martyrs to the faith. The "Italian Opponents of Luther," according to Frederick Lauchert, who published a monograph on this subject in 1912, comprised no less than sixty-six scholars, beginning with Sylvester Prierias, Ambrosius Catharinus, Thomas Cajetan, and Thomas Radinus, who rose in opposition to Luther during the period preceding the Tridentine Council.

9. FURTHER SPREAD OF THE RELIGIOUS REVOLT

Unmindful of refutations, the new doctrine extended its conquests under the influence of a false evangelical liberty and through the forceful intervention of the secular authorities.

In the city of Braunschweig (Brunswick), Bugenhagen, in the spring of 1528, endeavored to strengthen the Lutheran religion, which had been introduced there by the magistrate. The magistrate of Hamburg forthwith summoned him to the latter city to accomplish the same object in the summer of 1529; after a period of intensive organization, he returned to Wittenberg, where Luther, notwithstanding his multifarious labors, had discharged the pastoral duties in place of Bugenhagen. At the solicitation of the town-council of Goslar, Amsdorf, while passing through Magdeburg, where he held a position as preacher, went to Goslar in the same capacity. Luther's messengers had been originally banished from Lübeck, until the magistrate of that town recalled them. In January, 1530, Luther exhorted them to proceed with courage as well as caution.

In Hesse and electoral Saxony, no less than in Nuremberg, Ulm, and Strasburg, Protestantism spread rapidly under the protection of the defensive League formed by the princes and rulers after the protestation of Spires. Ferdinand, the representative of the Emperor, was authorized by a law of the Empire to avenge by force of arms the manifest civil insubordination revealed in the progress of the new the-

ology and the League. But nothing was done. Luther was content to issue a warning against the League, which had allied itself, in part, with Zwinglian elements; he also characterized the rebellion as a misfortune.⁹⁶

In Pomerania, Lutheranism gradually gained ground under the patronage of Duke Barnim XI, who had studied at Wittenberg and remained in communication with Luther.

Paul Speratus, who, having been condemned to the stake at Iglau because he had preached the new religion in Austria, was pardoned and became preacher at the court of Duke Albrecht of Prussia at Königsberg, and later (1530) so-called bishop of Pomesania, where he indefatigably preached the new gospel and combatted the Anabaptists and Schwenckfeldians.

In the electorate of Brandenburg, Joachim I, the elector, vigorously excluded Lutheranism from his jurisdiction. His wife, Elizabeth, who had been captivated by the new theology, secretly escaped from Berlin to Torgau, and thence to the vicinity of Luther, who called her his "Madam Godmother." After the death of the vacillating Margrave Casimir, in 1527, the Frankish-Brandenburgian territory was openly Protestantized by his successor, George, who, residing in Franconia, became one of the most active and influential Protestant princes.

Several times Luther communicated directly with the adherents of the new theology in Livonia, which was subject to the Teutonic Order. Thus, in 1523 and again 1524, he addressed letters to the Christians of Riga. In 1525 he wrote an epistle "to the Livonians." In 1525, the inhabitants of Danzig requested him to send them a preacher. The movement was impetuous, but was suppressed for the time being by the King of Poland.

In July, 1527, Gustavus Wasa forcibly introduced the new religion into the kingdom of Sweden; in doing so, he was "essentially influenced by political motives."⁹⁷

In Denmark, Christian II, who at that time also governed Sweden, had favored Lutheranism for political reasons, because he feared the influence of the Catholic clergy. Having been banished to Germany, he entered upon intimate relations with Luther. The latter, owing to

⁹⁶ Cf. Erl. ed., Vol. LIV, pp. 72 and 79 (*Briefwechsel*, VII, pp. 101 and 110), on May 22 and at the end of May, 1529. But see *infra* ch. XIV, no. 1; furthermore, Köstlin-Kawerau, *M. Luther*, Vol. II, p. 184, and Grisar, *Luther*, Vol. III, pp. 44 sq., on Luther's vacillating attitude relative to armed resistance.

⁹⁷ Thus Köstlin-Kawerau, *M. Luther*, Vol. I, p. 625.

his ignorance of human nature and because he hoped for a change in religion, supported him; however, Christian was not concerned with religion, but solely with the recovery of his crown. His successor in Denmark, King Frederick, was sincerely attached to the theological innovation, which, however, triumphed only during the reign of the despotic Christian III.

On the basis of certain premature reports concerning Italy, which he had received from Gabriel Zwilling of Torgau, Luther wrote to him on March 7, 1528: "I am delighted to hear that the Venetians have accepted the Word of God."⁹⁸ In this instance, as in the case of Christian II of Denmark, he deceived himself. For though the writings of Luther had penetrated Venice, and Italy in general, there was but a slight movement in favor of his cause. In Italy as well as in Spain, the sharp-sighted Inquisition took precautions to prevent the propagation of the new anti-ecclesiastical ideas.

⁹⁸ *Briefwechsel*, VI, p. 222.

CHAPTER XIII

THE DIET OF AUGSBURG (1530) AND LUTHER AT COBURG CASTLE

I. THE DIET OF AUGSBURG

Emperor Charles V was finally able to set out on his journey to Germany, for which the German Catholics had ardently longed. The treaty of Barcelona with the pope, and the treaty of Cambrai with Francis, king of France, had opened the way for him.

On January 21, 1530, shortly before his coronation as emperor, Charles published at Bologna the convocation of the imperial diet at Augsburg, in which he himself intended to take an active part. It was his wish that the diet should remove—peaceably, if possible—the grounds for the religious controversy which filled him with anxiety. It was the intention of this zealous Catholic ruler, sincerely to adopt the ways of kindness and to effect an arrangement by peaceful methods. For this reason the convocation adopted a conciliatory tone and assured the Protestants that they would be given a hearing.

The Emperor's brother, Ferdinand, journeyed to the Brenner in Tyrol, to meet Charles as the latter was coming from Italy. At Gries, on the northern declivity of the mountain, there is a monumental inscription marking the spot where the brothers embraced each other. Charles was depressed by Ferdinand's report of the existing conditions. Nevertheless, on June 15, the high-minded Emperor hopefully entered the city of Augsburg.

This ancient free city on the Lech, a flourishing center of art and commerce, still retained its venerable towered walls with moats and gates. Inside were the homes of the wealthy and comfortably situated patricians, and lofty, antique buildings, conspicuous among them the palace of the bishop and the splendid town-hall, where the sessions of the diet were to be held. Both have since been either replaced by other structures or completely remodeled. The banking house of the Fuggers, which had been established ten years before, still exists, a vivid reminder of the great commercial firm which once dominated inter-