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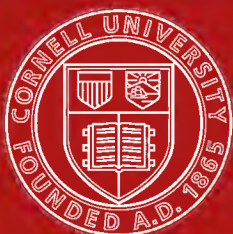
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Luther and Lutherdom

From Original Sources
by
HEINRICH DENIFLE

Translated from the **Second Revised Edition** of the German
by
RAYMUND VOLZ

VOL. I., PART I.

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Foreword to the Second Edition

of the First Half of the First Volume

Contrary to expectation, I had early to see to the elaboration of a new edition of the first volume of my work, at a time in which I had thought it necessary to be busied with the completion of the second volume. Since from the beginning—I emphasize this at the outset advisedly, to clip the claws of false rumors and to tranquilize certain anxious politicians—I *had no intention of putting forth an “incendiary work” among the people, but rather in plain, unbedecked honesty sought to write a book for the learned*, I supposed and said openly that it was likely to be a long time before the edition was exhausted. The result was to be otherwise. Thanks to the equally eager interest with which Catholics and Protestants alike hailed my research and its subject, the first edition ran out within a month.

The turn of the controversy for and against my book has made a repetition of the preface to the first edition superfluous. It is enough for once to have made clear the fact, and from the scientific point of view to have entered a protest against it, that hitherto, on the Protestant side, methods in handling Luther and his historical appearance, and in treating the Catholic Church, yea, *Christ Himself and Christianity*, have been entirely diverse. But Protestants are not the first to play this game. The Donatists did the same thing, giving St. Augustine occasion to say: “The Donatists have Donatus instead of Christ. If they hear some pagan defaming Christ, they probably suffer it more patiently than if they hear him

defaming Donatus."¹ Protestant professors could and can still treat of Christ quite according to their pleasure. Unmolested they can degrade Him to the level of a mere man. But there must be no jolting of Luther. In the measure in which Christ is abased, in the same measure is Luther ever exalted and glorified.

It still remains only too true that, on the side of Protestants, in their instructions and elsewhere, Catholic doctrine and establishments are systematically distorted. It was this melancholy fact that lent to my pen the sharp tone which was taken so ill in my preface. In these prudish times, however, it is worth while sparing the weak nerves of many a reader, all the more so as the *facts anyhow speak loudly enough* of themselves. The very reception of my book again confirms, in classic fashion, the uncritical, indiscriminating partisanship of by far the greater part of our opponents.

The monstrous uproar, by which they put themselves quite out of countenance, the endless abuse and unproved assertions with which their press and their backers but ill concealed their inner embarrassment and anxiety, the means to which they had recourse, and the instincts to which they appealed in their readers, illustrate clearly enough how wholly assumptive those periodicals and savants, so given to proclaiming the liberty of science, can become in such questions. But it does not hurt them. Like Luther and his fellows, they can go their own gait. They know that the more blindly they rage against my book, the more esteemed they stand among their co-religionists. Because perpetrated in the warfare against it, the greatest blunders² on their part are overlooked without further ado. Their intent to glorify Luther and therefore, by all means, to do away with my book, carries of itself the condonation of their

¹ "Donatum Donatistae pro Christo habent. Si audiant aliquem paganum detrahentem Christo, forsitan patienter ferant, quam si audiant detrahentem Donato." (Sermo 197.)

² These include, among other things, the charge brought against me by W. Köhler in "Christl. Welt," 1904, No. 10, p. 227, referring to my work Part 1, page 311 (where I am alleged to have said), that Luther was repeatedly unfaithful to his Kate. The author, moreover, in respect to the manner and method of his bringing up such accusations, has fully evidenced the debasement on which I threw light in my brochure against Seeberg, p. 60 sq.

unworthy behavior and sets them above the duty of considering my rejoinders or explanations. Theirs it is undauntedly to return again and again, with ever the same old charges against me.

In all the Lutheran high schools indignant voices were raised, from all the strongholds of Protestantism rang and rings again the warning summons to the defence of the discredited founder of the creed. Harnack in Berlin, who led the array, his colleague Seeberg, who followed him upon the field of action, then Haussleiter in Griefswald, Lösche in Vienna, Walther in Rostock, Kolde and Fester in Erlangen, Köhler in Giessen, Kawerau in Breslau, Haussrath in Heidelberg, Bauman in Göttingen—all strove, some more, some less, to do what was possible and exerted themselves to kill my book. The smaller fry, too, contributed their moderate mite to the noble cause.

And yet the list is not closed. Ministerial Director Dr. Althoff said at an evening session of the Prussian House of Deputies, April 14, (according to the "Post," No. 175): "The effect of the book has been, that a distinguished Evangelical clergyman is elaborating a work on this subject." This "distinguished Evangelical clergyman" is not to be looked for among those just named, for Herr Althoff adds: "Thus the arrow flies back upon the archer." No arrow has come flying back upon me. Rather must I, with my countryman Andreas Hofer, exclaim to those enumerated above: "Oh, how poorly you shoot!" The one to speed back the arrow which I let fly at Luther has yet to come. I am waiting for him.

Meetings of protest, with resolutions, also rose up against my book. If I was not alone, I always found myself in good company, to wit, the Jesuits and Bishop Benzler. I doubt much if these meetings will accomplish more than the would-be scientific refutations.

For a generation, at least, there have not been so many imbittered opponents taken up with the work of an author, searching it with such Argus-eyes to discover weak points, mistakes and blunders—in fact, seeking to annihilate it. Fancy the unheard-of thing of a gnat being forthwith turned into an elephant to knock a book down and trample it—that is what

happened to my book on the part of the Protestant savants and of the "hack scribblers" of the Protestant press. In consequence of this, any impartial observer must feel the conviction forced upon him that, to Protestants, the appearance of my work meant an event. Now, of course, they seek to weaken this impression by means of a shameful subterfuge. My work is to be offset by the viewpoint of Niedriger—assume that Luther and Protestantism are not touched by it.

Violent attacks on the part of Protestants I expected. Of this prospect I never made a secret before the appearance of the work. The silence, too, of the accredited representatives of Catholic Church history and theology in Germany did not strike me unexpectedly. But all the more surprising to me was the talk of some wholly unauthorized gentlemen. I believe that any Catholic who knows the Catholic priest, J. Müller's "Keuschheitsideen" and his "Renaissance" (especially 1904, p. 96 sqq.), will pardon me if I have nothing further to do with him. Neither can his scurrilities against Thomas put me on the defensive against a critic who, only a few years ago, in his work, "*Der Reform katholizismus die Religion der Zukunft für die Gebildeten aller Bekenntnisse*" (1899), p. 77, confounding an objection with its answer, cites, with fabulous ignorance and superficiality, as St. Thomas' own teaching, an objection which St. Thomas (1 p., q. 1, a. 2, obj. 1) raises against theology as a science. This makes it easily conceivable how, to him, Scholasticism stood for the "chief bulwark of the backwardness of Catholics."

There is one point, at all events, which this so-called "Reform Müller" possesses in common with several Catholics of German university training—an itch for concessions. How far, by gradual use, this can lead an immature mind is shown with fearful clearness by an article in the review, "Die Fackel" (No. 145, Vienna, Oct. 28, 1903), on the Salzburg University question. This article is from a pen that openly calls itself Catholic and, after the appearance of my work, found it necessary elsewhere to take a stand against it. The author of the article in "Die Fackel" is a genuine product, a child, of this modern, eclectic time of ours, which, with sovereign pre-eminence derived from its "historical" ornithomaney, believes

itself competent to sit in judgment on anything and everything, even on the relation of man to the Divinity, as if man and not God had to determine those positive laws. Whoever reads this article spuming with phrases, billowing into obscurest notions, scintillating with endless fantasies, and indulging in most cutting charges against the writer's own fellow-believers, asks himself, all amazed: "Where, then, do we stand? *Where are the confines at which science ceases to pass for Catholic?*"

Of all the awry judgments in this article, I will quote only the most characteristic. According to its author (p. 3), "the Catholic element, as well as the Protestant, of the religious life of Germanic mid-Europe are *equally legitimate*." In keeping with this, he calls (p. 8), Protestantism and "Catholicism" "the two Christian religions," therefore two *equally legitimate* members of the one Christendom! In fact, they are "two religious persuasions *which, in their deepest being, complement each other* and represent *at most* two diverse sides of Christian life!" Is not this breaking down *all dogmatic barriers*? Can one say that this savant still stands on Catholic ground? Yet Professor Martin Spahn, the author of this article, which wholly denies the Catholic standpoint, got fairer treatment in some Catholic papers than I did. Or, rather, the article in question was met with a dumfounding silence instead of with animadversion calling attention to the religious peril to which students of such a professor, who has already given the most unequivocal proofs of his attitude, are continually exposed. The danger is the greater because, after the appearance of that article, the author himself was extolled as a "Catholic savant" and was taken up as a co-worker by Catholic newspapers and periodicals.

This fact proves a kinship in ideas with those Catholic circles in which Herr Spahn receives homage or favor. In September of the past year, sure enough, I found expressed in a Catholic newspaper, with which he is closely connected, about the same propositions on Protestantism and "Catholicism" as those just adduced. In consequence of present university education, or to gain substantial, practical advantages, or to strengthen civic peace between Catholics and Protestants, or on other grounds, a certain trend cannot resist the temptation

at least *to weaken*, if not to give up, Catholic principles, and to bridge over the gap, dogmatic and historical, which must constantly separate the Catholic Church from Lutherdom. From this standpoint, but particularly from that of Spahn, it is naturally quite injudicious and signifies a derailment or departure from a historian's objectivity, to say an ill word against Luther, to speak of a Lutheran *heresy*, and to call Luther a *heresiarch*, as I, a Catholic man of letters, do. Besides, if Protestantism and "Catholicism" are two religious persuasions equally warranted, complementing each other in their inmost being and representing at most two different sides of Christian life, it follows that, if the one side be heretical, the other is also, and vice versa. Therefore, neither the one nor the other is heretical. Certainly not. We have here rather to do with a *mixed marriage*, nothing less, in the confused brains of certain modern *Catholic* historians, who "let the two Christian religions work upon them" (naturally Protestantism in a greater degree). "Catholicism," possessing "an eminently *feminine* character" (Spahn, p. 4), enters into a *covenant* with Protestantism, which complements it and must therefore be of an eminently *masculine* character! This view alone is worthy of the *modern* devotee of historical research!

It is by these wholly erroneous and dwindled ideas that the entire judgment of Luther and of Protestantism, as well as the critique on my book, are consequently influenced. In the latter, from this point of view, "subjectivity performs a dance disallowed from the standpoint of scientific method."³ From this standpoint, Luther becomes the *greatest German* of his time, as Spahn called him as far back as 1898, and altogether *the greatest of men*, because he, yes, he first, as father of the "Evangelical Reformation," had rounded out "Catholicism" and discovered the other hitherto hidden, equally warranted side of the one Christianity. Dominated by those erroneous ideas, there are those who burst into admiration of

³ This was written in a high-soaring article in the monthly "Hochland". (Jahrg. p. 221) by a young Catholic historian, A. Meister, who outwardly, at all events, has not gone the lengths of Spahn. Amid unworthy fulsome praises of the by no means objective leader of Protestant historians and lugging in by the hair an attack on the historian, E. Michael, Meister speaks of my "derailment."

Luther's greatness and of the mighty advantages for which we have to thank Protestantism. Being the historians they are, of a one-sided education, without philosophical training, to say nothing of theological—for some historians even boast of being no theologians—they do not observe to what fallacies they commit themselves. Is it possible the "Reformation" is good and to be extolled, because it was, for instance, the occasion of abolishing many prevalent abuses from the Church? What is then become of logic? What St. Augustine says of the study of the Scriptures, to which Catholics were driven by heretics, applies here as well: "Divine Providence permits variously erring heretics to arise, so that, when they mock us and ask us things we do not know, we may at least shake off our indolence and desire to learn to know Holy Writ. Many are too lazy to seek, were they not, as it were, awakened from sleep by the hard pushing and reviling of the heretics, did they not blush for their ignorance and attain to knowledge of the danger of their inexperience." (*De Gen. cont. Manichaeos*, 1, N. 2). "By heresies, the sons of the Catholic Church are awakened from sleep as by thorns, so that they may make progress in the knowledge of Holy Writ" (*Enarr. in ps. 7*, n. 15). "There is much good in the world which would not exist," teaches St. Thomas, "were there no evils. There would be no patience of the just, for instance, were there no malice of persecutors" (*Cont. Gent. III*, c. 71 and 1 p. qu. 22, a. 2, ad. 2). Shall we glorify evil, therefore, and extol the "Reformation," because they have been the occasion of much good in the Church?

Moreover, there are often benefits of the "Reformation" enumerated about which it is doubtful if they are benefits and not rather detriments, or about which it is questionable if they are owing to the "Reformation" as such. The *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* argument also plays a great role here. One thing is certain—"God, who turns all evils to the advantage of the good" (Augustine, *Cont. Jul. IV*, n. 38), would not have permitted the great fatality of Protestantism, like every other earlier heresy, were He not mighty and good enough to let some good arise therefrom for His own (Cf. Augustine, *Enchiridion*, c. 11).

This is my reply to Spahn's critique of my work in the Berlin "*Tag*," No. 31, of Feb. 24 of this year (1904). From the mere fact of its being in a Protestant sheet, it is already rather Protestant than Catholic. One sentence in the critique is true: "St. Augustine, even in his day, emphasized in heretics the note of greatness." This sentence, which Spahn adduces *against* me, he lifts *from my work*, (Part 11, C. VI) without saying a word. Be this also my reply to Ministerial Director Althoff's observation to the Prussian House of Deputies that, "out of the circles of Catholic savants" there appeared against my book, "with his contradiction, only one younger, very able academician, one not wholly unknown to you, Professor Spahn of Strassburg."

It is a sign of the times that the "Catholic savant," M. Spahn, writes in the "*Tag*" almost more spitefully and unjustly, and certainly more one-sidedly, than some of the Protestant professors already mentioned, namely Köhler of Giessen and Kawerau of Breslau. It is a duty of justice on my part to mention this here.

The former, although not less incensed and embittered against me than others, writes: "With sovereign pride (?) Denifle spreads out before us his knowledge of medieval scholasticism and mysticism; he often pours out to overflowing a flood of citations, even when they are not further necessary to the matter in hand. This is conceivable; herein lies Denifle's strength and *the weakness of Luther research up to the present. Here we can learn from Denifle* * * * The problem of Luther and the Middle Ages has (hitherto) been energetically raised from viewpoints most diverse and in isolated investigations has been discussed with success. Nevertheless, *Denifle's book shows how much there is here still to be done and abashes one by the array of his observations.*" (References follow in a note.) "Thanks to his amazing knowledge of medieval literature, he succeeds in establishing the medieval original in different isolated passages of Luther's, and so in giving valuable suggestions to literary criticism. If, as he goes along, he repeatedly exclaims to us Protestants: 'You do not know the Middle Ages at all,' we are honest enough, while deprecating the immoderateness of this controversy, *to acknowledge a*

kernal of justification for it. Here indeed has Denifle tendered something new." (*Die Christliche Welt*, 1904, No. 9, p. 202.)

Köhler furthermore concedes a series of propositions, and those for the most part extremely important, which are of great or fundamental significance in my demonstration against Luther, whereof I shall treat in the second half of this volume. He substantially accepts my literary critique of the Weimar edition and then observes: "His (Denifle's) acute discussion of the alleged prelections on the Book of Judges will also, I think, be met in the main with approval. He succeeded in making the happy discovery that whole passages, taken to be Luther's own, were borrowed word for word from Augustine, to a greater extent than had hitherto been known! None too much of the 'genuine,' indeed, is left over, and whether this little is original with Luther appears very doubtful in the face of the arguments advanced by Denifle, though these are not all equally convincing * * * Possibly, as Denifle himself intimates, we have before us the revision of the notes of a course of lectures" (*id.*, p. 203).

These latter observations had an influence on me in the revision of this second edition. It had been my intention to subjoin a detailed amplification of the critical notes on the Weimar edition, as an appendix, at the end of the first volume. But, as I saw that those laid down in the first edition were substantially accepted by one so clever in Luther research as Köhler, and since he declares that 'Denifle's book, it is hoped, will prove a stimulus to the collaborators of the Weimar edition to put forth their best efforts in authenticating citations, and the like,' all reason for carrying out my intention fell away. For, Köhler and others in the field of Luther research may believe me when I say that I have written and write nothing in my book purposely to offend them.

In the intention thus formed of entirely leaving out those notes in this second edition, I was confirmed by a subsequent discussion on the part of one of the collaborators of the Weimar edition, Professor Kawerau, in a review of my work ("*Theol. Studien Und Kritiken*," 1904, p. 450 sqq.). Readers of the first edition know that I often subjected this professor to criticism. Every one has the right to defend himself against my

attacks as best he can. Kawerau does this fairly, and, at the same time, takes the part of Knaake and Buchwald, who had been hard pressed by me. Nevertheless he concedes, in the main, my critical results as to the Weimar edition—which does all honor to himself, his character, and his scientific knowledge. Besides, he is grateful and just. On page 452, he states that there is found scattered throughout the work, “out of Denifle’s incomparable knowledge of ancient ecclesiastical and medieval literature, an abundance of thankworthy notes, in which he identifies citations of Luther’s not easily discoverable or recognizable by others; just as, generally, the profound Denifle is revealed on almost every page, making many a valuable contribution to our Luther-researches in particular details.” “If there is anything about Denifle’s book that I gladly welcome,” he writes on page 460, “it is the service he has rendered to Luther-research by the identification of a considerable series of quotations from Augustine, Bede, Bernard, the breviary, the liturgy, and so on.” In view of such a situation, I forego contention with Kawerau about the excuses brought forward by him for his mistakes, several of these excuses holding quite good, and, in the second impression of this work, my critical notes on the Weimar edition are omitted.

To that same degree of the relative impartiality shown my work by Köhler and Kawerau, no other Protestant critic has been able to rise, least of all, the one taken under the wing of Ministerial Director Althoff and glorified by him—Harnack—to whom I shall presently return. But there is one almost in a class by himself, with his clamors of distress in a brochure published against me: “*P. Denifle, Unterarchivar des Papstes, seine Beschimpfung Luthers und der Evangelischen Kirche, von Dr. Th. Kolde*,” 1904, the Protestant church-historian of Erlangen. Obviously I cannot afford to give space to many details in a preface. But to give a sample of the ignorance, rashness, and, at the same time, vainglory, with which some of my critics have taken up their task, I will only enumerate the blunders crowded within only *six sentences upon a single incomplete page* of the Erlangen University professor’s work just mentioned.

Kolde takes pains (p. 65 sqq.) to uphold and even to corroborate his assertions, which I rejected, about contempt for woman in the Middle Ages. For, after adducing (p. 66) from St. Bernard several passages which he misunderstands, he goes on: "Why does Denifle hide the same Bernard's long-drawn inferences about the curse passing down from Eve upon all married women, about the slavish bonds and the intolerable misery of the married state, on the strength of which inferences, he seeks to recruit the monastic life?" Apart from the point that the passage, read with the context and without prejudice, yields a meaning quite different from that put into it by Kolde, he, as a church-historian, should have known what Bellarmine and Mabillon in their day (the latter in the edition used by Kolde, *Migne*, Patr. t. 154, p. 635) knew, that the work, *Vitis Mystica*, in which the passage occurs (p. 696 sqq.), was not written by St. Bernard at all. Its author was St. Bonaventure, a fact Kolde *should* have learned from the *Opp. S. Bonaventurae* (Quaracchi) VIII, 159. This puffed-up church-historian would there have come to perceive that this work of Bonaventure's was afterwards greatly interpolated and extended, and that the passage in question does not even belong to Bonaventure, but to a later, unknown author (*Ibid.* p. 209 sq.)

The Protestant church-historian continues: "Why is the reader not made aware (in Denifle's work), that Bernard also—and that is everywhere the reverse side of the matter—sees in woman, if she is not dedicated to God within the shelter of the cloister, only a vehicle of lewdness, and once says: 'always to live together with a woman and not to know the woman, that I hold to be more than to awaken the dead!'" Anyone sees that Kolde wishes to produce in the reader the impression of how well read he is in the writings of Bernard. Now in which of those writings is the passage quoted by him to be found? *The church-historian does not know.* Well then, Herr Kolde, I will tell you; it is found in *Sermo 65 in Cant.*, n. 4. (*Migne*, Patr. 1, t. 183, p. 1091). But then, from what source did Kolde know the passage? With an air of superiority he tells me in the note: "I take the passage from one likely to be held trustworthy by Denifle, the well known Jesuit, Peter de Soto (t. 1563) (*Methodus confessionis*, etc., Dil. 1586, p. 101). Herr Church-historian, *I do not hold the* "well known Jesuit, Peter de Soto," *trustworthy!* Why not? Because he is a Jesuit? On the contrary, *because he is not a Jesuit!* Any historian even somewhat measurably versed in the Reformation epoch, knows something of the well known Dominican, Peter de Soto, who really is the author of the work cited by Kolde (V, Quétif-Echard, II, 183, 184)⁴.

But if only Kolde were at least versed in Luther! What, after all, has the passage from Bernard to do with the case? It simply contains a maxim

⁴ In historical matters of this kind, the Erlangen church-historian manifests fabulous ignorance. Thus, for example, he calls (p. 7) Conrad of Marburg my "celebrated confrere of the past", who nevertheless was a secular priest, as Kolde, were he not satisfied with Quétif-Echard, I, 487, might have learned from E. Michael, S.J., "Geschichte des deutschen Volkes", H, 210, note 1, where further authorities are given.

which is as old as the world's existence and will hold to the world's end: In the common run, for a single man to live with a woman is equivalent to putting straw and fire together and wishing them not to burn. And who says this? Listen, Herr Kolde, it is your father, Luther, who, in 1520, in his writing, "*An den christl. Adel*," explaining the motive of his desire that a pastor, who is in need of a housekeeper, should take a woman to wife, says that "to leave a man and a woman together, and yet forbid them to fall" is nothing else but "laying straw and fire together and forbidding that there be either smoking or burning" (Weim., VI, 442). If Bernard, according to Kolde's interpretation of the passage cited, "sees in woman only a vehicle of lewdness," unless she wishes to be "dedicated to God within the shelter of the cloister," Kolde must admit that Luther, too, sees in woman the same for a man, unless he marries her. With the bearing of Luther's hypothetical proposition on the one foisted by Kolde on St. Bernard, we have here nothing to do. But there is one thing true against Kolde, and that is, that the passage points only to the danger in which the illicit dwelling together of a man and a woman involves both parties. Of the "medieval contempt for woman," as asserted by Kolde and scored by him in the next sentence, there is not the slightest hint to be found in the passage. If contempt is to be mentioned, it is rather charged against man than woman by both Bernard and Luther. As a rule, it is the man who, in this case, is weaker than the woman, yields to temptation, and causes the woman to fall with him.

Kolde now goes on (p. 67) with pathos: "Naturally the reader (of Denifle) must not learn, either, how Bernard's contemporary, Hildebert of Tours (1055-1134), sings of woman as the sum total of all abominations." For this, Kolde cites the poem, "*Carmen quam periculosa mulierum familiaritas*" in (Migne, T. 172, p. 1429). *Si tacuisses!*—if thou hadst but kept silent! I shall not speak of the error in the citation, which should be T. 171, p. 1428; anyone, as a church-historian, nowadays using the poems of Hildebert of Lavardin according to the old editions, should know that, to keep from going astray, he must have recourse to *Les Melanges poetiques d'Hilbert de Lavardin* par B. Hauréau, (Paris, 1882). In this work, the poems are critically handled, the genuine being separated from the spurious. Naturally the Erlangen church-historian had not the remotest idea of its existence. But he could have found the title of the work cited in my book, page 240, note 2, and still oftener in the *Inventarium codicum manuscript. Capituli Dertusensis conferunt* H. Denifle et Aem. Chatelain (Parisii, 1896), where (p. 53 sqq.) we take up several poems and verses of Hildebert, correct them, and constantly refer to Hauréau's work. From the latter (p. 104, n. 4), Kolde might have ascertained that the *carmen*, the song, he cited, did not come from Hildebert, does not in the least breathe his spirit, and is to be attributed to a later author, (not a contemporary of Bernard), "*certainement né sans esprit et sans délicatesse*"—one "certainly born without wit and without delicacy."

This lapse, however, is not the worst. Kolde has the courage, or rather the barefacedness, to break off the *carmen* just where it is evident that the

*author of that song speaks of a particular vile woman!*⁵ That, of course, had to be kept from the reader! Only from the suppressed lines is it first apparent that the words of Kolde's quotation, alleged by him to be the singing of woman in general as the sum total of all abominations, are addressed by their author to a particular evil woman, a public harlot, by whose wiles he had earlier been ensnared. How shall one stigmatize so unbecoming a procedure, particularly in the case of one so puffed up as Kolde is?

It is even more unpardonable that, in the same breath, he repeats his method. For he writes immediately afterward: Naturally the reader must not learn, either, how Anselm of Canterbury (t. 1109) had already characterized woman, this *dulce malum*, this "sweet evil," as a *faex Satanae*—an "offscouring of Satan." Of course, be it remarked aside, this work, to which the church-historian refers, is again *not* of the author to whom he ascribes it. From the *Hist. Lit. de la France*, t. VIII, 421 sqq., IX. 442, he could have ascertained that the "*Carmen de contemptu mundi*," which treats of the duties of a Benedictine and the motives persuading him thereto, was written, not by Anselm, but by Roger de Caen, monk of Bec. That doesn't signify, the blushing Kolde will retort, it is what is said that counts! Very good. As a matter of fact, of *what sort of woman* does Roger speak in the original text which you, Herr Kolde, quoted? In the passage adduced in your note, that is not to be ascertained. One finds too many dashes, blank spaces, there. Are these perhaps intended to show, *what, of course, is withheld from the reader*, that your Anselm speaks of an *evil seductress*?

⁵ Kolde quotes from the sources indicated:

Femina perfida, femina sordida, digna catenis,
Mens male conscia, mabilis, impia, plena venenis;
Vipera pessima, fossa novissima, mota lacuna;
Omnia suscipis, omnia decipis, *omnibus una*:
Horrida noctua, *publica ianua*, *scmita trita*.
Igne rapacior, aspide saevior est tua vita.

Kolde closes here with an "etc." but the *Carmen* goes on;

Credere qui tibi vult, sibi sunt mala, multa peccata.
O miserabilis, isatiabilis, insatiata!
Desine scribere, *desine mittere carmina blanda*.
Carmina turpia, carmina mollia, *vix memoranda*.
Nec tibi mittere, nec tibi scribere disposui me,
Nec tua jam colo, nec tua jam volo, reddo tibi te.

And thus the text continues, as anyone may investigate for himself. The meaning of the italicized words in the first part ought to be evident.

That is just what he does!⁶ And, naturally, Kolde knows nothing of the beautiful and noteworthy letters exchanged between the true Anselm and women.

But this unqualifiable procedure has not yet reached its limit. Kolde continues: "It had to be suppressed (by Denifle) that the leading exegete of the later Middle Ages, Nicholas de Lyra, (t. 1340), referred to for his like views by Johann V. Paltz, not unknown to Denifle, annotates on Sirach (Ecclesiasticus 42, 13 sqq.) the primary authority for Romish contempt of woman: "Intimate association (*conversatio*) with evil men is less dangerous than with good women." Is that true? Now what, in fact does Nicholas de Lyra say? The text (Sirach or Ecclesiasticus, XLII, 14) is: "For better is the iniquity of a man than a woman doing a good turn." The words, *better is the iniquity of a man*, are annotated: "i. e. less evil"; the words, *a woman doing a good turn*, are annotated: "namely, to live with such. Hence this is referred to what precedes in verse 12: 'tarry not among women.' For it is more dangerous *for a man to dwell with a strange woman*, even though she is good, than with an evil man"⁷. This is the reading both in the printed copies and in the manuscripts, as, e. g., the *Codex Vat.* I, 50, fol. 364; 164, fol. 44. Consequently Lyra says: "For a man, it is more dangerous to live together with, (not merely to be in the company—*conversatio*—of) a strange, even though good woman, than with an evil man. Kolde therefore had again the barefacedness to cite against his opponent the gloss of Lyra *without even having looked it up*. More than that, he deceives by slipping in a Latin word, ostensibly belonging to the original text; he sets forth Lyra's statement in another wording entirely and in an altered sense!

⁶ Kolde cites from *Migne*, t. 158, 696 (not 636, as he has it):

Femina, dulce malum, mentem robisque virile

Frangit blanditiis insidiosa suis.

Femina, fax (Kolde faex) Satanae.

Here Kolde puts —. But the author continues:

gemmis radiantibus auro

Vestibus, *ut possit perdere*, compta venit,

Quod natura sibi sapiens dedit, illa reformat,

Quidquid et accepit dedecuisse putat,

Pungit acu, et fuco liventes reddit ocellos;

Sic oculorum, inquit, gratia major erit.

Roger goes on with his description of how such a woman prinks, seeks to beautify her body, and the like and he says:

Mille modis nostros impugnat femina mentes,

Et multos illi perdere grande lucrum est.

The whole refers to the coquettish woman who is not modest and chaste (pudica), and seeks to beguile monks.

⁷ In Sirach, 42, 14 (melior est enim iniquitas viri, quam mulier benefaciens) he annotates, *Mulier est iniquitas, viri*, i. e. "minus mala"; *Mulier benefaciens*, sc. ad cohabitandum. Unde istud refertur ad id quod premititur (v. 12); in medio mulierum noli commorari. Magis enim periculosum est homini *cohabitare cum muliere extranea* etiam bona, quam cum viro iniquo.

I hope the reader now forms the correct, that is an annulling judgment as to the church-historian, Kolde of Erlangen. It is with such dumfounding ignorance that his whole work is written. Just a few more examples here. As in his "Martin Luther" (I, 52) he does not know the difference between clerics and lay-brothers in the religious state, so that he consequently describes Luther standing in choir "with the rest of the lay-brothers," separated from the fathers, and "by himself quietly reciting the prescribed Paters and Aves"⁸ instead of the breviary, so, on page 39 of his work, he confounds the sacrament of baptism with the baptismal covenant, draws the most remarkable conclusions in consequence, and perforce absolutely misunderstands the entire doctrine of the "second baptism" (a term, I repeat, which St. Thomas did not use). He is simply at sea in the matter.

In the same place, Kolde tries, among other things, to prove against me that, in Luther's time, at the convent of Erfurt, they knew about the "second baptism," although I demonstrate by Luther himself that *it was first at another place* his attention was called to it by a Franciscan, and to this I still hold. Kolde's sole argument against Luther and Usingen is Paltz's "*Suppl. Celifodinac*," Kolde's hobby, in which the subject of second baptism occurs. But whether the doctrine became the practice of the convent, or, what is here our only concern, if it was known in the novitiate and clerical course, Kolde naturally does not prove for us. In a word, on page 38, note 2, he cites, out of the work mentioned, a long passage in which Paltz refers to the familiar utterances of Bernard and Thomas,⁹ and which he concludes with the words: "The same is evident in *autentica de monachis*, where it is said that entrance into a monastery wipes away every stain"¹⁰. On this the Erlangen church-historian makes the comment, worthy of himself: "This is likely an allusion to a passage (to me unknown), in the *Vitae Patrum*, but not the one which Thomas had in mind, *loc. citato*. So *autentica de monachis* is to be referred to the *Vitae Patrum*? Should not Kolde have surmised from the word *autentica* with the title, *de monachis*, that he had to do merely with a law book? If he is not as clever as the one on whom he wishes to sit in judgment, one who, even though only self-taught in law,

⁸ This absurdity was copied from him by A. Berger, "Martin Luther," 1 (1895), 64, and recently by A. Haussrath, "Martin Luther," 1, 23, although G. Oergel, "Vom jungen Luther," 1899, had called attention to the error.

⁹ On the occasion of a citation from St. Thomas, Kolde does not even know that there can be a "*rationabilis opinio*". So, by his silence, this church-historian asserts that all *opinions* are unreasonable.

¹⁰ Idem patet in *autentica monachis*, ubi dicitur, quos ingressus monasterii omnem maculam abstergit.

had known forthwith that he had to do with the *Novellae*, why did he not seek counsel of one of his learned colleagues at the university? Well, Herr Kolde, I will have the goodness to instruct you. The passage occurs in the *Liber Novellarum sive Authenticarum D. Justiniani, Const. V. de Monachis*. Look it up. You will find, especially after comparison with the Greek text, that Paltz, your hobby, did not quote very accurately, and that the passage will hardly serve your purpose.

Not less unhappy is this incompetent university professor in his defense of Luther in regard to the sanctity of marriage and the "monastic form of absolution" (p. 46 sqq.). In my new edition he can learn more about this subject and then in his customary manner dispense his wisdom anew to the best advantage.

But I have already done Herr Kolde too much honor. Let us therefore close with his chief argument (p. 46), contending that "monachism, as the state of perfection, is the Catholic ideal of life." He writes: "It will have to be accentuated even more than it was in Luther's words, that 'monks and priests are in a better state than common Christians,' for, according to the Romish catechism, Romish bishops 'are rightly called, not only angels but gods,' and one cannot but wonder that it is not required to pay them divine honors as well.—" What stuff this man does heap up with his pen! Busied all his lifetime with Luther, he is nevertheless so little versed in his subject that he does not seem to be aware that his father and idol often calls the authorities, the secular superiors and judges, "*dii*"—gods. To give only a few quotations, in Erl. 41, 209, superiors were called "gods," "on account of their office, because they sit in God's stead and are His servants." Again, in Weim. XXVIII, 612; Erl. 64, 19: "Therefore are judges called 'gods,' because they judge and rule in God's stead, after God's law and word, not after their own arrogance, as Christ gives testimony." In the same wise, Erl. 39, 228, especially 229 sq., 260 sq., where Luther similarly speaks of the authorities as "gods." Compare further Weim. XVI, 106; Erl. 35, 130 sq. Did Luther for that reason demand divine honors for them?

On his very title-page and then on p. 22, Kolde complains of my "abuse" of Luther and of the "Evangelical Church." But that, some years ago, he placed the Catholic Church on about the same level as *heathenism*, and thereby abused it more than

I did Luther and Lutherdom, does not trouble this gentleman in the least.¹¹

The most interesting and, at the same time, the most characteristic thing in Kolde's pamphlet is its conclusion. Now, in Germany there are only two faculties of Protestant theology in which the Divinity of Christ is still taught—those of Erlangen and Rostock. What is Kolde's attitude to this teaching? On my averring in the foreword of the first edition that, in the face of the one Christian Church, any other Christian Church, the "Evangelical" included, was out of the question, and so too, therefore, any sister church, Kolde replied, p. 78, that "the Evangelical alone is built on Christ." Now let the following be heard: "Our opponent (Denifle) has himself lifted his visor and permitted us to look upon his rage-foaming face.—*The necessity of the Evangelical Alliance* and of the banding together of the *Evangelical Churches* (How many, Herr Kolde? All built on Christ?) *could not better be demonstrated* than it has been by Denifle's book." And so the "Evangelical" professor, who, as professor of theology at Erlangen, should stand for the confession of the God-man, Jesus Christ, *ends in the Evangelical Alliance*,¹² in which only hatred and rage prevail against the true Christian, i.e., the Catholic Church, and the confession just mentioned is a standpoint that has been put down.

Walther's counter-work: "*Denifle's Luther eine Ausgeburt römischer Moral*" (1904) carries its own condemnation in its malicious and stupid title alone, and stands antecedently characterized as the effort of a lampooning, scurrilous pamphleteer.

¹¹ "Der Methodismus und seine Bekämpfung" (1886, p. 6). "The opinion of all non-partisans runs that the blessing and significance of Methodism for England and America cannot be fully expressed, it is an immeasurable one. According to human estimation, without it and the movement that went forth from it, England's churchdom of State would have declined to the point of being *completely heathenized*, or what in my apprehension makes no great difference, it would long ago gone down before *Romanism*!" Therefore, according to Kolde it makes no great difference if one is a heathen or a Catholic. And the same Kolde ("Luther in Worms. Vortrag gehalten zu Würzburg am 6 März, 1903." München, 1903, p. 3) laments "that, *however quietly* we (Protestants) go our way, the old strife is still renewed with oldtime animosity," and he avails himself of the opportunity to quote Schiller (Tell): "The godliest man cannot live in peace, if it please not his evil neighbor."

¹² Kolde is even a zealous festal-day orator of the Evangelical *Bund*!

I shall take notice of it as soon as I come to speak of the Lutherdom pamphlets of the time of the Reformation. Neither need I further be occupied here with the incoherence and inconsistency of R. Fester in his "*Religionskrieg und Geschichtswissenschaft. Ein Mahnwort an das deutsche Volk aus Anlass von Denifles 'Luther.'*" (1904.) Answering Haussleiter's polemic articles in the *Allgem. Ztg.* (1904, n. 4 and 5, now also published separately under the title: "*Luther im Römischen Urteil. Eine Studie.*" 1904), there appeared, besides myself (in my brochure, p. 70 sqq.), Paulus (*Wissenschaftl. Beilage zur Germania*, 1904, n. 10, p. 77 sqq., n. 12, p. 94 sqq.).

On the reception accorded my replication I can also be brief, thanks to the conduct of the opponents whom I fended off. I had anticipated here taking a stand against the answers of the two professors of theology, Harnack and Seeberg. For I could not expect that they would lack the courage to take up the gauntlet which I had thrown down to them before the whole world in a special work—a work in which *blunders of the worst description* in so many passages of their defensive writings were evidenced to them as under a spot-light, a work which did not merely warm over things already said, but contained numerous *new ideas*. The declaration of bankruptcy which, at the close of my brochure, I clinched upon Protestant Luther-research, especially that of Harnack and Seeberg, now counts the more against them.

There was an answer made, after a fashion, by both gentlemen, of course. Harnack, in his "*Theolog. Literaturztg.*," n. 7, issues the following declaration: "Denifle has just published a brochure—'*Luther in rationalistischer und christlicher Beleuchtung. Principielle Auseinandersetzung mit A. Harnack und R. Seeberg.*' Inasmuch as therein he has not only not retracted the charge he made against me of *lying*, but by an infamous turn has kept it up (p. 46), *I am done with the gentleman*. I will give him an answer to the scientific questions which he proposed to me, as soon as he will *expressly* have *revoked* his accusation."

"A *serious quarrel* between two *savants* draws upon itself the attention of the scientific world"—thus was this declaration headlined by numerous Protestant papers. Can the quarrel be a serious one when, by so cheap a shift, one believes himself able to withdraw from the duty of a savant? But for a cause so slight, Herr Professor, you shall not give me the slip.

When you wrote that down, my most honored Sir, did you not wholly forget that you *had already written* a reply to my book, supposed to contain the charge of mendacity against you, and that my brochure is only a rejoinder

to it? Have you forgotten that you, in your reply, unconditionally proposed to *keep in view* a *more copious* scientific answer to my attacks? I ask you why did you not *there* let yourself be frightened away by the charge of "mendacity"? For, if your "declaration" had *then* been of avail in helping you out of your embarrassment and in releasing you from an answer, it certainly is not so *today*, now that you have, after all, descended into the arena.

Do not forget furthermore that, even though you feel yourself absolved from scientific relations with me on account of my illegal ill manners, you owe *the public*, yourself, and *your scientific honor* an answer to my weighty considerations. But to the *memory of Luther*, among whose admiring votaries you count yourself, you owe it still more, now that you have stepped out on the floor, so slippery for you, of the judging of this "great" man—(whether to his advantage or harm I leave it to others to decide)! And even if you seek to proscribe *my person*, how can blame attach to the *impersonal facts* laid down in my brochure?

Besides, esteemed Herr Professor, where is the "infamous turn" that so stirred you up? Let us turn to page 46. To your bungled consequencing, which smuggled the word "lie" into my argumentation,¹³ I there replied, first of all, in a purely hypothetical form, that, for one still regarding Luther as a "reformer," such a lie would no longer be properly a sin. And that is surely correct. For, that at least Luther made little account of an untruth, you yourself will not be willing to deny, and that, after his apostasy, he admits the permissibility of "lies of utility," you are also aware and shall presently come to hear more on the subject. And then I asked in my replication, after I had again had the opportunity of exposing the precarious worth of your demonstrating operations, if I had really inflicted so grave an injustice upon you if I entertained "some doubts" as to your frankness? I, for my part, feel this to be a *mitigation* rather than a *sharpening* of the charge alleged to have been hurled against you. And that "some doubt" was not out of place I proved directly afterwards by a "false play" in your

¹³ As a matter of fact, on p. XXX of the first edition, I do not at all use the word "lie". I ask: "if it was known to him that the expression, *splendida vitia* is not to be found in Augustine, why did he use it in an Augustinian expression?" This interrogation contains two equally justified possibilities: either it was not known to Harnack, and then he was not honest; or it was known to him, and then he was unmethodical. For which possibility do I stand? *For neither*. I do not decide, I only ask. *Harnack himself* first hits a decision; he decides for the first possibility in its crassest form, for the "lie". The arrow that he shot at me only flies back on himself. It is certainly an enigma to me how Ministerial Director Althoff in that evening session could have placed enough reliance on Harnack's statement to say: "Had I known Denifle, I would not have begged further acquaintance with him after his work appeared and after *he did not shrink from giving the lie to a man of whom science is proud*. (Jenaische Ztg., n. 92, of April 30). The "Triersche Landeszeitung," n. 93a, of April 23, however, has characterized this expression of opinion on the part of the Ministerial Director, as well the one on Spahn in quite the right fashion.

polemics. However anxious I should have been to learn what you have to show against my attacks and reasoning, and how you counteract the force of my argument against your wholly distorted apprehension of Scholasticism, especially of St. Thomas, I regret to say, after what I have set forth, that I am not in a position to be able to take anything back.

Meantime Seeberg also again presented himself to view. This was in the second supplement of the "*Kreuzzeitung*," N, 157 of April 3, in an introduction to an article on "Romish Peace Piping." Not a word had he to say of my *objective* refutation of his arguments against me. He speaks only of my "well known *smirch-work* against Luther and Lutherdom" and of my not being able "to heap up enough *nastiness* with which to *smut* the countenance and raiment of the Reformer"; my work is the "*roaring* of a lion." and I am a "master of *vituperation*."

How the excited man in blind rage but smites his own face! Because of the frantic tone he has adopted, he has given up every right to complain of abuse. Should he hold it against me that I had abused him in my replication, the case is nevertheless vastly different. Whilst he pours a flood of vituperation upon me and my work, without previously having offered any proofs demanded by the discussion objectively, there being therefore nothing to *motivate his abuse in any manner whatever*, the adverse opinion of Seeberg's achievement and powers of achievement in my brochure is, I take it, quite naturally the outcome of my *antecedent argumentation*. More than that, if to abuse means the unmasking of an opponent, then I, too, certainly *did abuse* and propose to abuse still more¹⁴.

And yet even better intentioned critics than Harnack and Seeberg have misunderstood me in so many respects. The common reason lies in their *mistaking the purpose of my book*. Thus I treated Luther's immoderate drinking only incidentally, and did not even attach importance to it, as anyone may see in my first edition. I willingly concede that such immoderation was in many respects, particularly in Germany, a weakness of that time and partly of an earlier period; but Luther, as the "founder of a creed," one allegedly sent by God, and His "chosen vessel," ought to have been superior to it. These epithets just quoted are contradicted by quite other facts than the one that, in drinking, Luther was a child of his day. Were nothing else known about him than that he used language of unexampled *smuttiness*, as I have shown in part 11, Chap. V,

¹⁴ Seeberg's reply ("Die Neuesten Offenbarungen des Pater Denifle"), in "*Kreuzzeitung*," Nos. 203, 205, first came to my notice as I was at my revision. I perceive that its author is beyond being taught and is incorrigible. From it there is nothing more to be learned than Luther's principle (see below Chap. VI, H.): "Well do I know, when it comes to pen work, how to wriggle out (of a difficulty)." But that puts an end to all truth and objectivity!

§ 2, and that he was the inspirational author of those nine, for the most part equally smutty pictures and the composer of the verses accompanying them (about which *all* the critics have very wisely maintained a discreet silence), this alone had been enough for the repudiation of Luther as a "reformer," "man of God," and the like, by any sensible man.

To obviate further misconstruction, it will be useful briefly and candidly to set forth the process of my research and the formation of my judgment of Luther.

After I had reached the point mentioned at the end and in the summing up of my introduction, it was my chief aim *to take up, in the most objective manner possible, and to present the true, sound teaching of the Church before Luther's time as compared with Luther's presentations of that same teaching.* It was thus that I first hit on Luther's mendaciousness, which, as I then learned, pursuing my course farther, plays so great a part in his exposition of Catholic teaching, and is one of the keys to an understanding of the man.¹⁵ It was his *treatise on the vows*, my first reading, that first gave me the impression described, and as I read farther, I was the more confirmed therein. It was a good hit in several respects. The very polemics against my work have done more than anything else to make it plain that Protestant theologians up to the present hold to the standpoint of the later malevolent Luther. It matters not that the utterances of the latter contradict those of the earlier Luther. It is assumed beforehand that what he says is right. For this reason there is no understanding (among them) of perfection and the state of perfection, of the vows, of the

¹⁵ The matter here in hand is Luther's own practice. In the course of my work I saw that, in his commentary on Romans (1515-1516), he had already made use of the "lie of necessity" in favor of his view, inasmuch as he falsified passages from St. Augustine, as I showed in my first edition and shall further show in the second part of this edition. In *theory* Luther, in 1517, still held a white lie or a lie of necessity as not permissible and as a detestable sin, as is shown in an essay, "Luther und die Lüge," by N. Paulus ("Wissenschaftl. Beilage zur Germania," 1904, n. 18). After his apostasy Luther, also in theory, stood for the permissibility of a lie of necessity, at least from 1524 on, as Paulus verifies by evidences from Luther's writings. We are also well aware that, as early as 1520, he holds "*everything* permissible against the cunning and wickedness of popedom, for the salvation of souls," and "for the weal of *his* church, even a good stout lie." See below, section II, chap. II, page 465.

Catholic ideal of life. Collectively and individually they have no idea of the essential point from which one must judge the old doctrine and maxims on entrance into an order, taking vows, and on the so-called "second baptism"—the point, namely, of a *complete oblation of self to God*. How could it be otherwise when this was the case with the "Reformer" himself? Had he had such an idea and had he actually realized such complete oblation of himself to God, *there would have been no Luther*, in the modern sense, *and no Lutherdom*.

One has still to hear that the cowl has made the monk, "else why the variety of religious habits?"—just as if a military costume makes a soldier, because it is found in so many changing styles. The worst achievement in this respect comes from one of the most sensible of my opponents, W. Köhler (loc. cit., p. 208.) On my observing that the principal thing about religious profession is the complete interior self-oblation, he answers: "Really *only this*? Why any need at all, then, of a religious habit? Why is it the greatest wrong voluntarily to abandon it? Is not the case rather this: Thanks to the expiatory virtue of monasticism, it (profession) acquires a kind of *sacramental character* and that, *as in all the Catholic sacraments*, attaches to the *institution as such, independently of the personal oblation!*" And is therefore an *opus operatum!* This nonsense and this invective against the Catholic Church the university professor very naively bases on the fact that lay people have been buried in the monastic habit.¹⁶ We shall

¹⁶ This one instance characterizes the whole man. No longer do we marvel at his expatiating on the "inexorability of the monastic vows," and the "coercion of the vows," at his taking the "*practice*" of some few individuals as the effect of a theory (as was the case in Lutherdom; at his trying to make us believe, with his citation (p. 206) from the Kirchen-Postille of 1521, that Luther later still, as a rule, distinguished between perfection and the state of perfection, apart from the fact, that he (Köhler) wholly misses he meaning of the expression "to strive after perfection". But enough for here. These articles of Köhler's evidence the same superficiality as that with which at times he worked in in his otherwise appreciable book, "Luther und die Kirchengeschichte, I." Thus (p. 267) he seeks in vain in Tauler's sermons a passage quoted by Luther as Tauler's, and on the other hand, neglects to look up the booklet of 118 pages, *Theologia Duetsch*, edited by Luther as coming from Tauler. Here the passage occurs word for word, *twice*, in the text (Ed. Pfeiffer, 1885, p. 30). With the same superficiality he speaks (247) on hell and purgatory, and (p. 227) on Luther's expression "Thomist" as a "compiler," etc.

also see in part second of this volume how Köhler, to save Luther, tones down and alters his utterances.

But the treatise on the vows makes the best introduction to my work. The reason of this is discussed in the opening chapters of the second section of this volume, where I have also more clearly shown the connection than it appears in the first edition. This connection throughout, up into the second volume, is based on Luther's charges of justification by works, and service by works; for, at bottom, it is from this calumny, or, if you will, from this false conception, that everything with Luther takes its beginning.

In my work, therefore, there is no intent of a *Vita* or life of Luther. I am no Luther biographer. In the face of renewed imputations to the contrary, I should like again and finally to have this strongly emphasized. Neither would it as yet be *possible* to write such a life. Up to the present, the history of Luther's life before his apostasy is largely built up on his later records. These must first be critically tested, and how much of them is useless dross there is, as yet, absolutely no knowing. In my first edition, I brought out repeated reminders that Luther's life in his Order, as he later depicts it, and his avowals concerning his vow, his penitential works, his starting-point, etc., belong, for the most part, to the domain of *fable*. The proof is not simple and demands a testing of Luther's statements and their coherence with his earlier days. It requires more extended research. In this, I think, is the strength of my work to be recognized.

Even more do the erroneous assertions and awry judgments of *Protestant theologians* and Luther-researchers demand *diffuse discussions*, by which the thread of our account will be broken. Possibly these may seem annoying and superfluous to the uninitiated, but there is no other course open in a scientific work. Along these lines of discussion there is little, pitifully little, offered, for instance, in the two histories of dogma by Harnack and Seeberg; yet they are not thereby deterred from sitting in judgment on it all with the air of experts.

Nothing lay farther from me than the presumptuous intention of treating *all* that in any way had to do with the rise of Protestantism, or even of adducing all the Catholic witnesses

of earlier date, all the pertinent evidences out of Luther's works. How many volumes I should have to write! It has been said I am only a scholastic, not a historian. To this I assert that, in the discussions in the first volume with respect to Luther, I naturally had to come forward for the most part as a theologian, and the historian had accordingly to stand back. My proof of Luther's being in contradiction with earlier Church doctrine simply staggered the Protestant theologians, suddenly discovering to them, as it did, a *terra incognita*.¹⁷ Now they come and say that Denifle treats only one tendency (or current of events), that there were other tendencies as well. There were others, to be sure. So far as the contents of this first part are to be considered, those tendencies were *the practice of evil or simple, ignorant religious*. Aside from that, however, the later Luther, in his presentation of Church doctrine, is in contradiction, not only with it but with his earlier apprehension of it, and it surely had not changed within some few years. But to this point, as well, Luther-researchers had hitherto hardly given a thought.

It has also been said that, in my work, Luther has not been caught in historical setting. I dispute that absolutely. I have apprehended Luther, as he must be apprehended in this volume, in the setting of contemporary and earlier theology, upon the ground of the institutes of his Order. The investigation of other and further problems belongs to the following volume, where the *rise of Lutherdom* is treated, but not to the theme of the first volume. Just as little, for the same reason, need there here be mention of *Luther's talents and a number of good natural traits*, which I also understand very well and know how to value. But if one like the Protestant-Society member, Professor Hausrath, goes so far, in his militant, most inept introduction to his Luther biography, p. XIV, as to de-

¹⁷ This is especially apparet in the counterwritings of Harnack, Seeberg and Köhler, and more recently in Baumann's "Denifies Luther und Luthertum vom allgemein wissenschaftlichen Standpunkt aus" (Langensalza, 1904). As in the first edition, so in the new I shall close the first volume with some side-lights on Harnack's Thomistic knowledge and shall extend the lighting up process to achievements along the same line by Baumann, Seeberg, and others. Several discussions, whose absence in this part the reader will notice, are reserved for the close of the volume.

mand that, in a volume chiefly dealing with the psychological development of Luther's inner life, I take up the persecution of heretics by the Inquisition—goes so far as to make it a charge against me that I have left untouched the endeavors of my confreres “to commit people to prison, to drown them, to burn them, to tear their tongues out, to brand them, to leave them kneeling in the glowing ashes of their burnt-up Bibles,” why, he wholly forfeits every claim to be taken either scientifically or seriously. To stimulate Catholics and Protestants to a further pursuit of the course I have blazed and, with renewed zeal and unclouded vision, to bestow attention upon the questions already touched upon, is of itself an undertaking worthy of a reward. *Here there would still be so much to do.*

As to the difference between this edition and the first, in essentials they have both remained the same. But instead of the critical notes on the Weimar edition, about which I have already spoken, there is a chapter on Luther's views in respect to the religious state during his own religious life. The brief notices in the first edition on Luther's earlier penitential works have likewise grown into an extended chapter. Besides, in this edition, I have brought matters that belonged together into greater unity; I have added to the number of citations and proofs, struck out the superfluous, amplified some parts, and improved others, not to the harm of the whole. On the contrary, indeed, Luther in the new edition appears even more condemnable than he did in the corresponding parts of the old.

In conclusion, I thank all my friends—and they are not few—who have encouraged and supported me by their prayers, words, and contributions of materials. I can assure them that I will stick to my part as long as God will give me health and strength.

Rome, 30 April, 1904. P. Heinrich Denifle, O. P.

FOREWORD TO THE FIRST EDITION

(Translated by REV. ALBERT REINHART, O. P.)

The genesis of this work, of which the first volume is hereby published, has been given in the introduction, and needs, therefore, no further consideration.

My preparation for the work fell into a time in which, on the part of Protestant theologians and pastors, a bitter warfare against the Catholic Church had been inaugurated. I almost believed myself to have been relegated to that period of time in which Luther stigmatizes the Pope as the worst of scoundrels, worse than Attila, Antiochus, or any other tyrant, worse even than Judas Iscariot—a time in which this same Luther brought every charge of crime and villainy against any and all members of the Papal Curia, irrespective of persons. During the last few years the condition of affairs has been such that it must appear to every loyal son of Mother Church that he is living in the time of the Protestant pamphleteers of the sixteenth century, who served alone the purpose of railing against the Church and her institutions, of casting ridicule upon her and seducing their readers away from Rome. At the present time this same purpose is being served by the Evangelical Union, by an association of evangelizers, by strolling preachers with a full purse, by the press and multiplied leaflets—by these factors conjointly has the “Los-von-Rom” (Away from Rome) movement been called into being. The Protestant theologians are in the main the spiritual instigators of this strife, while many Protestant professors of other branches of science, and many Protestant laymen, be it said to their credit, are maintaining an attitude of unmistakable aloofness.

I say that in the main the Protestant theologians are the spiritual instigators, for they began the fight, while not infrequently Catholics were drawn into the fray, and were made the luckless scapegoats. Nevertheless, the aforesaid Protestants have the audacity to lay the blame of the whole affair at the feet of the Catholics, and to charge them with having disturbed religious peace. It is always the same old story. Even Luther, when he was blamed by those dreamers, Carlstad, Zwingle and Oekolampadius, for the disagreement in the Lutheran camp touching the doctrine of Communion, lamented: “It is with us as with the lamb which went for drink with a wolf. The wolf stood at the stream quite above the lamb. The wolf complained to the lamb that he was beclouding the water. The lamb replied: ‘How is this possible, since you are above me and are drinking from the stream before it flows to me? It is you who are disturbing the water.’ In short, the lamb had to submit to the unjust complaint of the wolf. Even

so is it with my dreamers. They have started the conflagration—in fact they boast of having done so as a benefit to mankind, and now they wish to shunt the blame for disagreement upon our shoulders. Who asked Carlstad to begin? Who bade Zwingle and Oekolampadius write? Did they not do so of their own volition? We would gladly have preserved peace, but they will not admit this. And now the fault is ours! That is the way."

Catholics may make this same reply to the Protestant instigators, and with more justification than that which warranted Luther to complain of his fanatics and dreamers. These instigators wish to pose as the innocent ones, the mild, unoffending ones, when as a matter of fact it was they who troubled the stream, and provoked the quarrel by frequently flinging the gauntlet at the feet especially of Catholic theologians. They, who do not even stand on the ground of positive Christianity, do most insolently represent Catholic teaching of dogmatic and moral character, especially that of justification, of the Sacrament of Penance and of the morality of the Catholic Church, as being essentially antichristian, whereas on the other hand they applaud Luther as the great Reformer, who being himself of Christlike character reestablished Christianity as a religion, wrested Germany from Catholic dominion, and thereby effected an emancipation of enormous and measureless significance.

The manifestation of this temper, so hostile and displeasing, induced me to widen the scope and purpose of my original plan, and to subject not only Luther but occasionally also the most influential Protestant theologians to a searching criticism. I have never been able to go about on tiptoe; I have never been taught this method of locomotion, and I shall not learn it now, for I am too old to learn any new tricks. Besides, it serves no purpose, but is really productive of harm. There need be no misconception on this point. Then, too, since the days of my childhood it has been impressed upon me that candor and sincerity must be the guiding principles of my dealings with my fellow man. In the past thirty years I have in divers fields disputed many a palm, and I believe I may say that my opponents will agree in this, that they always know where I stand and that they get invariably the expression of my unqualified sincerity without the slightest dissimulation or pretense. I take this to be worth something. If I recognize a thing as a lie, I call it a lie; if I discover rascality, deceit or dishonesty anywhere, I call them precisely by those names. If I am confronted by ignorance, I simply do not call it anything else. And so in every point.

I fail to see why Luther should be accorded a different method of treatment. If any one tells me that this is reviling Luther, I will make the reply that in this entire work I have written nothing about Luther which is not undeniably authenticated, or which does not rest upon his own utterances, or conduct, and flow therefrom with an iron and inevitable logic. If thereby he appears in a most unfavorable light, the fault is not mine but Luther's. He has reviled and disgraced himself. And if the effort should be made—as indeed it has been—to prove that Luther was the founder of a new religion, he is thereby subjected to an insult than which there could be none greater. The Christian religion was established fifteen hundred

years before Luther. Jesus Christ, the Founder of this religion, promised to support it for all time—not for fifteen hundred years only. He builded it upon Peter, and made the promise that the gates of hell should not prevail against it, and He bequeathed to it His own teaching as a rich legacy. Now, if Luther be the founder of a religion, certainly it is not the Christian religion he founded. Now, tell me, who is it that is offering to insult Luther? Why, to be sure, the Protestants themselves, at least the liberal Protestant theologians. Positively they are permitted to impugn the early Christian dogmas, to repudiate the fundamental principles of Christianity, and to declare that the belief in the Divinity of Christ and the Trinity has become obsolete and brushed aside like so many nursery tales or childish fables. And all this is actually done by them in the pulpit and in their published writings.

But the unforgivable sin is to dare to touch Luther's personality. The Protestants, however, place Luther above Christ, nay even above God; the salvation of the world is attributed to Luther and not to Christ, and the one organization in the world of real worth is said to be Protestantism, Luther's work, and not Christianity, the work of Christ.

Who is it that insults Luther in this fashion? Precisely the most celebrated Protestant theologians—or are they so hopelessly obtuse that they cannot see that all the elements of an insult are found in their extravagant claims for Luther, especially since he himself protested against it all, and called it blasphemous, and a species of idolatry? But if they insist that Luther's emancipation of man from all ecclesiastical authority necessarily brought all these things in its train, I will concede the point; but then, manifestly, Luther, who rarely foresaw the consequences of his acts, has in this case stultified himself egregiously—but the fault is his and not mine.

And again, if these same theologians make the excuse that they regard Luther as the founder of a religion only in so far as he eliminated from the Church the scandals and abuses, I will answer: *Utinam*. But unfortunately the only thing he accomplished—as I shall show exhaustively in the second volume—was to fill the measure of degeneracy, and to complete the infamy of moral degeneracy and decay. Moreover, even though the motive of Luther had been purely to eliminate from the Church her scandals and abuses, it would have been unwarranted in him to pour out the child along with the bath; for even Gerson, writing one hundred years before Luther to the heretics of his time, says: "They remind me of a foolish physician, who in his efforts to cure his patient of disease, robs him of life." This same Gerson was in 1521 declared by Melancthon to be "a great man in all things."

And so it happened that in these efforts to exterminate existing evils other errors sprang into being. We shall hear Luther repeatedly deliver himself of this opinion, that a thing should not be destroyed because it is not free from abuses. Otherwise it would become necessary to kill all the women and throw out all the wine. Therefore Wersternius, a contemporary of Luther, wrote in 1528: "The unfortunate ones fail to see that if the Pope should commit an act that is wrong, this does not impugn the sacraments, the

faith or established usage." He also says: "The same holds of the unworthy lives of certain cardinals, bishops, canonists, vicars and monks. If these be guilty of irregularities, it does not justify any Protestant, nor even Luther himself, to utter a syllable of protest. Much less to abuse, therefore, the whole Church."

By destroying the unity of the Church, they give the lie in the throat to Christ, as well as to St. Paul, and become themselves the originators of confusion, error, tumult and the desecration of the saints. "Error and suspicion are rampant everywhere."

Luther himself was at one time of this opinion, for as far as we can trace him back, as I have repeatedly shown in the course of this work, he manifests a spirit of hostility to the abuses in the Church, and to the self-righteousness, singularity and superstition in religious Orders, and as well to the despicable rivalry existing between some of these Orders. But until 1519 it did not occur to him that he should destroy the unity of the Church, as I shall show in the second volume of this work. If Luther had set his face only against the abuses which were prevalent in the Church, the result would not have been an open rupture, any more than his attack on the real or imaginary abuses of indulgences caused him to separate himself from communion with the Church; for in this encounter his opponents were the same as in subsequent ones. But that which caused his separation was his antiscritptural doctrine of justification, and his stubborn insistence that it was altogether impossible for any one to resist the lusts of the flesh. This unresistance runs all through his doctrine, and is practically the fundamental principle of it all. To a man of Luther's character and temperament his apostasy from the one true Church was inevitable; it came, and Luther separated from the one true Church—the Christian Church. He cast aside all authority, and as a logical consequence there came about that state of affairs which in 1519 he deplored as a necessary result, "as many churches as there were heads." He and his were at an end with the one Church, and so are they to-day. There can be no thought of a Christian Church with them, or for that matter of any Church, much less of a sister Church to the Catholic, which is the one and only Christian Church. Now, then, who has defamed Luther? Has he not done so himself? I am merely reporting his conduct and his doctrine.

Possibly I may be charged with having disturbed the religious peace. Who has disturbed the peace? Is it not the Protestant theologians and pastors, especially the liberal element, who, in fact, are no longer standing on Christian ground, but who are continually challenging the Catholics to a conflict. They are continually flinging pitch at the Catholic Church; they charge her with immorality and degeneracy, and continually parade and emphasize Luther's speeches against the Church. They speak with ready tongue, and boldly distort Catholic doctrine in their pulpits, in pamphlets and tracts, in catechetical instruction and in their Sunday-schools. Now, if there be one who, as a Catholic scholar and in all candor and sincerity, critically proves their statements and then rejects them; if he, having carefully examined all the old and new sources, makes a psychological study and a true

and accurate presentation of this same Luther, whom it has been the fashion to paint in glowing colors, is this, I ask you, a disturbance of the peace? Does the religious peace become disturbed only when a Catholic scholar, in defence of Mother Church, attacks Protestantism and the founder thereof? Does the religious peace suffer no disturbance when the Catholic Church is attacked and openly insulted, trodden under foot, and blows upon blows fairly rained down upon her?

Professor W. Herrmann, of Marburg, fairly alive with prejudice, calls the morality of the Catholic Church "a degenerated Christianity," and states that she sets a premium on being conscienceless, that she leads millions of people into moral ruin, that it will be impossible for her to lift herself out of the marsh and find her way back to Christ. Harnack pushes his cynicism to the extent that, without any attempt at proof, he accuses the Jesuits of having converted all the mortal sins into venial; that they are continually teaching persons how to wallow in the mire of filth, and how in the confessional to wipe out sin by sin; he sees in their comprehensive and exhaustive manuals of ethics only monsters of iniquity, and instructors in vile practices the mere description of which must call forth cries of disgust, etc. And, of course, all this is no disturbance of religious peace! But when I turn aside all these and other unfounded reproaches, and upon the authority of undeniable and authentic sources fix them upon Luther and his work, when I discover the ignorance of Protestant theologians and their sinister motives, I am immediately accused of being a disturber of the peace. Now, then, I ask, who began the disturbance? With Luther, I reply—not we!

It is an ill omen for Protestantism that to-day the cause of Luther and his work is espoused precisely by those who are no longer standing on Christian ground, and who perhaps were never more than half-hearted Christians. On the other hand, it is a testimony of the truth of a Church that she is attacked everywhere, and this at the present time is the experience of the Catholic Church. St. Augustine says: "If the heretics disagree among themselves, they invariably agree in their opposition to unity. Heretics, Jews, Pagans, and Neo-pagans are all united against unity." How fully this statement finds verification in our own time! Everywhere a stand is being taken against the Church, which like Jesus Christ, her Divine Founder, has become a sign of contradiction. And what will they accomplish by their being leagued against unity? They wish to set it aside, to destroy it absolutely, and in this attempt they betray the fact that they are enemies of Christ. According to St. Augustine: "Christ became incarnate to draw all things to Himself. But you come to destroy." You are, therefore, opposed to Christ—you are Antichrist. There is a constant repetition of that which became manifest four hundred years ago, when Luther and his followers deserted the one Church: a protest against unity, a protest against religious and ecclesiastical unity, a protest against that unity of which religious peace was born. And as if to prove to all the world that this Lutheranism which was protesting so against unity had really separated itself from the one Church, it became a party (one can hardly call it a Church) in which countless sects mutually hostile to each other sprang into being. But these

sects in their united opposition to the Catholic Church witnessed to the truth of the words of St. Augustine quoted above. Protestantism, whether considered as a party or a Church, is congenitally a disturber of the peace. The Catholic Church is the same since as before Protestantism, not as a party, but as unity itself. Christ did not found her as a party, but as unity, as the one true Church destined to bring all nations to unity in the one faith, the one doctrine, the one divine service, the one religion of Christ, under the one authority of Christ and His Vicar on earth, in order that all nations might enjoy that peace on earth which is centered in unity, and might in the end come to the one everlasting happiness in heaven.

Whoever separates from this unity, namely, the Catholic Church, or resists being received into her, stands as party against her, not as party against party, nor as unity against unity, but as a party against heaven-sent and divinely ordained unity. It is not, therefore, a matter of Catholicism against Protestantism, or of one party against another, or of two different conceptions of one and the same thing, as in the fable of "The Three Rings," but it is simply a matter of the Catholic Church, of Catholic unity, against Protestantism.

Just as in the beginning not the Church, not unity, but Luther and his followers—Protestantism considered as a party—not only disturbed but absolutely destroyed in Germany all religious peace, so to-day a great portion of the Protestant theologians and preachers are working the same havoc, one might say, professionally. It is done by traveling vicars (who have others at their back) who carry this politico-religious strife into the adjoining states. Is it possible that they wish to proclaim to all the world the fact that they are the harbingers of Protestantism, which was born into the world as a disturber of peace?

On the contrary, the Catholic Church, the concrete expression of unity, carries within herself essentially the element of conservativeness. She teaches her members, in their intercourse and dealings with those of other creeds, to exercise tolerance and Christian charity—not to judge, despise or condemn any person. She impresses upon them the fact that obedience to civil authority is a most holy and sacred obligation, and in the discharge of this obligation they must not stray a single hair from unity, nor neglect to render to God all that is God's.

To be tolerant does not mean to be a lukewarm Catholic, such a Catholic as refrains from making an open confession of his faith, lest by so doing he offend or irritate the Protestants, and therefore hesitates to say openly: "I am a Catholic, I am a child of the Catholic Church, the Church of Christ." To be tolerant does not mean to repress and suppress one's religious confession, or to recognize all creeds as equal merely because the Government may say they are so. Least of all, to be tolerant does not mean to accept in silence the defamation and misrepresentation of Catholic doctrine. Catholics do not become intolerant, disturbers of the peace, who insist upon and defend the unity of their Church. As a matter of fact, they are merely defending themselves, and indeed they are under the most sacred obligation to defend their Church against the frightful misrepresentations of Protestants; should they

fail in this they would be nothing short of cowards and traitors to their Holy Mother Church. Even though Protestants did not make the open attacks which have been the vogue in recent years, they would nevertheless be consistently and systematically disturbers of the religious peace. From generation to generation they sow the seeds of discord by the text-books and the instructions given in their schools. Thus the child in the very dawn of its education becomes inoculated with prejudice against the Catholic Church. The child, naturally credulous, does not hear the true teaching and history of the Catholic Church, but instead is filled with detestable fictions and villainous misrepresentations, and this fact will be borne out by any one who has conversed with Protestants, or taken the trouble to look into their text-books.

The Catholic Church would be perfectly justified if she made a protest and demanded that Catholic doctrine, if it be at all presented in Protestant schools, be truthfully presented and not misrepresented; that it be given to the children without bias or prejudice, so that their minds may be left open and free to the truth.

But if such a protest were ever made, how the Catholics would be denounced as intolerant fanatics and disturbers of the peace! The whole world would be of one mind in this, that such a demand were impossible and absurd.

Why? Is it unreasonable to demand that the truth be taught in the schools? Possibly, in the case in point. For if Catholic history and Catholic doctrine were truthfully presented, it would be quite as much a menace to Lutheranism as the revelation of the true character and doctrine of Luther himself. To be sure, both in the high and in the low places all hands are busy trying to avert this catastrophe, the collapse of Lutheranism. Nevertheless they are sowing the wind, and they must inevitably reap the whirlwind.

I wish to say further to the Protestant theologians that I am not the chosen spokesman of any body of men. I am writing from my own convictions, and from a motive absolutely pure. I am not writing for applause or for an encomium in any historical year book. I have written solely for the sake of truth, and if but one of the many Protestant theologians will have become more considerate and prudent by reading this work, I shall not have failed of my purpose. For any human weakness which in making citations or comments may have crept into my work, I tender my humblest apologies. God is my witness that I intended to speak the truth and the truth only, and to make an accurate and unimpeachable presentation of the subject-matter. Since the true Luther cannot be presented without the scurrility in his speeches and writings which was a characteristic part of him, I had to make this presentation, unpleasant though it was, part of the undertaking. As a result, the book now being given to the public is not intended for the young. The fact is, indeed, a sad commentary upon Luther as he really was.

May God in His infinite mercy deign to bless this my work, and may He open the eyes of at least those Protestants who are of honest mind and sincere purpose. May he cause them to see Luther and Lutheranism as they really were, and thus lead them back to unity, to the Catholic Church, so that in the words of Christ there may be but one shepherd and one fold.

FR. HEINRICH DENIFLE, O. P.

Vienna, Feast of the Holy Rosary, Oct. 4, 1904.

EXPLANATION OF SOME ABBREVIATIONS.

RÖMERBRIEF or COMMENTARY ON the Epistle to the ROMANS means the "Commentarius D. M. Lutheri in epistolam Pauli ad Romanos ex autographo descriptus," in the Codex Palat, lat. 1 1826 of the Vatican Library. This important commentary dates from 1515-1516 and will be published, as has been repeatedly announced, in the Weimar edition by Prof. Ficker of Strasburg, who first called attention to it.

The CODEX PALAT. LAT. 1825 contains Luther's commentary on Hebrews, 1517, also on the first epistle of John, etc., as is always indicated in the text below.

WEIM. means the Weimar edition, a complete critical edition of Luther's works (1883-1903). With some interruptions, the publication reaches 1529. Up to the present there have appeared volumes 1-9; 11-20; 23-30; 32-34; 36-37:

ERL. means the Erlangen edition of the German works, which includes 67 volumes. I cite volumes 1-15 in this second edition. If, exceptionally, other further volumes are cited, I always state the fact.

This edition also includes, in part, the 28 small volumes of *Opera exegetica latina*, the *Commentarius in ep. ad Galatas*, ed. Irmischer (3 vols.), and 7 small volumes of *Opera varii argumenti*.

DE WETTE—"Dr. Martin Luther's Briefe, Sendschreiben, und Bedenken mit Supplement von Leideman," 6 vols. (1825-1856), i.e. Luther's letters, circulars, and considerations, etc.

ENDERS—"Dr. Martin Luther's Briefwechsel (i.e. correspondence) in der Erlanger-Frankfort-Calwer Ausgabe" (1884-1903), of which 10 volumes have appeared, reaching July 17, 1536. For later letters De Wette must be used. De Wette is also the only one to give the German letters.

Other titles are given as they are used in the course of the work.

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Luther's then views, which are greatly at variance with those formed later. Never opposed to the essential idea of the religious state. Expresses himself on the reception of a novice from another order, a good intention being presupposed. Sends a fellow religious, (G. Zwilling), studying at Wittenberg, to Erfurt, there to learn to know convent life better. Luther himself at Wittenberg almost wholly absorbed in official duties and studies, so that he rarely has time to recite his canonical hours (office) and to celebrate mass. Yet he did not then condemn the religious life, and looked upon the vows as self-evidently licit, provided they were taken in the right manner (out of love for God and with a free will). Not that a man enter an order out of despair, thinking that only there is salvation to be attained. The contempt widely shown for the religious state should never be permitted to deter one from entering; never was there a better time to become a member of an order. On the other hand Luther warmly inveighs against the idiosyncrasies and self will of some religious as contrary to obedience, but declares a violation of the vow of chastity to be a very great sacrilege. He calls the evangelical counsels certain means conducing to easier fulfilment of the commandments. For these reasons, an admirer, (Konrad Pellican), as late as 1520, hails him as the most qualified advocate of the religious life. His hatred of the Church, whose most powerful auxiliaries the religious were, first betrayed him into his warfare against the orders and vows.

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St. Bernard, once lying at the point of death, confessed only this: "I have lost my time, for I have lived an evil life." By these words he reprobated his whole monastic life and hung his frock on a peg. The passage identified; it simply proves to be the humble confession of a contrite soul face to face with God. Such a confession genuinely Catholic; authorities quoted.

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As certain as it is, according to him, that religious seek their salvation by their works and vows, but not by faith. So false is it in fact, even though Luther researchers try to come forward in behalf of their hero. These defenders did not at all observe his false play. Although Luther, according to his own statement, was uncertain with what disposition he took his vows, he nevertheless affects to know how the many commonly take them, namely, so that the vows shall take the

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According to him, whoso would pray to God to escape from the lust of the flesh is a blockhead. Luther places the satisfying of fleshly lust on a like level with the heroism of the apostles and martyrs. He and his fellow apostates, in respect to warfare against the flesh, are like cowardly soldiers. St. Augustine on the difference, in respect to marriage, between being free or bound by a vow to the contrary. Luther's perversion of the Apostolic maxim: "It is better to marry than to burn," "melius est nubere quam uri." He parries the "papistical" admonition to beg the help of God's grace against temptation, with the dilemma: "What if God did not wish

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that is charity. The commandment of loving God is not confined within limits; it is not as if a certain measure of love satisfies the law and as if a measure greater than is required by the law fulfils the counsels. The counsels are a help to the better and more perfect fulfilment of the law. They are therefore only the instruments of perfection, and the religious state is a state of perfection only in the sense that it imposes an obligation of striving after perfection. The same is taught by Albertus Magnus, Bonaventure, David of Augsburg, Godfrey de Fontaine, Henry of Ghent, Henry of Friemar.

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He claims to have practised his mortifications twenty years, another time he says fifteen. The time could have been at most ten years, but was more likely only five. His alleged endurance of cold and frost, observance and night vigils. "Rigorous" fasting—pertinent mitigations of the constitutions by Staupitz.

B. *Views of Catholic Reaches Down to Luther's Time on Self-Chastisements and Discretion*-----

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None of them aware that mortifications were practised to propitiate the stern judge, but all take the object to be (according to the purport of the word itself) the mortification (or sub-dual) of the flesh; they require above all things discretion. The wise preceptor, Cassian—Saints Basil, Jerome, Benedict, Peter Chrysologus, Hugo of St. Victor, Bernard. The Carthusian Order—William of St. Thierry, Thomas Aquinas and his recommendation of discretion, David of Augsburg and Bonaventure. Observance in the Order of Augustinian Hermits. The German mystics and their recommendation of "discretion." Gerson and the little book, the Following of Christ—Gerhard von Zutphen. Raymund Jordanis (Ignotus) and St. Lawrence Justiniani. St. Ignatius, Raulin, and the admonitions of medieval preachers. An echo from the popular poetry of the middle ages. A saying of Hugo of St. Cher. The sound doctrine of the Ambrosiasts was taken over into the Glosses; also that of Peter Lombard and of the recognized authority down to Luther's time, Nicholas de Lyra.

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He recommends fasting, yet it is not to be practised out of obedience to the Church, but as one thinks best for himself.

D. The Later Luther in Contradiction With the Earlier and With the Doctrine of the Order and of the Church-----

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Luther researchers have made a failure of their test of the later utterances of Luther. Examination of this test; the first five years. His novice-master required no unreasonable, immoderate strictness. Luther himself was careful to practise outward obedience, even though violently assailed by self-will within. Besides, his patron, Staupitz, released him from various menial services; it is not possible that he imposed immoderate penances on Luther. Luther himself writes, 1509, that he was getting on well. Why is it that he expresses himself to the contrary only after 1530?

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According to Luther's statement, 1533, the outer conventional practices and mortifications were supposed to have the object of enabling one straightway to find Christ and reach heaven. To become a monkish saint, as he expressed himself a year or so later, he applied himself to them most diligently. Against such a caricature of a monkish saint, a Christian teacher had protested as much as a thousand years earlier. If Luther made himself such a saint, it was only out of knavery. Only a second similar comedy is his late and ultimate recognition that Romans 1,17 is not to be understood of God's recognition that Romans 1, 17 is not to be understood of God's retributive justice, but of the passive, by which He justifies us by faith; connection with the previous assertion. Nevertheless he had always even in his earlier days expressed himself in this sense. Luther's later utterances belong to the chapter on "iles of convenience," the lawfulness of which he defends. Consequences for Luther biographers.

CHAPTER II.—PRELIMINARY INQUIRY INTO THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH IN HER PRAYERS ON A MERCIFUL GOD AND HIS GRACE AS AGAINST OUR POWERLESSNESS.-----

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Proof chiefly from the missal, breviary, and *Ordinarium* of the Order of Hermits—books of which Luther had formerly made use; they scarcely ever mention the stern judge, but continually refer to God's mercy. Prominence constantly given to our own helplessness. God, Christ, and the Cross, the salvation and hope of the world. The true God says: "I desire not the death of the wicked, etc." The later Luther recoils upon himself. Glories of God's grace. The Church our mother-hen, we her brood—the merit of Jesus Christ the sole ground of our salvation in life and in death. Luther speaks on the verdict.

Introduction

For years it was one of my added tasks, besides my labors on the University of Paris and the destruction of the churches and monasteries of France during the hundred years' war, to sift out original materials for a study on the decline of the secular and regular clergy in the fifteenth century. In these, as in all my previous researches, there was no thought farther from my mind than that of Luther and Lutherdom. My interest was without bias and centered solely on the study of the two tendencies in evidence from the fourteenth century, at least in France and Germany—one of decline and fall in a great part of the secular and regular clergy, the other of a movement of moral renewal and reawakening in the remaining part. But it was especially the former to which my attention was directed. Accordingly I resumed my researches, but only those which, later interrupted, had been devoted some twenty years before to the reform of the Dominican Order in the fifteenth century.

The farther I pursued the course of the downward trend, the more forcibly was I moved to ask in what its precise character consisted and how it first declared itself. The answer, once the elements common to both tendencies were found, was not hard. Both those movements of downfall and of renewal are bound up in our nature, in our baser and in our higher part, the antagonism between which St. Paul, in his day, described in his Epistle to the Romans. For, just as in individuals, so does this struggle rage in the whole of humanity.

The characteristic note of the decline was to let one's self go, a shrinking from all effort, and the actual avowal: "I cannot resist." The law was felt to be a burden and a bar-

rier; above all, the commandment, "*non concupisces*"—thou shalt not covet—seemed impossible to fulfill, and men acted accordingly. These principles found expression less in theory than in practice. Anyone of this tendency unresistingly gave way to his corrupted nature, particularly in the case of the commandment just cited, spite of his vows, spite of his sworn fidelity to God and his Church. Yet this was not in response to a party cry, not out of defiance of the teaching of Christ and of the Church, nor by reason of a theory, as with the Brethren of the Free Spirit, but out of weakness, in consequence of occasions not shunned, out of a lack of practical Christianity, and by force of habit which had come to be second nature. Many a one rallied but often only to relapse. In this tendency, self-subdual, self-command, self-discipline were almost meaningless words. In the fifteenth century, as before it, one finds here and there, now greater now lesser ecclesiastical associations, the greater part of many a diocese, and not rarely their shepherds included, revealing the marks described.¹

The supporters of the other tendency corresponding to man's higher part, are those circles of the clergy, secular and regular, who, true to their calling and living in the following of Christ, longed to realize a reform of Christianity and sought by word, writings and example, at times with all their might, to check the decline. And they succeeded here and there, but not in general; on the contrary, the stream against which they set themselves took its course undisturbed and in many cases but spread the more, so that not once only I asked myself: "Can the evil make further headway? Where is the end to be?" Still I had to admit to myself that the measure of the decline, in the form in which I had it before my eyes, was not yet filled. Matters could even become worse. Only after the rejection of everything, when every dike and restraint has been broken through, and conscience,

¹ An exhaustive account is to be looked for in its proper place in the second volume of this work. In respect to Rhenish dioceses in the first half of the XIV cent. cfr. now *Sauerland* in *Urkunden und Regesten zur Geschichte der Rheinlande aus dem Vat. Archiv.* (Bonn. 1902), I, pp. XVI-XIX. See also Landmann, *Das Predigtwesen in Westfalen in der letzten Zeit des Mittelalters* (1900-), p. 193 sqq.

blunted to the utmost, no longer recognizes evil as such but rather lauds it as good, then do we stand at the close of the development, then is hope of renewal and reform cut off.

As a matter of fact, this, at least in the fifteenth century, was not yet the case. The evil priest and religious was still outwardly in accord with ecclesiastical authority. Of a breach on principle there was no question. If France largely, even as late as the sixteenth century, rose against the Pope, that was less to be freed from the highest ecclesiastical authority than to find it. Moreover my research did not trouble about the politics of the different countries. However much an evil priest or religious of that period might neglect to say mass, or celebrated it thoughtlessly and unworthily, he did not discard it. That did not enter his mind, however guilty he may have been of abuse of the sacred function. If he did not recite his office, he was nevertheless generally aware that he was grievously sinning against a grave obligation. Did he keep a concubine or several of them, in behalf of whom and their children he made considerate provision in his will or otherwise, he was often enough cumbered with scruples of conscience. He knew that the vow he made to God was no trick of the devil, rather that overstepping it was a sacrilege.

Of not a few, one reads that they rallied and broke off their illicit relation; but oftener, it must be admitted, the next occasion brought them to their downfall again. "Within me," writes one of these unhappy priests to his brother, who was a monk,² "a constant conflict rages. I often resolve to mend my course, but when I get home and wife and children come to meet me, my love for them asserts itself more mightily than my love for God, and to overcome myself becomes impossible to me." Betterment nevertheless was never absolutely excluded, for where there is remorse of conscience, there is still hope. If a man in this condition went to confession, it did not, of course, do him any good, unless he earnestly resolved to avoid the occasion of his sin and to sever his sinful bond; but he was well aware that he himself was the culpable one, and he threw no stone

² In Cod. lat. Mon. 3332, fol. 1, in Riezler, *Geschichte Bayerns*, III, 844, to be found in the prologue of the printed "*Lavacrum Conscientiae*."

at confession. He did not regard his condition as one of serving God, but as a life of sin before God and men. He performed few or no good works, not on principle, or as if these were useless to salvation, but rather out of weakness, habit, carelessness. The real ground of his conduct was always his corrupt nature, to which he gave the reins. Worse than all this was the evil example, the benefice hunting, and the neglect of the care of souls and of instruction.

Nevertheless this condition was not the fullness of wickedness, although it was far from edifying. It was not a hopeless state. It was not believed to be such at the time; for, why was there a general clamor for reform, even on the part of the fallen clergy, secular and regular, if reform was not held to be possible?³ The newly arisen religious congregations as well as members of the old orders and some bishops, from the first decades of the fifteenth century, actually rescued a number of those who had fallen, and even whole societies, from the downward sweep to ruin, recalling them to peace with God and with their conscience.

But that was not stemming the tide of the movement. What it lost in one place, as described, it gained in another. Such is the picture we have of it at the end of the fifteenth, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The satires of the Italian and German humanists on the degenerate clergy of the time did harm instead of good. They did not contribute the least towards reform. In their lives the most of those writers were themselves even more caught up by the movement towards moral decline. It was different, on the other hand, with a number of the French humanists, like Guy Jouveaux, Charles Fernand, Jean Raulin. They did not the less regret the decline and write against it, but, not rarely, they chose a new state of life, the religious state, and there effecting their own regeneration, exerted an influence upon their contemporaries in and out of their order.

In the first two decades of the sixteenth century, matters had come to such an evil pass in Germany that, in a book, "*Onus Ecclesiae*," bearing the name of Berthold Von Chiem-

³ Cf. Joh. Rider, *De reformatione religiosorum liber*, Parisiis, Jean Petit, 1512, II, 9, fol. 53.

see, there was a complaint that read: "Our whole inclination runs to vanity; whatever evil comes to a man's mind, he dares perpetrate it with impunity"—(c. 40, n. 2): "tota nostra inclinatio ad vanitatem tendit; quidquid mali unicuique in mentem venerit, hoc impune perpetrare audet." The author complains that the Church is deformed in her members and that clergy and people in Germany are evil, and he fears a judgment of God. (Ibid. n. 1 and 3.) That does not say, of course that all are bad. Other observers of the time, Geiler of Kaisersberg (Cf. L. *Dacheux*, *Un réformateur catholique à la fin du XV siècle*, Jean Geiler de Kaysersberg, 1876, p. 141, sq.), and Wimpfeling (*Diatriba Iacobi Wimpfelingii Seletstatini*, Hagenaw 1514, c. 11, fol. 9b; Riegger, "Amoenitates literarii," Friburg, 1775, p. 280; 364), find in some dioceses in Germany, along with the evil, which they frankly disclose, not a few exceptions among the clergy and people,⁴ as formerly Gerson had already done at the beginning of the fifteenth century in France.⁵ Even in the worst period, impartial eye-witnesses point to extant good.⁶ But the movement of decline was strong, and the book just mentioned speaks about it. Those of the clergy belonging to it were largely no longer conscious of their state, of their duties, of their task. There was a complete lack among them of asceticism and moral discipline. In a word, the inner spirit of the movement and they themselves permitted the worst to be feared.

Luther, in 1516, a year and a half before the indulgence controversy, and so, at a time in which the thought of apostasy from the Church was quite alien to him, wrote about the

⁴ A general description of the good and evil at the close of the middle ages is given by L. Pastor in *Janssens Geschich. des deutschen Volkes*, I, 17 and 18. Ed. (1897) pp. 674-754.

⁵ Opp. *Gerson*., *Antverpiae* 1706, II, 632, 634.

⁶ Thus e. g., the serious Ehrfurt Augustinian, Bartholomew v. Usingen, replying to the calumnies of the preachers, drew attention to the many good secular priests and the numerous religious then living there. "Ecce quot sunt honesti viri sacerdotes per ambo hujus oppidi collegia ecclesiastica, quot denique per parochias et coenobia, quos nebulones isti pessimi pessime diffamant, nugacissime conspurcant. Taceo virgines vestales, quas moniales vocamus, quae omnes virulentiae et petulantiae censuraeque linguarum istorum subjici cernuntur." *Libellus F. Barthol. de Usingen, De merito bonorum operum*. Erphurdie 1525, fol. Jb. Cf. Paulus, *Der Augustiner Barthol. v. Usingen*, p. 58.

priests and religious in Germany, but, it must be admitted, in his pessimism, generalizingly and with exaggeration: "If coercion were removed from each and every one, and it were left to his choice to observe the fasts, and to carry out his prayers, church duties, and divine service, if all this were left to his conscience and only the love of God were to be the motive of his doing, I believe that, within a year, all the churches and altars would be empty. If a mandate were to be issued that no priest, except voluntarily, need be wifeless, tonsured, and dressed in ecclesiastical garb, and that none were obliged to the canonical hours, how many, think you, would you still find who would choose the life in which they now live? Theirs is a forced service and they seek their liberty, when their flesh covets it. I fear that nowadays we are all going to perdition."⁷

Only from four to five years later, these words were realized in a great number of these priests. From the beginning of the third decade of the sixteenth century, the movement of decline, at least in Germany, began to part into two branches; the one still bore the character of the decadent society of the fifteenth century, the other, far stronger, more resembles a sewer or a quagmire than a movement, and presents a new, peculiar physiognomy. Thenceforward one meets troops of runaway religious, and fallen priests at every crook and turn. As though in response to some shibboleth, they threw overboard everything that up to then had been sacred to Christians and themselves. They violated the fidelity they had sworn to God and His Church, abandoned monasteries, churches and altars. They vied with each other in bringing contempt upon the Mother-Church, the mass, the breviary, the confessional, in a word, upon every church institution. In sermons, derisive songs, and lampoons, they poured their ridicule upon the monks and priests who had remained faithful, and assaulted them on the streets and in the very churches themselves. In discourses and writings they reviled the Pope as Anti-christ, and bishops and all serving the Church, as rascals of the devil.

The vows which they had solemnly promised before God,

⁷ Epistle to the Romans, fol. 276b.

they take to amount to a denial of Christ, wiles of the devil, opposed to the Gospel, and therefore they cried down as apostates those religious that remained true to God.⁸ The concubinage of priests and religious is not characterized as concubinage by them, but is rather lauded as valid wedlock before God, because nature demands the cohabitation of man and woman. Marriage of the clergy, marriage of monks—that was the magic expression that was to enable them to continue concubinage, though it was held in universal and especially popular odium. Marriage sounds better than concubinage, and therefore it was their concern “that it should never involve infamy or danger, but be praiseworthy and honorable before the world.”⁹ Their supreme maxim runs that the instinct of nature is irresistible, it must be gratified. Not only is all this a matter of practice, as in the case of the concubinaries of the preceding century, or of the other groups, but it is preached in sermons and set up as a doctrine.

“Scandal be pished!” is now the word; “necessity knows no law and gives no scandal.”¹⁰ “By the vow of chastity, man denies that he is a man,” is the exhortation given to one to lead him to violate his vow. “Cheer up and go at it! Keep God before your eyes, be steady in your faith and turn your back to the world with its jolting and scratching and rumbling! Neither hear nor see how Sodom and Gomorrha sink behind us or what becomes of them!”¹¹ They are not Sodom, but such as are scandalized at their breaking the vows. In a blasphemous manner, the very words of the Apostle¹² are applied in favor of the violation of the vow of chastity. “Receive not the grace of God in vain. For he saith:¹³ In an accepted time have I heard thee, and in the day of salvation have I helped thee. Behold, now is the acceptable time, behold now is the day of salvation.”¹⁴ “It is only a matter of

⁸ Weim. VIII, 604.

⁹ Weim. XII, 242.

¹⁰ Weim. XI, 400.

¹¹ Weim. XII, 243 sq.

¹² 2 Cor. 6, 1. 2.

¹³ Is. 49, 8.

¹⁴ Weim. XII, 244.

a little hour's shame; thereafter come none but years of honor. May Christ give His grace, that these words by His Spirit may have life and strength in your heart,"¹⁵ i. e., to stimulate you to break your vow. These are challenges and doctrines, not of a concubinary of the old tendency, (he did not go to such lengths, in spite of his evil practices); they rather breathe the spirit of the Brethren of the Free Spirit, which such deeply degenerated priests and monks of the third decade of the sixteenth century had made their own. To such people, the consummated deed was equivalent to a dispensation from all vows and promises to God. "One finds many a devout pastor," we hear this company declaring,¹⁶ "whom none can blame otherwise than that he is weak and came to shame with a woman. Yet these two are so disposed in the depth of their heart that they would willingly remain with each other always, in true conjugal fidelity, if they could only do it with a good conscience, even though they would have to bear the opprobrium of it publicly. Surely these two before God are wedded. If they have quieted their conscience, let the pastor take her as his lawful wife, keep her, and otherwise live like an honest man, whether the Pope will or no that it is contrary to law of spirit or of flesh. As soon as one begins the married state against the Pope's law, it is all over with that law and it holds no longer; for God's commandment, which commands that none can separate man and wife, goes far above the Pope's commandment. Christ has made us free from all laws, if these are against the commandment of God."

This is the philosophy of the flesh, which has no regard for conclusions. Complete emancipation of the flesh is the motto of this new group of beings. We have reached the culmination of the wickedness of the decadent part of the clergy, which, like a stream, rolled out of the fifteenth into the sixteenth century. We have come to the evil at its worst, which the quagmire branch of that stream represents.

¹⁵ De Wette, II, 640. The one who wrote this made the contemptuous observation only a few years before: "*Nebulones* proverbio dicunt: 'Tis an evil hour that is on'—'es ist umb eine böse stund zu tun.'" Weim. VI, 120, 2, ad an. 1520.

¹⁶ Weim. VI, 442 sq.

As a matter of fact, can one go farther than that mendicant monk who, in the beginning of the third decade of the sixteenth preached: "As little as it is in my power to cease to be a male, so little does it rest with me to be without a wife!"¹⁷ The same monk had once at the altar solemnly taken the vow of continence; "but," he continues in his sermon,¹⁸ "the vow of no monk is of any account before God; priests, monks, nuns, are even bound in duty to abandon their vows, if they find that they are potent to engender and increase God's creatures." It is then, he says repeatedly, that they pass from the state of unchastity into that of chastity. To wive priests and monks, then, in spite of their vows, was looked upon as a work pleasing to God. Could matters have become any worse? How favorably, from among these priests and religious, does that concubinary stand forth, whose complaint we heard above, that, unfortunately, he preferred the love of the creature to the love of God. Now, for the sake of the gratification of the sensual instinct, the very violation of the fidelity sworn to God is glorified as an act of divine love.

We see a multitude of religious throwing off every check and every restraint. Unbounded license is their watch-word. Nothing lay farther from them than mortification. "The subdual of the flesh and tinder of their sins," writes Werstemius, "they leave to the women."¹⁹ The vow of chastity seemed not only intolerable to them but a downright trick of Satan. "He who vows chastity does just the same as one who vows adultery or other things forbidden by God,"²⁰ was the saying. "The body demands a woman and has need of the same."²¹ "Chastity is not in our power. All are created for marriage. God does not permit that one be alone."²² In their very catechisms "for children and the simple minded," they set

¹⁷ Erl. 20, 58.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 59.

¹⁹ Joannis Werstemii Dalamensis * * * De Purgatorio et aliis quibusdam axiomatis Disputatio longe elegantissima. Coloniae 1528. Fol. Diiij^b: "Isti ut rectius expeditiusque serviant Evangelio, ut toti sint in spiritu, carnem suam domandam committunt mulierculis."

²⁰ Weim. XII, 242.

²¹ De Wette, II, 639.

²² De Wette, II, 637 sq.

down the teaching that, "by the sixth commandment, the vow of all unconjugal chastity is condemned and leave is given, and even the command, to all poor consciences in bondage, deceived by their monastic vows, to pass from their unchaste state (thus was the religious state designated) into wedded life."²³ And so was the exhortation given: "Dare it cheerfully; come out of the wicked and unchristian state into the blessed state of marriage; there will God let Himself be found merciful."²⁴

How did they come to such shocking doctrines? They surely did not always teach them? Certainly not. But anyone who had already been in the practical movement of decline—and the *main group* of the new tendency and view of life originated from it—had had a good novitiate to begin with. There was need only of a leap or two in advance to get into the new current, to be wholly swept into its moral quagmire. "Those who belong to this rabble," wrote the doughty Franciscan, Augustine Von Alfeld, in 1524, "are full mornings and evenings, and little sober meantime, and they wallow like swine in lewdness. *The ones who were of the same pack and of our number, have now absolutely all, God be praised, got out of the benefices and monasteries.*"²⁵ "God has cleaned His threshing floor and winnowed the chaff from the wheat," writes shortly afterward the Cistercian, Wolfgang Mayer.²⁶ With the old concubinary as with the new, the maxim of life was the same: Concupiscence cannot be dominated, one cannot resist his nature. The old concubinary, therefore, presently found himself at home in the new society. There was no need of his exerting himself to get rid of everything. It cost him no pains to let himself go as far as the domain of corrupted nature reaches. To some this was already the object of their desire, and many another had only been waiting for a favorable occasion, for patterns and examples, which now confronted him in unqualified abundance.

²³ Erl. 21, 71.

²⁴ De Wette, II, 675.

²⁵ Lemmens, Pater Augustin von Alfred, Freiburg 1899, p. 72.

²⁶ Votorum Monast. Tutor, in Cod. 1. Mon. 2886, fol. 35b.

Meantime there were discovered in that miry branch of obduracy and degenerate Christianity elements—*they denote the second group*—which formerly were carried along by the current of reform. What about these? How did they get into the contrary movement, into the branch most diametrically opposed to reform? The manner of it is the same old story. First, it was by carelessness, especially in dangerous occasions; in the end, they fell. Concurrently they gave up practical Christianity by degrees. They neglected communion with God. Prayer, whether liturgical or ordinary—meditation had become altogether a thing of the past—and confession as well, were a torture to them. And so because they were powerless and unsupported, they finally fell into the lowest part, to speak with Tauler, and they had nothing to sustain them against the other temptations assailing them at the time, or against the doubts of faith that pressed upon them in so desolate a state of soul. Luther himself, as early as 1515, had given warning and had foretold them their condition in the words: “If a young person no longer has devotion and fervor to God, but gives himself a free rein, without caring about God, I hardly believe that he is chaste. For, since it is necessary that either the flesh or the spirit live, it is also necessary that either the flesh or the spirit burn. And there is no more certain victory over the flesh than flight and aversion of the heart in devotion. For, whilst the spirit is fervent, the flesh will soon die away and grow cool, and vice versa.”²⁷ A golden rule, worthy of a father of the Church, a voice that came echoing across from the opposite movement of regeneration. But it was no longer understood in the least by the profligate priests and monks. If one recalled to their minds that they had been able to be continent ten and fifteen years and more, and therefore it was their own fault that they now felt continency to be

²⁷ Epistle to the Romans, fol. 93: Quaecumque persona juvenis non habet devotionem et igniculum ad Deum, sed libere incedit, sine cura Dei, vix credo, quod sit casta. Quia cum sit necesse carnem aut spiritum vivere, necesse et etiam aut carnem aut spiritum ardere. Et nulla est potior victoria carnalis, quam fuga et aversio cordis per devotionem eorum. Quia fervescens spiritu mox tepescit et frigescit caro, et econtra.

something impossible,²⁸ and they ought again to have recourse to prayer, that world power, begging God's grace, they would laugh, while saying: "*Pulchre*, beautiful! And what if it is not God's will to be prayed to for that? Or what if one prays to Him, He does not hearken to the prayer?"²⁹ They even went so far as to assume an air of deep moral earnestness by disposing of the reference to prayer with the exclamation: "That is the way to jest in matters so serious!"³⁰ But as Luther put it,³¹ it is easy knowing the rogue who cannot hide his knavery.

It is no wonder, then, that to such as these the lust of the flesh, caused by their lack of communion with God, gave them much ado. As their spokesman exclaims: "I am inflamed with carnal pleasure, while I ought to be fervent in spirit. I am on fire with the great flame of my unbridled flesh and sit here in leisure and laziness, neglecting prayer."³² Some time later, we naturally hear a still more shameless admission, which we do not wish to cite a second time.³³ Such contemporaries as had their eyes open grasped the conditions of that time quite correctly. "How many of the pious runaway monks and nuns has Your Excellency found," writes one prince to another, "who have not become common whores and rascals?"³⁴ It was these people who read in their fleshly lust a God-given sign by which they were called to marriage,³⁵ while at the same time, unmindful of their solemn promise made to God, they misused the saying of St. Paul:

²⁸ Thus, e. g. Barth. de Usingen wrote to an apostate fellow member of his Order, John Lang, with whom he had lived in the same monastery: "Sed quero a te, si tibi possibilis fuit continentia carnis ad quindecim annos in monasterio, cur jam tibi impossibilis sit facta nisi tua culpa?" De falsis prophetis * * * Erphurdie, 1525, fol. H.

²⁹ Weim. VIII, 631.

³⁰ Weim. VIII, 631: "Iste est modus ludendi in rebus tam seriis."

³¹ Erl. 43, 335.

³² Enders, III, 189.

³³ Ibid. V, 222.

³⁴ Letter of Duke Georg of Saxony to Landgrave Philip of Hessen, 11 March, 1525, in Briefe Georgs. Zeitschr. f. hist. Theol. 1849, p. 175.

³⁵ Der Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas, ed. Kawerau; I, 77, is written by this priest and professor to John Lang, Nov. 1521: "Dici nequit quam me hic exagitet tentatio carnis. Nescio an Dominus vocet ad ducendam uxorem. Hactenus quid carnis ignes sicut, nescivi, ut in aurem tibi dicam, nam serio cupio ut pro me ardentissime ores * * * Dominus servabit, spero,

"It is better to marry than to burn."³⁶ Even as late as March, 1520, the words of Luther still rang forth to them: "The strongest weapon is prayer and God's word; to wit, let a man, when his evil desire stirs, fly to prayer, beseech God's grace and help, read and meditate the gospel, and behold therein Christ's sufferings."³⁷ On this latter point, he had written in 1519: "If unchastity and desire assail you, remember how bitterly Christ's tender flesh is scourged, transpierced, and bruised."³⁸

Those wholly degenerated priests and religious had now sunk too deep to be impressed by any such counsels, as, for example, in the fifteenth century, John Busch had converted not a few concubinaries by his admonitions to them to be zealous for prayer and seriously to enter into themselves. But the reform movement in the sixteenth century accomplished incomparably more with that group of evil ecclesiastics that had not given in to self-induration. These did not fetch up in the quagmire state, but in a renewal of spirit, which, with its way first paved by the Council of Trent and continued by new associations, was effectuated in a countless number. Not in all, it is true; for, along with the good, there were always bad, and sometimes very bad priests in the Church, as there will always be to the end, who in nothing were behind the old concubinaries, and sometimes the new.³⁹ But this was not in consequence of the teaching of their leaders, as in the case of the latter. With these the course ran counter to their faith.

quod in me peccatore misserimo plantavit * * * concerne literas et perde." A few weeks later he wrote to the same, after mentioning that a number of priests had married: "Quid mihi faciendum putas?—quod tamen mi frater celabis—diaboli casses et catenas, quibus non in secretis cubiculis, nocturnis illusionibus, cogitationibus spurcissimis captivos et saucios duxit, perrumpere et tum in aliis tum forsitan etiam in me ostendere, quam cupiam extinctam diabolicam hypocrisin? Tu ora Dominum, ut det sacerdotibus uxores christianas." I, 83.

³⁶ I Cor. 7, 9.

³⁷ Weim. VI, 209.

³⁸ Weim II, 141.

³⁹ Attention is here advisedly directed to A. Kluckhohn, "Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kirchlichen Zustände, insbesondere des sittlichen Lebens der Katholischen Geistlichen in der Diocese Konstanz während des 16. Jahrhunderts" in Zeitschrift f. Kirchengesch, XVI, 590 sqq. Kluckhohn's conclusions are founded on prejudice.

In the new order, the worst representative, writing to an archbishop to urge him to marry, rose to words that would have made even the greatest profligate of the fifteenth century shake his head: "It is terrible, if a man were to be found at death without a wife, at least, if he had not had an earnest intention and purpose of entering upon marriage. For, what will he answer, if God asks him: 'I made you a man, who should not be alone but should have a wife. Where is your wife?'"⁴⁰ "Behold, how the devil swindles and humbugs you, teaching you so preposterous a thing!"⁴¹ might well an old concubinary have exclaimed to him. Besides, up to that time there had only a baptism of desire been spoken of; now the plan of things is to be enlarged with a "*marriage of desire*." This is quite logical. In the practice of that school, the saying of Holy Writ, "The just man lives by faith,"⁴² has apparently the hidden sense, "the just man lives with a wife," for, "it is not God's will that there be any living outside of marriage." "Of necessity must a man cleave to a wife and a wife to a man, unless God work a wonder."⁴³

Matters came to so scandalous a pass that those elements of the party—the *third group*—who, led astray by the delusive notion that their leader would effect the long desired reform and the correction of abuses, had suffered themselves at first to be swept along by the current, now gradually came to know they were in a Sodom and therefore, in great part, they abandoned the movement, either to go back to the Mother-Church or to pursue a way of their own. Others however—they are the *fourth* category—the rationalists and free-thinkers, mostly laics, persevered in their class, despite the dissolute phenomena described. To be out of the Church, they were willing to let everything, more or less, be included in the bargain. They were even the authors of the creed-forms of the party.

Nevertheless those runaway monks and fallen priests, who had annihilated their own and other's decency, modesty, and honor, had the effrontery to come forward as preachers

⁴⁰ De Wette, II, 676.

⁴¹ Erl. 25, 371.

⁴² Rom. I, 17.

⁴³ Weim. XII, 113 sq.

of morality, even to call themselves the Evangelicals and, by their malevolent exaggeration of the evil condition of the Church, to cover their own infamy. Luther himself, some years earlier, had already said: "Heretics cannot themselves appear good unless they depict the Church as evil, false, and mendacious. They alone wish to be esteemed as the good, but the Church must be made to appear evil in every respect."⁴⁴ "They close their eyes to the good," said St. Augustine⁴⁵ in his day, "and exaggerate only the evil, real or imagined." And with it all they adopted, as usual, a dissolute fashion such as had never in earlier days been seen, not even in the most demoralized period of the schism—a fashion that was in vogue perhaps only among the lowest dregs of the people. Their conversation as well became like a sewer. I will spare the reader any examples. In the course of this work there will often enough be occasion to speak of them.

In all truth, Luther was right when he concluded his opinion of the priests and monks of his time with the words: "I fear we are all going to perdition." He knew whither their instincts were tending. He had reason to fear that the current of decline, or its greater part, had sooner or later to empty into a deep sewer. There was no more rescue then, for, "the wicked man, when he is come into the depth of sins, contemneth."⁴⁶ Should ever a religious sin out of contempt, such is the teaching of St. Thomas, he becomes the very worst and most incorrigible at the same time.⁴⁷

What would Luther have said, if, in 1516, he had foreseen what came to pass only a few years later—those wholly debased priests and religious, as if their own infidelity to God were not enough, co-operating with laics in tearing consecrated virgins from their cloisters, after they had first corrupted them with their surreptitious writings, and simply forcing them into the violation of their vows and into mar-

⁴⁴ Dictata in Psalterium. Weim. III, 445. Cf. also IV, 363.

⁴⁵ Enarr. in Ps. 99, n. 12. He speaks of those who are in the religious state: "Qui vituperare volunt, tam invido animo et perverso vituperant, ut claudant oculos adversus bona, et sola mala quae ibi vel sunt vel putantur exaggerent."

⁴⁶ Proverbs, 18, 3.

⁴⁷ 2. 2. qu. 186. a. 10, ad 3: "Religiosus peccans ex contemptu fit pessimus, et maxime incorrigibilis." Cf. S. Bernardus, De praecepto et dispens., c. 8.

riage? How he would have inveighed against them as lecherous heathens, barbarians, because anything like their conduct had till then been known only of the barbarians. It may occasionally have happened in the fifteenth century, as Nider informs us, that concubinaries, from their pulpits, exalted the married state above that of virginity, and kept many a maiden from entering the convent. That nuns were dishonored within their convent walls had no doubt occurred more than once. But to ravish them from their convents, at times even crowds of them, was an achievement reserved to the concubinaries of the third decade of the sixteenth century. They glorified the nuns' violation of their vows and forsaking their convents as nothing less than a divine action, for out of their midst came the book: "The Reason and a Reply, Why Maidens May With Godliness Forsake Their Convents."⁴⁸ It was for their own wiving that they wanted inviolate virgins. They believed they could find them in convents of women, although publicly they spoke all evil of them. Once the deed was done, they perpetrated the unheard of; they began a kind of traffic in profaned nuns, and did nothing less than put them up for sale. "Nine have come to us," writes one of the fallen priests to another; "they are beautiful, genteel, and all of the nobility, and among them I find not one half-centenarian. The oldest, my dear brother, I have set aside for you to be your partner in marriage. But if you desire a younger, you shall have your choice of the most beautiful ones."⁴⁹ This is not unlikely the acme of the movement of decline and fall.

If, for the sake of carnal lust, the monastic vows were thus treated, and the violation of them was set forth as a work pleasing to God, it is evident that the storm would also put the indissolubility of marriage to the test and that adultery would no longer be considered a sin and a shame. And so it proved. Gates and doors were thrown open to adulterers, so that, as early as 1525, the complaint which was directed to the spokesman of that debased crowd, is

⁴⁸ Ursache und Antwort, dass Jungfrauen Klöster göttlich verlassen mögen," Weim. XI, 394 sqq.

⁴⁹ Thus Amsdorf cited by Kolde, *Analecta Lutherana* (1883) p. 442.

urged upon one's ears: "When did ever more adulteries take place than since you wrote? If a woman cannot get pregnant by her husband, she is to go to another and breed offspring, which the husband would have to feed. And the same was done by the man in his turn."⁵⁰ One of the fallen crowd himself uttered a cry of distress to a fellow apostate: "By the immortal God, what whoredom and adulteries we have to witness together!"⁵¹ The new teachers likewise carried on as madly as possible—did it in their very sermons. In one of these, the spokesman instructs his hearers on the married life as follows: "One easily finds a stiff-necked woman, who carries her head high, and though her husband should ten times fall into unchastity, she raises no question about it. Then it is time for the husband to say to her: 'If you don't want to, *another* does;' if the wife is unwilling, let the servant-girl come. If the wife is then still unwilling, have done with her; let an Esther be given you and Vashti go her way."⁵² Quite logical: marriage under some conditions demands continency no less than does the religious state. The underlying Epicurean principle of this tendency was, that continency was an impossible requirement, that there is no resisting the instinct of passion, and that resistance is even a kind of revolt against the disposition of God. Is it any wonder that precisely the one who had flung all these doctrines broadcast upon the world, after a few years, reviewing his whole society, had to admit that "libidinousness cannot be

⁵⁰ Letter of Duke George of Saxony, Enders, V, 289, and its note, 13, where the authority for the words addressed to the spokesman is cited.

⁵¹ Billicanus to Urban Rhegius, in Räss, *Convertitenbilder*, I, 56. Even a Nikolaus Manuel, about 1528, had to confess:

"Vil gitigkeit und huerery
Grosz schand und laster, büebery
Fressen, sufen und gotteslesterung
Tribend ietzund alt und lung."

Ehebruch ist ietzund so gemein
Niemants sins wihs gelebt allein."

In J. Baechtold, *Niklaus Manuel* (1878). p. 245, (line 255-262).

⁵² Erl. 20, 72.

cured by anything, not even by marriage; for the greater part of the married live in adultery"?⁵³

From such a state of affairs, it was only a step farther to polygamy. Several of these apostles of the flesh did go to that length, inasmuch as, faithful to their principles, they allowed, at times, two and three wives. Some, indeed, of these fallen priests and monks themselves had several women at the same time. Later it was their own leader who accounted polygamy among the ultimate and highest things of Christian liberty; he would not forbid "that one take more wives than one, for," he says, "it is not contrary to Holy Writ." "Only to avoid scandal and for the sake of decency one should not do it."⁵⁴

After these apostles of the flesh had wallowed to their satisfaction in the slime of sensuality, then it was that they seemed to themselves to be the worthiest of forgiveness of sins. For sins were not to be little things or mere gewgaws, but good big round affairs. And how was forgiveness to be obtained? In confession? Oh no! The meaning of Catholic confession, contrition, purpose of amendment, and penance had been lost upon the holders of such views. To them confession was a torture even greater than prayer. They had found a simpler means of seeing clearly through every obstacle—simple fiducial reliance upon Christ. "Is that not good tidings," their father taught, "if one is full of sins and

⁵³ The passage is offensive and therefore, in the German, I do not give it in full. It is to be found in Opp. Exeg. lat., I, 212, in Genes. c. 3, 7. In 1536, the Reformer taught the following: "An non sentiemus tandem, quam foeda et horribilis res sit peccatum? Si quidem sola libido nullo remedio potest curari, ne quidem conjugio, quod divinitus infirmæ naturæ pro remedio ordinatum est. Major enim pars conjugatorum vivit in adulteriis, et canit de conjugē notum versiculum: nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te. Haec horribilis turpitudine oritur ex honestissima et præstantissima parte corporis nostri. Præstantissimam appello propter opus generationis, quod præstantissimum est, si quidem conservat speciem. Per peccatum itaque utilissima membra turpissima facta sunt." With this cf. out of the year 1535, in c. 5 ad Gal III, 11 (Ed. Irmischer): "Quisquis hic (loquar jam cum piis conjugibus utriusque sexus) diligenter exploret seipsum, tum proculdubio inveniet sibi magis placere formam seu mores alterius uxoris quam suae (et econtra). Concessam mulierem fastidit, negatam amat." Therefore even the "Pi"?

⁵⁴ M. Lenz. Briefwechsel Landgraf Philipp's des Großmütigen von Hessen mit Bucer, I, 342. sq. Note p. farther down.

the gospel comes and says: *'only have confidence and believe,'* and thy sins are then all forgiven thee? With this stop pulled out, the sins are already forgiven, there is no longer need of waiting."⁵⁵

The concubinaries of the fifteenth century had not pulled out this stop. The word of that same man had not yet forced its way to them: "Be a sinner and sin stoutly, but trust in Christ much more firmly, and rejoice in Him who is a conqueror of sin, of death, and of the world. Do not by any means imagine that this life is an abode of justice; sin must and will be. Let it suffice thee that thou acknowledgest the Lamb which bears the sins of the world; then can sin not tear thee from Him, even shouldst thou practice whoredom a thousand times a day or deal just as many death blows."⁵⁶ Had the concubinaries of the fifteenth century heard this utterance, I believe that their iniquity would have reached its full measure then instead of in the sixteenth century. If religion dwindles down to mere trust, and if the ethical task, the moral striving, of the individual is neglected, or rather forbidden, the result can be only the ruin of all morality.

What, indeed, could give greater encouragement to one to sin stoutly, to persevere unscrupulously in concubinage, that is, in wild wedlock, and thus finally to go down into the abyss beyond redemption, than the teaching: Why seekest thou to exert thyself? It is not in thy power to fulfill the command: thou shalt not covet; in thy stead Christ has already fulfilled it as He has the rest of the commandments. If thou place thy trust in Him, all thy sins pass over upon Him. He is then truly the Lamb which beareth the sins of the world. Thou bearest them no longer. "Christ became the cover-shame of us all."⁵⁷ "The game is already won; Christ, the victor, has achieved all, so that it is not for us to add anything thereto, either to blot out sin, or to smite the devil, or to vanquish death; all these have already been brought under;"⁵⁸ for, "who believes that Christ has taken

⁵⁵ Erl. 18, 260.

⁵⁶ Enders, III, 208.

⁵⁷ De Wette, II, 639.

⁵⁸ Erl. 50, 151 sq.

away sin, he is without sin like Christ.”⁵⁹ “True piety, that avails before God, consists in alien works, not in one’s own.”⁶⁰ Is not this truly a laying waste of religion and of the simplest morality, to use the words of Harnack;⁶¹ a religion which conduces to moral beggary and rags, to avail myself of an expression by W. Hermanns, Professor at Marburg,⁶² or rather is it not moral raggedness itself? Who will be surprised, then, if these so-called Evangelical teachers and preachers pointed to activity in good works as a pretence of holiness, and, gradually, as a hindrance to everlasting blessedness? If they preached that “to sleep and do nothing is the work of a Christian,”⁶³ if they made a mockery of all pious priests, religious, and lay-people, and stopped not at condemning them, only because they wrought good works, could these preceptors still be called even “mongrel Christians?”⁶⁴ No, for that would still have been their encomium, that they were the refuse of humanity. It was not possible to go any farther.

The crown upon all, however, is the fact that these creatures eventually came to pose as saints, worthy of occupying the places of Saints Peter and Paul in heaven. The concubinaires of the fifteenth century, far from honoring themselves as saints, were conscious of their sins and of their guilt, knowing there was no prospect of heaven as a reward in their case. The far bolder kindred spirits of the sixteenth century, on the other hand, spite of the fact that they also confessed themselves sinners, but on other grounds of course, taught through the mouth of the principal of their school⁶⁵ that “we are all saints, and cursed be he who does not call himself a saint and glorify himself as such. Such glorying is not pride, but humility and thankfulness. For, provided thou believest these words: ‘I ascend to my Father and to your Father,’ thou art just as much a saint as St. Peter and

⁵⁹ Erl. 11, 218.

⁶⁰ Erl. 15, 60.

⁶¹ *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3 Ed., III, p. 528, note.

⁶² *Römische und Evangelische Sittlichkeit*, 2 Ed. 1901, p. 50.

⁶³ Weim. IX 407.

⁶⁴ One of Harnack’s favorite expressions, e.g., *op. cit.*, p. 537, note 2. *Das Mönchtum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte*. 5 ed., p. 16.

⁶⁵ Erl. 17, 96 sqq.

all the other saints. Reason: Christ surely will not lie when he says: "and to *your* Father and God." In this "your," those profligate priests and monks felt themselves included. The temerity of their view, to be sure, was not lost upon them. The passage quoted continues: "I am still studying the question, for it is hard that a sinner should say: 'I have a seat in heaven near St. Peter.'" But the conclusion reads: "For all that, we must praise and glorify this sanctity. Then it will mean the golden brotherhood."⁶⁶

In a word, the entire concubinage of the fifteenth century and its congeneric continuation in the sixteenth, with all its abominations, pale before the doings and the teachings of the fallen priests and monks who, in the third decade of the sixteenth century, had branched off from the old movement. "Monasticism now truly lies stretched out on the ground" writes Erasmus, who certainly was not less than edified by the earlier condition, "but if the monks had only put off their vices with their cowls!" * * * "It seems to me there is a new kind of monks arising, much more wicked than the former, bad as these were. It is folly to substitute evil for evil, but it is madness to exchange the bad for even worse."⁶⁷ This, according to Luther, is what heretics do generally. "They exchange the evils in the Church for others greater. Often we are unwilling to tolerate a trivial evil and we provoke a greater one."⁶⁸ Like many others, Pirkheimer, who once had even joined the movement, wrote shortly before his death: "We hoped that Romish knavery, the same as the rascality of the monks and priests, would be corrected; but, as is to be perceived, the matter has become worse to such a degree that the Evangelical knaves make the other knaves pious,"⁶⁹ that is, the others still appear pious in comparison with the new unbridled preachers of liberty. But did not the father of the new movement himself acknowl-

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Letter of the year 1529, in Opp. Erasmi, Lugd. Batav. 1706, t. x. 1579.

⁶⁸ "Heretici mutant mala ecclesia maioribus malis; sepe malum parvum ferre nolumus et maius provocamus, sicut vitare charibdim, etc." Thiele, Luther's Sprichwörtersammlung, (p. 24, 410).

⁶⁹ Letter of Willibald Pirkheimer, 1527, in Heumann, Documenta literaria, Altdorfi, 1758, p. 59.

edge that "our (people) are now seven times worse than they ever were before. We steal, lie, cheat, cram, and swill and commit all manner of vices."⁷⁰ "We Germans are now the laughing-stock and the shame of all the countries, they hold us as shameful, nasty swine."⁷¹ The same one that said this regrets to have been born a German, to have written and spoken German, and longs to fly from there, that he may not witness God's judgment breaking over Germany.⁷²

Finally, there is this also, in which the new current is distinguished from the old—its elements were united among themselves, they formed an exclusive, and therefore a so much the more dangerous society, whose members were dominated by the same ideas. Then it was necessary that this society should also have borne a name—anonymous societies were unknown in those days. What was the name of the association of fallen priests and religious, into which the stream of decline and moral corruption emptied? In the beginning, it was the Luther sect, the Lutherans,⁷³ and soon Lutherism or Lutherdom. Luther sect? Lutherdom? Impossible! A Luther sect, a Lutherdom without Luther is inconceivable. This great mendicant friar and savant, whom we heard, in 1515 and 1516, expressing principles sprung from the contrary movement of reform which had accompanied the evil branch into the sixteenth century—he surely could not give his name to such a crew!

And yet so it was. He was the precentor in that society. To his parole it firmly pinned itself. It set up those doctrines, which seemed, indeed, to snatch its members from the current of decline, but only to bear them into irretrievable ruin. Luther, wrote Schenkfeld to the Duke of Liegnitz, has let loose a lot of mad, insane fellows, who lay in chains. It would have been better for them as well as for the common good, had he let them stay in chains, since now, in their

⁷⁰ Erl. 36, 411.

⁷¹ Erl. 8, 295.

⁷² Erl. 20, 43.

⁷³ Thus from as early as 1519, in the tract: *Articuli per fratres Minores de observantia propositi reverendissimo Episcopo Brandenburgen. contra Lutheranos.* * * * *Frater Bernhardus Dappen, Ord. Minorum.* This tract of six pages is of the year 1519.

madness, they have done more harm than they did before or could do.⁷⁴ In regard to his first runaway confreres and own messmates, Luther himself had to confess as early as 1522: "I see that many of our monks have abandoned the monastery for no other reason than that for which they entered, for the sake of their belly and of carnal liberty, and through them Satan will cause a great stink against the good odor of our word."⁷⁵ But nevertheless he accepted them as his first apostles.

Yes, truly, Luther's teachings were their inspiration. They lived, acted, and preached in accordance with them. Luther was the author of the above assembled texts for the violation of the vows, the wiving of priests and monks. He put the words on the prohibition of the vow of chastity into the large catechism. He set up the principle that God imposed an impossible thing upon us, that the (sexual) instinct of nature cannot be resisted, that it must be satisfied. He depicted himself as burning with carnal concupiscence, although some years before he had condemned it and discovered its genesis in the lack of communion with God; he admitted that his own fervor of spirit was decreasing and that he was neglecting prayer. As his teachings were depopulating the monasteries, so he himself furnished the incentive to the abduction of the consecrated virgins, the perpetrator being called by him a "blessed robber," and compared with Christ, who robbed the prince of the world of what was his.⁷⁶ He took one of the abducted nuns, put up for sale, as a witness of his gospel, as his concubine, and called her his wife. He severed the bonds of marriage and destroyed its indissolubility by his theory, which in practice found expression in the whoredoms and adulteries so bitterly complained of. He did not forbid the taking of several

⁷⁴ In Weyermann, *Neue hist. biograph. artist. Nachrichten von Gelehrten Künstlern* * * * aus der vorm. Reichstadt Ulm. 1829, p. 519 seq.

⁷⁵ Enders, III, 323, of Mch. 28, 1522.

⁷⁶ Weim. IX, 394 sq. The rape and abduction of the consecrated nuns was carried out by the burgher Koppe in the night of Holy Saturday, 1523. Luther carried his blasphemy so far, that he wrote to the abductor: "Like Christ you have also led these poor souls out of the prison of human tyranny at just the appropriate time of Easter, when Christ led captive the captivity of His own."

wives and declared that polygamy was not strictly opposed to the word of God.⁷⁷ As a panacea for all sin, he prescribed only trust in Christ's forgiveness, without requiring love. He condemned the contrition, confession, and penance of the Catholic Church, reviled the Pope as Anti-christ, rejected the priesthood, the mass, the religious state and every good work. It was his teaching that good works, even at their best, are sins, and even that a just man sins in all good works. As he had imposed sin upon Christ, so also did he put the fulfillment of our prayers upon Him. And with all of that, he extols himself as a saint, and presumes, if he did not do so, he would be blaspheming Christ. If ever a doctrine had to lead to the acme of wickedness, it was such a one as this. It is not to be wondered at, that more than elsewhere, this became manifest to all eyes at Wittenberg, Luther's residence. As early as 1524, a former Wittenberg student, the Rottenburg German grammarian, Valentine Ickelsamer, wrote to Luther: "What Rome had to hear for a long time, we say of you: 'The nearer to Wittenberg, the worse the Christians.'"⁷⁸ Luther's teaching brought the current of decline down to a state which he himself recognized and openly proclaimed to be far worse than that under the Papacy. Of this he could make no concealment, for the facts spoke too loudly, no matter what ridiculous pretensions he might allege in explanation or extenuation of them.

Not once merely,⁷⁹ but often he says that his Lutherans were seven times worse than before. "There was indeed one devil driven out of us, but now seven of them more wicked

⁷⁷ Thus as early as the beginning of 1524 (Enders IV, 283) and in 1527. "*It is not forbidden* that a man might have no more than one wife; I could not at present prohibit it, but I would not wish to advise it." (Weim. XXIV, 305.) Similarly in 1528, Opp. var. arg., IV, 368, and later. Finally he also advised it. See below, I Book, section 1, in the sixth chapter (on Phillp of Hesse's bigamic marriage). In this case, Luther and his associates were in accord with the Old Testament; but when the Old Testament annoyed them, it was despised, Moses was even stoned, but of this there will be more in the course of our work.

⁷⁸ Klag Etlicher Brüder an alle Christen. Bl. A4; and in Jäger, Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt (1856) p. 488. Further details will be given below.

⁷⁹ See above p. 22, notes 70, 71, 72. Cf. besides the close of the first section.

have gone into us.”⁸⁰ Even in 1523, he had to acknowledge that he and his followers were become worse than they had been formerly.⁸¹ This he later repeats. “The world by this teaching becomes only the worse, the longer it exists; that is the work and business of the malign devil. As one sees, the people are more avaricious, less merciful, more immodest, bolder and worse than before under the Papacy.”⁸² He perceived that “wickedness and wanton license are increasing with excessive swiftness,” and this indeed, “in all states,” so that “the people are all becoming devils,” but he meant knavish, “only to spite our teaching!”⁸³ “Avarice, usury, immodesty, gluttony, cursing, lying, cheating are abroad in all their might,”⁸⁴ yes, more than of old under the Papacy; such disordered conduct on the part of almost everybody, causes gossip about the gospel and the preachers, it being said: “if this teaching were right, the people would be more devout.”⁸⁵ “Therefore it is that every one now complains that the gospel causes much unrest, bickering and disordered conduct, and, since it has come up, everything is worse than ever before,” etc.⁸⁶ Despite his assurance that his teaching was the genuine gospel, he still had to acknowledge that “the people opposed it so shamefully that the more it is preached, the worse they become and the weaker our faith is.”⁸⁷ He and his followers with their preaching, he says, cannot do so much as make a single home pious;⁸⁸ on the contrary, “if one had now to baptize the adults and the old, I think it probable that not a tenth of them would let themselves be baptized.”⁸⁹

⁸⁰ Erl. 36, 411.

⁸¹ Weim XI, 190.

⁸² Erl. 1, 14.

⁸³ Erl. 45, 198 sq. Note the further course of this work.

⁸⁴ Or. as he says Erl. 3, 132 sq.: “Anger, impatience, avarice, care of the belly, concupiscence, immodesty, hatred and solicitude for other vices are great, abominable mortal sins, which are everywhere abroad in the world with might and increasing rampantly.”

⁸⁵ Erl. 1, 192. Also Opp. Exeg. lat., V, 37.

⁸⁶ Erl. 43, 63.

⁸⁷ Erl. 17, 235 sq.

⁸⁸ Erl. 3, 141.

⁸⁹ Erl. 23, 163 sq. in the year 1530, therefore at the time of the drawing up of the creed (Bekennnisschrift).

Apart from Erasmus and Pirkheimer,⁹⁰ others no less impartial than Luther also pronounced the same judgment. The blustering apostate Franciscan, Henry Von Kettenbach, in 1525, preached: "Many people now act as if all sins and wickedness were permitted, as if there were no hell, no devil, no God, and they are more evil than they have ever been, and still wish to be good Evangelicals."⁹¹ Another fallen Franciscan, Eberlin Von Günzburg wrote similarly that the Evangelicals, in their riotous living, since they became free from the Pope, were become "doubly worse than the Papists, yes, worse than Tyre, Sidon, and Sodom."⁹² If, according to the admission of Luther himself and his followers the moral condition of Lutheranism was far worse than that under the Papacy, the blacker the epoch before Luther is painted, the blacker must Lutherdom appear.

The condition was indeed such that, as early as 1527, Luther expressed a doubt whether he would have begun, had he foreseen all the great scandals and disorders.^{92a} "Yes, who would have wanted to begin preaching," said he eleven years later, "had we known beforehand that so much misfortune, factiousness, scandal, calumny, ingratitude and wickedness were to follow. But now that we are in it, we have to pay for it."⁹³

His complaints refer to Germany, which, however has declined into this sad state in consequence "of his evangel." Apostasy from Church and Pope led the Germans only into a cumulation of sins and into carnal license. "We Germans," writes Luther in 1532, "sin and are the servants of sin; we live in carnal lusts and stoutly use our license up over our ears. We wish to do what we like and what does the devil a service, and we wish to be free to do only just what we want. Few are they who remember the true problem of how they may be free from sin. They are well content to have been rid of the Pope, officials, and from other laws, but they do not think

⁹⁰ See above p. (19).

⁹¹ N. Paulus, in Kaspar Schatzgeyer (1898) p. 56, Note, 1.

⁹² A. Riggensbach, Joh. Eberlin v. Günzburg (1874) p. 242. Other quotations occur in the course of the work.

^{92a} Weim. XX, 674.

⁹³ Erl. 50, 74.

on how they may serve Christ and become free from sin. Therefore will it come to pass that we shall not stay in the house, as servants do not stay in always, but we shall have to be cast out and lose again the gospel and liberty."⁹⁴ It is no wonder, then, that the Reformer regretted having been born a German and lamented: "Should one now depict Germany, he would have to paint her like a sow."⁹⁵ He has now himself reached a sense of the corruption and, had his all too weak better self got the upper hand, he would yet have "counseled and helped that the Pope, with all his abominations, might come to be over us again."⁹⁶ He could now experience in his own life what he had once said: "When the great and the best begin to fall, they afterwards become the worst."⁹⁷

Luther, in fact, was not always thus. He was not only gifted, in many respects very gifted, but, at one time, he had the moral renewal of the Church at heart. He belonged to the reform party, even though it was not as Gerson did a century before. He followed the current which had been opposed to the one upon which he now set the seal of consummation. Like many of his contemporaries, he had lived as an upright religious; at least there was a time in which he displayed moral earnestness. It is certain that he regretted the downward moving tendency, that he preached against it and, to speak in his own language, he "called a spade a spade"—*nahm "Kein Blatt für's Maul."*⁹⁸ For, in that period of his life, Luther was the last one, using his expression again, "to let cobwebs grow over his mouth."⁹⁹ He spared no one, either high or low, in that current. How, then, did he get into the counter-flowing waters? How did he happen to become the formal inspirer and *spiritus rector* of the worst arm of that current? The solution of this problem, which is

⁹⁴ Erl. 48, 389. Even in 1529, he had voiced similar sentiments. "No one fears God, everything is mischievous * * * Each one lives according to his will, cheats and swindles the other," etc. Erl. 36, 300.

⁹⁵ Erl. 8, 294.

⁹⁶ Erl. 20, 43.

⁹⁷ Erl. 8, 293.

⁹⁸ Erl. 43, 9 and often.

⁹⁹ Erl. 42, 238.

also at the same time to explain, verify, and throw a stronger light upon what has already been said, will appear in the course of this work.

As is evident from the foregoing, I did not, in my researches, first meet Luther in his individual figure, in his own proper appearance as such, but in the Lutherdom named after him. That was quite in keeping with the course of my investigation, which, starting from the decline of a portion of the secular and regular clergy of the fifteenth century, aimed to follow their fall to its conclusion. That object attained, the question—at what point did Luther and the movement underlying my research meet?—naturally occurred to me earlier than the other of Luther's individual development, about which in the beginning I had not thought at all. After I had discovered Luther in the midst of that company of the third decade, I could no longer keep out of his way, and I undertook to study him himself from that time back to his first studies, to the beginning of his first professional activity. It was only then, by way of checking my results, that I first entered upon the reversed course and followed him, year by year, in the process of the unfolding of his being. *My chief aim was centered on ascertaining that point from which Luther is to be understood*, to find that unknown thing that slowly pushed him off into the current of decline, and finally made him the creator and the spokesman of that company which represented the decline in its full measure. In this wise, no doubt, we can be certain of the approval of that modern school which, in the face of environing social tendencies, whose agents and symptoms individualities are, pushes single personages into the background. The milieu in which Luther was finally found was not only created by him, but it also exercised a reacting influence upon him.

For the Luther study, my sources were only Luther's writings. In the beginning, I made no use of the expositions of Luther's life and teachings. These I took up only after my own results were firmly established.

The plan of the work, which did not seem clear to some, has been appended in analytical detail to the preface above.

FIRST BOOK

FUNDAMENTALS

Critical Examination of Protestant
Luther-Researchers and
Theologians

Section First

LUTHER'S TREATISE AND DOCTRINE ON THE MONASTIC VOWS

By way of Introduction.

Of enormous significance is that book of Luther's which dispeopled the monasteries of Germany, which Luther himself regarded as his best and as unrefuted, Melanchthon as a highly learned work, namely, "*De votis monasticis Iudicium*—" "Opinion on the Monastic Vows," of the end of 1521. It had been preceded in September, October, by themes or theses on the same subject (Weim. VIII, 323 sqq.), and by a sermon (Erl. 10, 332 sqq.). In the Lutheran "Church," this book or opinion enjoyed an authority that raised it far above a mere private work. According to Kawerau, it belongs, in contents and successful result, to the most important writings that proceeded from Luther's pen. It forms the basis of Luther's discussions elsewhere on the same subject. Melanchthon himself, Lang, Linck, and others made use of it and took excerpts from it. In the very beginning, it was twice translated into German, by Justus Jonas and Leo Jud. Kawerau undertook, in collaboration with Licentiate and Instructor in Theology N. Müller, to reedit the work in the eighth volume, pp. 573-669, of the critical complete edition. Few of Luther's other writings offered an editor the wide field this one did, in which to prove what he could accomplish. Its publication did not even expose him to the danger of getting out something long known and hackneyed, for, in respect to this writing, Protestant theologians and Luther biographers had not as yet achieved anything scientific. On the contrary, up to the present day, they blindly and *a priori* accept what Luther there lays down. They note no fallacy, no error, rather do they discover in it "a theologically acute conception." What Luther sets forth as Catholic doctrine, is such to them. The conclusions he then draws therefrom, are likewise theirs.

It was the conscientious duty of a critical editor to achieve more in this writing of Luther's than in others, and here and

there to call attention to Luther's tactics, that his readers' eyes might be opened. Did Kawerau do this? In the introduction, to be sure, he did good work bibliographically. In the work itself, too, he displays an endeavor to do justice to scientific requirements. But it is immediately observed that this latter takes place only where it was easy. The thing that is there looked for in vain is precisely the chief thing, namely, meeting the requirements mentioned above.

It was not on these grounds alone, however, that I placed this writing of Luther's at the head of my work. There is no other that better fulfills the purpose of introducing the reader to Luther's character, to his tactics and methods towards the Church, particularly if the questions connected with and involved in that writing are treated at the same time. To insure getting bearings, and to put into a clearer light the contrast between later and earlier, I will give as five chapters, Luther's utterances on the religious state prior to his apostasy, before he composed his "Opinion on the Monastic Vows."

CHAPTER I.

BRIEF REVIEW OF LUTHER'S UTTERANCES IN RESPECT TO THE RELIGIOUS STATE DURING HIS OWN LIFE AS A RELIGIOUS.

Accounts of Luther's earlier religious life are most meagre. If I wished to rely upon those sources which Luther biographers have hitherto put forward wholly without criticism, namely upon Luther's sayings and utterances after his apostasy, but especially after 1530, and also upon his later table-talk, I could, of course, serve up many a little story. We should get the picture of a monk unhappy in the "horrors of monastic life," who was able, day and night, only to howl and to despair, who stood in fear before God and Christ, and even fled from before them, and the like. But in the first edition of this volume, I already mentioned repeatedly¹ that Luther had made a romance of his earlier religious life. The incidental discussions in this volume ought to constitute the basis of, or the passageway to, the proof of my assertion, so that the proper corroboration of it may

¹ Pp. 258, 373 sqq., 389, 393, sqq., 410, note 1, 414, note 2, 671 sq., 725, 758, sq., 381, and preface, p. XVI.

follow in the concluding section of the first book. In this chapter I take as my support Luther's *contemporaneous* testimonies, without, however, overstepping the limits of a review.

In his *Dictata* on the psalms, of the years 1513 to 1515, he frequently speaks his mind on evil, self-willed religious, who stand upon their "regulations," to speak with Tauler; he condemns the mutual quarreling of the orders, etc., but he is never against the *essence of the religious state*. In relation to monasticism, he pursues the same course as with regard to the Church. He laments and condemns the evil life of ecclesiastical superiors, of the hierarchy; but at the same time there is hardly another who so stood for ecclesiastical obedience as he did. In like manner, he rebuked evil superiors and subjects in the monasteries; but he absolutely insists that subjects cherish obedience, without which there is no salvation; that they subordinate their private exercises to those which are general and monastic, i.e., prescribed by the statutes, or to obedience. With him it is a supreme rule that "no one is just save the obedient one,"² and he continually vociferates against self-will.

² Weim. IV, 405; "Justitia est solum humilis obedientia. Quare iudicium ad superiores, iustitia ad inferiores pertinet. *Nullus enim est justus nisi obediens*. Sed superior non tenetur obedire, ergo nec iustus esse quoad inferiorem. Inferior tenetur autem obedire et per consequens iustus erit. Tu ergo iustitiam vis statuere in superiori et iudicium in inferiori, scilicet ut tibi obediant, non tu illis. Igitur si Superiores sunt iniusti, hoc sunt suo superiori. Quid ad te? Tu subesto et sine te in iudicio regere. Numquid quia illi iniusti sunt et inobedientes suo superiori, scilicet Christo, ideo et tu quoque iniustus fies non obediendo tuo superiori? Igitur vera differentia iustitie et iudicii est haec; quod iustitia pertinet ad inferiorem vel in quantum inferiorem, quia est humilitas, obedientia, et resignata subiectio proprie voluntatis superiori; iudicium autem pertinet ad superiorem vel in quantum superiorem, quia est exemptio legis et castigatio malorum ac praesidentia inferiorum. Unde et apostolus Ro. 6 dicit eum iustificatum, qui mortuus est peccato. Et spiritus est iustus, quando caro ab eo iudicatur et subicitur in omnem obedientiam, ut nihil voluntati et concupiscentiis relinquatur. Quod autem dixi 'in quantum superiorem et inferiorem,' id est, quia medii prelati, sicut sunt omnes preter Christum, sunt simul superiores et inferiores. Igitur inferiorum non est expostulare iustitiam superiorum, quia hoc est eorum iudicium sibi rapere. Ipsorum est enim iustitiam expostulare inferiorum. Et horum est suscipere iudicium et obedire eis, per quod fit in pace correctio malorum. Obedientia enim tollit omne malum pacifice et pacificum sinit esse regentem. Idem facit humilitas, quae est nihil aliud nisi obedientia et tota iustitia. Quia totaliter ex alterius iudicio pendet, nihil habet suae voluntatis aut sensus, sed omnia vilificat sua et prefert atque magnificat aliena, scilicet superioris."

On this theme one could compile a book from his *Dictata*, for, everywhere in Weim. III and IV, one hits upon greater or lesser passages evidencing what has been said.³

In the meantime he had not yet, at that period, discovered the gospel. This took place only after 1515, as appears from the next section. Nevertheless, even in this new epoch, he developed no new principles with regard to the religious state; on the contrary, those we have seen were emphasized only in a more manifold way. On June 22, 1516, he wrote to a prior of his Order, regarding the reception of a novice out of another order, that one might not thwart the latter's *salutary intention*; on the contrary, it should be furthered and pushed, provided that the case was one with, and in, God. Such a case occurs, "not if one accedes to the opinion and good intention of every one, but if one holds to the prescribed law, the ordinances of superiors, and the regulations of the Fathers, *without which one may in vain promise himself progress and salvation, however good his intention may be.*"⁴ Let it be considered that, on this particular point, there was not once question of the rule, (the Rule of St. Augustine contains no provision pertinent to the matter), but of something less important, the statutes and regulations of the Order.⁵

In what high esteem the latter were held, as well as the rites and practices of the Order generally, i. e. religious observance, (to say nothing of the vows), is proved by the following fact. Gabriel Zwilling, a fellow member of the Order and a subject of Luther's at Wittenberg, was registered as an Augustinian in the university of that place as early as the summer semester of 1512.⁶ After five years, i. e. in 1517, (March), by command of Vicar Staupitz, Luther sent him to the monastery at Erfurt. Why? Because, though living five years at Wittenberg with other brethren under Luther as his superior, he had "not yet seen and learned the rite and the practices of the

³ Cf. III, 18, sq., 91; IV, 64, 68, 75, 83, 306, 384, 403, 406 sq.

⁴ Enders, I, 42.

⁵ Both the general ancient statutes of the Hermits of St. Augustine, and those of Staupitz, of the year 1504 treat of the case in Chap. XVI.

⁶ *Förstemann*, *Album Academiae Vitebergen.* (Lipsiae 1841), p. 41: "Fr. Gabriel Zwilling August."

Order. It will do him good," Luther thinks, "to conduct himself in all things in a conventual manner."⁷

This important passage shows one thing, at all events, that, at Wittenberg, where Luther lived from 1508 to the fall of 1509, and from the fall of 1511 through further years, *no religious discipline* prevailed, a fact that has hitherto been overlooked. It shows further that the brethren did not even live *conventualiter* in all respects, otherwise there had been no need of sending Zwilling to Erfurt. This explains much to us in the life of Luther and of his Wittenberg associates, particularly of the later assailant of the monasteries, Zwilling. His like were later the first ones who threw off the habit, assailed the monasteries, profaned the altars, etc. The younger religious enjoyed too much liberty at Wittenberg. They became little by little disaccustomed to the religious life, and gradually lost the spirit of the Order and of prayer. Of their asceticism we prefer to make no mention. And all this, too, befell many an older member of the Order at Wittenberg.

As early as 1509, in his first stay at Wittenberg, Luther became wholly engrossed in duties and studies.⁸ But in the fall of 1516, he wrote to Lang at Erfurt: "I ought to have two secretaries, for *I hardly do anything the livelong day but write letters*. For that reason I do not know if I am not always repeating the same thing. I am (besides) conventual and table preacher. Every day I am desired to preach in the parish church. I am regent of studies, vicar of the district, and therefore eleven times prior. (Luther had eleven convents under him). I am in charge of the fisheries at Leitzkau, attorney in the proceedings concerning the Herzberg parish church, lector (in the divinity school) on St. Paul, and collector of the psalter. *Seldom does full time remain for my reciting the hours* (of the divine office) *and for celebrating mass*. Besides, there are my own temptations of the flesh, the world,

⁷ Enders, I, 88: "Placuit et *expedit* ei, ut conventualiter per omnia se gerat. Scis enim, (the addressee is Prior Lang), quod *nequam* ritus et mores ordinis *viderit* aut *didicerit*."

⁸ Enders, I, 5.

and the devil.”⁹ The lack of monastic discipline at Wittenberg contributed its share towards this sad state, which did not permit him to reach either himself or God in prayer. Things naturally became worse and worse, and then had their proper culmination when he was precipitated into the thick of the combat. It was there that the ill consequences of the neglect of God’s service stood revealed before all eyes. The case of the rest of his Wittenberger brethren was the same.¹⁰

At that time, nevertheless, Luther was anything but one who despised the religious life. On the contrary, it is evident from the letters adduced above on the laws of his Order, that he was zealous for their strict observance, which also appears from his other letters of the same time.¹¹ One can justify the assertion, indeed, that Luther then treated the decrees and statutes (not dogmas) of the Church and of the Popes more harshly than he did the statutes of the Order.¹²

⁹ The underlined words read: “*Raro mihi integrum tempus est horas persolvendi et celebrandi.*” This important passage, which gives us so much insight into Luther’s inner life and discloses much, is translated by the “Nestor of Luther research,” J. Köstlin, as follows: “Seldom have I the time to celebrate my hours properly” (Martin Luther, 3 ed., I, 133; 5, under the care of Kawerau, p. 125, 142. He found nothing to comment on in the notes.) So inexperienced are so many Protestant theologians in the usage of church language! Since the XV century at least, the simple word, “celebrare,” has had the meaning that it still has to-day, namely “to celebrate or read mass.” In that sense Luther also uses it in *Dictata super Psalt.*, Weim. III, 362: “*pejus mane orant et celebrant.*”, where he speaks principally of priests; so also in his gloss on the Epistle to the Romans, fol. 67b: “*sacrifico, celebro*”, occur in respect to the mass. The same meaning is given to the word by, e.g. Wimpfeling (*Gravamina germanicae nationis*, etc. in Riegger, *Amoenitates lit.* Friburg. p. 510): “*sacrificare sive celebrare*”, thus Geller v. Kaisersberg, Nav. Fat. turb. LXXII, (alternately *missam legunt* and *celebrant*): Thus also a century earlier Gerson, *De preparatione ad missam.* opp. III, 326, etc.

¹⁰ St. Bonaventure in his day had written: “*in omni religione, ubi devotionis fervor tepuerit, etiam aliarum virtutum machina incipit deficere et propinquare ruinae.*” Opp. ed. Quaracchi, t. VIII, 135, n. 10.

¹¹ Cf. Enders, 1, 52, 53, 56, 57, 67, 99. Here and there he also enjoins good training of young religious.

¹² After setting up an overdrawn notion of Christian liberty in the Epistle to the Romans, fol. 273, and before (spite of the fact that in contradistinction to the Picards, he exacted obedience to the commands of the Church), he pleads, fol. 275, for the abolishment of fast days and a diminution of the feasts, “*quia populus rudis ea conscientia observat illa, ut sine iis salutem esse non credat.*” Then he continues, “*Sic etiam*

It is no wonder, then, that he accepted the permissibility of the *vows* as self-evident, provided that the solemn promise was made in the right way. He writes in the same year (1516), that, spite of the liberty attained through Christ, "it is allowed every one, *out of love of God*, to bind himself to this or that by a vow." And he exclaims: "Who is so foolish as to deny that any one is free to resign his liberty to the discretion of another and to give himself captive, etc.?" But this may be done "only out of love and with that faith by which one believes he is acting, not out of a *necessity of salvation*, but out of free will and a feeling of liberty." On the other hand, as he says, the priests, religious, and lay people as well, commonly sin, who neglect charity and what is necessary to salvation.¹³

If here Luther again shows himself pessimistic¹⁴ and accustomed to generalize, he is still not in error in respect to the essence of the matter. He continues to lay down the love of God as the object of all vows, and he finds no difficulty in a vow in itself. He does not bluster as if it were against faith, or against the first commandment, and so on. Had this been his opinion, he would have been obliged to dissuade everybody from becoming a member of a religious order, for a religious without vows is unthinkable. But what do we hear from Luther's own lips? A page later, he raises the question: "*Is it good, then, to become a religious now?*" And he replies:

utile esset, totum pene decretum purgare et mutare, ac pompas, immo magis œremonias orationum ornatuumque diminuire, quia hæc crescunt in dies, et ita crescunt, ut sub illis decrescat fides et charitas, et nutriatur avaritia, superbia, vana gloria, immo quod pejus est, quod illis homines sperant salvari, nihil solliciti de interno homine." How little he himself was concerned about his inner man, we have just seen. But it lay in Luther's character always to see the harm wrought in others but not in himself.

¹³ Epistle to the Romans fol. 274b: Quamquam hæc omnia sint nunc liberrima, tamen ex amore Dei licet unicuique se voto astringere ad hoc vel illud; ac si iam non ex lege nova astrictus est ad illa, sed ex voto, quod ex amore Dei super seipsum protulit. Nam quis tam insipiens est, qui neget, posse unumquemque suam libertatem pro obsequio alterius resignare, et se servum et captivum dare (ms. ac captivare) vel ad hunc locum, vel tali die, vel tali opere? Verum si ex charitate id fuerit factum et ea fide, ut credat, se non necessitate salutis id facere, sed spontanea voluntate et affectu libertatis. Omnia itaque sunt libera, sed per votum ex charitate offeribilia * * *

¹⁴ See above pp. 5-6.

"If thou believest thou canst not find salvation otherwise than by becoming a religious, do not enter. For thus the proverb is true: 'despair makes the monk,' yea, not the monk but the devil." A good monk does he become "who will be such *out of love*, who, namely, contemplating his grievous sins and desiring again to do something great for his *God out of love*, voluntarily resigns his liberty, puts on this foolish habit, and subjects himself to abject offices."¹⁵

Once more, then, we have heard Luther lauding the religious life in itself, and stating the object with which one should lay hold on the religious state and all that it offers—the *love of God*. But there is one thing that strikes us as strange—Luther's continually coming back to the warning that one should not purposely choose the religious life as if otherwise there were no salvation, which would be equivalent to becoming a monk out of despair. One is almost inclined to draw the conclusion that Luther himself entered the Order despairing of otherwise finding salvation, and that, as later was his wont, he charged *his* manner of action upon *all*. This would accord with the point to be treated in the second section, that Luther, in his life following thereupon, had aspired to justice before God through his own endeavors until about 1515, when his justice by works collapsed. But of this in its place. Let us rather stick to Luther's utterances on the religious state.

We hear him, in connection with the passage just cited, giving out the extraordinary statement: "I believe that, *in two hundred years, it has never been better to become a religious than just now*," when members of the religious orders, because they are an object of contempt to the world and even to the bishops and priests, stand nearer the cross. "Having, as it were, obtained their wish, religious ought to rejoice if

¹⁵ Ibid. fol. 275: "An ergo bonum nunc religiosum fieri? Respondeo; Si aliter salutem te habere non putas, nisi religiosus fias, ne ingrediaris. Sic enim verum est proverbium: Desperatio facit monachum, immo non monachum, sed diabolum. Nec enim unquam bonus monachus erit, qui ex desperatione eiusmodi monachus est, sed, qui ex charitate, scilicet, qui gravia sua peccata videns, et Deo suo rursum aliquid magnum ex amore facere volens, voluntarie resignat libertatem suam, et induit habitum istum stultum, et abiectis sese subiicit officiis."

they are despised for the vow which they assumed *for God*. That is why they wear a foolish habit. But many, wearing only the semblance of religious, comport themselves otherwise. *But I know that, if they had charity, they would be the most happy, more blessed than those who were hermits,"* etc.¹⁶

And yet these brilliant utterances occur in that time in which Luther already "felt himself wholly re-born" and had imagined that "he had passed open gates into paradise;" in which he had already given expression to the principle that concupiscence is wholly unconquerable, and to others in agreement with it, the impossibility of fulfilling God's commandments, the bondage of the will, justification by faith alone, without works, and so on. The fact lies heavier in the balance than if we find Luther happy in the first years of his religious life,¹⁷ and only a few years later hear him¹⁸ describing the excellence of the religious life to his master Bartholomew, to strengthen him in his chosen calling as an Augustinian. "The door in St. Paul" had not yet been opened to him at that time as it was in 1515 and 1516.

In his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, even more almost than in his *Dictata*, he declared against *singularitates*, he opposed the self-willed, *opiniosos, capitosos*,

¹⁶ Ibid. fol. 275b: "Quamobrem credo, nunc melius esse religiosum fieri, quam in ducentis annis fuit, ratione tali videlicet, quod hucusque Monachi recesserunt a cruce, et fuit gloriosum esse religiosum. Nunc rursus incipiunt displicere hominibus, etiam qui boni sunt, propter habitum stultum. Hoc enim est religiosum esse, mundo odiosum esse et stultum. Et qui hinc sese ex charitate submittit, optime facit. Ego enim non terreor, quod episcopi persequuntur et sacerdotes nos, quia sic debet fieri. Tantum hoc mihi displicet, quod occasionem malam hinc (his ms. huic) damus displicentiae. Ceterum quibus non est data occasio, et fastidium monachos, nescientes quare, optimi sunt fautores, quos in toto mundo habent religiosi. Deberent enim guadere religiosi, tanquam voti sui compotes, si in suo isto voto pro Deo assumpto despicerentur, confunderenturque. Quia ad hoc habent habitum stultum, ut omnes alliciant ad sui contemptum. Sed nunc aliter agunt multi (ms. multo) habentes speciem solam religiosorum. *Sed ego scio foelicissimos eos, si charitatem haberent, et beatiores, quam qui in heremo fuerunt*: quia sunt cruci et ignominiae quotidianae expositi. Nunc vero nullum est genus arrogantius, proh dolor!"

¹⁷ Enders, I, 1 sq.; 6.

¹⁸ As Usingen himself relates, In *Paulus*, Der Augustiner Barth. Arnoldi v. Usingen, p. 17.

cervicosos, durae cervices, and waxed warm in behalf of obedience, which he himself is at pains to practice, as shall be shown in the proper place in the course of this work. Let us rather turn back to his judgments on the religious state.

Although, in 1518, touching on the celibacy of *priests*, he expressly adds that it is a matter of ecclesiastical rather than of divine institution, he nevertheless condemns the sin against it as a sacrilege, but on the part of *religious*, as a *most grievous* sacrilege, "*since they have freely consecrated themselves to God, and again withdraw themselves from Him.*"¹⁹

In 1519 and at the beginning of 1520, he already arraigns the Church, in respect to the celibacy of *priests*,²⁰ on account of the ill state of affairs prevailing in all directions in consequence of it, but not a syllable of censure slips from his pen so far as the *monastic* vows are concerned.²¹ He is opposed only if priests and religious observed ceremonial actions, and even chastity and poverty, in order to be justified and good through them. "He who would do so with this intention, is godless and denies Christ, since he, already justified, should use those means to purge the flesh and the old man, so that faith in Christ may grow and may alone reign in him and he may thus become the Kingdom of God. Therefore he will do those things joyously, not that he may deserve much, but that he may be purified."²² Luther here speaks, as he had already

¹⁹ Decem praecepta, Weim. I, 489: "sacrilegium est, ubi iam non tantum castitas polluitur, sed etiam quae Deo soli fuit oblata, tollitur et sanctum prophanatur. Verum hoc ex institutione ecclesiae magis quam ex Deo est in sacerdotibus: sed in religiosis gravissimum est, quia sponte sese consecraverunt domino et sese subtrahunt rursum." Cf. 483, 21.

²⁰ First revision of the Epistle to the Galatians, Weim. II, 616. In Feb. 1520 (Weim. VI, 147), Luther pleads for the marriage of *priests*, but is silent about the marriage of *monks*.

²¹ This he himself says in A. Lauterbach's Tagebuch auf das Jahr 1538. (Ed. Seidemann) p. 12: "De monachis nunquam cogitavi, quia sub voto erant, sed tantum de pastoribus, qui non possunt oeconomiam servare sine conjugē."

²² Weim. II, p. 562 sq.: "Ita sacerdos et religiosus, si opera ceremoniarum, immo castitatis et paupertatis fecerit, quod in illis justificari et bonus fieri velit, impius est et Christum negat, cum illis, jam justificatus fide, uti debeat ad purgandam carnem et veterem hominem, ut fides in Christo crescat et sola in ipso regnet et sic fiat regnum Dei. Ideo hilariter ea faciet, non ut multa mereatur sed ut purificetur. At, hui, quantus nunc in gregibus istis morbus est, qui et summo taedio nec nisi pro hac vita

done earlier, against excrescences and evil faint-hearted priests and religious, although his tone has become sharper. One wonders all the more that his general arraignment of "monastic baptism" has not yet appeared in his plans. In that same year, 1519, he speaks more openly and violently about the liberty of the Christian man,²³ than he did in his commentary on Romans. From the end of 1518, he had regarded the Pope as Anti-christ.²⁴ He spoke thenceforward only of human institutions, recognized only three sacraments,²⁵ and had taken the first step towards setting up a universal priesthood.²⁶ Yet he still viewed the religious life with its vows, which is supposed to have been such a torment to him, as the shortest way to win the works of baptism.

Luther, in fact, only two years before writing his book "On the Vows", namely 1519, had preached: "Each one must test himself as to the state in which he may best destroy sin and combat nature. It is true, then, that there is no higher, better, greater vow than the baptismal vow; for what can one vow beyond expelling sin, dying, hating this life, and becoming saintly? But, apart from this vow, one may bind himself to a state that will be a convenience and a furtherance to him in fulfilling his baptism. Like when two journey to the one city, one may take the foot-path, the other the highway, as seems best to him. He who binds himself to the *married state* walks in the cares and sufferings of that state, wherein he has burdened his nature, that it may be habituated to love and sufferance, avoid sin, and prepare so much the better for death, which he might not so well be able to do out of that state. But he who seeks greater suffering and wishes *shortly* by much exercise to prepare himself for death, and desires soon to attain to the works of his baptism, *let him bind himself to chastity or to a religious order*; for a religious state, if it stands right, shall

religiosi et sacerdotes sunt, ne pilum quidem videntes, quid sint, quid faciant, quid quaerant." Thus in the exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians.

²³ Ibid. p. 478, 479 ("Veritas Evangelii est scire quod omnia licent") 572.

²⁴ Enders, I, 316.

²⁵ Weim. II, 713 sqq., Enders, II, 278.

²⁶ Enders, loc. cit. p. 279.

be of suffering and torment, that he may have *more* exercise of his baptism than in the married state, and that, by such torment, he may *soon* accustom himself to receive death joyously, and thus (soon) attain the end of his baptism."²⁷

In accord with this, Luther the same year calls the counsels "certain means to the easier fulfillment of the commandments; a virgin, a widow, a celibate fulfill the commandment 'thou shalt not covet,' more easily than one who is married, who already yields somewhat to concupiscence." Another time the same year, he similarly, here and there, calls the counsels "certain ways and shorter ways of more easily and happily fulfilling the commandments of God."²⁸ Whether and to what extent Luther here spoke with theological exactness, I will investigate in chapter eight (A). It is enough now that two years before his conflict against the counsels and vows, he recognized their full right.

In these passages, Luther expresses the idea that there are various ways and *one* objective point, various means and *one* end. Among the shortest and best ways and means, he counts the religious state, especially the vow of chastity. And how much Luther had already given up in that year! He was standing on the threshold of apostasy from the Church. But he had not yet sacrificed the religious life. In 1520, the year of his apostasy, after he was in the clutches of the syphilitic Hutten and of the incendiary Sickengen, then it was he first gradually went into the warfare against the orders. Spite of this, however, Luther, in the beginning of this year, was hailed by his zealous admirer, the learned Franciscan, Konrad Pelikan of Basel (who had then already thrice read Luther's exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians), *as the most proper advocate and defender of the religious life and of the monks* against the censures of certain Erasmians, who were inflaming a fearful hatred against the members of the religious orders.²⁹

²⁷ Weim. II, 736. Abuse and pessimism are naturally not lacking.

²⁸ Enders, II, 40; Weim. II, 644.

²⁹ Enders II, 357 sq. Under Pelikan's supervision, the works of Luther were at that time reprinted. He had even collected them himself and edited them in one volume. Cf. the "Hauschronik Konrad Pelikans von Rufach," German by Th. Vulpinus (Strassburg 1892), p. 76, sq.

In all his religious life, indeed, Luther never spoke a syllable against true monasticism. He himself had to acknowledge this later, and for that reason took himself, as he said, "by the nose." Even after his "turn about," he, according to his own acknowledgment, would have deemed one "who would have taught that monkery and nunnishness were idolatry, and the mass a veritable abomination," as worthy of being burned, if he would not have helped burn him as a heretic.³⁰ It was hatred of the Church, whose most powerful auxiliaries the religious orders were, but whom he now needed; it was his resolution never again to be reconciled with the Church that first drove him into the warfare against the orders and the vows.

It was a difficult matter. "A powerful conspiracy between Philip (Melancthon) and me," he wrote from the Wartburg, Nov. 1, 1521, "is being levelled against the vows of religious and priests, to do away with and to nullify them." By that time, nothing sounded more hateful in his ears than the words nun, monk, and priest.³¹ The strife first hit at celibacy, which just before he had so extolled. He wishes to make it free, he writes, "as the Gospel demands; *but how I am to succeed, I do not yet sufficiently know.*"³²

CHAPTER II.

ST. BERNARD'S ALLEGED REPUDIATION OF THE VOWS AND THE MONASTIC LIFE.

In his writing on the monastic vows, Luther wishes to prove that they are null and void and contradict the teaching of Christ and His Gospel. In his judgment they are heathenish, Jewish, blasphemous, founded on lies, erroneous, devilish, hypocritical; members of religious orders can therefore, with a good conscience, abandon their monasteries and marry. But how prove that? A difficult undertaking! Luther, however, knew how to manage it. Not the least of his expedients were two sayings, (particularly one), of St. Bernard, one of the greatest stars in the firmament of the monastic life, known to

³⁰ Erl. 25, 320.

³¹ Enders, III, 241.

³² Ibid. p. 219, of Aug. 15, 1521.

and revered by all. This great saint, who renewed monasticism and founded so many monasteries, who is even glorified as the founder of an order, was constrained to furnish the proof that the vows taken by religious are worthless, and that the religious life is a lost life in respect to the gaining of heaven. In the face of death, it was alleged, he had revoked his vows, and thus escaped everlasting perdition.

For, in the work mentioned, Luther wrote: "As Bernard was once sick unto death, he had no other confession than this: 'I have lost my time, because I have lived ruinously.'³³ But one thing consoles me, thou dost not despise a contrite and humbled spirit.'" And elsewhere: "Christ possesses the Kingdom of heaven by a twofold right, first because He is the Son and secondly because He suffered. He had no need of this second merit, but he gave it to me and to all who believe." Luther then makes the practical application that Bernard therefore "put his trust only in Christ and not in his own works; he did not extol himself for his vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; on the contrary, he called his life with those vows a ruined life, '*perditam vitam*,' and in this faith he was preserved and justified with all the saints. Believest thou he lied or said only in jest that his life was lost? * * * If then thou hearest it preached that the vows and life of religious are rejected and wholly worthless to justification and salvation, who will still take vows, who will still persevere in a vow?" And so he goes on. In the two next pages, Luther repeatedly reverts to Bernard's saying, in order to pronounce the cited judgment on the religious vows. Then afterwards:³⁴ "Did not Bernard by this confession nullify his vows and turn back to Christ?"

The two passages, as is clear to anyone, are a formal challenge to an editor to authenticate them. The sense ascribed by Luther to the first, that Bernard on his death-bed had revoked his vows, because they were godless, is simply horrible. Did Luther correctly cite it? What is the context of the passage? From what time does it date? What is its true sense?

³³ Weim. VIII, 601. "Nihil aliud (Bernhardus) sonuit quam confessionem huiusmodi: Tempus meum perdidit, perditte vixi."

³⁴ Ibid. p. 658.

All this demands the more research because Luther attaches the greatest importance to the passages, especially the first. As we shall presently see, there are hardly any others so often adduced in Luther's works as these.

Kawerau had the good will to authenticate the passages, and he found the second one, which was an easy thing to do. For Luther says, Bernard's utterances were given as he was sick unto death. Kawerau naturally referred to one of the Lives; and he likewise found the second one in *Vita S. Bernardi auctore Alano*.³⁵ He even cites another edition of St. Bernard and the *Legenda aurea*. Had he only given us, instead of this overabundance of citations, the saying of St. Bernard, at least with its context! As Bernard, grievously ill but not at the end of his life, was molested by the evil enemy, he fearlessly responded by pointing to the merits of Christ—just as, in Luther's time, priests were exhorted to direct the attention of the dying: "*Si occurrerit tibi diabolus, ei semper oppone merita passionis Christi*."—"If the devil should come in thy way, always oppose to him the merits of the passion of Christ."³⁶ Kawerau would even like to have the reader believe that the first, most important passage also occurs in Alanus; for, instead of admitting that he did not find it, he continues: "Luther often and with satisfaction refers to *these utterances* of Bernard's, cf. Erl. Edit. Vol. 45, p. 148 sq., 'as it is my wont often to use the example of Saint Bernard.' Cf, also above (VIII) p. 450 and 528." And that is all? The last page-number should really be canceled, for there there is only a translation of p. 450. And so there is neither the quotation of the expression nor even an approximately sufficient citation of the instances of it in Luther! Köhler likewise busies himself with the utterance, but is no more successful than Kawerau, though he cites six instances of it in Luther. There are really only two, however, for two do not belong here and two of them are translations of the Latin text.³⁷ Schäfer did

³⁵ Migne, Patr. I, t. 185, p. 491.

³⁶ *Sacerdotale ad consuetudinem s. Romane Ecclesiae aliarumque ecclesiarum*. Edited and amplified by Albertus Castellanus, O. P. Venetils, 1564, fol. 114.

³⁷ Luther und die Kirchengeschichte, 1, 321.

not at all understand the first utterance, attaches no value to it apparently, since he adduces the passage from Table-talk (!), Erl. 61,443, as follows: "*Perdite vixi* * * * but Thou, dear Lord Jesus Christ, thou hast a twofold right," etc., which is the second utterance in strongly interpolated amplification, and its source is given as *Legenda aurea* CXV! Then five quotations are added from other works of Luther.³⁸

First of all I will here present a collection of the passages from Luther's writings which contain St. Bernard's words. This collection was gleaned in readings of the work, and while certainly not complete, nevertheless offers incomparably more than the citations of the Protestant Luther researchers and proves in any case of what great moment those words were to Luther.

Luther first speaks of the matter in the year 1518, Weim. 1, 323, 15, and 534; in both instances Luther adduces only the first utterance, but even that early Luther already said that Bernard, "*cum aliquando mori se crederet*," or "*agonisans*," exclaimed: "*Perdidi tempus* * * * *perdite vixi*." So also in VIII, 450 and 658. But on page 601, both expressions, though still separate, are cited in juxtaposition. From that on, both sayings appear frequently united, dating from the same time, in which, namely, Bernard was, or thought himself, dying. I cite them first as they occur serially in the Erl. edition: 6,251,259; 9,240 sq., 17, 31; 31,287 ("Even St. Bernard, the most devout monk, when he had long lived in monastic baptism³⁹ and was sick unto death, had to despair of all his monkery, etc."), 291 sq., 321 (alluded to); 36, 8; 41,309; 43, 353 sq. (here, after quoting the first saying, Luther asks: "How now, dear St. Bernard! Surely all your life you were a devout monk! Is not chastity, obedience, your preaching, fasting, prayer, an excellent thing? No, he says, it is all lost and belongs to the devil"); 45, 148 sq., 166 sq. (very extended), 355 sq., 364; 46,245,377 (after both expressions: "now he falls out of the monk, order, cowl, and the rules upon Christ"); 47, 37 sq. ("O St. Bernard, it was time to turn back;" "he hung up his cowl on the wall"), 39; Opp. Exeg. lat. 19, 52, in Gal.

³⁸ Luther als Kirchenhistoriker, p. 444.

³⁹ On "monastic baptism," see below, farther on.

Ed. Irmischer, II, 284; Weim. XX., 624,672; 746, 13 (with the last passage cf. Luther's *Enarr. in can. epist priorem Joannis* anno 1527 die 19 Augusti inchoata);⁴⁰ Weim. XXVII, 335. Even in his book *De servo arbitrio* (Opp. lat. var. arg., 7, 166), the first utterance had to do service, this time to prove that the saints forget their *liberum arbitrium*—free will—and only invoke the grace of God. In general he cites the expression, *Perdite vixi*, but in his distorted rendering. Erl. 25,335; Opp. Exeg. lat. 4,301; in Gal., I, 14, etc.

Now *when* did the first expression, precisely the weightiest, escape from Bernard's lips? Where is it to be found? There is one thing I can assure Messrs. Kawerau, Schäfer, Köhler and their colleagues, and that is that a Franciscan on the Bonaventure edition, a Dominican on that of St. Thomas, the Jesuit Father Braunsberger as editor of the Canisius letters, Gietl as the publisher of Roland's Summa, the latest publishers of the Tridentine Acts, and many another scholar would not have rested until they had found the passage.

Where then is the saying to be found: "Tempus perdidi, perditte vixi"—"I have lost time, I have lived ruinously"? It occurs in *Sermo 20 in Cant.*,⁴¹ and that in the very beginning n. 1. St. Bernard sets out by saying that man should live for Christ. God created everything for his sake. Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is all man (Eccle. 12, 13). He then continues: "Inclina tibi, deus, modicum id quod me dignatus es esse, atque de mea misera vita suscipe, obsecro, residuum annorum meorum: *pro his vero (annis) quos vivendo perdidi, quia perditte vixi, cor contritum et humiliatum, deus, non despicias*. Dies mei sicut umbra declinaverunt et praeterierunt sine fructu. Impossibile est, ut

⁴⁰ Cod. Pal. lat. 1825, fol. 147: "Omnes enim sic docuerunt, nos Christi sanguine mundari a peccatis: super hoc fundamentum quod retinuerunt, aedificaverunt stipulas, traditiones et regulas suas. Sed dies probavit tandem hoc aedificium; in agone enim mortis, qui verus ignis est, periit haec fiducia traditionum, et in solam misericordiam se reiecerunt, sicut sanctus Bernhardus clamavit, se misere perdidisse vitam, quam totam vigiliis, ieiuniis, et omni genere superstitiosorum operum misere transegerat. Erexit autem se fiducia meriti Christi, quam aiebat duplici iure habere regnum, primum est dei filium naturalem, secundo, ex merito passionis, **quam passionem pro peccatoribus liberandis sublerat.**"

⁴¹ Migne, Patr. 1, t. 183, p. 867.

revocem; placeat ut recogitem tibi eos in amaritudine animae meae.”—“Do thou, O God, incline unto Thee that little thing that Thou hast deigned me to be; and of my pitiable life receive, I beseech Thee, the rest of my years; *but for those years which I have lost in living, because I lived ruinously*, do not, O God, despise a contrite and humbled heart. My days have declined like a shadow and have passed without fruit. It is impossible for me to recall them. May it please Thee that I recall them to Thee in the bitterness of my soul.” The reader sees, first, that St. Bernard spoke the words, not in his mortal illness nor when he believed himself dying, but in one of his sermons on the Canticle of Canticles, which, with interruptions, he preached serially to his brethren. And what is the purport of the words, now found in their right setting in the context? That which Luther observed in them in 1518, when his vision was clearer and he was not yet filled with implacable hatred of the Church—the humble acknowledgment of a contrite soul in the presence of God. Luther says (Weim. I., 323): “I know that my whole life is worthy of condemnation, if it will be judged; but God has commanded me to trust, not in my life but in His mercy, as he says, ‘Be of good heart, son, thy sins are forgiven thee.’” He then adduces Bernard’s saying and concludes: “Thus will the fear of judgment humble thee, but hope in mercy will lift the humbled up.”

By 1521, however, he taxed the religious with the blasphemy which we hear from his lips in 1527: they made the *rule the foundation* without regard to the sole foundation, Jesus Christ.⁴² One would have to oppose them with the conclusion: “If nothing is justified before God except by the blood of Christ, it follows that the statutes of Popes and the *rules of the Fathers* are a snare”;⁴³ for “the rule is good, it is true, but it did not shed blood for me.”⁴⁴ Now just as the monasteries could be razed to the ground on account of this blasphemy, of this denial of Christ,⁴⁵ so should each individual, before his soul leaves his body, have to execrate his whole

⁴² Weim. XX, 624.

⁴³ Ibid. p. 622.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 624.

⁴⁵ Cod. Vat. Pal. lat. 1825, fol. 148.

religious life with all its rules, exercises, etc., if he wishes at all to be saved and to go to heaven. As we shall see in the next chapters, Luther intentionally passes over in silence the fact that the foundation of the religious state and of all rules, and in general of all exercises, is Jesus Christ, and that, according to Catholic teaching, all good works are pleasing to God only in so far as they are done in the power of Him who became the atonement for our sins, namely, Jesus Christ.⁴⁶

To every Catholic, therefore, there is something akin to the self-evident in what an older contemporary of Luther, the Spanish Benedictine, Abbot Garcia de Cisneros, teaches the young religious: "Invoke the mercy of our Redeemer and set between thyself and God His precious death and His passion, by saying: 'O Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner, through the holy passion of Thy most beloved Son, who was sacrificed for me on the Cross,' " etc."⁴⁷ This it is that the Catholic Church has repeatedly expressed and still expresses in the second part of the Litany of the Saints, which is nowhere else so often recited as in the monasteries. The well-known historian, Theodoric Engelhus, who is said to have died in Wittenberg itself, in 1434, naturally knows, in his "*Laienregel*" (Rule for Lay People), no better prayer for laics in the presence of death than: "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, set Thy agony, Thy cross, and Thy death between Thy judgment and my soul."⁴⁸ To a Protestant who blindly accepts Luther's hideous calumny that Catholics desire "by good works to be their own justifier and redeemer,"⁴⁹ it certainly sounds strange, even if he hears that the Church, at the time of Luther and of his Order, as in this day, prays in the eighth responsory of the Office of the Dead: "O Lord, judge me not according to my works, for I have done nothing worthy in Thy sight; therefore I beseech Thy majesty to blot out my

⁴⁶ On this, see below, Chap. 12.

⁴⁷ I use the later Latin edition: *Exercitatorium vitae spiritualis*, Ingoistadii, 1591, in the second part of the volume p. 430. The first Spanish edition, with the title, "*Ejercitatorio espiritual*," was printed in 1500.

⁴⁸ In R. Langenberg, *Quellen u. Forsch. zur Gesch. der deutschen Mystik*. 1902, p. 83.

⁴⁹ Weim. XXVII, 443.

wickedness.”⁵⁰ He will scarcely believe that, in conformity with the *Sacerdotale ad consuetudinem S. Rom. Ecclesiae*,⁵¹ the priest is to exhort one dying: “If the Lord God wishes to judge thee according to thy sins, say to Him: ‘Lord, I place the death of my Lord Jesus Christ between me and Thy judgment, and, although I have deserved death by my sins, nevertheless I set the merit of His passion in the place of the merit which I, poor sinner, should have, but have not. Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit.’”

If a layman, who, like priests and religious, is bound to keep the commandments of God, exclaims with St. Bernard: “I have led a damnable life,” does he thereby hang the commandments of God on a peg, or revoke and condemn them? He condemns himself for not having lived according to them. And if a religious, who besides is bound to keep the vows which he made to God, says the same, does he thereby revoke and condemn the vows? On the contrary, he condemns himself for not having kept them as he should have done. He confesses that he had borne the name of monk without right. To this the holy abbot Anthony bears witness. Returning to his brethren from the death-bed of Paul, whose holy life he had seen, he cried out: “Vae mihi peccatori, qui falsum monachi nomen fero”⁵²—“Woe to me a sinner, who bears falsely the name of monk!” This is a self-judgment, a judgment, not upon the duties imposed or undertaken, but upon that which does not correspond with those duties. Therefore

⁵⁰ So also the breviary of the Augustinian Hermits. I use Cod. Vat. lat. 3515 of the XV century, fol. 431b.

⁵¹ Fol. 114 and 114b. See above p. 45, note 36.

⁵² Vita S. Pauli, Opp. Hieronymi, Migne, Patr. I, t. 23. p. 27, n. 13. The Bernardine confession in the moment in which he believed himself near death, and my explanation as contrasted with Luther's distortion are beautifully illustrated by the *Admonitio morienti* of Anselm of Canterbury, who died some decades previous to the time of Bernard's preaching the sermon referred to. The dying monk is to be asked: “*Gaudes quod morieris in habitu monachico?*” He is to respond: “*Gaudeo.*” “*Fateris te tam male vixisse, ut meritis tuis poena aeterna debeatur?*” “*Fateor.*” “*Poenitet te hoc?*” “*Habes voluntatem emendandi, si spatium haberes?*” * * * “*Credis te non posse nisi per mortem Jesu Christi salvari?*” * * * “*Age ergo, dum superest in te anima; in hac sola morte (Christi) totam fiduciam tuam constitue, in nulla alla re fiduciam habeas,*” etc. Migne, Patr. I, T. 158, 685. Cf. also A. Franz. Das Rituale von St. Florian aus dem 12 Jahrh. (1904), p. 199.

does St. Bernard write on another occasion: "God loves the soul which judges itself in His presence ceaselessly and without deceit. If we judge ourselves, we shall not be judged by God."⁵³ On this point there is surely no further word to be lost.

But when did St. Bernard utter the first, most important saying? When did he preach sermon the twentieth on the Canticles? He began this series of sermons in 1135. The first twenty-three were finished by 1137, that is, before his third journey to Italy in February, 1137.⁵⁴ Sermon twenty was preached, then, about 1136 or 1137, consequently sixteen years before Bernard's death. Now, did he, after this sermon twenty, cease to found monasteries? We heard the Reformer say that, by the words, "perdite vixi," Bernard condemned and revoked his religious vows, forsook monkery, and hung his habit up on a peg. On the contrary, we see rather, that in each succeeding year after his return from Italy in the summer of 1138, new monastic foundations were springing up under his direction.⁵⁵ To several abbots of the new monasteries Bernard wrote letters, as, e. g. as early as 1138-1139 to the new abbot of Dunes (Ep. 324). Concerning the monastery Mellifont, which was occupied in 1142 by brethren drawn from Clairvaux,⁵⁶ Bernard directed the following words to Bishop Malachias: "Ego seminavi, rigate vos, et deus incrementum dabit,"—"I have planted, do you water, and God will

⁵³ Migne, l. c., t. 183, p. 47. In his *Sermo 30 in Cant.* (Migne, l. c., p. 936, n. 6, 7) St Bernard excellently sets forth, on the one hand, the relation of his religious life to his earlier life in the world, and then his sorrow on account of his life in the religious state, particularly after he had to accept the dignity of Abbot, the office of superior, because he was then exposed to many dangers, and his time for prayer was shortened. He deplores his aridity and again offers up to God, as a sacrifice, his contrite heart. This is just the opposite of Luther's falsification.

⁵⁴ Cf. the Maurists in Migne, t. 183, p. 782; Hist. litt. de la France, XIII, 187; Hist. litt. de S. Bernard et de Pierre le Vénérable, Paris, 1773, p. 349, 354; E. Vacandard, *Vie de S. Bernard de Clairvaux*, Paris 1895, I, 471, and note, 1. The former says that Bernard preached *Sermo 24* twice, 1137 and 1138.

⁵⁵ See list in Migne, l. c., p. 1084, n. 2. But preferably Janauschek, *Orig. Cisterc.* (at the close *Arbor genealogica abbatiarum Cisterciens.*) and Vacandard, l. c., II, 393 sqq.

⁵⁶ See Janauschek, loc. cit., p. 70.

give the increase" (Ep. 356). In 1142-1143, he recommends the brethren to the same with the utmost solicitude: "Nequaquam * * * circa eos sollicitudo et diligentia tepescat, et pereat, quod plantavit dextera tua * * * Bene proficit domus * * * Multa adhuc opus est vigilantia, tanquam in loco novo, et in terra tam insueta, imo et inexperta monasticae religionis."—"By no means let solicitude and diligence in their behalf grow tepid; let not what your right hand planted perish * * * The house is getting along well * * * There is still need of much vigilance, the place being new and unused to, indeed, without experience of, the religious life." He urges more care about the statutes of the Order, that the bishop endeavor to procure the uplift of the house, and concludes: "Illud quoque paternitati vestrae suggerimus, ut viris religiosis et quos speratis utiles esse fore monasterio, *persuadeatis quatenus ad eorum Ordinem veniant*" (Ep. 357).—"This we would also suggest to your Reverence, that you persuade religious men, whom you hope to be useful to the monastery, to enter the Order" (Ep. 357). But enough of this.

In the immediately succeeding sermons on the Cantic of Canticles, Bernard likewise expatiates with praise on the vows and the happiness of the religious state. To mention only a few, how zealous he is, in *Sermo 30*, for obedience, poverty, chastity, for mortification, for the true idea of a monk.⁵⁷ In *Sermo 64* in Cant. N. 2, he tells of a monk, with whom once all was well, but who gradually gave way to the seductive thoughts that he was able, and it was better and more useful, to impart the spiritual good he was enjoying in the monastery to others at home. "And what more? He left, and the unhappy man went to his ruin, non tam exul ad patriam, quam canis reversus ad vomitum. *Et se perdidit infelix, et suorum acquisivit neminem.*"—"Not so much an exile returning to his fatherland as a dog to his vomit. The unhappy man went to his ruin and gained none of his people." According to St. Bernard, therefore, he who abandons his Order returns to that from which he had departed and goes to ruin, whilst, according to Luther, this is the fate of one who becomes and

⁵⁷ Migne, t. 182, p. 936 n. 10, 11, 12.

remains a monk.⁵⁸ In *Sermo* 48 St. Bernard speaks on *innocentia*, in *Sermo* 71 on the good of obedience, in *Sermo* 47 on the rule of St. Benedict. And elsewhere we find the same: as in *Sermo* 37, *De Deversis*, which was probably composed after his journey to Rome. How he extols therein monastic chastity: "Quis enim coeliben vitam, vitam coelestem et angelicam dicere vereatur?" He exhorts the brethren to its observance and speaks the animating words: "Quomodo non jam non estis sicut angeli dei in coelo, a nuptiis penitus abstinentes?" etc.⁵⁹ After 1137, namely, about 1141 or 1142, he composed the most celebrated treatise on the religious state, *De praecepto et dispensatione*, which belongs to the most beautiful and the most instructive works ever written on the religious life. The monastic discipline, he says therein among other things,⁶⁰ has merited the prerogative of being called a second baptism, because of its perfect contempt of the world, and because of the special excellence of the spiritual life, which surpasses all other modes of life. And those who profess it make themselves unlike themselves, but like unto the angels.⁶¹

In what a deceptive light does not Luther begin to appear to us? Apart from misleading his readers in respect to the period of time from which both utterances should date, he, (and, following him, his partisans)⁶² *contrary to his better knowledge*, gave to the first saying a sense which above all

⁵⁸ "Ad vomitum gentilem redire." Weim. VIII. 600,7.

⁵⁹ Migne l. c., p. 641, n. 5.

⁶⁰ C. 17, n. 54, (Migne, t. 182, p. 889). I shall resume this subject later.

⁶¹ A clear exposition of the whole treatise may be found in Hist. litt. de S. Bernard et de Pierre Vénérable. Paris 1773, p. 240-255. On second baptism, see below chapters 11, 12.

⁶² Joh. Bugenhagen Pomeranus, e.g. writes in "Von dem ehelichen stande der Bischöffe und Diaken an Herrn Wolfgang Reyssenbusch (Wittenberg, 1525) leaf O iiij^b: "We read of several, among whom is St. Bernard too, who, at the end of their life, condemned all human justice and the hard heavy labor of human ordinances, which they had had some years before, and openly confessed that they should be saved only by God's mercy, through the blood of Jesus Christ."

others St. Bernard held in abhorrence. And Luther did that solely to attain his end.⁶³

CHAPTER III

SUPERIORS ALLEGED TO BE ABLE TO DISPENSE FROM EVERYTHING. LUTHER'S ASSERTION THAT HE VOWED THE WHOLE RULE.

As we are occupied with St. Bernard, let us further follow Luther as his interpreter, and the editor Kawerau. Luther writes VIII, 633 sq.: "It is the unanimous view, duly approved by St. Bernard in the book, *De praecepto et dispensatione*, that all the parts of the rule are in the hands of the superior, who can dispense his subjects from them, not only when there is question of something impossible or where there is danger in delay, but also when it is convenient; sometimes these parts of the rule depend only on the discretion of the superior." From these premises, Luther draws the conclusion that the sense of the monastic vow is: "I vow to keep this rule according to the discretion of the superior,"⁶⁴ but the superior can dispense in all and from all vows, therefore also from the vow of chastity, the more so because stronger grounds urge it, whereas it is precisely the vow of chastity that is represented as nondispensable. Thus the whole monastic institution becomes uncertain and dangerous, and if the sense of the monastic vow is not the one just given, then all monasteries are damned, and there was never a monk in existence.

Now, let us first view the premises which Luther pretends to have set up according to general agreement and the teaching of St. Bernard. Is it true that St. Bernard teaches

⁶³ It is all the more significant that Seeberg (*Neue Preuss. Zeitung*, 1903, nr. 569) seeks to excuse Luther from my charge by remarking that Luther had probably read Bernard's utterance only once, had "*inadvertently*" misinterpreted it and ascribed it to Bernard before death. The question of a lie is not considered at all. But how did it happen that, *before* his fall, Luther did quite correctly interpret the saying, as we have seen? We know why Seeberg passed this over in silence.

⁶⁴ "Voveo hanc regulam servare ad arbitrium praesidentis." In the well known earlier sermon, Luther utilizes this passage, but does not name St. Bernard as authority. *Erl.* 10, 453.

that all the parts of the rule are in the hand of the superior? One would judge so, for would not the setting up of this assertion otherwise give evidence of the highest degree of deceptive arbitrariness, since Luther even cites the writing in which St. Bernard is supposed to teach this? But nevertheless one would judge wrongly. In the writing named, *Bernard teaches the very opposite of what Luther made him say*. St. Bernard says: "In great part the regular tradition is subject, if not to the will, certainly to the discretion of him who is at the head. But you say: 'What then remains to necessity' (i. e. not committed to the discretion of superiors)! Listen, a very great deal. In the first place, *whatever there is of spiritual things handed down by the rule, is by no means left in the hand of the abbot.*"⁶⁵ For one thing, therefore, Bernard does not say, as Luther alleges he did, that *all* parts of the rule are in the hands of the superior, but a *great* part. But, he continues, and this is definite, in respect to the spiritual handed down in the rule the superior has *no power* whatever. Instead of wasting words on Luther's procedure, I permit myself to ask only one question of the Protestant Luther researchers: What kind of religious were those who forthwith and without scruple accepted Luther's amplifications and interpretations of Bernard's teaching, as presented here and in the discussion of the *Perdite vixi*? Were they not already rotten fruit, ripe for their fall?

But what does Kawerau say? This time he found the passage, for Luther cited the book. He adduces it without comment in the note, but only the beginning of it. The continuation, which gives complete evidence contrary to Luther's exposition, *he omitted*, the part namely, that the spiritual is not within the power of the abbot! Is such a procedure

⁶⁵ Liber de praecepto et dispensatione, c. 4, n. 9: "Patet quod magna ex parte regularis traditio subest ejus qui praeest, etsi non voluntati, certe discretioni. Sed dicitis: Quid ergo relinquitur necessitati? Audite, quam plurimum. Prima quidem, *quidquid de spiritualibus in ipsa Regula traditum est, in manu abbatis nequaquam relinquitur.*"

honorable and unbiased?⁶⁶ If that is not partisan bias, there is nothing that deserves to be so characterized.

But Luther also draws from Bernard's passage, which he falsified, the conclusion that one vows to keep the rule *according to the discretion of the superior*. The true Bernard, of course, concludes differently: "I promise * * * obedience according to the rule of St. Benedict, therefore *not according to the will or discretion of the superior.*"⁶⁷ This, then, is a conclusion diametrically opposed to that of Luther. Does Kawerau note it? Not in the least.

Still Luther also says on this passage: "I vow this rule," "voveo hanc regulam," and he also repeats this elsewhere.⁶⁸ There is a pregnant passage soon found thereon, Weim, VIII, 637, 26: "Nunc monasticos conveniamus. *Non possunt negare*, quin voveant totam suam regulam, non solam castitatem, quod et tota sub verbo 'vovete' comprehenditur; quare necesse est, ut et tota sub verbo 'reddite' comprehendatur."—"Let us now question the monasteries. They cannot deny having vowed the whole rule and not chastity alone, because

⁶⁶ In this Kawerau by no means stands alone. One meets the same manner of workmanship in many another Protestant theologian. Only one instance here. Ph. Schaff, *Gesch. der alten Kirche*, (Leipsig, 1867) cites, for his assertion that Augustine did not accept the real presence: *De pecc. mer. ac rem.* 1, II, 26 (n. 42): "*quamvis non sit corpus Christi* (italics by Schaff) sanctum est tamen, quoniam sacramentum est." Who will still doubt that Augustine denies the real presence? But how does the case stand? Schaff tore the passage from its context, mutilated it and did not observe that Augustine was *not* speaking of the Eucharistic, but of blessed bread, the so-called *Eulogia*, which the catechumens used to receive. In its context the passage reads: "Non uniusmodi est sanctificatio: nam et catechumenos sec. quendam modum suum per signum Christi et orationem manus impositionis puto sanctificari, et quod accipiunt, quamvis non sit corpus Christi, sanctum est tamen," etc. Similarly, though somewhat more cautiously, H. Schmid *Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch.*, 2 Ed., p. 109, note 3 (cf. Gams in *Hist.-pol. Blätter*, 61, Bd., p. 958 sqq.). Isn't it capital? The passage is really evidence for Augustine's faith in the real presence, especially when it is compared with his tr. 11 in *Joann. Evang.*, n 4: "Nesciunt catechumeni, quid accipiant christiani." The catechumens, he says in *Sermo* 132, n. 1, should hasten to baptism, in order to be able to receive the Eucharist. Similarly *Enarr.* in Ps. 109, n. 17: tr. 96 in *Joann. Evang.*, n. 3.

⁶⁷ "Non ergo secundum voluntatem praepositi." *De praecepto et dispens.* c. 4, n. 10.

⁶⁸ e.g. *Erl.* 10, 452 sqq.

the whole rule is included in the word "vovete"; hence necessarily the whole rule is also included in the word "reddite." Luther here proves himself guilty of even greater trickery than he had manifested in respect to St. Bernard. For there is here no question of a strange book, but of his own rule which once he himself had kept, of his own form of vows which he had once pronounced, and had so often heard on the part of others during the solemnities of their religious profession, and which was found in print in the constitutions of the Order, publicly read during the year, and in those written by Staupitz. And how does the form read, by means of which he had vowed the rule? "Ego frater * * * promitto obedientiam * * * *vivere sine proprio et in castitate secundum regulam beati Augustini usque ad mortem*";⁶⁹—"I, Brother N. N. * * * promise obedience * * * and to live without possessions and in chastity *according* to the rule of St. Augustine, until death." Therefore Luther and his confreres did not vow the rule, but to live *in conformity with* the rule or *according to* the rule, that is, as St. Thomas teaches: "He who professes the rule does not vow to observe all the things which are in the rule, but he vows the regular life which consists essentially in the three mentioned vows. He does not vow the rule, but to live according to the rule, that is he avows he will strive so to live, that he will shape his conduct in conformity with the rule as according to a kind of exemplar."⁷⁰

Luther's assertion sounds too incredible. Perhaps he means, after all, other orders and not his own? Not so, for

⁶⁹ Thus the *ancient*, general manuscript rescensions of the Constitutions of the Eremites, everywhere, c. 18: Bibl. Angelica in Rome, n. 770; Rheims, n. 709; Verdun, n. 41; In the edition *Venetis*, 1508, also c. 18, fol. 23; in the Constitutions for Germany by Staupitz (1504) the same, c. 18.

⁷⁰ 2. 2. qu. 186, a. 9, ad 1: "Ille qui profitetur regulam, non vovet servare omnia, quae sunt in regula, sed vovet regularem vitam, quae essentialiter consistit in tribus praedictis * * * profitentur, non quidem regulam, sed vivere secundam regulam, i. e., tendere ad hoc, ut aliquis mores suos informet secundum regulam sicut secundum quoddam exemplar." That only the three vows are included in the *Praeceptum*, was the understanding in Luther's order. "De omnibus aliis praeter haec tria," writes Luther's famous confrere, Jordan of Saxony, about the middle of the fourteenth century, "non veniunt sub praecepto, nisi mediante praelato." *Vitae Fratrum*, Romae, 1587, p. 125 sq.

on page 633, 4, he removes every doubt by writing: "*Behold, I vowed the whole rule of St. Augustine:*"—"Ecce ego vovi totam Augustini regulam!" Naturally, this suggesting the sense that he had vowed every sentence, every admonition, it was easy for Luther to expose the peril of it all. In the rule of St. Augustine, there is a regulation, for instance, "*Nec eant ad balnea sive quocunque ire necesse fuerit minus quam duo vel tres,*"—"Nor shall less than two or three go to the baths or wherever else it may be necessary to go." Therefore if I, as Eremite, do not walk accompanied by others, I have broken the vow, for, "*hoc vovi usque ad mortem servare,*"⁷¹ *ut expresse habet forma voti.*"—"For I vowed to observe this until death, as the form of the vow expressly has it." That, then, is contained in the form of the vow! To what length has Luther gone! To what depths had he already fallen, that he did not shrink from wholly distorting the words which once he had himself spoken before God and which are in the published constitutions, so that precisely that untrue meaning which he now needed was displayed, but which, at his profession with all his confreres, he would rightly have repudiated as wholly contrary to the form. And what kind of monks were his associates, who allowed themselves to be tricked by such distortions and who followed him in his apostasy? Did they not already belong to that stream of decline, described in the introduction?

Luther's account does not apply to the other best known orders of that time either. The Dominicans took their vow "according to the rule," like Luther and his confreres. The Benedictines and the Cluniacs⁷² did the same, and St. Bernard expressly says, in the treatise above cited by Luther, in the very same chapter, indeed, in respect to Benedict's rule:⁷³ "*Promitto, non quidem Regulam, sed obedientiam secundum Regulam, S. Benedicti,*"—"I promise, not the rule indeed, but obedience according to the rule of St. Benedict." And pres-

⁷¹ So also Erl. 10, 452: "St. Augustine puts in his rule that his brethren shall not go alone, but two by two; I vowed that until death."

⁷² See on this, Mabillon, *Regula S. Benedicti*, in Migne, *Patrol.* 1., t. 66, p. 820. *Bernardi I abbatis Casinens., Speculum monachorum*, Ed. Walter, Friburgi 1901, p. 5.

⁷³ *De praecepto et dispens., c. 4, n. 10.*

ently⁷⁴ he acknowledges what was the common understanding about profession among all the monks of his time: "No one vows the rule when he makes profession, but, quite definitely, that he will adjust his manner of living *according to, or in conformity with*, the rule. It is not a violation of the vow, therefore, if one does not fulfill the rule to a hair." To the Benedictines and Cluniacs in well ordered monasteries of praiseworthy customs, St. Bernard allows much freedom in respect to the rule, although his Cistercians strive to follow the rule to the letter,⁷⁵ not in consequence of the vow, or as if they had vowed the rule, but contrary to the customs.⁷⁶ The Canons Regular, as in general all who followed the rule of St. Augustine, took their vows, like the orders mentioned, "secundum Regulam."⁷⁷ Of the orders that can here be taken into consideration, Luther's statement would have application only to the Franciscans, had not St. Francis precluded that by an uncommon brevity and an insignificant number of ordinances, as well as and particularly by the distinction between *monitiones* and *praecepta*, which was expressly emphasized by Gregory IX as early as 1230, and clearly explained by St. Bonaventure.⁷⁸ In their form of profession,

⁷⁴ Ibid., c. 16, n. 47. Bernhard I, Abbot of Monte Cassino, who, in *Speculum monachorum* (Ed. Walter), p. 117, adduces both passages of St. Bernard, concludes: "Ex his igitur dico quod in aliis, quae in professione non exprimuntur, monachus sequitur regulam ut magistram docentem et ad rectitudinem et salubria monentem et utilia consulentem, non ut iubentem, mandantem vel praecipientem." Cf. also p. 119. Henry of Ghent did not fully understand this.

⁷⁵ De praecepto et dispensatione, c. 16, n. 46, 47, 49.

⁷⁶ See on this, *Berlière*: Les origines de Cîteaux et l'ordre bénédictin au XII^e siècle, (Louvain, 1901), p. 15, 199.

⁷⁷ Congregations also, as e.g., that of Windesheim: ego fr. promitto deo auxiliante perpetuam continentiam, carentiam proprii et obedientiam tibi, pater prior * * * secundum regulam b. Augustini et secundum constitutiones capituli nostri generalis. Ms. in the Seminary library of Mainz 3a pars, c. 2. In the same manner, e.g. the Servites, who also expressly said: "Vivere secundum regulam S. Augustini." Monum. Ord. Serv. S. Mariae, ed. Morini et Soulier, I, 42.

⁷⁸ Expositio super Reg. fr. Min., c. 1: "Vovent igitur Fratres totam Regulam secundum intentionem mandatoris, partim ad observantiam, ut praeceptorie imposita, partim ad reverentiam et approbationem illorum, quae non tam praeceptorie imponuntur, quam meritorie proponuntur tali statui specialiter aemulanda. * * * Ex his ergo patet error dicentium, quod voventes hanc Regulam vovent etiam omnia praeceptorie, quae in ipsa

the Carthusians mention nothing, but to this day it is their understanding that they vow, not the rule, but to live according to the rule.

If this is the case, then, what shall we say of the editor, Kawerau, who offers not one little word of comment on the passages under consideration, to advise the reader of Luther's deceit?

In like manner, Luther in other writings further deceives his readers in respect to constitutions, that is, statutes—a thing that has not surprised any Protestant Luther researcher either. Repeatedly does Luther complain later that, in the Popedom, there was nothing but intimidating consciences. Had he, as a monk, gone out of his cell without his scapular, for instance, he would have thought that he had committed a deadly sin; for a monk durst not go out without his scapular.⁷⁹ In the constitutions of Staupitz, it does indeed say, c. 24: "Let no brother leave his cell without a scapular." Is Luther right then? By no means. In the very prologue, on the first page of the Constitutions, every prop is removed from Luther's later propounded scruple. There one reads: "For the sake of peace and the unity of the Order, it is our will and we declare that our constitutions do not bind us *under fault* but under penalty, except in the case of a precept or on account of contempt."⁸⁰ This is excellently explained not only by St. Thomas,⁸¹ but also by

Regula continentur, hoc enim est contra Regulam manifeste, quae expresse distinguit monitiones a praeceptis." Opp. S. Bonaventurae (ed. Quaracchi) t. VIII, 394, n. 3. In the appended notes there are other references.

⁷⁹ Cf. 44, 347; 48, 203; Tischer. ed. Förstemann, III, p. 239.

⁸⁰ Thus in *all* the recensions: "* * * volumus et declaramus, ut constitutiones nostrae non obligent nos ad culpam, sed ad penam, nisi propter preceptum vel contemptum." The prologue, with the words adduced, as in great part the constitutions generally, are taken from the constitutions of the Dominicans, about which more below.

⁸¹ S. Thomas 2. 2. qu. 186, a. 9: "Si quaelibet transgressio eorum, quae in regula continentur, religiosum obligaret ad peccatum mortale, status religionis esset periculosissimus propter multitudinem observantiarum. Non ergo quaelibet transgressio eorum, quae in regula continentur, est peccatum mortale." And ad 1: "* * * transgressio talis vel omissio ex suo genere non obligat ad culpam, neque mortalem neque venialem, sed solum ad poenam taxatam sustinendam, quia per hunc modum ad talia observanda obligantur, qui tamen possent venialiter vel mortaliter peccare ex negligentia, vel libidine, seu contemptu."

the religious preceptor of the Eremites, Aegydius of Rome.⁸² The latter calms his brethren with the words: "Subordinates can sufficiently form their conscience from the fact that what is forbidden in the constitutions, if it is not evil in itself, binds under punishment, not under fault, except if they do it out of contempt."⁸³ Will Protestants say that Luther was unacquainted both with these evidences and with his constitutions? What an ignoramus they will then brand him! No, no, the case is otherwise. *After his apostasy, Luther was a different man from the one he had been before.* This is the chief explanation. After his apostasy, when he entertained only mockery and derision for the Church, he went on to make her responsible for mortal sins of a wholly different complexion. In 1531, he writes among other things, about the Pope and Papists: "It were too bad that such mad cattle and dirty hogs should smell these muscats, to say nothing of eating and enjoying them. Let them teach and believe that, if one f—— into his surplice, it is a mortal sin, and he who has an e—— at the altar is one damned. Or, to come to their high articles as well, he who rinses his mouth with water and swallows a drop, may not say mass that day; he who forgets and leaves his mouth open, so that a gnat flies down his throat, cannot receive the sacrament that day, and innumerable similar grand, excellent, high articles, *upon which their sow-church is founded.*"⁸⁴

But let us turn back to Luther's writing "On the Vows." Every unprejudiced reader must perceive that here the Reformer appears in a very dubious light. Protestants can no longer use their favorite expressions that Luther had now attained deeper, clearer knowledge, that he came to recognize the vows as contrary to scripture. No, we are here dealing with facts. From 1505 on, that is, from the time in which Luther entered the Order and lived as a religious, the Constitutions of the Hermits embodied the same text and the same meaning as at the time in which he wrote his book on

⁸² Quol. 6tum, quaest. 21: "Utrum religiosus frangens silentium, cum agat contra constitutiones, peccet mortaliter."

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Erl. 25, 75.

the vows. What does he do? He changes the text and, first of all, precisely at the passage which is decisive for the entire succeeding life of the religious concerned, the words, namely, by which religious profession is made. The change is this, that the sense becomes other than that which the Constitutions, or Luther himself once, had intended. Deeper knowledge of the passage? But why, then, did Luther change the text? To make the passage yield his *a priori* intended meaning, he was constrained to change the form itself, for it does not admit the meaning he had in view. It was only after his falsification that he could write as an Augustinian Hermit: "See, I vowed the whole rule of St. Augustine, in which he commands that I shall not walk alone. I vowed that until death. Now if I am captured and forced to be alone, what becomes of my vow? Sooner must I let myself be killed than be alone. But how, if they would not kill me, but keep me alone by force? My vow must then be broken, or must virtually include the added clause: 'I vow to keep the rule in this or that matter, so far as it is possible for me to do so.'" In like manner, he said, he had vowed to pray at certain times, to wear clothes, and the like. But if he were taken sick, how then fulfill the "Vovete et reddite,"—"vow and keep your vow?" Such was the case with all the rest.⁸⁵

Expositions and conclusions like these, all built up exclusively on the falsified form of profession, but, in the light of the true form, being *de subjecto non supponete*, i. e., weak figments of the brain, make an impression upon Protestants, and they note nothing unusual about them. Why? Because they disdain to draw Catholic teaching from its genuine fountainhead and prefer without further ado to put their faith in Luther's assertions, which they will subject to no test whatever.

CHAPTER IV.

OBJECT OF THE YEAR OF PROBATION ACCORDING TO LUTHER.

That is not the only time, however, that Luther in this

⁸⁵ Weim. VIII, 633; Erl. 10, 452. Cf. besides Chapter 6 below.

writing deceives his readers about rule and constitutions. He also states therein that, in the orders, a beginner in the religious life is given a year's probation before taking vows. "If this year served the beginner to deliberate upon and to make trial of the customs, food, clothing, and other matters touching the body, one could praise it. *But this year of probation serves the one who is to bind himself by vow, to put himself to the test whether he can live chaste.* But what folly is equal to this, if the essential nature of the institute is considered? Chastity is not measured (as it ought to be), according to the capability of the spirit, but according to the number of days, and he who lives chaste a year is declared fit to live chaste his whole life," and so on.⁸⁶ Does Luther here speak truth, or is not what he says much rather the opposite? Let us see.

Innocent III, in his day, had already summarized the tradition on the year of probation in the words that it was sanctioned by the Fathers in the interest not only of the newly entered, who should make trial *of the severities of the monastery*, but also of the monastery, which can test the aspirant's morals during that time.⁸⁷ And so there is nothing of a trial of chastity! But possibly the orders departed from this rule. Let us consider them.

It is not demanded of Luther that he be acquainted with the practices of other orders. His case depends primarily on the constitutions of his own Order, and precisely on those according to which he himself lived and carried out his year of probation, those of Staupitz of the year 1504.⁸⁸ By way

⁸⁶ Weim. VIII, 659, 38.

⁸⁷ Decretal. de regular. III, 31, 16.

⁸⁸ The constitutions of Staupitz were issued for the Vicariate, not for the related Provinces in Germany. Correcting my assertion in the first edition, I observe that the Convent of Erfurt, in which Luther lived the time of his Novitiate and as a cleric, belonged to the Vicariate but not to the Province. Meanwhile the Province probably also made use of the Constitutions of Staupitz, primarily, since observance in the Monasteries of the Province proceeded from the Superiors of the Vicariate, those Monasteries as a consequence, with a view to observance, always remained in dependence upon the Vicar Generals, who also at times undertook the visitation of them; and then, because there were scarcely any copies of the old general constitutions at hand, they existing only in manuscript, and those of Staupitz were the first to appear in print. Naturally they were

of comparison, however, I also adduce the older ones, for that was taken from them.

What the purpose of the year's probation was, we may come to learn in the fifteenth chapter about the reception of an individual into the Order. This chapter begins somewhat like chapter 58 of the rule of St. Benedict:⁸⁹ "If anyone, whoever he may be, asks for admission into our Order, it shall not forthwith be granted to him, but much rather shall his mind be tested, if it be of God." This then is the *facultas spiritus*, which, according to Luther, ought to be tried, a thing, however, that he missed in the orders. If the postulant or postulants are firm in their resolve, the superior then, after some days, proposes to them in chapter the questions to be answered, if they are free, unmarried, not bound to any service, did not belong to any other Order, and had no debts. If all is found in order, the prior then sets forth to them the strictness of the Order in all its details, among them the items missed by Luther, mode of life, food, clothing. On that which he alleges as the object of the year's probation of that time and condemns, the trial of chastity, one finds not the least word, although obedience and poverty are spoken of. After the prior has set forth the austerities of the Order to those about to be invested with the habit, and after these have declared themselves ready to submit to them, the prior says: "We accept you on probation for a year, as the custom is,"⁹⁰ that is, impliedly: "You and we

soon in demand, the more so because they were arranged for Germany, without, however, varying in their principal features from the old constitutions. They were received as a benefit, for ignorance of customs and usages was great among the Augustinian Hermits. Gabriel, Provincial of the Venetian Province, writes in the dedication of the first impression of the general constitutions (Venetiis 1508) to the General Aegydius of Viterbo: "Ego interim, ut aliquid pro virili mea operis afferam, tanquam vetulae minutum, veteres nostras institutiones neglectas antea *et vix a nostris hominibus* scitas offero." For sometimes a whole Province, to say nothing of each monastery, did not possess a single manuscript copy, (which can be shown to have occurred even in the time of printed ones).

⁸⁹ Noviter veniens quis ad conversionem non ei facillis tribuatur ingressus, sed sicut ait Apostolus: probate spiritus, si ex Deo sunt. *Migne*, (Patr.) 1., t. 66, p. 803.

⁹⁰ Prior exponat eis asperitatem ordinis, scil. abdicationem proprie voluntatis, vilitatem ciborum, asperitatem vestium, vigillas nocturnas, labores

through the year will make trial whether you are capable of subjecting yourselves to the rule and the practices of the Order." They are then forthwith committed to the novice-master for instruction, whose duty it is for the year to conduct them in the way of God, that is, upon the path of virtue, and to teach them the rule, the constitutions or statutes, in which the religious life and its austerities are set forth in detail, and the customs and practices of the Order. They themselves have often to read the constitutions that they may know under what law they are to serve as combatants, in the event of their binding themselves to the Order by vow.⁹¹ The year of probation has begun. In it, "they on the one side are to learn to know the strictness of the Order, and, on the other side, the brethren as well are to become acquainted with their morals."⁹²

The seventeenth chapter treats of the instruction during the year of probation. In the old or general constitutions, mention is made that the novice should be instructed, among other things, to flee the love of pleasure, because it imperils chastity. Staupitz, or some other earlier, suppressed even the last clause.⁹³ In these constitutions, according to which

diurnos, macerationem carnis, opprobrium paupertatis, ruborem mendicitatis, lassitudinem ieiunii, tedium claustris, et his similis. Et de omnibus his voluntatem eorum exquirat. Si responderint se velle cum dei adiutorio omnia illa servare, in quantum humana fragilitas permiserit, dicat eis: accipiemus vos ad probationis annum, sicut mos est fieri.

⁹¹ Prior tradat eos sub obedientia magistri, qui ipsos in via dei dirigat et doceat de regula, de constitutionibus, de officio, de cantu, de moribus, de signis, ac aliis Ordinis observantiis. Legatque ipsis Magister eorum, aut ipsimet sive quilibet eorum per se regulam et constitutiones seorsum ab aliis pluries in anno, ut discant, si se Ordini professionis voto astrinxerint, sub qua lege militare debebunt. The general constitutions show only a few unimportant variants.

⁹² In chapter 16, De tempore et qualitate eorum qui ad Ordinem recipiuntur, there is a passage in the old or general constitutions: "Novitius a die ingressionis sue ad nos ad annum et diem in probatione manebit, ut asperitatem vite seu Ordinis et Fratres mores experiantur illius." Staupitz omits the words, "ut asperitatem * * * illius," but only on account of their frequent repetition. They recur even before the investiture and even afterwards.

⁹³ The old constitutions (In Bibl. Angelica In Reims, Verdun, which were cited above, p. 52) have it: "Delicias fugiat, quia castitas periclitatur in illis." The clause beginning with "quia" to the end is omitted by Staupitz.

Luther later lived, every allusion to chastity was avoided, even where mention of it occurs incidentally.

At the close of the year of probation, if the novice were admitted to profession, i. e., to the act of taking the vows, the prior said to him before all the brethren: "Dear Brother, see, the year of probation is finished, in which you have experienced and tried the entire severity of our Order; for you lived with us as one of us in all things except our councils." Nothing else? Not, as one would have to suppose, according to Luther: "Dear Brother, the year of probation is finished, in which you have tried, if you could live chastely!" Not a whit of this. Rather does the prior continue to admonish the novices to decide, after so protracted a deliberation, whether or no they wish wholly to dedicate themselves to God and to the Order.⁹⁴

But perhaps Luther's animadversion fits other orders? I find none, either the ancient monastic orders⁹⁵ or the mendicants, as, for example, the Dominicans⁹⁶ and the Franciscans.⁹⁷ In all of them the year of probation serves the novice, on the one hand, as a means of experiencing the discipline of the Order, and at the same time, on the other hand, it serves the convent as a means of trying the novices. In the Benedictine and Dominican orders, chastity is not mentioned at all in the form of profession, in which only obedience is vowed. Moreover Luther quite trips himself. Were the object of the year of probation in the religious orders

⁹⁴ *Constit. Staupitii*, c. 18, and *Holstenius Codex regularium* (1759), add. 34, p. 2, 4: "Care frater, ecce tempus probationis tue completum est, in quo asperitatem Ordinis nostri expertus es; fecisti namque in omnibus nobiscum sicut unus ex nobis, preterquam in conciliis. Nunc ergo e duobus oportet te eligere unum, sive a nobis discedere, vel seculo huic renunciare teque totum deo primum et dehinc Ordini nostro dedicare atque offerre, adjecto quod, postquam sic te obtuleris, de sub iugo obedientie collum tuum quacumque ex causa excutere non licebit, quod sub tam morosa deliberatione, cum recusare libere posses, sponte suscipere voluisti."

⁹⁵ See Mabillon on the Rule of Saint Benedict, in Migne, t. 66, p. 805 sqq. See the Abbot Bernhard's "*Speculum monachorum*," p. 127 sqq.

⁹⁶ See Denifle-Ehrle, *Archiv für Litteratur—und Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters*, I, 202, c. 15; V, 542, note 1.

⁹⁷ St. Bonaventure on Reg. Fr. Min. (Opp. VIII, p. 401, n. 12, Ed. Quaracchi) says: "In quo anno possunt experiri afflictiones frigoris et caloris." Others explain the matter in a similar manner.

exclusively a test of chastity, the purpose of entering the orders would have been just chastity. But against this Luther himself protests in the same treatise, page 651, 21: "No one," he says, "becomes a monk on account of chastity."⁹⁸ Finally Luther is worsted by the escaped nun, Florentina von Neu-Helfta, who, in an account of her life accompanied by a preface of Luther himself, 1524, declares the purpose of the year of probation to have been, "that we might learn the manner of the religious life, and that the others might try us, if we were qualified for the Order."⁹⁹ And this was the opinion of the theologians.¹⁰⁰

The religious life and the austerities of the Order serve, of course, to preserve the virtue of chastity, as they do in general to overcome vice and evil habits. As St. Thomas teaches, many austerities, such as night-vigils, fasts, separation from the life of the world, are introduced into the orders "that men may be the more removed from vice."¹⁰¹ Luther himself, at the beginning of the year 1520, still said: "Gorging, swilling, much sleeping, loafing and idling are arms of unchastity, by which chastity is dexterously overcome. On the other hand, St. Paul¹⁰² calls fasting, vigils, and labors, a divine armor, by which unchastity is subdued."¹⁰³

CHAPTER V.

THE VOWS ALLEGED TO LEAD AWAY FROM CHRIST, THE ORDERS TO GIVE A LEADER OTHER THAN CHRIST.

It is incredible what means Luther employs to estrange souls from the orders. Nothing deters him, not even the danger that the constitutions of his own Order and his earlier

⁹⁸ *Nemo propter castitatem induit monachum.*

⁹⁹ Weim. XV, 90, 22.

¹⁰⁰ I mention here only one of the least suspected, namely, Henry of Ghent, who, in Quol. XIII qu. 15, gives only the "*experientia onerum religionis*" as the purpose of the year of probation. And concerning the one year, he writes: "*Praesumendum est, quod cuilibet habenti usum rationis tantum temporis sufficiat ad capiendum experientiam duritiae et status cuiuslibet religionis.*"

¹⁰¹ *Contra retrahentes a religionis ingressu*, c. 6. Cf. also below, note 106, the first prayer from the constitution of Staupitz.

¹⁰² Rom. 13, 12 seq.

¹⁰³ Weim. VI. 268 seq. Cf. also p. 245 seq.

course may give him the lie, just as if he were a modern Protestant who had never heard of such things. In the very beginning of his treatise, he represents to religious that it was not St. Paul's wish to be imitated as Paul, but that Christ should be imitated in him. "Be followers of me, as I also am a follower of Christ," Luther then continues: "Certainly there is no other leader given us than He of whom the Father says: 'hear ye him.' By this word Christ was appointed as the leader for all. All others were subjected to him and placed after him. He who followeth me, he says, walketh not in darkness. I am the light of the world. No one cometh to the Father except through me. I am the way, the truth, and the life." From this Luther draws the conclusion that all rules, statutes, orders, in a word, everything that stands apart from or above Christ, is condemned. He who says: I am the way, cannot suffer that any other way apart from him be taken; he, of whom it was said: hear ye him, cannot tolerate any other leader or master. But what do the members of orders do?¹⁰⁴ He answers: "They are no longer called Christians or sons of God, but Benedictines, Dominicans, Augustinians: these and their Fathers they laud above Christ."¹⁰⁵ Luther thus places the members of religious orders in the same relation to Christ in which a great part of the Protestants of today are found. Protestant means more to them than Christian. They even ask: "Dare we still remain Christians?" They never entertain the slightest doubt as to whether they may remain Protestant.

Is Luther nevertheless right? Did his constitutions, which he had so often to read during his novitiate or later, instruct him, when he took the habit and made his profession, that he was thenceforward to receive a leader other than Christ, a leader who would show him a new way, which however does not lead to Christ? Just the contrary. He could read this every day in his constitutions, in the very ones, indeed, of Staupitz. After being admitted to the habit and at the beginning of his year's probation, he had heard the prior praying over him as he knelt: "*Lord Jesus Christ, our*

¹⁰⁴ Weim. VIII 578.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 618.

leader and our strength, we humbly pray thee to separate *thy servants* from carnal conversation and from the uncleanness of earthly actions by holiness infused in them from on high, and pour forth into them the grace by which they may persevere in *thee*, etc.”¹⁰⁶ After his profession, when he had pronounced the vows, Luther knelt again and the prior prayed over him: “Know, Lord Jesus Christ, thy servant among thy sheep, *that he may know thee* and, denying himself, *may not follow a strange shepherd, nor hear the voice of strangers, but thine*, who sayest: ‘who serveth me, let him follow me.’” And now, if Jesus Christ is the leader, whose voice Luther was to hear in the future, what is the business of the new father, St. Augustine? For Luther is an Augustinian. Another prayer of the prior, heard by Luther as he knelt on the same occasion, tells us: “O God, who didst recall our holy father, Augustine, from the darkness, of the gentiles, and madest him, after spurning the world, to fight for thee alone, we beseech thee to grant to this thy servant, *hastening under his teaching to thine*, constancy to persevere and perfect victory unto the end, through Jesus Christ our Lord.”¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Staupitz’ Konstitutionen der Eremiten—Kongregation Deutschlands, c. 15: “Domine Jesu Christe, *dux et fortitudo nostra*, humiliter petimus, ut famulos tuos, quos sancte compunctionis ardore a ceterorum hominum proposito separasti, etiam a conversatione carnali, et ab immunditia terrenorum actuum infusa eis coelitus sanctitate discernas, et gratiam, qua in te perseverent, infunda, ut protectionis tue muniti presidiiis, quod te donante affectant, opere impleant, et sancte conversationis executores effecti ad ea, que perseverantibus in te promittere dignatus es, bona pertingant. Qui vivis, etc.” In the old general constitutions, these and the following prayers are wanting. It is not likely they were inserted by Staupitz, but most probably they date from an old custom of the Order in Germany.

¹⁰⁷ Staupitz’ Konstitutionen der Eremiten-Kongregation, c. 18: “Agnosce Domine Jesu Christe famulum tuum inter oves tuas, ut ipse te agnoscat et se abnegando alienum pastorem non sequatur, nec audiat vocem alienorum, sed tuam, qui dicis: qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur.”—“Deus, qui b. patrem nostrum Augustinum de tenebris gentium revocasti, spretoque mundo tibi soli militare fecisti, tribue quesumum huic famulo tuo, *sub eius magisterio ad tuum festinanti*, et perseverandi constantiam et perfectam usque in finem victoriam. Per Christum Dom. nostrum.” The first prayer is taken from the “Pontificale Romanum,” which I shall presently cite.

Wondrously beautiful! The leader is Jesus Christ, who is to be heard. He is the shepherd and supreme master. The laws of the religious founder have only the one object of enabling one to *hasten* the more unhindered to Him who is the Way, the Truth, and the Life. Far from drawing his sons away from Christ and the gospel by his laws, the religious founder desires only the more to straiten the union of the soul of his son with Christ. He does not tear him from Christ. It is precisely by his rule and statutes that he gets him to bow under Christ's yoke, as the prior on the same occasion prayed over the kneeling Luther. Vows and laws are not an end, but means to an end, and this end is Christ and His Kingdom.¹⁰⁸ Therefore the religious founders could say in the words of St. Paul, which Luther approved: "Be ye followers of me, as I am of Christ." "*Clarane et certa sunt haec satis?*" questions Luther in his treatise (630, 10). And I, too, now ask: Is not what has been said fully clear and certain? Is it not clear that Luther's reproaches, at least in respect to the Order under consideration, his own, are "*de subiecto non supponente*," devoid of all grounds? At his admission to the habit and at his profession, he heard, and in the constitutions he read, that Christ is the Shepherd, but he one of his sheep, to be led to him by the rule and the laws of St. Augustine. As a consequence Luther took his vows with faith in Jesus Christ.¹⁰⁹ Yet, after a few years, he asserted that by the rules and laws, in a word, by reason of the Order,

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. "Deus culus charitatis ardore succensus hic famulus tuus, stabilitatem suam tibi in hac congregatione promittendo, *tuio iugo collum submittit*," the first prayer began immediately. And the second: "Omnipotens sepieternus deus, qui sub b. Augustino magno patre in ecclesia tua sancta grandem filiorum exercitum contra invisibiles hostes adunasti, *fratrem nostrum recenter collum tuo iugo sub tanti patris militia supponentem amore spiritus s. accende, ut per obedientiam, paupertatem et castitatem, quam modo professus est, ita militando tibi regi regum presentis vite stadium percurrere valeat, ut remunerationis eterne coronam devicto triumphatoque mundo cum pompis suis de donante percipiat.*"

¹⁰⁹ It is little discriminating on the part of *Kolde*, in *Die deutsche Augustiner Kongregation*, p. 21, sqq., when he describes the reception to the habit and profession according to Staupitz's constitutions, to suppress all these prayers, and on p. 25 to adduce only one, which, however, does not belong here, the prayer on the feast of St. Augustine: "Adesto supplicationibus nostris, omnipotens Deus, et quibus fiduciam sperandae

Christ was crowded out, that those rules were against faith, and the vows were not taken with faith in Jesus Christ (591 sqq.).

"To become a monk," he is not ashamed to write, "means to fall away from the faith, to deny Christ, to turn Jew, and to revert to the vomit of heathenism" (600). To become a monk means to wish to deal with God *without the mediator*, Jesus Christ, a thing that is not God's way at all,¹¹⁰ he preached in 1523, and often besides, whether in these or in other terms; for instance, "an ordinary man cries out: 'Crucified Savior, have mercy on me,' while the monks *do not know that Christ is the head.*" The reason why the white and gray habits originated is, that "it was desired to establish something holier than Christ." Then it was said: "That is the way of salvation!" The monks taught that "their life was better than the blood of Christ!"¹¹¹

It is only now that one comprehends Staupitz, who, as Vicar of the Congregation of Hermits in 1504, got out those constitutions with which we were just occupied and according to which Luther lived. For a long time he kept with Luther through thick and thin. On one point they suddenly came to a separation. After Luther had published and spread his treatise on the vows, and Staupitz had read the teachings and the censures mentioned above, the latter after a long silence wrote to Luther, 1524: "Pardon me if sometimes I do not catch your idea * * * What has made the monastic habit, which the majority are wearing with a holy faith in Christ, so odious to your nose? In almost all human practices there are unfortunately abuses, and those are rare who in all things employ faith as a chalk-line, but there are some who do. On account of the casual evil found in individual instances, one should not therefore condemn the essential whole. You and yours reject all vows without distinction, in the fewest cases,

pletatis indulges intercedente B. Augustino * * * consuetae misericordiae tribue benignus effectum." Possibly on account of the trust in God and His mercy expressed therein, Kolde finds the passage "characteristic."

¹¹⁰ Weim. XI, 190.

¹¹¹ Ibid. XX, 613, 615, 623, the year 1527.

possibly in but one, with reason."¹¹² One appreciates the complaint of Staupitz. No one in the congregation understood better than he the essential character of the Order, the meaning of the vows, the sense of the constitutions designed for his congregation, the above cited prayers, as the right interpretation of all this. Luther's distortion therefore could have attracted no one's attention more than his. Yet Staupitz showed consideration for him as a friend. He did not come straight out with his thoughts, but wrote the above complaining words, which at the same time are a friendly admonition and imply chiding wonder why Luther condemns what is good in itself and what he had admitted to be good. He could no longer comprehend him.

Abuses are not denied by Staupitz, nor do I deny them. But is a thing itself to be rejected on account of the abuses that may and do occur? What does Luther himself say about abuses precisely at that time, if it serves his purpose? The same that Staupitz holds up to him. Luther preaches against Carlstadt: "If we were to reject everything that men abuse, what sort of play should we get up? There are many people who adore the sun, the moon, the stars; should we therefore set to and cast the stars from the heavens, and tumble down the sun and the moon? Yes, we shall likely let that alone. Wine and women bring many to misery and heartache, make fools and insane people of many others; shall we therefore empty out the wine and destroy the women? Not so. Gold and silver, money and goods breed much evil among folks; shall we therefore throw all such things away? No, truly!"¹¹³ In 1524,¹¹⁴ he repeats this about wine and women against the people of Orlamünde. Another time he adduces the proverb: "Just where God builds a church, there the devil comes and

¹¹² The Latin text in Kolde, "Die deutsche Augustiner Kongregation," p. 447, is as follows, with my punctuation: "Vota passim omnia abiecit, in paucissimis, forte uno dumtaxat fundati." Kolde translates, p. 343: "Die Gelübde verwerft ihr allmählich alle, bei den wenigsten *vielleicht mit einigem Grund*."! This last letter of Staupitz to Luther Kolde put completely out of its context.

¹¹³ Erl. 28, p. 230 (of the year 1522; these sermons are based in their form on notes). Cf. also, *ibid*, p. 309.

¹¹⁴ Weim. XV 345.

builds an adjacent chapel, yes, countless numbers of them."¹¹⁵ "*Abusus*," he says later, "*non tollit substantiam, immo confirmat substantiam*"—Abuse does not do away with the substance, rather does it confirm it.¹¹⁶ Abuse creeps even into the gospel and baptism. Must one therefore reject both? Let Luther answer: "Just as the gospel is not false and wrong, although some misuse it, so also is baptism neither false nor wrong although some receive it without faith, or so administer it, or otherwise abuse it."¹¹⁷ "Gold is none the less gold, although a wench carry it in sin and shame."¹¹⁸ But why does this hold everywhere, save only in respect to monasticism? Why does he write, for example, 1530, to Spalatin: "The Mass and monasticism are already condemned on account of abuse, and may not therefore be tolerated to come to life again."¹¹⁹ Apart from his hatred of the Church, his vow of chastity was oppressing him from 1519, and his confession about the lusts of his unbridled flesh, cited in the introduction above,¹²⁰ dates precisely from the year 1521, in which he wrote his treatise on the vows. Luther became the spokesman of that society whose supreme principle it was that natural instinct cannot be resisted, that it must be satisfied.

But do Luther's censures count against other orders? St. Benedict begins the prologue of his rule: "Hear, my son, the commands of the master; incline thy spiritual ear and willingly take the admonition of the Godfearing father and fulfill it in deed, that by the labor of obedience, thou mayest again come back to *Him* from Whom by the idleness of disobedience thou didst withdraw thyself. My word, then, is addressed to thee, who, after the renouncement of thy own desires, dost take to thyself the strongest and most noble

¹¹⁵ Erl. 39, p. 283.

¹¹⁶ Erl. 26, p. 275.

¹¹⁷ Erl. 30, p. 369. St. Thomas in his day had already said, 2,2, q. 189, a.2 ad.3: "*Si aliquis voti transgressor gravius ruat, hoc non derogat bonitati voti, sicut nec derogat bonitati baptismi, quod aliqui post baptismum gravius peccant.*"

¹¹⁸ Grosser Katechismus, Erl. 21, 138.

¹¹⁹ Enders, VII, 142.

¹²⁰ See above p. 12.

weapons of obedience, in order to *serve Christ, the true King, as a combatant in the future.*"¹²¹ This is the same, then, that we have already learned from the Constitution of the Order of Hermits. The rule of St. Augustine, according to which so many orders, and Luther himself lived, contains as its first words the admonition to the brethren: "Before all things, dearest brothers, let God be loved and then your neighbor, for those are the commandments that have chiefly been given us." Admirable! The highest end of the Order, therefore, is the fulfillment of the commandment of love of God and of neighbor. All laws, all vows, all practices have no other object than to be appropriate means of attaining to perfection of the love of God and of neighbor.¹²² Not away from Christ do they lead, as Luther traduces, but even nearer to him, and through him to the Father. "Lord Jesus," is the prayer at the reception to the habit, "*Thou who art the way*, without which one cannot come to the Father, lead this thy servant upon the way of regular discipline; Know him as one of thy sheep," etc.¹²³

If these things are thus—and they will be found developed in the succeeding chapters—one no longer wonders that Luther was in a condition to distort other rules as well. In the same treatise, page 579, 26, he writes, indeed, that St. Francis had most wisely said his rule was the Gospel of Jesus Christ. A few lines farther down, however, he reproaches him for having

¹²¹ Migne, Patr. 1, t. 66, p. 215. See also below, chap. 7.

¹²² See below, chapters 7 and 8, in which this point against Luther and the Protestants is especially treated according to Catholic teaching.

¹²³ The "Pontificalis Liber" (Romae 1485): "De monacho faciendo," (i. e., of him who is elected abbot of canons regular but is not yet a monk, which will be treated p. 95) contains p. 58, among the prayers recited by the Bishop before the monastic habit is conferred, the following: Domine Jesu Christe, qui es via, sine qua nemo venit ad Patrem, quesimus clementiam tuam, ut hunc famulum tuum a carnalibus desideriis abstractum per iter disciplinae regularis deducas. Et qui peccatores vocare dignatus es dicens: Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam: presta, ut hec vox invitationis tue ita in eo convalescat, quatenus peccatorum onera deponens, et quam dulcis es gustans, tua refectio sustentari mereatur. Et sicut attestari de tuis ovibus dignatus es: Agnosce eum inter oves tuas, ut ipse te agnoscat et alienum non sequatur sed te, neque audiat vocem aliorum, sed tua qua dicis, qui mihi ministrat me sequatur." The last sentence was used as an independent prayer in the constitutions of Staupitz. See above p. 69, note 107.

said it. And why? On the alleged ground that the Gospel permits both chastity and the rest of the practices, which the Franciscans with incredible hypocrisy observe, to be free. Then comes the real censure against Francis. Luther asks: Why did he make the Gospel, common to all, the particular rule of the few? That, he asserts, is equivalent to making the schismatic and the singular of what Christ wanted to be catholic. And a Minorite, when he vows his rule, does not promise anything he has not already vowed in baptism, namely, the Gospel. After unsuccessful side attacks on the distinction between commandments and counsels and on papal tyranny, he concludes: "Thou seest, therefore, that it is proved that Francis as a man was in error when he made his rule. For, what else is the purport of: 'the rule of the Friars Minor is the Gospel,' but the idea that only the Friars Minor are Christians? If the Gospel is their property, there are no Christians except the Friars Minor; and yet the Gospel belongs without doubt to the whole Christian people and to them alone. Francis was also deceived in teaching—assuming that he taught—the doctrine to vow again what he and all the rest had already vowed in baptism, namely, the Gospel most common to all."¹²⁴

These discussions of Luther's are their own judgment just as soon as one learns to know the true wording of the rule. Is it true, then, that Francis calls his rule the Gospel? Not in the least. His second rule begins: "The rule and the life of the Friars Minor is this, namely *to observe* the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, living in obedience, without possessions, and in chastity."¹²⁵ Luther suppressed the determining

¹²⁴ "Quid enim est dicere: Regula Fratrum Minorum est evangelium, quam statuere solos Fratres Minores esse christianos?"

¹²⁵ "Regula et vita Fratrum Minorum haec est, scilicet domini nostri Jesu Christi sanctum evangelium *observare*, vivendo in obedientia, sine proprio et castitate." See besides the edition of the rule according to the mss. in *Opuscula S. P. Francisci Assis.*, Quaracchi, 1904 p. 63. It is no wonder that in the first rule, there is nothing about the observance of the Gospel (*ibid.* p. 25), because that is understood as a matter of course, which would not be the case were the rule to be the Gospel itself. With the second rule, the rule of St. Clara is also in accord, "*La Regle de L'Ordre de Sainte Claire*," Bruges, Desclee, 1892, p. 12. This is naturally the opinion of the old expositors of the rule, e.g., of St. Bonaventure. "Eorum igitur haec est, scilicet domini nostri Jesu Christi sanctum evangelium *observare*. Hoc idcirco dicitur, quia tota regulae substantia de

verb, "observare." In consequence of this omission, he, to attain his end, let St. Francis say that his rule *is* the Gospel. This is the same kind of falsification of which he was guilty in respect to his own Order's form of profession, as we saw above, when he said he had vowed the rule, instead of saying that he had vowed to live according to the rule.

We heard above Luther's censure that the orders go a way other than that which Christ taught in His Gospel. Now suddenly he runs into a rule of the strongest order of that time, whose supreme law is to observe the Gospel of Jesus Christ. That law leads to Christ as straight as the straightest line. That could not be left so. For, after his apostasy, it was his thesis, designed to make an impression, that rule took the place of Gospel, the religious founders, the place of Christ. Luther was resourceful. According to him, Francis said his rule was the Gospel, and so it had to be put.¹²⁶ It is only now that Luther's censure can be urged that Francis and his brethren are schismatics. That was the most in any case that he could do with Francis. But in this connection Luther assuredly was little aware that it was he himself who, by his rules, had brought about the schism, and had done that with which he had

fonte trahitur evangelicae puritatis," etc. (Opp. S. Bonaventurae, ed. Quaracchi, VIII, p. 393). Hugo von Digne comments on the adduced words of the rule: "Beatissimus regulae conditor * * * professionem suam in evangelii observatione constituit." (Firmamenta trium ord., Paris, 1512, 4ta pars, fol. 34b). John Peckam: "Regula siquidem et vita Fratrum Minorum hec est, currere in odorem unguentorum sponsi, evangelium domini nostri Jesu Christi observare," etc. (ibid. fol. 113). Even the extravagant author of the "Conformitates," Bartholomeus de Pisis, says only: "Regula est in sancto evangelio fundata," (ibid. fol. 55b). But every rule must be that. In conformity with this, Francis admonishes the Brethren at the close of the rule as follows: "* * * ut semper subditi et subiecti * * * stabiles in fide catholica, paupertatem, et humilitatem et sanctum evangelium, quod firmiter promissimus observemus."

¹²⁶ This serves again as a means of discovering what company Luther was keeping. The apostate Franciscan, Eberlin von Günzburg, who gave the advice to tear down the Ulm cathedral, fully accepts Luther's thesis in "Wider die falsch scheynende gaystlichen under dem christlichen hauffen genant Barfuser," etc., 1524, although he knew the rule very well. Against him wrote the Franciscan Provincial, Kasper Schatzgeyer in "De vita Christiana, "in the 'prima impostura'." Asserunt Minoritae quod eorum regula sit purum evangelium." He replied: "Hoc falsum est; asserunt tamen regulam suam in evangelio esse fundatam, sicut quaelibet bona in christianismo regula."

unjustly charged St. Francis. Luther would have had much to do, indeed, had he always realized in thought that the censures he hurled against others hit himself.

Luther, moreover, could have and should have known that St. Francis by no means stood alone on the matter of gospel observance. Centuries before him, the patriarch of the monks of the West, St. Benedict, in the prologue of his rule, addressed a monition to the Brethren: "Our loins girded with faith and the observance of good actions, let us keep to His ways *upon the pathway of the Gospel*, that we may deserve to see in His Kingdom Him who has called us."¹²⁷ Furthermore the rule of St. Benedict is largely composed of passages from the Gospel. And all orders spoke of *Evangelical* counsels, because they are contained and given in the *Gospel*.

In his subsequent writings and sermons, Luther repeats nothing so frequently, in all possible keys, as that the members of the religious orders put their founders in the place of God and of Christ, that every order has carved itself a God according to its own pattern, that the Augustinian clothed Him with the Augustinian habit, the Franciscan with his robe, and so on. Only Lutherans are Christians, least of all are monks such. They denied Christ. By reason of their clothes, their shaved heads, their particular eating and drinking, they held themselves much holier than other Christians. "But I would rather advise you," the Reformer then admonishes, with the smuttiness peculiarly his own, "to drink Malmsey and to believe only in Christ, and to let the monk guzzle water or his own urine, if he does not believe in Christ."¹²⁸ But to whom does Luther's blame apply? Only to himself. He had then already set himself up as the highest authority and demanded unconditional faith. It was enough that he spoke for the others to speak after him; enough that he did this or that, the others did likewise.

¹²⁷ Succinctis ergo fide vel observantia bonorum actuum lumbis nostris, per ducatum Evangelii pergamus itinera eius, ut mereamur eum, qui nos vocavit, in regno suo videre." Migne, l. c. p. 217.

¹²⁸ Erl. 47, 315.

CHAPTER VI

LUTHER'S SOPHISMS AND MONSTROSITIES OF OPINION IN RESPECT TO THE MONASTIC VOWS, ESPECIALLY THE VOW OF CHASTITY. HIS TRICKERY AND INCITATION TO MENDACITY.

A. LUTHER DECEIVES HIS READERS ON THE END OF THE RELIGIOUS STATE AND OF THE VOWS.

Luther's chief tactics in his warfare against the Church and her ordinances consisted in his setting up an anti-christian proposition, falsely ascribed to the Church, as one of his premises, which were in need of further proof. This premise, or these premises, he accordingly set forth with such audacity¹²⁹ that both his readers and his hearers were constrained to suppress all rising doubt as to the truth. The conclusion rightly drawn therefrom, the conclusion that Luther sought, was naturally the more speedily accepted.

A wholly similar procedure marked him as early as 1521, in respect to the monastic vows. He writes, VIII, 595, 28: "Were one to ask all those who take vows in the monasteries why they did so, one would find them all in the godless delusion of believing that they had lost their baptismal grace and of now wishing, by laying hold on the plank of penance, to escape shipwreck. Therefore *they had* to seek the life to which one binds himself by vow, not only to become good and to blot out sin, but also to do penance in overmeasure and to become better than the rest of Christians. That they seek all this in their works and vows, but not in faith, is quite certain (*certissimum est*); testimony thereof is the word they say: 'if I were neither seeking nor finding that, what should I be seeking in the monastery? What should I be doing here?' For, if they knew that only by faith does one receive and realize that, they would forthwith reply: 'Wherefore take vows and become a monk?' "

¹²⁹ Thus, in 1525, he counseled the Priest Spalatin, who had taken unto himself a wife: "*Contemne eos* (who were censuring him for marrying) *fortiter ac responde eis sermone magifico in hunc fere modum: et te quoque conjugium amplexum esse, ut testatum faceres Deo et hominibus, maxime illis ipsis, te non consentire in illorum scelus, impurum, impium et diabolicæ ecclesiæ coelibatum sive potius Sodomam igni et sulphuri coelesti devotam ac propediem devorandam,*" etc. Enders, V, 280.

Is this, that Luther here says, true? It is a distortion of the truth. He employs it to attain his own end, to make it believed that a man enters a monastery, dons the habit and takes the vows to be certain of the forgiveness of his sins and of heaven, or that a religious desires, without having God in view, to be just and to be saved only by those works. *Therefore, he concludes, the orders are against faith.*¹³⁰ "The monks fancy they can be neither saved nor justified *because they are baptized and Christians*, but only because they belong to an order of this or that founder, in whose name they trust, just as if they had suffered shipwreck of their baptism and faith."¹³¹ Even in the vows of those "who become ecclesiastics in the *best manner*," (to say nothing of the "mad great crowds"), the meaning is: "Behold, God, *I vow to thee to be no Christian all my life, I revoke the vows of my baptism; I will make thee a better vow now and keep it apart from Christ: in my own being and works.*" And now for the indignation—"Is not that a horrible, monstrous vow?"¹³² Of celibacy especially, he wrote about the same time: "To vow virginity, celibacy, the order, and every vow is *without faith*. Such a sacrilegious, godless, idolatrous vow is made *to the devils.*"¹³³

That such condemnable perversions could make an impression upon those religious who apostatized to Luther will not surprise one who knows that they already belonged to the movement of downfall. Kolde likewise blindly accepts the utterances of the later concerning the earlier Luther. "How many who, for the sake of their salvation, entered the monas-

¹³⁰ "Interrogemus nunc omnes votarios istos, quo opinione voveant, et invenies eos hac opinione impii possessos, quod arbitrentur gratiam baptismi irritam factam et iam secunda tabula poenitentiae naufragium evadendum esse, ideo querendum per votum vivendi genus non solum, ut boni fiant et peccata deleant, sed abundantius poeniteant et ceteris christianis meliores fiant," etc. Here he makes it *wholly certain* that all took their vows in this belief. A few months before he said, on the contrary: "Probabile est, non fuisse voturos, si scissent nec iustitiam nec salutem per vota contingere." Weim. VIII, 325 n. 43.

¹³¹ Ibid. p. 618.

¹³² Erl. 10, 345 sq.

¹³³ Weim, VIII, 324, n. 32 sq. The meaning is: "I vow to thee, O God, a sacrilegious godlessness throughout all my life" (n. 34)! And Enders, III, 224: "Ecce Deus, ego tibi voveo impietatem et idolatriam tota vita!"

tery, were thenceforward in peace. Their monk's habit was a guarantee to them of the state of sanctity. Not so with Luther. If he heard it said that, as a monk, he was leading a life which went far beyond satisfying the demands of the commandments, his conscience bore witness to him that it was not so. He would have to characterize it as presumption were he to wish of himself that he perfectly fulfilled even a single one of God's commandments: The sanctity and *justice*, that were present to his mind, he wished now (at his entrance) to achieve *by the very means of monasticism.*"¹³⁴

Protestant theologians are unwilling to acknowledge that, after his apostasy, as Luther falsified Catholic teaching in general, so also did he falsify it in respect to the commandments, the counsels, and the vows. He pushed the purpose of the religious life and of the vows into a sphere wholly different from that which they had hitherto occupied. According to Catholic doctrine, is the purpose of the religious life the forgiveness of sins and justification? Who ever intended, by taking the vows, to abjure Christ and to revoke his baptismal promises? This question deserves no answer whatever. Who taught, what Luther censures the Church for, that after sin there is but one way of doing penance, namely, entering a monastery and binding one's self by vows?¹³⁵ Who has said: "If in the monastery, I did not seek the blotting out of my sins, and to be better than the rest of Christians, why should I have gone into it?" Luther, taken to task about this, would have had to blush and as usual, would have been compelled to answer with abuse and insults. For, in his wily manner, he had invested the vows and monastic exercises with qualities which they had never possessed, and which neither the Church nor any religious founder, nor any Christian doctor had ever ascribed to them. He alone raised up the vows with those qualities to be the purpose of an order! As, from that on, he blared it forth in every key that, by the vows, one fell from Christ,

¹³⁴ Martin Luther, I. p. 56.

¹³⁵ This continued to be Luther's view. Hence, he says a few years later, 1524, Weim. XIV, 62, 5: "Hanc sententiam arripuerunt omnes homines: semel iapsus es, *habes adhuc viam* eiabendi, scilicet introitum coenobii." See below, chapter 12, further matter on the so-called "monastic baptism."

from God, from faith, so there is nothing more often heard from his mouth than that, by their vows, by their exercises, in a word by their own achievements, the monks sought to attain justification, to deserve heaven, and to reach salvation. For all of this, indeed, their monk's habit alone, according to him, was sufficient. "When monks and nuns come to their high idolatry, they think to themselves: 'We have taken the three vows, poverty, chastity and obedience,' and they have their order, rule, statutes. These their works, which they do herein, are their idol. *For they abandon God, fear Him not, need not His grace and gifts, namely the forgiveness of sins; rather do they come trolling along and wish to be saved by their order, their cowls, and their tonsures, and thereby to attain to the forgiveness of their sins. And thereby they become faithless, fall from His grace and mercy, which was to justify them and out of favor to forgive them their sins. But they have no need of that. Their state, their cowl, and idolatry will serve the purpose. That means despising God, fearing Him not, and setting up another.*"¹³⁶ This makes it possible to understand Luther's saying: "These two things are not compatible, if I were to say: 'I believe that Jesus Christ is true God and I shall be saved by Him,' and if then I were also to profess that the Pope is right when he preaches about cowls and tonsures,"¹³⁷ namely, as Luther imputes to him, that the latter also lead to salvation."¹³⁸

Before Luther wrote his book on the vows, he reflected how he could best attain his object. Finally he hit on the following syllogism, which contains a comprehensive summing up of his teaching on the vows and which he hoped would bring him the fulfillment of his wish: "He who takes a vow in a spirit incompatible with Gospel liberty, is to be freed from his vow,

¹³⁶ Erl. 36, 269 sq.

¹³⁷ Erl. 47, 48. In the year 1537.

¹³⁸ Luther's audacity carries him to the length of writing: "If one were to take away from the books of the Pope and of the monks the pieces telling him 'one ought to be saved by pilgrimages, vows, masses, purgatory, and other vows,' one would find little else therein." And he fills the measure with the words: "And the Holy Father, the Pope, instituted it all and confirmed it by bulls, and has made *Christ and all his saints only angry judges*. If one were to take this away from the books of the Pope, he would have neither skin nor hair left." Erl. 47, 45.

and let his vow be anathema; but he who takes a vow in order to seek and gain justification and salvation by it, is such a one; therefore, etc." He takes the major proposition as one conceded and does not prove it. His proof of the minor proposition is this: "As the great mass took their vows *rather generally* in this spirit, it is evident that their vows are godless, sacrilegious, and opposed to the Gospel. Such vows are therefore wholly to be torn to shreds and anathematized."¹³⁹

And so we see what the foundations of Luther's reform look like! The knave knew well that, if he stuck to the truth, to the propositions of Catholic doctrine and the monastic constitutions, he would have played a losing game. In his stand against them, he appealed to what an outsider was wholly unable to control in an individual case, namely, the practice of the many. The reader was simply compelled to take Luther's assertion on faith. Or did Luther, who appealed to it, subject it to any control? But, according to his own statement, he was uncertain as to the spirit in which *he himself* took his vows.¹⁴⁰ How could he know the mind of the individuals of the great crowd? If he was uncertain as to his inner intention, the others could likewise say the same of their interior disposition. "But if they do not know themselves," questions St. Augustine even in his day, "how wilt thou know them?"¹⁴¹ As a matter of fact Luther confesses this is impossible, when he writes in the same letter: "Now, to others (apart from certain of his Galatians already mentioned), no rule can here be given, to

¹³⁹ Luther to Melanchthon, Sept. 9, 1521: Quicumque vovit animo contrario evangelicae libertati liberandus est, et anathema sit eius votum; at qui vovit animo salutis aut iustitiae quaerendae per votum, est eiusmodi: ergo, etc. Cum autem vulgus voventium ferme hoc animo voveat, manifestum est eorum vota esse impia, sacrilega, ideoque prorsus rescindenda et in anathema ponenda." Enders, III, 224.

¹⁴⁰ In the same letter given in Enders III, 225: * * * "quamquam incertus sim, quo animo voverim." If he thereupon says he was at that time more *raptus* than *tractus*, that would apply had the matter been his reception to the habit and not his profession, for which he had had a year's preparation. Still there may be truth in what Luther said, insofar as out of despair he deemed he could not obtain salvation otherwise than as a religious.

¹⁴¹ Enarr. in Ps. 99, n. 11: "Qui intraturi sunt, ipsi se non noverunt; quanto minus tu? * * * Quomodo ergo cognoscis eum qui sibi ipse adhuc ignotus?"

learn who have taken vows in this sacrilegious spirit, but it must be left to their conscience, as must be the case in every other good work. Who, except the spirit of man himself which is in him, can know with what mind he took a vow or performed a good work?"¹⁴² These words refer to the many. But thus, with his own hand, he overthrows the assertion of his minor premise, which in any event he had already seen fit diffidently to modify with his "*omnes fere*," "almost all." About the same time, he still writes; "It is to be *feared* that in these times of unbelief, hardly one of a thousand takes a vow rightly."¹⁴³ Some two months later, it is a case of "*certissimum*" with him, "quite certain."¹⁴⁴ How is that? Had he in the meantime instituted research—he, who then was alone in the Wartburg far from the great crowd? Truly, some two years thereafter, he makes the assertion that *in the whole world (in toto orbe)* the religious took their vows to be justified and to have their sins blotted out. Naturally those are alleged to be evil, godless vows, against faith in God, Who alone is justice and Who takes away the sins of the world.¹⁴⁵

In accordance with this, are all judged at profession to have the servile conscience, with which, as he writes in 1521, they take their vows, "in the hope of pleasing God with them, and of being justified and saved," so that the *vow is to take the place of justifying faith*, of which they have no thought?¹⁴⁶ Are the vows therefore supposed to have had the value to the religious of a post-baptismal substitute for the sacrament of penance, of a gateway through which one gets to reconciliation? But how was it *everywhere* the prevailing practice in all orders

¹⁴² Enders, l.c.: "Porro aliis (alias?) nulla regula hic dare potest, qua sciamus, qui hoc animo sacrilego voverint. * * * Quis enim praeter spiritum hominis qui est in ipso nosse possit, quo animo vovet aut facit opus suum?"

¹⁴³ Weim. VIII, 325 n. 42.

¹⁴⁴ Several years later he even writes in plain words that he had *to vow to fall away from Christ*, and to set himself up in Christ's place. See below, chapter 12.

¹⁴⁵ Weim. XIV, 710 sq. in 1525.

¹⁴⁶ Enders III, 224: "* * * Ut sperent sese per votum deo placituros, justos et salvos fieri. Quid alioquin, inquit, facerem in monasterio? * * * vovent sese bonos fore per opera illa, ne cogitata semel fide justificante."

then, as it is to this day, to purify the heart by contrition and confession before taking the vows, in order to go up to that important act fully reconciled with God? This is so certain that even those who spoke of a so-called "monastic baptism," (see Chapter 11), i.e., being cleansed by the vows as in baptism, in consequence of complete oblation to God, understood this generally to mean a remission of the *punishment* due to sin, but not the *sin* itself. Sins, says the author of the widely published "*Lavacrum conscientiae*" (perhaps the Carthusian Jacobus de Clusa), are remitted only by true contrition and sincere confession.¹⁴⁷

On this subject Luther carried his opinions to a ridiculous extreme. Even in his themata he writes: "Like faith, so also is love excluded from every vow and from every order," (for this reason alone they are condemnable), "for, as we may not act against faith, neither may we act against charity. Vows, therefore, statutes, and the rule hinder thee from serving thy neighbor." And now, from these distorted premises, the intended conclusion: "Therefore tear up these bands as Samson did the hempen cords of the Philistines."¹⁴⁸ "What is the rule of St. Augustine?" he cries out another time. "In no rule have I ever seen that faith is a subject treated. The monas-

¹⁴⁷ *Lavacrum conscientiae*, c. 10: "Bernhardus in tractatu de dispensatione et precepto dicit, professionem sancte religionis esse secundum baptismum, et eandem gratiam consequuntur religionem probatum et observantiam ingredientibus quam consequuntur baptizati baptismate salutis, quoad dimissionem omnis pene pro peccatis, *culpa vero dimittitur per contritionem veram et sufficientem et confessionem pure factam uni confessori*, qui habet talem auctoritatem eundem absolvere ab omnibus peccatis suis, et ab omni vinculo excommunicationis et irregularitatis. Sic enim bene absoluto et integraliter ex post relinquitur solummodo solutio pene, que totaliter tollitur per confessionem sancte religionis, etiamsi esset pena mille annorum; non autem ingressus religionis peccata, sed solum confessio et absolutio sufficiens tollit." This work attained an uncommonly wide circulation. Hain cites no less than nine editions up to 1500 (Nr. 9955, 9963), and the one I use, (out of Pal. IV, 781 of the Vatican Library) is not included in them. Later there were also such editions, as Coloniae 1506; Argentinae 1515. As early as 1465 there was a German translation made, (*Reinigungsbuch für das Gewissen der Priester*), mentioned in Württemb. Vierteljahrsheften für Landesgesch., 9 Jahrg. 1900, p. 345. There is no reference here, however, to the Latin original, which was cited in a work as early as the "*Reformatorium vitae morumque et honestatis clericorum*" (Basileae 1494), tr. 1, pars. 2a, c. 11.

¹⁴⁸ Weim. VIII, 328, n. 116 sqq.

teries, then, are to be either extirpated or reformed, so that they may become schools in which faith shall be taught."¹⁴⁹ "When will it ever be said among religious, too, that they have been reminded of Christian faith and love?"¹⁵⁰ In his rage against the Church and the religious state, Luther no longer saw that it is precisely *against* himself that his objection counts.

Is it true that charity is excluded from the religious vow? There is indeed no mention of it in the form of profession. But why not? Simply because charity, according to Christian, that is, Catholic teaching, constitutes the fundamental duty of *every* single Christian and the highest end of Christian life. As shall later be discussed more fully, the very essence of Christian perfection consists in charity. This charity is not a counsel or rather none of the three counsels, upon which the vows of religious are founded. For that reason it is not mentioned in the form of profession. But the purpose of the vow is to remove the obstacles standing in the way of the freer and easier activity of charity. By charity, however, we understand the love of God as well as of neighbor. If Luther even at that time understood *charity* to mean only the love of one's neighbor (as will further be shown in the course of this volume), his charge against the religious orders recoils only upon himself, who excluded the love of God from divine service.

Why, moreover, is there no mention made in the rules of justifying faith? Why is there no allusion to it in the vows? Because they *presuppose* it and it is not the task and purpose of the religious state to justify one entering religion. Luther's indignation is *without* ground, when he flippantly says "*I would stick Augustine into his rule, if he so set it up that he might thereby be saved.*" On the other hand, what he there applies to Catholics fits *his own* scurrilities: "Oh what a poor, miserable, inconstant thing that is; it is *idle lying and human dreams!*"¹⁵¹

Why did Luther write at that time, in which he bore at least the outward semblance of a good religious, 1513-1515, that, among other things, by the words "*portae,*" "gates," in

¹⁴⁹ Weim. XX, 775, in the year 1527.

¹⁵⁰ Weim. XV, 93, in the year 1524.

¹⁵¹ Erl. 14, 305.

psalm 147, the sacraments, especially baptism and penance, were understood,¹⁵² though he uttered not a word about the vows? Why, in those years in which he had already framed his doctrine on sin and justification, 1515-1516, did he never say: "When I took the vows, I was of the opinion that my sins were blotted out"? Why did he then say: "After I had repented and confessed, I believed myself safe and better than others"? Why, in conformity with his teaching, does he tax Catholics with being in error with their delusion that, by confession, their sins are blotted out?¹⁵³ Why is he silent about the vows? He knew well that one does not ordinarily enter an order on the ground that it is not presumed possible elsewhere to find salvation. One ought to bind one's self by vow out of love, but not be motivated by the idea that the religious life is necessary to salvation.¹⁵⁴ On the other hand, it is not to be denied, certainly, that, for many a one, because of the dangers insuperable to him, because of evil occasions in the world, it is almost necessary to enter an order, but only to avoid the dangers of sin; for, even in this case, the vows are not employed as a substitute for the sacraments or to be justified.

B. LUTHER'S CONTRADICTIONS AND SOPHISMS IN RESPECT TO THE COUNSELS.

It was precisely in respect to the Evangelical counsels that Luther, in his book on the vows, rendered himself guilty of the greatest contradictions and sophisms. Never in his life a theologically trained and disciplined scholar, he exceeded all bounds and bearing after his apostasy. Moreover, he knew that his victims, whether those already apostatized or the dissolute monks in the monasteries, were concerned not in contradictions or sophisms but rather in having the rejection of all restraints and their wiving made plausible. Luther himself,

¹⁵² Weim. IV, 456, 25.

¹⁵³ These passages from his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans will be further discussed in the second section. The sources, therefore, are not cited here.

¹⁵⁴ In Rom. fol. 274b sq. See above p. 38.

who was burning with carnal lust¹⁵⁵ during the composition of his book at the Wartburg, no longer observed his contradictions and sophisms. His avowal in the year of his wiving is derived from his own experience: "When a man gets into sexual lust, he forgets everything—law, nature, scripture, books, God, and His commandments. There is then simply nothing other than the seeking to satisfy evil desire."¹⁵⁶ It was for this reason that Gerson wrote quite correctly: "As there is no affection more vehement than lewd desire, so there is none more pernicious in leading astray and teaching error."¹⁵⁷ In addition to this, Luther's case was one of faithless character and hatred of the Church.

In the year 1519, he had said: "Neither Christ nor the apostles wanted to *command* chastity, (i.e. virginity or celibacy), and yet they *counseled* the same and left it to each one's discretion to try himself: If he cannot be continent, let him marry; if with God's grace he can keep it, chastity is better."¹⁵⁸ At the end of 1521, attacking the vows, he was well aware that with such principles he would be defeating himself. Accordingly he undertook to prove that there was nothing in the counsels. Naturally he fell from contradiction into contradiction, from one sophism into another. He works himself into a passion, throughout his book, chiefly against the vow of continency, alleging that it is turned into a commandment of God, a thing enough of itself to make a case of assailing the Gospel.

Very fine and great in promise is the very beginning of Luther's work. In the inscription to his father he writes:

¹⁵⁵ See above p. 12. Idleness and concupiscence went hand in hand. "Ego hic otiosissimus et negotiosissimusc sum," he wrote on July 10, 1521, to Spalatin (Enders, III, 171). The wiving of priests was already a pleasure to him. (Ibid. 163, 164 sq.). On July 13, he wrote to Melancthon: "Ego hic insensatus et induratus sedeo in otio, proh dolor, parvum orans, nihil gemens pro ecclesia dei, *quin carnis meae indomitae uror magnis ignibus*. Summa: qui fervere spiritu debeo, *ferveo carne libidine, pigritia, otio, somnolentia*." (Ibid. 189.) "Orate pro me, quaeso vos, *peccatis enim immergor in hac solitudine*." (Ibid. 193.)

¹⁵⁶ Weim. XVI, 512, in the year 1525.

¹⁵⁷ De examinatione doctrinarum, in Opp. I, 19: "Sicut nulla affectio est vehementior quam luxuriosa libido, sic ad errandum falsumque docendum nulla perniciosior."

¹⁵⁸ Sermon on the married state, Weim, II, 168.

"Since in the Scriptures virginity is *not praised* . . . it is adorned with praises only as with alien feathers, which belong to marital chastity."¹⁵⁹ A few lines later, the same Luther writes: "Virginity and chastity are *worthy of praise*."¹⁶⁰ But does this stand written in the Scriptures? Even so, for "Christ pointed out and *praised* virginity and celibacy."¹⁶¹ The Cistercian abbot, Wolfgang Mayer, cries out with reason: "What do I hear? Virginity is praised in Scripture and is not praised?"¹⁶² But this contradiction is not all.

In the same book Luther writes: "Christ did *not counsel* virginity and celibacy, rather did He *deter* from it, when he said to the eunuch: he that can take, let him take it. Not all men take this word. Are not these the words of one *dissuading* and *detering*? For he invites no one and calls no one, he merely shows."¹⁶³ And so there is no *counsel*? God forbid! According to Luther there is a counsel. What is it? *The counsel of continency*, "for there is no other."¹⁶⁴ Is celibacy therefore *counseled* in the scriptures? Not at all, for Luther writes: "Paul to be sure said: '*I give counsel*;' but neither does he write, on the contrary, *he rather deters and advises against* it when he says: 'Every one hath his proper gift from God.'¹⁶⁵ In accordance with this new logic, then, "I give counsel," means "I deter, I advise against," just as if

¹⁵⁹ Weim. VIII, 575, 7: "Cum virginitas (continentia) in scripturis non laudetur, sed tamen probetur, praeconiis coniugalibus castitatis ceu alienis plumis vestitur ab istis, qui ad pericula salutis animas prompti sunt inflammare."

¹⁶⁰ Ibid. line 18; "Virginitas et castitas laudendae sunt."

¹⁶¹ Ibid. 583, 30. "Monstravit solum et laudavit."

¹⁶² Votorum monasticorum tutor (on which see chapter 7) in cod. lat. Monac, 2886, c. 5, fol. 13b: "Quid hoc audio? Laudatur et non laudatur in scripturis virginitas?"

¹⁶³ VIII, 583, 30: "Christus (virginitatem et coelibatum) plane non consuluit, sed potius deterruit * * * dum memoratis eunuchis dixit: qui potest capere, capiat; et iterum: non omnes capiunt hoc verbum. Nonne haec verba sunt potius avocantis et deterrentis? Neminem enim invitat et vocat, sed ostendit solum."

¹⁶⁴ Consilium illud continentiae—neque est ullum aliud consilium—est infra praeceptum suum"; 585, 5.

¹⁶⁵ "Paulus tamen dixit: 'consilium do,' sed nec ipse invitat, quin magis deterret et avocat, dum dixit: unusquisque proprium donum habet a deo"; 583, 34.

the words, "I give you this gift," were not those of a donor, but of one deterring?¹⁶⁶ Truly, such is the significance of Luther's words. And yet not altogether so, either, but "I do not dissuade, *I leave it undetermined*."¹⁶⁷ At last we know: "I give counsel" means "*I do not give counsel, I leave it undetermined*."

This is also the logic of Kawerau, for again he finds nothing to note or to call attention to, by so much as a syllable, on Luther's sophisms in his almost symbolic book of Lutheranism. It is enough for him to dismiss with a sneer the writings of Dietenberger and Schatzgeyer against Luther, whose Catholic opponent, Wolfgang Mayer, objects with reason:¹⁶⁸ "Are not 'he counsels' and 'he does not counsel' contradictory? Further, if Christ praised virginity, how did he dissuade, how did he deter from it? If Paul did 'not counsel,' why does he say: 'I give counsel?' Why does he say: 'I would that all men were even as myself?' 'It is good for a man so to be' (i.e. in virginity, 1 Cor. 7,26), and 'he that giveth not his virgin in marriage doth better' (than he that giveth her in marriage, V, 38)? If the Apostle does not thus counsel continency, I do not know what it is to give counsel. If the Apostle does *not* dissuade (in Luther's sense), how does he counsel against, dissuade, and deter from? Or if Paul does not dissuade from celibacy, with what temerity does Luther, exalting himself above the Apostle, presume to dissuade from it?"

The matter is of itself so clear that even Luther has sometimes to bear witness to the truth, though at the same time he is always falsifying Catholic teaching. "Christ and Paul

¹⁶⁶ S. Iudoci *Clichtovei*, Antilutherus (Coloniae 1525), fol. 156b.

¹⁶⁷ "Neque suadet neque dissuadet, sed in medio relinquit, Weim. 583, 36.

¹⁶⁸ Tutor fol. 14: "Pugnantne inter se, consuluit et non consuluit? Denique si Christus virginitatem laudavit, quomodo ab ipso advocavit et deterruit? Etsi solum monstravit, quomodo etiam laudavit? Similiter * * * si non suadet Paulus, ut quid dicit, consilium do? et: bonum est homini sic esse; et: qui non elocat virginem suum nuptum, melius facit. Si istis apostolus castitatem non consulit et suadet, nescio tandem quid consulere sit: Si vero non dissuadet, quomodo igitur advocat et deterruit apostolus? Aut si non dissuadet Paulus coelibatum, qua tandem temeritate Lutherus apostolo se maiorem faciens sic dissuadere praesumit?"

praise celibacy, not because those who have it are perfect above others in chastity, or do not covet against the commandment, but because, freer from the care and cares of the flesh, which Paul ascribes to the married state, they can the more *easily and freely* attend to the word and the faith, day and night, whilst, on the contrary, a married man, as such, and because of children, the family, and the other things of this world, is withheld from them and is divided among many affairs not consonant with the Word."¹⁶⁹ *Habemus reum confitentem*—the guilty one confesses. Why, then, did not Luther and his followers retain celibacy, that they might the more easily and freely announce the Gospel, which, as they said, had lain hidden away in darkness over a thousand years? Luther trips himself at every turn. Scripture is too openly known against him. To keep up an appearance of being in the right, however, he deceives his readers by asserting that among Catholics it is desired *to be saved by chastity*, so that *all* must choose it; among them, it is not a matter of "more free and easy," or, as he shortly thereafter writes, "of living more happily."¹⁷⁰ How grievously this charge is a spurning of the truth will appear more freely later.

The charm of our theme grows apace. Luther, the Reformer, writes: "If celibacy is an Evangelical counsel, what sort of madness is it to vow it, so that, outgospeling the Gospel, you make the strictest commandment out of the counsel? For thus you live superior to, aye, against the Gospel, because you no longer have the counsel. If you obey the Gospel, celibacy must be free: if it is not free to you, then you do not obey the Gospel, for it is impossible for the counsel to become a commandment. It is equally impossible that your vow is a counsel. Chastity that is vowed is diametri-

¹⁶⁹ Weim. VII, 585. See besides chap. 13, below.

¹⁷⁰ VIII, 585. Christ is here said to praise those who have made eunuchs of themselves for the Kingdom of Heaven, "non autem sic propter regnum coelorum, ut per castitatem salvi fiant, (this he says against the Catholics), alioquin omnes oporteret castrari, cum sola fides salvos faciat, sed propter Evangelium quod vocat 'regnum coelorum' qui praedicando et propagando per populos ille felicius servit, qui ἀγαμος et sine cura aliorum coelebs vivit." To other matters here written by Luther, I shall return as occasion demands.

cally opposed to the Gospel."¹⁷¹ But where is the proof from Holy Writ or a proof from the Gospel that the *vow* of chastity is diametrically opposed to the Gospel? For everything without exception, Luther demands scriptural proof from his opponents; where is such proof for *his* assertion? The Reformer was not even able, as he generally is otherwise, to adduce a garbled or falsely interpreted text. Nor could he get one. In all the many passages in which man is admonished to fulfil the vows he has made to God, their permissibility is presupposed. Is the vow of chastity the sole exception? But where? Where are the Scripture passages to that effect?

That, however, is the least of the difficulty. Luther and his fellows made themselves guilty of a glaring sophism on this subject. A counsel certainly is no commandment, on the contrary, every one is *free* to follow a counsel or not to follow it. One cannot say to another: "You *must* follow it," or "You *ought* to follow," but only "You *may* follow it." No one, then, is *constrained* to take the vow of continency. He is *free*, precisely because the case is one of counsel, not of commandment. But after he has freely taken a vow to observe the counsel, he is bound to keep his vow. For God has given the commandment: "Vow ye, and pay to the Lord your God"¹⁷²—an expression which, in this or in some other form, is repeated untold times in Holy Writ;¹⁷³ for, "it is much better not to vow, than after a vow not to perform the things promised;"¹⁷⁴ "it is ruin to a man * * * after vows to

¹⁷¹ Weim. VIII, 584, 2.

¹⁷² Ps. 75, 15.

¹⁷³ One needs but consult a concordance for "*vota* and *vovere*." A number went so far, however, that gradually they eliminated the idea of "*votum*" and "*vovere*," from the Sacred Scriptures. This is done e.g., by the apostate Franciscan, Konrad Pellikan in *Psalterium Davidis Cunradi Pelicani opera elaboratum*, Argentorati 1527, Fol. 38 on Ps. 21 (22): "*vota mea reddam*" he interprets: *Praedicationem et laudem nominis tui reddam*. Fol. 116 on Ps. 65 (66): "*Reddam tibi vota mea*," has for him the force of: *devotioni satisfaciam, quam proposui mihi*. Then "*quae promiserunt labia mea*": *gratias agam omnibus modis, quibus id tibi placere cognovero*. Fol. 139 on Ps. 75 (76): "*Vovete et reddite*," he paraphrases: *pro tanta liberatione coelitus data gratias agite deo votis, devotione, hostiis et solemnibus ritu offerant munera terribili*.

¹⁷⁴ Eccle. 5, 4.

retract.”¹⁷⁵ In 1518, Luther’s own language was still clearly to the same effect: “In religious, the violation of a vow is the gravest sacrilege; for *freely* did they consecrate themselves to God, and now they again withdraw themselves from Him.”¹⁷⁶ The reason of this is, that it is *commanded* to fulfill vows, whilst one is only *counseled* and not obliged to take them.¹⁷⁷

The Gospel as well as the monks leave celibacy wholly free; but a vow of celibacy once taken is no longer free. It is then a twofold matter—celibacy and the vow of the same. The counsel lastingly continues to be a counsel. He who makes religious profession binds himself always to observe the counsel. He does not therefore make a commandment of the counsel. His act is a freely assumed obligation by vow of living conformably to the counsel until death.

Luther knew all this of course; knew it from the time of his profession. In *all* the recensions of the Augustinian Constitutions, it stands written, and Luther read a hundred times, that, immediately *before* profession, the prior shall say, among other things, to the novice, who has already finished his year of probation: “You have now to choose one of two things, either to depart from us or to renounce the world and wholly consecrate yourself, first to God and then to the Order; for, let it be well observed, once you have so offered yourself, it is no longer permitted you, on any grounds, to shake off the yoke of obedience, which it was your desire, after so protracted a deliberation, *freely* to take upon yourself, although you were *quite free* to reject it.”¹⁷⁸ If the novice replies that he wishes thus to consecrate himself to God and to the Order, only then can he make his profession. After it, the prior then says to him that he must keep what

¹⁷⁵ Proverbs, 20, 25.

¹⁷⁶ De decem praeceptis, Weim. I, 489. See above p. 40.

¹⁷⁷ Thus in “Compend theol.” among the Opp. Gerson, I 244: “Consilium per se nunquam obligat. * * * Aliquid vovere est tantum consilii nec quamquam obligat, nullus enim contra voluntatem suam obligatur ad vovendum. Sed qui voverit, obligatur necessario ad reddendum, et hoc ideo est, quia reddere votum est praecepti, sed vovere est consilii.”

¹⁷⁸ See the Latin text from the passage from the 18th chapter of the Constitutions, p. 64, above, note 94.

he has promised: "for *now*, in virtue of his vow, he *is bound* to observe what he had *freely* performed for God in the year of the novitiate." Before profession, he was quite free to leave. If he was unwilling to submit to what was contained in the form of profession, the prior was to say to him: "Brother, your ways do not accord with ours. Take what is yours and depart from us free."¹⁷⁹ Such was the understanding of this matter in the Augustinian Order in Germany. Bartholomew Von Usingen, to whom Luther had so commended the religious state, later recalled this understanding to his apostate brother's memory, when he wrote: "He who vows chastity or something else, does not make a commandment of what is left free, but he freely subjects himself to God's commandment to fulfill what he has vowed and promised: To this commandment one may freely subject one's self, for it is good and lawful to be continent, and the vow includes a matter good and lawful, possible and not of commandment," etc.¹⁸⁰

St. Augustine in his day already teaches that those who have freely chosen continency have made it a necessity, so

¹⁷⁹ In the same chapter one reads: "Suscepto igitur ab omnibus osculo pacis novicius factus professus ad iussum prioris in loco, quem assignaverit sibi, sedebit, quem exhortabitur ipse prior, ut intente reddat deo quod vovit, caste vivendo, mente et corpore, nihil possidendo proprii actu vel voluntate, obediendo superiori sine murmure vel contradictione, et mores, quos in probatione didicit novicius, non negligat observare professus, quia quod deo, in probatione impendebat *ex libito*, (impression of 1508: debito!), *nunc reddere tenetur ex voto*. * * * Si vero ipse novicius taliter profiteri noluerit * * * dicat ei prior: Frater mi, mores tui non concordant cum moribus nostris, tolle quod tuum est, et *egredere libere a nobis*." (In Staupitz, instead of "et egredere," etc.: "et vade.")

¹⁸⁰ Libellus de falsis prophetis * * * Erphurdiae, 1525, Leaf 43: "Dico ventem castitatem, vel aliam rem quampiam, non facere praeceptum ex eo quod Deus dedit liberum, sed subicit se libere praecepto dei de reddendis votis et promissis, quando deus praecepit vota reddi * * * cui praecepto potest se libere subicere homo, cum bonum et licitum sit continere; votum autem cadit super re bona et licita, possibili et non praecepta. Hinc est quod vovere nostrum est, et votum continentiae adiutorio dei bene servare possumus. Quare stultum est dicere, quod liceat monacho vel moniali dare manus conjugio, quia libere cesserunt juri suo, offerendo illud per votum deo, Et quid facit ad scopum rei de qua agis, quod Abram, Isaac, et Jacob placuerunt deo in conjugio? Scilicet quis vituperat conjugium aut quia detrahit illi?" Cf. with this Schatzgeyer, "Replica contra periculosa scripta" (1522), Leaf. cij, where the Franciscan says the same as the Augustinian Usingen.

that they may no longer depart from it without condemnation.¹⁸¹ From the midst of his monastic life, St. Bernard wrote: "The rule of St. Benedict is held out to all, but imposed upon none. It is useful, if it is devoutly assumed and kept; it does no harm, if one does not accept it. But if one freely accepts and promises to observe that which previously was free, he himself then changes the free into the necessary, and he is no longer free to leave that which before he was free not to take upon himself. Therefore he must of necessity keep that which he has freely taken upon himself, since, according to the word of Scripture, it is necessary to fulfill that which one has uttered with his lips."¹⁸² It is not Catholic teaching but Luther's, that is diametrically opposed to the Scriptures. His conclusions are only the sophisms of a man whom God reprehends, as he did the whore in Jeremias: "Thou hast broken my yoke, thou hast burst my bonds, and thou saidst: I will not serve."¹⁸³ As every one must conclude from the rite in the Augustinian Order, just cited, it lay in Luther's free choice to take upon himself the yoke of the vows, or before profession to depart. But once he had taken the yoke upon himself, it was no longer permitted him to shake it off. God did not require Luther to become a religious, but once he had freely become one and had sworn to be faithful to God in the fulfillment of the three vows taken by him, expressly until death too, God did require him to carry out his promise. By his profession, Luther himself turned his earlier freedom into a necessity. And from two to three years previously, he was still well aware of this.

¹⁸¹ "Illi qui eam (continentiam) voluntate delegerunt fecerunt eam esse necessitatis, quoniam jam sine damnatione ab illa deviare non possunt." De Conjug. adulter. 1.2.c. 19, n.20.

¹⁸² De praec. et dispens., c. 1, n. 2: "Regula S. Benedicti omni homini proponitur, imponitur nulli. Prodest, si devote suscipitur et tenetur, non tamen, si non suscipitur obest. * * * Attamen hoc ipsum quod dico voluntarium si quis ex propria voluntate semel admiserit et promiserit deinceps tenendum, profecto in necessarium sibi ipse convertit (voluntarium) nec jam liberum habet dimittere, quod ante tamen non suscipere liberum habuit. Ideoque quod ex voluntate suscepit, ex necessitate tenebit, quia omnino necesse est eum reddere vota sua, quae distinxerunt labia sua (Ps. 65, 13, 14), et ex ore suo aut condemnari jam aut justificari."

¹⁸³ Jerem. 2, 20.

These are principles that had obtained from time immemorial and were always being proclaimed anew,¹⁸⁴ for, as long as the orders lasted, there were ever fallen monks of ill repute who needed the admonition.

C. LUTHER A LEADER INTO HYPOCRISY AND LYING.

Luther does not stop at sophistry. The Reformer betrays his followers into becoming *hypocrites*. He counsels *restrictio mentalis* in its worst sense of dissimulation, in which he himself was a master.

As early as August, 1520, he advises those about to be ordained subdeacons by the bishop, in no manner to promise him that they will observe chastity. Rather were they to retort that he had no power to demand such a vow, that it was devilish tyranny to desire any such thing. "But if one must, or if he (the subdeacon) wants to say, as a number do: *quantum fragilitas humana permittit*—as much as human frailty permits—let each one interpret¹⁸⁵ or construe these

¹⁸⁴ *Petrus Bles.* ep. 131 (Migne Patr. 1, 207, p. 388): "Quandoque in arbitrio fuit jugum domini non recipere, semel autem susceptum non licebat abjicere. Deus ergo nunc exegit oblatum, qui non exegerat offerendum, voluntas in necessitatem translata est, et vinculo professionis arctaris reddere vota, quae distinxerunt labia tua." In like manner St. Bonaventure (Opp. t. VIII, 134, n. 7): "Quaedam ex voto proprio proveniunt ut ea, *ad quae nemo cogitur*; sed qui ea *sponte voverit*, iam velut ex praecepto Dei compellitur observare, ut continentia religiosorum et abdicatio proprii in monasterio."

¹⁸⁵ Inasmuch as Luther uses the word "deute" (interpret, construe) he makes the admission that the proper meaning of the then much abused form "*quantum fragilitas humana permittit*," is not the one put forward by himself. One learns the true sense of the form, if one knows where it occurs. Here one may not, with Kawerau (VIII, 314 and note), think of the words which at an ordination to the diaconate, the archdeacon, presenting the subdeacons, gives in response to the Bishop's question: *Scisne illos dignos esse?* namely, "*Quantum humana fragilitas nosse sinit, et scio et testificor illos dignos esse ad hujus onus officii*" (Pontificale Rom). There is no question here of a vow or of a promise or of a resolution on the part of the one to be ordained or clothed with the religious habit, but of the knowledge of the archdeacon, whether he deems them worthy. It will be far more serviceable to view the fifteenth chapter of the Augustinian Constitutions. There one reads that the prior shall hold up the austerities of the order to the one to be received to the habit and ascertain his will, whether he is willing to submit to them in future. "*Si responderit se velle cum dei adjutorio cuncta servare, inquantum humana fragilitas servare potest*," (Staupitz): (*inquantum humana fragilitas permiserit*), then he is to be admitted. We approach nearer, if we look up the rubric

words into a free negative, i.e.: *non promitto castitatem* (I do not promise chastity), for *fragilitas humana non permittit caste vivere* (human frailty does not permit one to live chastely), but only angelic strength and heavenly power, so that he preserve a free conscience without any vow whatever.¹⁸⁶ In this advice, Luther is plainly a leader into "*simulatio*," dissimulation. In ordinations to subdeaconship, the bishop tells the candidate, who, as he is expressly reminded, *was free* to take or not to take the yoke upon him-

"De monacho faciendo ex electo seculari" in the older Pontificalis Liber, e.g., in the oldest printed copy (impressus Rome, opera. * * * Mag. Stephani Plannck, clerici Patavien. diocesis MCCCCLXXXV, fol. 58; other editions: Venetiis 1510, fol. 43; Lugdini 1542, fol. 66; Venet. 1561, fol. 51; manuscript copies of the XIV and XV centuries in *Martine*, De antiquis eccl. ritibus, II, Venetiis 1788, 1, 2, c. 2, p. 166, ordo VII); there fol. 60b, is found the form of profession of one selected as a lay-man to be abbot: * * * "Promitto etiam sibi (monasterii praelato) et conventui eiusdem monasterii praesenti et futuro, *me perpetuom servaturum continentiam, quantum humana fragilitas permiscrit.*" That the interpretation of Luther is excluded is already proved by the promise of the "perpetua continentia." What then, is the purport of the clause? It is what St. Bernard writes, de praec. et dispens., c. 13, n. 32: Nemo, si caute proficitur, pollicetur se ultra in nullo transgressorum hoc est jam non peccaturum. Alioquin aut periurat qui ita iurat aut sanctor est qui ait: in multis offendimus omnes (Jacob 3,2) Cf. also n. 34. This, in respect to the words in the Augustinian Constitutions, is clear, "I desire to do all, but, conscious of my human weakness, I cannot promise that, some one time or another I shall not offend against obedience, against fraternal charity etc." Against these offences says St. Bernard, loc. cit., there is the remedy of correction and penance; for these offences do not occur out of contempt of the commandment or of the means of salvation, and they are therefore not against the vow either. This holds also in the case of the clause in the form of profession cited above, which moreover, so far as I know, is not found in any order. But to take a wife was excluded for good; that is of the essence of "perpetua continentia." It is nevertheless a consequence of human weakness, that one is not always as vigilant and as perfect in thoughts, words and desires as is required for the preservation of "perpetua continentia." In view of one's human weakness, it is impossible herein to promise the highest perfection. In this case, the slightest false step would be a perjury. One promises the highest possible perfection, namely "Quantum humana fragilitas permittit." The interpretation and construction of Luther, Melanchthon, Carlstadt, Zwingli, Bugenhagen and other associates was to be only a cover-shame of vice just like their interpretation of St. Paul's "Melius est nubere quam uri."

¹⁸⁶ An den christl. Adel, Weim VI, 441 sq.

self, that in future he must observe continency.¹⁸⁷ Luther teaches him to reply interiorly to the bishop's words: I do not promise this. I do not vow chastity. That is the construction to be interiorly put upon the words, expressed or understood by him, "as much as human frailty permits," for, says Luther, this frailty does not permit chaste living. The bishop and the surrounding onlookers suppose that the candidate takes upon himself the obligation of continency, but he himself consciously disavows it in his heart! Outwardly he assumes an attitude which is different from that within him. He deceives the whole world.

Luther's insistence on wedlock for priests, and that by all means, proved to be too much for even the Bohemian Brethren, and he was constrained to put a good face on hearing some harsh truths from them. "A priest," they wrote in 1523-1524, "by free compact at his ordination, has pledged himself to serve Christ and the Church until death. But how can one who has freely dedicated himself to the service of Christ and has taken the vow and is therefore no longer free, dedicate himself to the married state, when even deacons, who serve the priests, * * * are not free to contract marriage? * * * Besides there are the exceedingly great distractions of the married state and the care of pleasing the wife and of providing for the necessities of life, for the children, the home, and various needs, as the Apostle has declared, and the truth proved by experience, how it went with them and their children, who were ordained as married men. Moreover he, who as priest, is in danger on account of passion, has other remedial means besides marriage at his disposal, as labor and discipline, shunning the occasions, mastery of the senses, and so on. For there are but few who in marriage live for Christ and please God, so that they would not

¹⁸⁷ The Bishop say to those receiving subdeaconship: "Iterum atque iterum considerare debetis attente, quod onus hodie ultro appetitis. Hactenus enim liberi estis, licetque vobis pro arbitrio ad saecularia vota transire; quod si hunc ordinem susceperitis, *amplius non licebit a proposito resilire*, sed deo, cui servire regnare est, perpetuo famulari et *castitatem illo adjuvante servare oportebit*. * * * Proinde dum tempus est, cogitate, et si in sancto proposito perseverare placet, in nomine domini huc accedite."

deserve greater damnation than if they were single." Life in the liberty of the flesh is asserted to be a poor basis at the time of withdrawing from Babylon, and so on. Marriage makes no one happy, for "in it there are many hindrances to salvation and causes that lead astray from the same."¹⁸⁸

In 1521, Luther sought also by his teaching to catch the members of the religious orders as well as the secular priests. Every vow, he writes in his book on the monastic vows, is taken only conditionally, that is, on the assumption that its fulfillment is possible, so that one is free as soon as its impossibility becomes apparent. But this holds more in respect to chastity than to the other vows, "because the impossibility is more evident in the case of chastity than in any other." Therefore, "before God the form of the vow seems to be this: I promise chastity as long as it is possible, so that, if I can no longer observe it, I shall be free to marry."¹⁸⁹ This, then appears to be the form of the vow before God (of course the vow taken by Luther too), which, as everywhere, ran: "*I promise obedience * * * to live without possessions and in chastity (continency), until death.*" I solemnly promise before God and the Church that "I will be continent until death," and the meaning of these words is to be: I will be continent, until I feel myself constrained to marry! It is not another but Luther who drives the monks into hypocrisy, into lying, into deception. One thing is said with the lips, another is meant in the heart within. Those who will learn at the end of this chapter how according to Luther, a secret "*yes*" may be, aye, *must be an open "no,"* and that it doesn't signify if one compasses a *good strong lie* for something better and for the sake of the Christian Church, will grasp these aberrations of Luther's just cited. But how does Luther prove his

¹⁸⁸ See the Bohemian document in A. Gindely, *Geschichte der böhmischen Brüder*, I, (1857), p. 503. Cf. *ibid.* p. 189 sq.

¹⁸⁹ *Weim.* VIII, 630: "Probatur omne votum fieri conditionaliter et semper exceptam intelligi impossibilitatem." 633: "Si in ulla parte regulæ impossibilitas locum habere debet, merito præceteris in castitate locum habebit; si in castitate locum non habet, multo minus in caeteris locum habere debet." 632 sq.: "Videtur ergo forme voti apud deum sic habere: voveo castitatem, quamdiu possibilis fuerit, si autem servare nequero, ut liceat nubere." *Erl.* 10, 553 (in the sermon): "There is no man ever believed or considered this point otherwise."

thesis? We know in part from the third chapter, where we set forth his sophisms, insofar as they were based upon a falsification of the form of profession.¹⁹⁰ But there is more sophistry, and it is peculiarly his own. These further sophisms are founded on the parity of all vows and on the impossibility of keeping that of chastity. It will be worth while to let them detain us somewhat.

D. THE VOW OF CHASTITY AND CONJUGAL CHASTITY AS AGAINST "IMPOSSIBILITY."

"A vow," writes Luther, "even if it is right and good in itself, ceases to be a vow before God and no longer binds, as soon as its fulfillment is made impossible. You have promised, for example, to make a pilgrimage to Compostella. On your way, if you are detained, be it by death, by want, or by a sickness, your vow is left off without scruple. And thus it is proved that *every* vow is made only under a condition and always implies the saving clause: 'except when it is impossible.'" The Reformer is so charmed with his sophism that he exclaims: "Is that wholly clear and certain?" And he continues: "What is said of *one* vow is said of *all*. For all, great and little, temporal and eternal, are equally included in the commandment: vow ye and pay ye. Now if impossibility is excluded from any one vow, even the least, it must likewise be excluded from *every* one, even the greatest. If, therefore, you vow celibacy and afterwards feel that it is impossible, should you not be free to marry, inasmuch as you construe your vow as conditioned?"¹⁹¹

In the first place I hold it superfluous to observe that neither Luther nor any one of his then contemporaneous members of the religious orders took the monastic vows conditionally or in the sense which Luther here indicates. All took them *usque ad mortem*—until death. It would have been no gain to them to have *subsequently* construed them as Luther proposes, even supposing that he was in the right with his construction. It was always a violation of their

¹⁹⁰ See above, p. 54 sq.

¹⁹¹ Weim. VIII, 630.

vows, the greatest sacrilege, as Luther, in 1518, still rightly stigmatized it. But how about Luther's construction and the comparison drawn by him? This we shall examine more closely.

Luther writes, then, that every vow, even that of celibacy, no longer binds, as soon as the impossibility of further observing it comes up. He sets up a comparison in the vow of a pilgrimage to Compostella. But the result rests only upon a sophistical conclusion. Of what kind was the impossibility which frustrated the fulfillment of the vow of the pilgrim to Compostella, or (to show Luther's further comparisons),¹⁹² which prevented the Apostles Peter and Paul and the martyrs, as they lay captives in prison, from fulfilling the commandment of the love of their neighbor? It was a sheer *external*, enforced impossibility, which is *not subject to our control*. The impossibility, which Luther advances in the case of keeping the vow of chastity, is an *interior* one, *guilty on its own account*. It does not come suddenly. There is a pathway to it, often a long one. In 1521, Luther no longer speaks of the pathway, but only of its end, the condition of "*uri*," the burning lust of the flesh. A scripture catch-word was speedily found: *melius est nubere quam uri*—it is better to marry than to burn.¹⁹³ Luther was never at a loss for a construction. In this he was a master.

Who is at fault in such a condition? Only the one concerned. He had not always been in it. Luther and all his followers would have had to admit that of themselves. They reached the "*uri*" gradually, because, through their own fault, they did not resist the temptations and the desires of the flesh, because they themselves went headlong into the danger, and did not employ the means of withholding their consent,

¹⁹² On this Luther writes *ibid*: "Ipse divina mandata cum sint citra omnem controversiam immutabilia, tamen quod opera externa exceptam habent impossibilitatem. Neque enim damnabis S. Petrum, quod vinctus ab Herode non praedicavit, non servivit proximo suo, sicut habet praeceptum charitatis, sed beata impossibilitas eum excusat. Nec Paulum facies reum omissae charitatis, quod saepius voluit venire ad Romanos, et tamen prohibebatur * * * (nec) et martyres in carceribus impios dicemus, nisi opera omittere potuerunt, impossibilitate urgente. See besides farther below p. 114, on account of prayer.

¹⁹³ I, Cor. 7, 9.

as was their duty. To be *attacked* by the flesh and by carnal desire, and to feel these desires is, according to the universal teaching of the Church, the Fathers, and the Scholastics, no sin; for desires and the carnal instincts of nature are not sin. Sin is begotten only after a determination of the will, when one *succumbs* to the attack or to the temptation, that is, *consents* to the desires.¹⁹⁴ It is only then that the condition of "*uri*" is brought about.¹⁹⁵ Luther himself admitted this in 1523: "There is no doubt that those who have the grace of chastity nevertheless at times *feel*, and *are attacked by* evil desire; but it is a passing over, therefore not a *burning*."¹⁹⁶ The latter, he teaches, is wherever there is no desire nor love for chastity,¹⁹⁷ and he reckons carnal concupiscence among the great abominable sins, just the same as lewdness.¹⁹⁸

The sympathetic Reformer saw into all this. He wanted "to hasten to the assistance of monks and nuns, so greatly did he pity the state of these poor people, "*pollutionibus et uredinibus vexatorum juvenum et puellarum*."¹⁹⁹ He wished to

¹⁹⁴ Cf. original sin as treated in the course of this work. Here we give only a few typical references: St. Thomas teaches Q.4 de malo, a. 2 ad 10: "Concupiscentia secundum quod est aliquid peccati originalis, non nominat necessitatem *consentiendi* motibus concupiscentiae inordinatis, sed nominat necessitatem *sentiendi*." Long before, Saint Augustine, from experience, taught the same in many passages. One citation may suffice; Sermo 128, c. 10, n. 12: "Facite quod potestis, quod ait ipse apostolus: *non regnet peccato in vestro mortali corpore* ad obediendum desideriis eius. * * * *Mala desideria surgunt, sed noli obedire*. Arma te, sume instrumenta bellorum. * * * Quid est, non regnet? Id est, ad obediendum desideriis eius. Si coeperitis obedire, regnat. *Et quid est obedire, nisi ut exhibeatis membra vestra arma iniquitatis peccato?*"

¹⁹⁵ Thus e.g. Haymo says, in epist. 1 ad Cor. 7, 9: "Uri est proprio calore corporis cogente libidinem explorare et quocumque modo nefas perpetrare." Lombard Collect, in ep. 1, ad Cor., l. c.: "uri enim est desideriis agi vel vinci." Saint Thomas Aquinas, *ibid.*, lect. 1a: "uri, i. e., concupiscentia superari." Dietenberger in Luther's time, *Contra temerarium M. Lutheri de votis monasticis iudicium libri duo* (Coloniae) 1525 fol. 238: "uri est desideriis agi et vinci. Cum enim voluntas calori carnis consentit, uritur. Qui concupiscentia impugnatur calescit quidem, sed non uritur."

¹⁹⁶ Weim. XII, 115.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*: "To burn is the lust of the flesh, which does not cease with raging, and the daily propension to woman or to man, which is everywhere where there is no desire nor love for chastity," etc.

¹⁹⁸ Erl. 3, 132. Indeed, even in the year of his death, 1546, Erl. 16, 142.

¹⁹⁹ Enders, III, 207, Aug. 1521.

free them from that condition.²⁰⁰ Quite right. But how? By a yet greater sin, inasmuch as he immediately says: Now have you reached the condition that makes it impossible for you to be further continent. Therefore your vow no longer binds you. "Take unto yourself a wife and it will be easy for you to fulfill the law of chastity;"²⁰¹ carnal commerce with your wife is your remedy, your liberation! Such is the meaning of all Luther's discussions. The sympathetic Reformer drives out one devil by the power of another.

If only the devil had at least been driven out! After their wiving, the same condition was even more repeated among the "liberated" ones than before they entered wedlock. "The satisfying of carnal lust," writes Luther himself in 1514, "does not extinguish, but only inflames concupiscence the more."²⁰² The apostate priests and religious, who had so wantonly joked away the grace of God given them to keep their everlasting vow, could lay no claim to the grace of observing "conjugal" fidelity and chastity. After his apostasy, Luther was reduced to the very need of confessing, with regard to even the people in the world accepting his teachings, that voluptuousness cannot be cured, *not even by marriage*, for the greater part of those married, he alleged, were living in adultery; even "pious" husbands wearied of their wives and loved another forbidden.²⁰³ This was all the more the case of those priests who had violated their fidelity. Czezanovius, that is, the convert Staprylus, knows that the "marriages" of the Lutheran ministers do not extinguish voluptuousness in them.²⁰⁴ Luther himself had his own experience of this some

²⁰⁰ Thus he writes Nov. 11th of the same year, *ibid.* p. 247: "Jam enim et religiosorum vota aggredi status et adolescentes liberare ex isto inferno coelibatus uredine et fluxibus immundissimi et damnatissimi. Partim haec tentatus, partim indignatus scribo."

²⁰¹ *Weim.* VIII, 632.

²⁰² *Weim.* III, 486.

²⁰³ See above p. 17 sq. As early as 1522, Schatzgeyer, against Luther's alleged "impossibility" in the celibate state, drew attention to and clearly exposed the "impossibility" in no less a degree in the married state. *Replika contra periculosa scripta*, etc. Fol. gijj.

²⁰⁴ *De corruptis moribus utriusque partis, pontificiorum videl. et evangelicorum.* (p. 1 and a.), fol. fiiij: "Coniugium in Lutheranis sacerdotibus non restringere vagas libidines." On Czezanovius, see Paulus in "Katholik" 1895, I, 574, 1898, I, 192.

months after his wiving. For how else had it been possible for him, expounding the sixth commandment, "thou shalt not commit adultery," to write: God, in this commandment, spares not a single one. God has not the trust that there is *one* husband who would rest content with his wife. If not openly, nevertheless all, he himself included, ("wir") are adulterers at heart; only external circumstances hinder them from becoming so openly as well. This nature is implanted in all human beings.²⁰⁵ * * * We can now understand him, when he writes that same year: "You cannot vow chastity, for then you would have had it previously; but *you never have it*; therefore the vow of chastity is null and void, just as if you wanted to vow to be neither a man nor a woman."²⁰⁶

Among those misled by Luther into apostasy, all this was only too true, and the evidence of it came out especially when his teaching had become flesh and blood of them, particularly the fallen priests and monks.

Staphylus, just quoted, writes (under the name Sylvester Czezanovius), about 1562, in regard to the marriage of the Protestant preachers, that if these could not more readily conceal their shame than the Catholic prelates, upon whom the eyes of all are turned, whilst the former are not considered, the married state of the majority of the preachers would soon prove more shamefully besmirched than the celibacy of the priests. Only a matter of two years before, on a journey

²⁰⁵ Weim. XVI, 511, Nov. 5, 1525; the text runs: "Great and fine is the honor God adjudges the world, namely, of being a stable full of adulterers and adulteresses. God well deserved it of us, that we should become His enemy, because He so dishonors, mocks, and villifies us, and besides, excepts no one, not even our monks, though they have vowed chastity again. Now thou seest that God has no trust in us, that there would be one husband who would be content with his wife (and vice versa). * * * God spares none, calls us all together in this commandment, adulterers and adulteresses, * * * rebukes us all, without exception, for being whoremongers, *although we are not openly so before the world, yet we are so at heart and where we had the convenience, time and place, and opportunity we would all be faithless to marriage.* This nature is implanted in all mankind; no one is excepted, be it man or woman, old or young; all of them together are lying sick in this hospital. And this contagion does not hang on us like a red coat, which we could doff or leave off, but we have it from our mother's womb; it has permeated us through skin and flesh, bone and marrow, and in every vein.

²⁰⁶ Weim. XIV, 711.

through Thuringia, he had met some Lutheran ecclesiastical visitors at Reuburg. In the acts of their visitations, he had found recorded more numerous and shameful transgressions and adulteries on the part of married Evangelical preachers, than all the deeds of whorishness that could ever be found among Catholics within so small a region. The divorces now taking place among the Evangelicals he reported to be innumerable. In a general way, from the distorted interpretation of the Pauline dictum: "it is better to marry than to burn," much evil had already resulted, and there was the worst in prospect for the immediate future.²⁰⁷ What this author says is confirmed by others, wholly apart from Wiecl, who by many may be considered partisan in his judgment.

By his advice of a violation of the vows and counseling the remedial agency of "marriage," Luther did not drive out the devil from among the fallen monks and priests; on the contrary, this devil became only the more batted and bare-faced, and on this point there even grew up a tradition among the preachers' fraternity. Luther, who was never at a loss for explanations, evasions, and excuses, however rash, and who was an adept at veering his cart about for the time being, derived adultery from the inheritance left us by Adam! But is this true in the sense in which he understands it? Is it

²⁰⁷ Sylvester Czezanovius De corruptis moribus utriusque partis, pontificiorum videlicet et evangelicorum (see p. 102) and Döllinger, Die reformation. II, 440, note 20. The chronicler *Freiberg* (In Meckelberg, Die Königsberger Chroniken, 1865 p. 165) narrates: "At the time in which the Gospel was first preached (1525 sqq.) hereabouts (In Ordenslande Preussen) there was great wife and husband taking, the women especially desiring a priest or a monk. For these then still had in the beginning money from (volive) musses, hence the crowding around them. Once the money was gone and spent, they parted again, going their ways, just as previously they had rushed together. There was not a single day that monks, priests and nuns, and other maids too, were not married, and every day there was feasting at those occasions." Erasmus, in his time, to mention no others, writes in the year 1529: "Nunc circumspecte nihil sodalitatam istam evangelicam quot habet adulteros, quot temulentos, quot amentores, quot decoctores, quot aliis vitis infames * * * Circumspecte num castiora sint eorum coniugia, quam aliorum, quos ducunt pro ethnicis? Agnosceis opulor, quas hic fabulas tibi possim referre si libent. Neque enim necesse est, ut notissima referam, quae vel magistratus vel plebes reclamante aut connivente magistratu publice designavit." Opp. t. X. (Lugd. Batav. 1706), p. 1570.

true that every one, at least at heart, is an adulterer, although, because hindered, he does not fulfill the outward act of adultery? In this case the life of man would become a life of dogs.

Concupiscence cannot possibly be subdued: that, as I shall show in the next section, was the starting-point for Luther's "turn about" from and after 1515. This tells and explains the whole story. He gradually got into a condition in which there was no longer any idea whatever of fighting or resisting carnal temptations and desires, or of subduing the flesh. Consent at once followed at the heels of every rising lust.²⁰⁸ Luther gradually thought, spoke, and wrote under the stress and impulse of evil desire, from which there then sprang such written productions as one can bring himself to disclose in the case of only the most degenerate, and then but seldom. Only a month after the above utterance on adulterers, he wrote to a priest and friend, like himself but recently wived, the hapless Spalatin, whom he had misled: "Saluta tuam conjugem suavissime, verum ut id tum facias, cum in thoro suavissimis amplexibus et osculis Catharinam tenueris, ac sic cogitaveris: en hunc hominem, optimam creaturulam Dei mei, donavit mihi Christus, sit illi laus et gloria. Ego quoque, cum divinavero diem, qua has acceperis, ea nocte *simili opere* meam (Catharinam) amabo in tui memoriam, et tibi *par pari referam*."²⁰⁹

What can Luther adduce in exculpation of himself? That which he adduces in respect to the state of depraved monks in the monasteries and in respect to the impossibility of celibacy: "Who does not know," he writes, "that that innate and inner tyrant in our members is no more in our power and control than the evil will of a tyrant without? Indeed, you can soothe the latter with flattering words and incline him to your view, but by no pains, to say nothing of

²⁰⁸ At times and later, e.g. 1532, and in some isolated instances earlier, Luther, it is true, demands of other husbands, at least, that they should resist the lust and desire of another woman. For Christ says plainly: "If thou lookest upon a woman to lust after her, thou hast already committed adultery with her within thy heart." Erl. 43, 108 sqq.

²⁰⁹ Letter of Dec. 6, 1525. Enders. V, 279. Aurifaber and after him De Wette omitted the passage from "Ego quoque" on, likely as smutty.

words, can you subdue the inner tyrant. What about St. Paul? Was he not possessed of a full, efficacious will, when he said: "The good which I will I do not, but the evil which I will not, that I do?"²¹⁰ Why does he not do what he acknowledges he fully wills? What becomes of what you said—the inner hindrance is not opposed to and does not make impossible, what the full will has directed? The flesh lusts against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh; these are contrary one to another, so that you do not the things that you would."²¹¹

But is this something new said by Luther, that we of ourselves cannot conquer the inner tyrant? Did it become known only then that we cannot fulfil our vows by our own powers? "Let no one presume," writes St. Augustine, "that by his own powers he can pay what he has vowed. He who exhorts you to the vow, He it is who helps you to pay it."²¹² God Himself and His grace assist us to fulfil what we of ourselves are unable to do. God does not abandon us. Was not Luther himself constrained to confess, (albeit when he was embarrassed by Philip of Hesse's desiring a second wife): "*I hardly believe that a Christian is so forsaken of God as to be unable to remain continent.*"²¹³ How, then, can we be assured of God's assistance? By an aid of world-wide power, by prayer.

E. PATHWAY TO "IMPOSSIBILITY"—CARELESSNESS, NEGLECT OF COMMUNION WITH GOD, INTEMPERANCE.

"As I knew," says Solomon, "that I could not otherwise be continent, except God gave it, * * * I went to the Lord and besought him."²¹⁴ The Church opposes a spiritual to the

²¹⁰ Rom. 7, 19.

²¹¹ Weim. VIII, 631. The concluding scriptural passage is taken from Gal. 5, 17.

²¹² Enarr. in Ps. 131, n. 3: "Nemo praesumat viribus suis reddere, quod voverit; qui te hortatur ut voveas, ipse adjuvat ut reddas." This is also beautifully expressed in *Sacramentarium Leonianum* (ed. Ch. Lett. Feltoe, Cambridge, 1896), p. 139; "Respice Domine propitius super has famulas tuas, ut virginitatis sanctae propositum, quod te inspirante suscipiant, te gubernante custodiant."

²¹³ In Lenz. Briefwechsel Landgraf Philipps V. Hessen mit Bucer, I, 343, note.

²¹⁴ Wisdom, 8, 21.

carnal "*uri.*" "Burn, O Lord, with the fire of the Holy Ghost, our reins and our heart, that we may serve thee with a chaste body and please with a clean heart," is the prayer in the "*Missa in tentatione carnis.*"²¹⁵ Our Saviour Himself counsels watching and constant prayer as a means of not succumbing to temptation.²¹⁶ Indeed, Luther a short time before knew this well too. As the strongest weapon against evil desire, he recommends "prayer, contemplation of the Passion of Jesus Christ, as well as the word of God,"²¹⁷ and a few years earlier he holds up watching and fervor of spirit as an unfailing remedy against carnal lust.²¹⁸ I have said that he then still knew this, but not that he still put it into practice. From and after 1516, on his own confession, he seldom found time to acquit himself of the prescribed prayers, the hours, and to celebrate Mass. What he acknowledged in 1520 was even then already verified of himself: "I know that I do not live according to what I teach."²¹⁹ He did not himself follow what he taught others. Luther was anything but a spiritual man, a man of prayer, to say nothing at all of his not being a mystic. Like so many others of his fellows, e.g., Pellikan, he was wholly absorbed in his scientific and other labors and occupations, as has already been briefly indicated above.²²⁰ His interior communion with God, never profound, came little by little to cease entirely. His heart grew cold.

He was well aware that this is the usual pathway of such as are on the declivitous track. As late as 1517, he wrote: "Since we are in the midst of enemies, constantly lured by innumerable enticements, hindered by cares, and taken up by occupations, by all of which we are withdrawn from purity of heart, there is therefore but this one thing left for us,

²¹⁵ Ure igne S. Spiritus renes nostros et cor nostrum domine, ut tibi casto corpore, serviamus, et mundo corde placeamus." This prayer, in Luther's time was also found in the missal of his order, and in his breviary as well, in the latter case as a prayer after the Litany of All Saints.

²¹⁶ Mark, 14, 38: "Vigilate et orate ne intretis in tentationem." Luke 21, 36: "Vigilate itaque, omni tempore orantes."

²¹⁷ See above, p. 12 sq., and Weim. I, 488.

²¹⁸ Above p. 11.

²¹⁹ "Scio quod non vivo, quae doceo" Enders, II, 312. *Seneca*, De vita beata, c. 18: "Aliter loqueris, aliter vivis."

²²⁰ Above, p. 35.

that with all zeal we admonish ourselves and arouse the sluggish spirit by the word of God, meditating, reading, and hearing it assiduously," and so on. If this is not done, it is his opinion that the necessary consequence is sloth and lukewarmness of spirit, "the most dangerous of all dangers," and finally disgust.²²¹ This was evidenced precisely in Luther himself. On Feb. 20, 1519, he already complains to his Vicar, Staupitz: "I am a man *exposed to and carried away, by company, tipping, carnal excitement, negligence, and other bothers, besides those which weigh upon me on account of my office.*"²²²

In January of the same year, the state of his soul in these respects was disclosed in even more glaring colors. Preaching on the married state, he said: "It is a shameful attack (on chastity and virginity). *I have known it well.* I imagine you ought also to know it. Oh I know it well, when the devil comes and excites the flesh and sets it on fire. Therefore let one bethink himself well beforehand and prove himself, whether he can live in chastity, for when the fire is burning, *I know well how it is*, and the attack comes, the eye is already blind," and so on. "I have not so much of myself, that I can keep continent." Some have written whole books, how to be continent, and how there is something unclean and filthy about a woman, and that Ovid's "*De remedio amoris*" may be beneficial, though, in truth, the reading of it only stimulates one the more. "When the attack comes and the flesh is on fire, you are already blind, even though

²²¹ Commentary on Hebrews, c. 3, fol. 91: "*Sed adhortamini vosmetipsos per etc.* (3, 13). Quum simus in medio inimicorum et assidue alliciamur innumeris illecebris, impediamur curis, occupemur negotiis, per quae omnia retrahimur a puritate cordis, idcirco, id unum nobis reliquum est, ut omni studio nos ipsos exhortemur, ut velut pigritantem spiritum excitemus verbo dei, meditando, legendo, audiendo illud assidue, sicut hic monet apostolus, sicut et de S. Cecilia legitur, quod evangelium Christi assidue gerebat in pectore, et nec diebus nec noctibus ab oratione et colloquiis divinis vacabat (3 Responsorium in the office of matins of her feast). Quod nisi fieret, certi multitudine primarum rerum tandem obtruderent et obruerent nos accidia et tepiditas (Ms. trepiditas) spiritus, omnium periculorum periculosissimum" etc.

²²² Enders, I, 431: "Homo sum expositus et involutus societati, crapulae, titillationi, negligentiae aliisque molestiis, praeter ea quae ex officio me premunt."

the woman is not of the more beautiful sort. One would do well to take dung and use it as an extinguisher, if he had no water."²²³ It was but a step from that to the condition in which Luther found himself in 1521 and became quite blind with carnal lust.

*In this particular respect, Luther followed the same pathway that was trodden from time immemorial, and is still kept, by those monks or religious who finally violate the fidelity they had sworn to God and who wive. It is the pathway once described by St. Bernard: first carelessness, and neglect of prayer, in consequence of which that coldness within; grace diminishes, and with it, by reason of that coldness, cheerfulness of spirit; the power of judgment is drowsed; the exercises of the order which before seemed easy, become unbearable; voluptuousness lures and is pleasing; what is right is thrown by and proscribed; the fear of God is abandoned. "Finally a free hand is given to shamelessness, and that rash, that shameful, that most foul leap is taken full of ignominy and confusion, from on high into the abyss, from the pavement into the dung-heap, from the throne into the sewer, from heaven into the mud, from the cloister into the world, from paradise into hell."*²²⁴

There was still a further nutrient of carnal lust in Luther and in by far the greater part of his younger adherents, and that was *drunkenness*, intemperance. To conquer this alone, there is need of effort, supported by prayer and God's help, no less than for victory over the inner tyrant. What is the state of one in whom both are coupled? "Be not drunk

²²³ Weim. IX, 213, 215. The sermon, as is known, was printed without Luther's knowledge and against his will. See his letter in Enders, II, 12 and 16, note 33. It occasioned offence. Thus e.g. one who worshipped Luther, Ch. Scheurl, wrote April 10, 1519 to Amsdorf: "Legimus multa Martiniana, quae amicissimis plus probantur, quam sermo de coniugio, utpote casta, modesta, pudica, seriae, qualia theologum decent." Briefbuch, edited by Knaake, II, 86. Naturally Luther then republished the sermon with emendations and omissions. Weim. II, 166.

²²⁴ Sermo 63 in Cant., n. 6. I will here give only the conclusion in the Latin text: "Datur postremo impudentiae manus; praesumitur ille temerarius, ille pudendus, ille turpissimus, plenus ille ignominia et confusione saltus de excelso in abyssum, de pavimento in sterquilinum, de solis in cloacam, de coelo in coenum, de claustro in saeculum, de paradiso in infernum."

with wine, wherein is luxury," admonishes St. Paul.²²⁵ Luther knew that very well, and for this reason advised even-ing prayer against it.²²⁶ In 1516, he writes: "Overeating and drunkenness are the nutriment of unchastity. That is why the holy fathers directed that he who wishes to serve God must conquer above all others the vice of gluttony; which, however, is the most difficult. Although this vice may not always lead to licentiousness, as, e.g., in the case of old men, nevertheless it renders the soul unfit for divine things."²²⁷ We just read, a moment ago, Luther's complaint, 1519, that he was exposed to intemperance²²⁸ and to the commotions of the carnal lust associated with it. This confession, it is said, is not to be taken strictly. I reply that this confession stands connected with something wholly serious. Luther begs Staupitz to pray for him. He is confident that God will compel the heart of Staupitz to be concerned in his (Luther's) behalf. As a reason for this he states that he is a man exposed to and carried away by society, etc., as the passage above quoted shows. Anyone possessing even a little knowledge of human nature and of psychology grasps Luther's statement. The papal legate in Worms, Alexander, who himself was not wholly above reproach, writes: "I leave aside the drunken-

²²⁵ Ephesians, 5, 18: "Nolite inebriari vino, in quo est luxuria," (*dowrta*) Luther translated: "Do not swill yourselves full of wine; a disorderly thing follows therefrom." He had already expressed this idea in Romans, Fol. 270b. Moreover, Terence has often used the familiar saying: "Sine Cerere et Libero (Baccho) friget Venus." (Eun. 4, 5, 6.). Cf. also Proverbs, 20, 1.

²²⁶ Weim. III, 362 (1513, 1514): Quia super stratum otiosis ac maxime iis qui sunt potati, solet carnis vexatio titillatioque excitari, ideo memoria opus est et non perfunctoria recordatio dei, sed fixe in meditatione dei manendum.

²²⁷ Römerbrief uber Röm. 13, fol. 271. Commessatio et ebrietas fomenta sunt impudicae * * * Ideo sancti patres statuerunt, quod volens deo servire ante omnia vitium gulae expugnandum (conetur) quod sicut primum, ita et difficillimum. Eo autem non extirpato, etiamsi ad cubilia et lascivias non perducatur, ut forte in senibus, tamen animum ineptum reddit divinis." See also Weim. I, 520.

²²⁸ Crapulae. In Gal. 5 (Weim. II, 591 anno 1515) he comments in the sense of Luke, 21, 34: "sicut ebrietas nimium bibendo, ita crapula nimium comedendo gravat corda." But in Weim. III, 559, 596, he gives "crapulatus" the same meaning as "ebrius."

ness, to which Luther was uncommonly addicted."²²⁹ Is this likewise not to be taken so strictly? By what rules of criticism is Luther to be judged? But let us look farther.

From the Wartburg he writes: "I sit here the whole day idle and *drunk*."²³⁰ The year after (1522), he mentions that he is writing in the morning, *sober*. Later he gives the assurance that he is *not then drunk*.²³¹ Luther plainly held with the custom and practice of the country. "Our Lord," he once said, "must set down drunkenness to our account as a daily sin; *for we cannot well keep from it*. * * * 'Ebrietas' (drunkenness), is to be borne with (*ferenda*), not inebriation (*ebriositas*),"²³² intoxication. The night in which Luther, with others, reached Erfurt, Oct. 19, 1522, Melancthon, who was present, wrote that there was only *one* thing done: "*Potatum est, clamatum est, quod solet*," (there was *drinking* and shouting, as usual).²³³ What wonder? The well-known tippler, Eobanus Hessus, Luther's friend, was there. Luther does not deny this passion of his; he only gave it a superior aim. "What other," he writes in his consolatory letter to H. Weller, 1530, "do you think might be the reason why I drink the more heavily, prate the more loosely, and carouse the more frequently, than to mock and to vex the devil, who set himself to mock and to vex me?"²³⁴ To those tempted by evil thoughts, he cries out: "*Ergo edite, bibite, have a good time! Sic tentatis corporibus*, one ought to give good eating and drinking. But the whoremongers (*scortatores*) must fast."²³⁵

Himself so greatly tormented and tempted, Luther punctually carried out his exhortation to others. During the Con-

²²⁹ Alexander writes: "Lasso a parte la *ebrietà*, alla quale detto Luther è deditissimo." In Brieger, Alexander und Luther, p. 170.

²³⁰ *Ego otiosus et crapulosus sedeo tota die.* Enders, III, 154.

²³¹ Thus as early as March 19, 1532: "*Sobrius haec scribo et mane, piae plenitudine fiducia cordis.*" (Enders, III, 317). "I am now neither drunk nor thoughtless" (Erl. 30, 363). If any one wishes to demur to the passage "I am not now drunk," well and good. But that will not be getting rid of this weak side of Luther's character.

²³² Mathesius in Lösche, Anal. Lutherana, p. 100, n. 100.

²³³ Corp. Ref. I, 579.

²³⁴ Enders, VIII, 1.

²³⁵ Lösche, loc. cit. p. 242, n. 372.

cord negotiations at Wittenberg, in 1536, he gave new evidence of this, for we find him frequently in a state of tipsy jollity. On the evening of May 29, for instance, he supped in company with Lukas Cranach and others at the residence of W. Musculus, who tells about it. "After that," he writes, "we went to Cranach's house, and drank *again*. Having left there, we *conducted* Luther to his dwelling, where again there was *copious* drinking in the Saxon fashion (*ubi rursum, saxonice processum, potatum est*). Luther was wonderfully jolly."²³⁶ As is known, he suffered greatly, in 1530, from a buzzing in the head. On Jan. 15, 1531, he wrote to Link: "*The headache, which I got from old wine in Coburg, has not yet been overcome by the Wittenberg beer.*"²³⁷ He arrived at Coburg April 16, 1530, and staid, with interruptions, until Oct. 4. During this time he complains continually of his headache, of the buzzing in his head, the true cause of which he stated *afterwards*, as we have just seen.

Omitting other matters,²³⁸ we will hear what was said by the apothecary who made an examination of Luther's dead body. Early on Feb. 17, 1546, the apothecary of Eisleben was called to Luther in greatest haste. By order of the doctors, he was to apply a clyster to Luther, who lay dead, though it was thought he might possibly be revived. "As the apothecary was applying the tube, he heard several loud winds discharged into the clyster-bag. In consequence of his intemperate eating and drink, Luther's body was wholly

²³⁶ Kolde. Anal. Lutherana, p. 229; cf. also page 228.

²³⁷ "Morbum capitis, Coburgae contractum a veteri vino, nondum vicit *cerevisia* Wittenbergensis." (Enders, VIII, 345.)

²³⁸ Only incidentally I mention that, in a letter of March, 18, 1535, Luther signs as "Doctor *plenus*." (Orig. cod. vat. Ottob. 3029; Enders, X, 137.) He complains therein that "on account of weakness," he is unable oftener to tarry with the students over their beer. "The beer is good, the (bar) maid is pretty, the associates young." He liked wine better, in keeping with the proverb of the priests who went wrong earlier and of whom it was said in the "*Lavacrum conscientiae*" of the Xv century: "Wine and women make wise men fall off," (Eccl. 19, 2.). And if wine is wanting, they shout for wine with a loud voice saying: without wine and women no one will rejoice. "On frawen und on wein, mag niemant frolich gesein" (P. 1 et a. fol. 13b.) Concerning this work see above, p. 84. Perhaps this is the basis of the verse sometimes ascribed to Luther: "Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib, Gesang, der bleibet ein Narr sein Leben lang."

bloated with cacheectic humors. He had kept a well-stocked kitchen and a *superabundance of sweet and foreign wines*. It is told of him, in fact, that every noon and night, he drank a "sexta" of "sweet and foreign wine."²³⁹ Shall this statement likewise be taken not too seriously, in the face of the fact that the report is cited as the most competent evidence of Luther's having died a natural death? It is rather a striking commentary on what Luther said in a letter to Bora, July 2, 1540: "I gorge like a Bohemian and guzzle like a German."²⁴⁰ That Luther, in respect to drinking, was a child of his time, and that he possessed a strong, epicurean nature, Protestants themselves now no longer deny.²⁴¹ Moreover, as in the first edition, so in this, I treat this "weak side," this "reverse side" of the "superman," Luther, only incidentally.²⁴²

F. LUTHER SCOFFS AT PRAYER IN VIOLENT TEMPTATION

Spite of all, the saving of Luther, as of any other, would still have been possible, had he had recourse to prayer. It was just at the Wartburg that he would have had time to enter into himself and to return to God. But what do we hear from his own lips there? On Sept. 9, 1521, he writes to Spalatin: "Poor man that I am, I grow cold in spirit. I am still snoring on, and am lazy in prayer. Let us watch and pray that we fall not into temptation."²⁴³ Watching and prayer still? But what temptation does he mean, that is not to be fallen into? That of the flesh, against which, then more than ever, he would needs have had the power of God? Not in the least. He meant the temptation to let up in the warfare against the Church and the Pope. Luther was quite expressly opposed to priests and religious, in carnal lust, in

²³⁹ See document in N. Paulus, *Luther's Lebensende und der Eislebener Apotheker Johann Landau* (Mainz 1896), p. 5.

²⁴⁰ Burckhard, *Martin Luther's Briefwechsel*, p. 357, from the original. In another letter of July 16 (De Wette V, 298), Luther toned the passage down ("still not a great deal", "still not much"). See concerning this, the interesting controversy of Janssens (Ein Zweites Wort an meine Kritiker, 1883, p. 62 sq.) against Köstlin.

²⁴¹ Thus e.g. Seeberg in *Neue Preuss. Zeitung*, 1903, No. 569.

²⁴² More below, chapter 13, h.

²⁴³ Enders, III, 230.

the "uri," begging God's grace to be freed. Even in the risk of unfaithfulness to God, he now knew only *one* remedy against the lust of the flesh, and that was to take unto one's self a wife!²⁴⁴

For he writes in the book on the monastic vows: "Will you perhaps say here, as some simpletons, not concerned for souls, are wont to say, one must beg grace of God Who denies it to none? Capital! Why did you not also advise St. Peter to beg God that he might not be put in chains by Herod? Why did not St. Paul pray not to be hindered from coming to the Romans. Why did not the martyrs pray that prisons might not keep them from works of charity? And why do you not teach that pilgrim to Compostella to pray not to become needy, not to fall sick, not to die, not to be taken captive?" And now comes the fallen monk's admonition: "*That means playing the buffoon in serious things.*"²⁴⁵ But who is playing the buffoon?

Did Peter²⁴⁶ and the martyrs overstep a commandment in letting themselves be imprisoned and prevented thereby from preaching and practising the works of mercy? Did they thereby commit sin? On the contrary, they had the prediction made to them by Christ beforehand that they would be persecuted, etc., and they verified His exhortation: "let not the disciple be above his master."²⁴⁷ In prison and in sufferings they confessed Christ before all the world. They bore witness

²⁴⁴ St. Thomas teaches (Suppl. qu. 42, a. 3 ad 3) to the contrary from his own experience: "Adhibetur maius remedium (contra concupiscentiae morbum) per *opera spiritualia* et carnis mortificationem *ab illis*, qui matrimonio non utuntur."

²⁴⁵ Weim VIII, 631.

²⁴⁶ Cf. what has already been said above, p. 99 sq. Why Luther drags in St. Paul is quite inconceivable. What has it to do with our theme that St. Paul, on various occasions, desired to go to Rome, but was always prevented and therefore kept from exercising charity there? What has that to do with the alleged impossibility of keeping the vow of chastity and with the exhortation to prayer? No less unintelligible is the reference to the one who vowed a pilgrimage to Compostella, but is hindered on the way from continuing his pilgrimage. The hindrance is wholly external, the pilgrim has fulfilled his vow. He did what he could, unlike the fallen religious and priests, who did not do what they could, but rather only did what they could to get into carnal lust and to remain in it.

²⁴⁷ Matt. 10, 17, sqq.

to Him and to the truth of His teaching, and thereby preached with incomparably greater power than in their former liberty. In their sufferings, in their distresses, which they bore for Christ and which to the carnal man are foolishness, did they not rather have to pray, that, sustained by God's power, they might stand fast? To what depth did Luther fall, that he placed the satisfying of carnal lust, which the religious forever renounced by solemn vow, on the same level with the heroism of the apostles and martyrs! To him²⁴⁸ and his following, the very violation of the vows and wiving were their witness for Christ and that they were Christians; through them, they declared, they found God and Christ; God, to whom they had vowed perpetual continency, *called them to their wiving!*²⁴⁹

²⁴⁸ Luther writes after his wiving a desecrated nun: "Ego iam non verbo solum, sed et opere testatus evangelium, nonna ducta uxore, in despectum triumphantium et clamantium Jo! Jo! hostium, ne videar cessisse, quamvis senex et ineptus, facturus et alia, si potero, quae illos doleant, et verbum confiteantur." Enders V, 226. He further states that God had wonderfully thrown him into marriage with the nun (ibid. p. 201), and that one must confess his wiving to be a "*work, a thing of God*" (p. 199).

²⁴⁹ Thus, for instance, the apostate Franciscan, Brismann, states that he entered marriage "by order of God" (ibid. p. 196). For an account of Justus Jonas, see above, p. 12, note 35. Bugenhagen (Pomeranus) confesses in his work: Von dem Ehehlichen Stande der Bischöffe und Diaken usw. (Wittenberg 1525), Leaf VIII: "I myself did also swear to this teaching of the devil out of error, for I thought I should give pleasure to God thereby, for I did not have God's word. Shall I not now, whatever it be I swore then, throw away such devils' teaching, when I note that a *wife is necessary to me, that I may again come to the word* and the institution of God. God forbids me to be a whoremonger, aye also covet not a strange woman, who is not thy wife, and no one has perpetual chastity, save to whom God gives it. The vows here are to no purpose, if necessity demands, so let us *for God's sake, with the fear of God, cast the same from us and beg pardon for the blasphemous oath*, and for this that we took God's name in vain: and let us also at the same time rejoice, that, after the gospel came to light we are escaped from the snares of the devil! Whoso will not hear God's word, let him stay *in the devil's teachings for the sake of his oath* with all its harm and let him hold to them with all their harm," etc.

Thus did they deal with the vows and say, with Bucer, that Christians should keep the vows which "with God are able to be kept." A second wife as a remedy against whorishness was then for many the only consequence. The Jurist, Johann Apel, Canon in the new minister of Würzburg, who was present at Luther's wiving, wived a nun from the Würzburg monastery of St. Marx, secretly, "*in the presence of Christ*" (Clam sine arbitris, quam-

The apostles, martyrs, and all true Christians, on the contrary, shrank from no difficulty, when there was question of following Christ and of bearing witness to Him. In that event, they knew no impossibility. They knew that "with God no thing is impossible,"²⁵⁰ that what is impossible with men is possible with God,²⁵¹ that they could do all things in Him that strengtheneth them.²⁵² In respect to warfare against the flesh, Luther and the fallen priests and religious, upon whom Lutheranism is built up, resembled cowardly soldiers, who, shrinking from difficulty, throw their guns into the grain. They suffered themselves to be vanquished, not by the new Adam, not by Christ, but by the old Adam, the flesh, and carnal lust, to which nevertheless, at the time of their profession, they had bidden farewell until death, when, instead of them, they chose Christ as their inheritance.

Now they gave Christ up, although they constantly referred to Him with their lips, to cover their iniquity with Him. They looked back upon the flesh; indeed, they demeaned themselves worse than ever before. The Lutheran Eoban Hesse himself says, as early as 1523, of the nuns who had followed Luther: "No paramour is more lascivious than these our erstwhile nuns."²⁵³ Their condemnation was pronounced by Christ at the outset: "No man putting his hand to the plow and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God." "He that shall persevere to the end, he shall be saved."²⁵⁴

quam presente Christo"), naturally "for the saving of his conscience" (Weim. XII, 68). In what does such a marriage differ from the secret marriages, in reality concubinages, against which Johannes Varenis writes (in Gerson, Opp. 1, 916, 919) towards the end of the XIV century? According to the statement of the apostate Franciscan, Lambert of Avignon, he only found peace and Christ after he had taken a wife. Previously, he said, he was always aflame, in spite of the so-called mortifications (*Commentariorum de sacro conjugio et adversus pollutissimum regni perditionis coelibatum liber. Argentorati 1524, positio 22, fol. 36b*). And others write in a similar strain.

²⁵⁰ Luke, 1, 37.

²⁵¹ Luke, 18, 27.

²⁵² Philpp, 4, 13.

²⁵³ Helii Eobani Hessi et amicorum ipsius epp. famil. libri XII (Marpurgi 1534), p. 87: "Quid fugitivos pluribus execrer? Nulla Phyllis nonnis est nostris mammosior."

²⁵⁴ Luke 9, 62. Matt. 10, 22; 24, 13.

Every word of Holy Writ witnesses against them and proves them unevangelical.

Commenting on the scriptural passage, how Lot's wife looked back upon Sodom and was turned into a pillar of salt,²⁵⁵ St. Augustine writes among other things: "One who, by the grace of God, has vowed something greater than conjugal chastity, (i.e., *continency*) *will be damned if he takes a wife, after the vow which he promised to God*, though he would not be damned if he had taken a wife previously. Why? Because he who has taken the vow of continency and nevertheless afterwards takes a wife, has looked back. A virgin, if she married, would not sin; a nun, if she married, shall be accounted an adulteress of Christ. She has looked back from the place to which she had come. Such is the case of those in monastic communities. Whoever goes back into the world is not held as one who never entered. He has looked back. Therefore let each one, as he can, fulfil his vow to God: 'Vow ye, and pay to the Lord your God.' Let no one look back or have delight in that which lies behind him and which he has forsaken."²⁵⁶

There is no help for Luther and his fellows in all their

²⁵⁵ Gen. 19, 26.

²⁵⁶ Enarrat. in Psalm 83, n. 4: "Unusquisque autem, fratres charissimi, de loco itineris sui, ad quem proficiendo pervenit, et quem vovit Doe, inde respicit retro, cum ipsum dimiserit. Verbi gratia, statuit castitatem conjugalem servare (inde enim incipit iustitia); recessit a fornicationibus et ab illa illicita immunditia: quando se ad fornicationem converterit, retro respexit. Alius ex munere dei maius aliquid vovit, statuit nec nuptas pati; qui non damneretur, si duxisset uxorem; *post votum quod deo promisit, si duxerit, damnabitur*, cum hoc faciat quod ille, qui non promiserat; tamen ille non damnatur, iste damnatur. Quare, nisi quia iste respexit retro? Jam enim ante erat, iste autem illuc nondum pervenerat. Sic virgo, quae si nuberet, non peccaret (1 Cor. 7, 28); sanctimonialis si nupserit, Christi adultera deputabitur; respexit enim retro de loco quo acceperat. Sic quibus placet, relicta omni spe seculari et omni actione terrena, conferre se in societatem sanctorum, in communem illam vitam, ubi non dicit aliquis aliquid proprium, sed sunt illis omnia communia, et est illis anima una et cor unum in deum (Act. 4, 32); quisquis inde recedere voluerit, non talis habetur qualis ille, qui non intravit; ille enim nondum accessit; iste retro respexit. Quapropter charissimi, quomodo quisque potest, vovete et reddite domino deo vestro (Ps. 75, 12); quod quisque potuerit; nemo retro respiciat, nemo pristinis delectetur, nemo avertatur ab eo quod ante est ad id quod retro est: Currat donec perveniat; non enim pedibus, sed desiderio currimus."

sophisms. They are condemned by all antiquity. They can adduce in their favor only such miserable beings as they themselves were. The concubinaries of earlier times were their forerunners. They are all shaped after the same pattern. In their carnal lust they absolutely no longer saw anything, and they verified the words which we heard Luther utter about this condition.²⁵⁷ It was from the point of view of this condition they interpreted the scriptural passage: "melius est nubere quam uri"—it is better to marry than to burn²⁵⁸—though St. Paul speaks only of those who are free and who in their liberty find themselves unable to keep continent. Even more culpable is Luther's procedure, when he cites the words of St. Paul (Romans, VII) on the warfare of the flesh against the spirit and the defeat of the latter, to prove that one can by no manner of means overcome the inner tyrant.²⁵⁹ Why did Luther omit to call attention to the next chapter, in which St. Paul celebrates the victory of the spirit over the flesh through Christ, and speaks of those who do not walk according to the flesh but according to the spirit, because they are in Christ? Luther and his fellows, who longed for the fleshpots of Egypt, which they were supposed to have abandoned forever, were fully described by Paul when he continued: "They that are according to the flesh, mind the things that are of the flesh."²⁶⁰ And he pronounces the judgment of condemnation upon them: "They who are in the flesh cannot please God." One must live in the spirit; but that takes place only when the spirit of God dwells in one. "Now if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his."²⁶¹

There is, then, a victory over the inner tyrant whom Luther held to be invincible. This victory comes to us by the grace of Christ. The same St. Paul writes: "There was given me a sting of my flesh, an angel of Satan, to buffet me. For which thing thrice I besought the Lord, that it might

²⁵⁷ See in this chapter, p. 87, 108.

²⁵⁸ I, Cor. 7, 9.

²⁵⁹ Above p. 106.

²⁶⁰ Romans, 8, 5.

²⁶¹ Ibid. 8, 9.

depart from me. And he said to me: My grace is sufficient for thee."²⁶² Grace enables us to overcome the flesh, and grace is received through prayer. Every one receives it: "Ask and you shall receive * * * whoever asks, receives."²⁶³

Now what does Luther say to this? In his book on the monastic vows, against the papal exhortation to pray for grace, he continues: "How if God does not wish to be besought? Or, if one prays, what if He is unwilling to hear."²⁶⁴ To what false teaching the Reformer was driven by his lust! First of all be it asked only incidentally: how does this square with what he wrote later: "In the Papacy, I had no faith that God would give me wherefore I prayed?"²⁶⁵ "In the Papacy, we ourselves despised our prayers and thought: where others do not pray for us, we shall receive nothing."²⁶⁶ From the above it follows that, just *after* his apostasy from the Church and the Pope, he had no faith that God would hear him, whilst on the contrary the cursed Papists, on his own admission, did possess that faith. But, as has already been observed, the Reformer understands how, according to his needs, to face his cart the other way.

The above words are also in flattest contradiction with Luther's constant descant upon trust in God, in which Harnack sees precisely the greatness of Luther.²⁶⁷

In Luther's words: "*How if God does not wish to be besought? Or, if one prays, what if He is unwilling to hear?*"—is there any manifestation of assured confidence that God is the Being upon whom we can depend? Just the contrary! And it is a matter, with priests and religious, of God's help in most violent temptation against that worst, the inner tyrant. Yet precisely at this juncture Luther says: You cannot depend upon God. God knows if He will even listen to you, let alone grant your prayer. Far from recognizing in God or in Christ Him who calls out to a poor soul:

²⁶² 2 Cor. 12, 7, 9.

²⁶³ Matt. 7, 7, 8. See other passages quoted above p. 116.

²⁶⁴ Weim. VIII, 631: "Quid si deus nolit orari? aut si oretur, quid si nolit audire?"

²⁶⁵ Erl. 44, 354, ann. 1539.

²⁶⁶ Erl. 1, 248.

²⁶⁷ Lehrb. d. Dogmengesch. 3 edition, III, 729.

"Salus tuus ego sum"²⁶⁸—"I am thy salvation"—who helps to conquer the inner enemy, Luther truly makes Him the greatest tyrant, who, despite His promises to hasten to the aid of the tempted and to grant their prayers, delivers the poor soul up to its worst enemy.

The doctrine here expressed by Luther on the relation of prayer to God, and vice versa, is nothing short of abominable and must lead to despair or to the acme of wickedness, which indeed was the case. When Luther wrote his book on the monastic vows, he was wholly blind with the "*uri*," the fault of which was his own, and at the same time he was filled with hatred against the Church. Before reaching his condition of 1521 and when his thinking was clearer, namely, in 1516, he judged of the efficacy of fervent prayer quite differently. Commenting on the words of St. Paul, Romans, XII, 12, "instant in prayer," he writes:²⁶⁹ the Apostle herewith indicates the frequency and the assiduity of prayer that every Christian ought to use. "Just as there is no work that ought to be more frequent to Christians, so there is none more laborious and more violent, and therefore more efficacious and fruitful; for here 'the Kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent bear it away' (Mat. 11, 12). Prayer is an assiduous violence of the spirit raised to God, like a ship driven upwards against the power of a torrent. * * *

²⁶⁸ The words are from Psalm 34, 3: "Say to my soul: I am thy salvation."

²⁶⁹ Römerbrief, fol. 259b: "Orationi instantes" (Rom. 12, 12). "In quo exprimit frequentiam pariter et diligentiam orationis christianos habere debere. Instare enim non tantum assidue vacare sed etiam urgere, incitare, expostulare significat. Quia vere sicut nullum opus christianis debet esse frequentius, ita nullum aliud est laboriosius et violentius, ac per hoc efficacius et fructuosius: hic enim regnum coelorum vim patitur, et violenti rapiunt illud (mistaken application of the passage). Est enim oratio (meo iudicio) assidua violentia spiritus in deum levati, sicut navis contra vim torrentis acta sursum. Unde B. Martinum in laudem dicitur, quod invictum spiritum eo habuerit, quod nunquam illum ab oratione relaxerit. (4th. responsory in matins, feast of the Saint). Fit quidem ea violentia lenior vel nulla, si quando spiritus trahit et vehit cor nostrum per gratiam sursum. Aut certe, cum praesens et major angustia cogit ad orationem confugere; sine istis duabus difficillima res est et tediosissima oratio. Verum effectus ille grandis est. Quia *omnipotens est vera oratio*, sicut ait dominus; qui petit, accipit etc. (Matt. 7, 8). *Vis igitur facienda est unieuique, et cogitandum, quia contra diabolum et carnem pugnat, qui orat.*"

True prayer is omnipotent, as the Lord saith: 'Every one that asketh, receiveth,' etc. Therefore every one must use violence and consider that he who prays fights against the devil and the flesh.'

As I have already observed, Luther was never a man of prayer. In at least his better period, however, he understood its great utility. After his apostasy, he lost even the notion at times, and he was obliged repeatedly to acknowledge that, under the Pope, he and his following had been more frequent, more zealous, more earnest, and more diligent in prayer than now; they were now much more remiss than under the Papacy.²⁷⁰ However much he might otherwise speak of prayer, in himself it was largely hypocrisy.

G. THE DUPING OF NUNS BY LUTHER

PRAYER AND SELF-CHASTISEMENT, ACCORDING TO HIM, ALSO
WITHIN THE CAPACITY OF A DOG AND OF A SOW

How did Luther manage with the nuns, whom he also had to lead on to a violation of their vows, since otherwise there would have been a lack of the right kind of wives for the apostate priests and religious? His undertaking with regard to the nuns was certainly more difficult than with regard to the men mentioned. These, as the Dominican Cornelius Sneek wrote, 1532, against the Lutheran preacher Pollio of Strasburg, had already stained their celibacy by adulteries, even before they entered upon their more damnable public wiving.²⁷¹ It was enough to make the case of the nuns more

²⁷⁰ See Erl. 19, 104; 43, 285, etc. After confessing in Gal. c. 5, Ed Irmscher, II, 351, that he and the preachers were now more slothful and negligent than before in the darkness of ignorance, he continues in genuine Lutheran fashion: "For the more certain we are of the freedom won for us by Christ, the colder and the more slothful we are to teach the word, to pray, to do good, and to bear with evil." Luther should have reasoned from the effects to the cause and should have asked himself: "Is it true that the freedom preached by me is that won by Christ?" The effects point to unbridled license, not to Christian freedom, which nevertheless at every Luther celebration, is nowadays extolled as a Lutheran achievement.

²⁷¹ Defensio Ecclesiasticorum quos spirituales appellamus (s. l. et a.) fol. 78: "Cum igitur sitis priapistae, non mirum, si vitam coelibem exosam habetis. Sancte vos egisse putatis, si quam prius per adulterium damna-

difficult that they lived in closed monasteries. It was necessary to think of abducting them,²⁷² but this was hardly possible, unless they were first duped by writings. This was undertaken by Luther. One's pen fairly rebels against writing down Luther's words, they are so unbridled;²⁷³ still there is no help for it. Protestants must at last learn for once to know Luther. I for my part do not wish them to cast upon me, at least, the reproach which they constantly raise against us Catholics, that we are concealing something.

In 1522 the Reformer writes: "*I have never in my day heard a nun's confession, but I shall nevertheless hit off, according to Holy Writ, how it goes with them, and I know I do not wish to lie.*"²⁷⁴ But what does the Reformer know about nuns? It was at most now and then that he had entered a convent of women, and that does not enable one to learn to know the inmates. In spite of this he writes in 1523: "But how many, do you imagine, are the nuns in convents, where the daily word of God enters not, who joyously and with pleasure perform the divine service and maintain their state unforced? Verily, scarcely one in a thousand."²⁷⁵ But how did he know that? Did he question the nuns individually? He knew nothing of *one* single convent in that particular re-

biliter contaminastis, damuabilius matrimonio copuletis." When Pollio married in 1524, he had already been living several years with his cook and had the house full of children. See Paulus in Zeitschft. f. Kath. Theol. XXV, p. 409, Note 3; Die deutschen Dominikaner im Kampfe gegen Luther (1903), p. 74, Note 4. Zwingli's immoral "dishonorable, shameful life" before wiving, as he himself calls it, so that he was decried as a whoremonger, is known, and all denying, concealing or palliating are useless. See Janssen, Gesch. d. deutschen Volkes, III, 17-18 Edit. p. 94, Note 1 with the reference, and Paulus in Katholik, 1895, 2 p. 475 sq. E. Egli in Allgem. deutsche Biographie, 45 vol. (1900) p. 547-575, found it advisable, instead of speaking of Zwingli's immorality, to laud "his sound sense, even before his apostasy, in his opposition to unnaturalness and depravity" (p. 550)! Touching Justus Jonas, see above p. 12, note 35.

²⁷² See above p. 15 and p. 23.

²⁷³ It is pardonable in Sneek, just cited above, to write, in 1532, that by his words and writings, "*Tantum effecit obscoenus ille saxonicus porcus, ut videamus, proh dolor, nedum sacerdotes sed et monachos et monachas publice citra omnem pudorem nubere.*" *Defensio Ecclesiasticorum*, fol. 79.

²⁷⁴ Wider den falsch genannten geistlichen Stand, 1522, Erl. 28, 199.

²⁷⁵ Ursach und Antwort, dass Jungfrauen Klöster göttlich verlassen mögen, Weim. XI, 397.

spect, to say nothing of all. This assertion of his is as lacking in truth as the one for which he was responsible concerning the mind with which the monks took their vows.²⁷⁶ He was acquainted with some one or another unhappy individual, whose condition he imputed to all.

But hear we the Reformer farther. "A lass, unless the high, rare gift is hers, can no more do without a man than she can do without eating, drinking, sleeping, and other natural necessities. So also, again, a man cannot do without a woman. The reason is this: It is as deeply implanted in nature to beget children as to eat and drink. Therefore has God given and furnished the body its members, veins, fluids, and everything that serves that end. Now whoso wishes to check this and not let it go, as nature wills and must, what else does he do but forbid nature to be nature, fire to burn, water to wet, and man either to eat or drink or sleep?"

*"From this I conclude, then, that such nuns in convents must unwillingly be chaste and reluctantly make shift to do without men. If they are there unwillingly, they lose this life and the life to come, must have hell on earth and beyond also. * * * Further, where there is unwilling chastity, the work of nature is not suspended, flesh becomes seminific, as God created it, and so also do the veins run their course according to their kind. Then does a flowing ensue and the secret sin, which St. Paul, 1 Cor. 6, 9, (Gal. V, 19) calls uncleanness and luxury. And, to speak out grossly, for the sake of the miserable necessity, if the flowing is not into flesh, it will be into one's shirt. The people are then ashamed to accuse themselves of such a thing, and to confess it. Hence it follows that, in their heart, they blaspheme God and you (who brought them into the convent), curse their state, and are at enmity with all who helped them thereto; and such a one, in such a need, would likely take a shepherd swain in marriage, who otherwise perhaps would hardly have taken a count. See, that is what the devil wanted when he taught you to stifle nature, to force it, whose will it is to be*

²⁷⁶ See in the beginning of this chapter, p. 78 sqq.

unforced."²⁷⁷ "For God's works are so open to view, that women must be used either for marriage or for whoredom."²⁷⁸

Had the Protestants found, before Luther, a Catholic writer who had written this, they would certainly have branded him as unclean in the highest degree and as corrupted to the core. And deservedly so!

The Reformer has also a new doctrine for nuns in respect to prayer in extremely violent temptation; "*God does not wish to be tempted,*" he writes in 1523.²⁷⁹ And so, to beseech God's help in greatest temptation means to tempt God? To entreat God then would be sinful, would be doing what the devil did to Christ?²⁸⁰ Even so, and Luther explains himself, as he continues: "Who urges me or calls me to be without marriage? How is virginity necessary to me, when I feel that I do not possess it and God does not specially call me to it, and I know anyhow that He has created me for marriage? Therefore if you wish to beg something of God, beg what is necessary to you, and what necessity urges you to. *If it is not necessary to you, you certainly tempt God with your prayer.* He helps only there alone where no help and no expedient has previously been created by Him." This expedient is marriage, to take a husband after a forehand violation of the vows!

Now we fully understand Luther's questions as quoted above on page 119: "How if God did not wish to be besought? Or, if one prays, what if He is unwilling to hear?" Thus it is that one tempts the Lutheran God, if, in greatest danger, at the time of greatest temptation, one implores His aid!²⁸¹ No, says Luther, one does not just then need God,

²⁷⁷ Wider den falsch genannten geistlichen Stand, Erl. 28, 199.

²⁷⁸ Weim. XII, 94, 20. (1523).

²⁷⁹ Ursach und Antwort, etc. Weim. XI, 399.

²⁸⁰ According to the general teaching, to tempt God is a sin. See St. Thomas, 2, 2, qu. 97, a. 2.

²⁸¹ What ideas Luther imparted to his followers in respect to tempting God by prayer, is shown also in his, "Kirchenpostille", Erl. 13, 16: "God promised that he would hear us, what we pray for. Therefore when you have prayed once or thrice, you should believe that you are heard and *pray no more, lest you tempt or mistrust God.*" But how does this agree with the scripture, where it is repeatedly emphasized that one should pray continually and without ceasing? On another occasion Luther says this too, e.g.

one has reached the point at which chastity can no longer be maintained. God gave the saving remedy aforetime—marriage. "Such daily lusting and chafing is a certain sign that God neither has given nor will give the noble gift of chastity, which, when He gives it, is observed willingly without stress."²⁸² This singular God therefore approves the previous carelessness and faithlessness in the preservation of that, the doing of which was solemnly promised Him, approves the whole sinful life which has induced final obduracy and blindness of spirit, and the complete downfall into carnal lust! To such wicked souls, the same God then speaks these consoling words, as it were: "There, now you have at last reached the point which I have been awaiting this longest time; for I myself have effected the way to it, namely, your sinful life. Therefore watch and pray no more, persevere not, do yourselves no violence. To what purpose are those things anyhow? To be sure, my Son taught in the sermon on the mount that 'narrow is the gate and straight is the way that leadeth to life,'"²⁸³ But this does not apply to you. Do you rather forsake the straight way and walk the broad street, which, it is true, leads others to their destruction. You have now come to the state of impossibility, you are unable longer to keep the straight way. Look back now upon what you gave up, from which you solemnly promised me you would keep aloof until death. Take your hands from the plow and venture the final step. Openly break your perpetual vow, unmindful that I enjoin the opposite in every part and parcel of Holy Writ, and get married!"

But now I hear a cry: "You lie. Luther does not say God Himself prepared the way for those souls to that conclusion through their antecedent sinful life." What, he does

Erl. 1, 248: "See to it that you do not tire and steadfastly keep on:" 249: "when therefore you pray thus and keep on, he will certainly say to you: what do you wish that I should do?" On p. 262, he is against Tauler, saying that he wrote, one should leave off. "But it is not right that one should wish to preach thus, *for the leaving off takes place in us all too soon.*" Here as elsewhere, Luther did not understand Tauler. Tauler meant that one should leave off oral and go over into interior prayer.

²⁸² Ursach und Antwort, etc. Weim XI, 399.

²⁸³ Matt. 7, 13 sq.

not say so? "How can man prepare himself for the good," the Reformer had already written, in 1520, that is, shortly before his condemnation,²⁸⁴ *"since it is not even in his power to make his evil ways? For God also effects their evil works in the godless."* Moreover, in Luther, at least from 1516 on, actual, real sins came more and more to lose their meaning,²⁸⁵ he holding that the principal thing, even after baptism, was the ever remaining, though forgiven, original sin, which he discerned in concupiscence. *This* was the sin to be heeded, *this* was the one to be subdued by the cross and by mortification. One cannot conquer it, he said, from at least 1515, but one can diminish it. He and his fellows succeeded so well in this, that finally, because ignoring actual sin and scorning the cure of it by sincere contrition, resolution of amendment, confession, and penance, they were completely overmastered by their concupiscence. They ended in the violation of their vows for the sake of the satisfaction of their carnal lust.

In the face of such teachings and in a condition of soul of that kind, what sort of value could prayer and mortification still have left? They are works and as such do not, according to Luther, measure up to God; only his dead faith, a corpse, reaches God. The Lutheran Christ, although he is powerless, does everything in the Christian to take away original sin in baptism. "To sleep and do nothing is the Christian's work."²⁸⁶ What wonder if, in 1523, that year in which he duped the nuns into the violation of their vows by his doctrine, we hear him preaching: "Here say our (opponents): 'I shall keep praying until God gives His grace.' But they receive nothing. Christ says to them: You can do nothing, you effect nothing. I will do it."²⁸⁷ Shockingly, but quite logically the Reformer writes twelve years later: "The Papists put mere "holy-by-works" saints into heaven, and in

²⁸⁴ Assert. omn. artic. 1520, Weim. VII, 144. This doctrine will be further discussed in the course of this work.

²⁸⁵ On this we shall treat in the next section.

²⁸⁶ Weim. IX, 407, before 1521. See above p. 20.

²⁸⁷ Weim. XI, 197. This also comes from Luther's "system". If on occasion he expresses himself differently, it is simply because, as has already been mentioned, he understands well, according to his need, to head his cart the other way.

so many legends of the saints, there is not one which describes even a single saint who has been holy according to Christian holiness or according to the holiness of faith. All their holiness is, that they prayed, fasted, labored and disciplined themselves much, lay on hard beds and were poorly clothed, *which holiness in all its entirety even a dog and a sow can put into daily practice.*"²⁸⁸ Just as he distorts and blasphemes in 1521: "If piety consisted in going to the altar, *you could quite as well make a sow or a dog pious.*"²⁸⁹

If prayer and self-discipline are possible even to a dog and a sow, what means of victorious self-subdual is the Reformer going to recommend to a young man who cannot and may not as yet marry, but who already feels in himself the Lutheran impossibility of resisting carnal lust? No wonder that Luther was obliged to raise vigorous complaints about the lewd life of the students and young people, more especially in Wittenberg.²⁹⁰ But that was only a consequence of his teaching and counsel. If prayer and self-discipline are possible even to a dog and a sow, what means will the Reformer recommend to a married man, to enable him to dominate the "impossibility" of keeping himself in conjugal fidelity to his wife? What in fact did he do to hinder the many adulteries, the consequences of his doctrine? What, as a matter of fact, did he not permit Philip von Hessen to do, who alleged the "impossibility" of being able to content himself with one wife?

H. LUTHER'S RELATION TO POLYGAMY—"CONSCIENCE ADVICE," DISPENSATION, AND LYING—"CONJUGAL CONCUBINE."

Who does not know the history of the bigamic marriage of the Landgrave Philip von Hessen, that lecherous tyrant whom some presume to call "the magnanimous?" Who is un-

²⁸⁸ Erl. 63, 304.

²⁸⁹ Weim. VIII, 168.

²⁹⁰ This was universally known. See Janssen—Pastor, VII (1-12 ed.), 185 sq. with the proofs for Luther's time. H. Bullinger writes from Zürich, April 27, 1546, that, unfortunately, before his death, Luther said nothing, among other things, "*de corrigendis Universitatis Wittenbergensis moribus corruptissimis.*" Balthasar's *Helvetia*, (Zürich 1813) I, 647. "The nearer Wittenberg, the worse the Christians," we heard above (p. 24).

aware of what preceded his bigamic marriage, and of what happened thereafter? All this I assume to be known,²⁹¹ and permit myself only a few observations. The Landgrave, who had been living in adultery for years, alleged that he had never loved his wife, Christine; she was unfriendly, ugly, "also of ill odor"; he could not remain faithful to her; without a second wife he would have to resort to "whorishness or do something worse with the wife," etc.²⁹² He demanded an advisory opinion of his case from Luther, Melanchthon, and the apostate Dominican, Bucer. The latter, to whom the Landgrave applied first, concurred in a bigamic marriage sooner than did the other two colleagues; but he foresaw that they also would certainly allow it; it was only to be kept secret for a time, so that all would redound greatly to the praise of God and needless scandal would nowhere be given.²⁹³

Several days later Luther and Melanchthon did in fact submit their advisory opinion, in which they counted the Landgrave among the "devout gentlemen and regents" who were a support of the (Lutheran) Church. Although another time they had in the beginning feigned themselves much alarmed,²⁹⁴ still, despite their misgiving, they *granted a dispensation* to the petitioner, only the dispensation and the fact that he had taken a second wife were to be kept secret. "In that way no particular talk or scandal will arise; for it is

²⁹¹ I refer to Janssen, "Geschichte d. deutschen Volkes," III, (17 and 18 Ed.) p. 450 sqq., 477 sqq., where the sources are indicated, among them the first: Lenz, "Briefwechsel Landgraf Philipps des Grossmütigen v. Hessen," I. Compare besides, Janssen, "Ein zweites Wort an meine Kritiker," (1883), p. 88 sqq., against Köstlin's senseless objections.

²⁹² Lenz, I, 353. Above I give only the sense.

²⁹³ Ibid. p. 354 and 119. Above I have run the reports together.

²⁹⁴ But why? Because bigamy is not allowed? No, but "on account of the dire scandal that will follow." Luther's letter in Seidemann, "Lauterbach's Tagebuch," p. 197, note. Luther, who had preached as early as 1527 that it was not forbidden that a man have more than one wife (see above, p. 24, note 77), could not say, of course, that bigamy was not allowed. The Landgrave appealed to that sermon, indeed, saying that if that could publicly be written, one would have to expect that people would do it, Lenz, p. 336, Note 1. As in the Weimar edition, the date 1527 refers to the time of publication not to the year of composition (1523). See Weimar XIV, 250 sqq. So also in other cases.

not uncommon that princes have concubines. * * * Sensible folk would be better pleased with a *sequestered affair* of that kind than with adultery and some other wild, lewd course."²⁹⁵

On March 4, 1540, the wedding of Philip to his second wife took place, in presence of Bucer, Melancthon, and Eberhard von der Thann. The latter two were representatives of the Saxon Elector. The wedding was solemnized by Dionysius Melander, who with Luther and others had signed the advisory opinion, a man *three times wived*, a Dominican apostate to Luther.²⁹⁶ He was truly worthy of taking the Landgrave's nuptials in hand, and distinguished himself from him only in the fact that he had abandoned the first two wives and had taken to himself a third, notwithstanding that the other two were still living,²⁹⁷ whilst the Landgrave still retained his first wife. The Landgrave showed himself grateful to Luther for his "conscience advice" and made him a

²⁹⁵ Conscience advice of Dec. 10, 1539, in De Wette, VI, 239 sqq., see p. 243 (see also some pages below). The conscience advice was signed not only by Luther, Melancthon, and Bucer, but also by others, including Dionysius Melander, of whom more presently.

²⁹⁶ See a brief sketch of his life in Weyermann, "Nachrichten von Gelehrten, Künstlern, und anderen merkwürdigen Personen aus Ulm," (Ulm, 1798), p. 388 sqq. He is said to have had purer notions of his order and therefore abandoned his convent in Ulm! The fact of his having had three wives is concealed, but he is praised for his Evangelical way of thinking and for having become the Cassel Lutheran church-inspector. On the triple wiving of Melander, see Niedner's "Zeitschrift für die hist. Theol.," Bd. 22, 273.

²⁹⁷ That at the time no longer occasioned surprise, it belng so common. In reference to the rumors Erasmus wrote in 1520: "Quid attinet, cum vulgo narrentur? * * * *Ego novi monachum, qui pro una duxerit tres; novi sacrificum, virum alloquin probum, qui duxit uxorem, quam post comperit alteri nupsisse. Similia permulta de monachorum et monacharum coniugiis referuntur, qui ductas repudiarint eodem jure, quo duxerant*" etc. Opp. t. X (Lugd. Batav. 1706), p. 1619. And how should it be otherwise? Without Christ there is nothing but contention and bickering. This is acknowledged even by the fallen Franciscan, Eberlin v. Günzburg: "When a monk or a nun has been three days out of the monastery, they come rushing along, take whores or rakes in marriage, unknown, without any godly advice whatever, as the priests, too, take what pleases them. Thereupon there comes a long *year of clawing* after a short *month of kissing*." "Eyn freundtliches Zuschreiben an alle stendt teutscher Nation, etc.," 1524. See also above p. 104. Among the Zwinglians, things were no better. The apostate priest, Ludwig Hetzer, gradually took *twelve* wives. Fortunately the secular authorities were more strict and moral than the preachers. Hetzer was beheaded. See Döllinger, "Reformation," I, 209.

present of a large measure ("Fuder") of Rhine wine. Luther returned thanks quite obsequiously, May 24, 1540. "May our dear Lord keep and preserve Your Princely Grace happily in body and soul. Amen."²⁹⁸

In June, however, the bigamic marriage of the Landgrave got noised abroad. Then there broke a storm of lying, in which the Landgrave bore himself more correctly than his "conscience advisers." The apostate Dominican advised him openly to deny the bigamic marriage. *Even Christ, and the apostles had had recourse to lies of necessity.*²⁹⁹ The Landgrave should force his second wife into a contract, "according to which she was to pass as a concubine, such as God had indulged to His dear friends."³⁰⁰ Bucer advised the Landgrave, who was unwilling to lend himself to the lying, in the terms: "If your Princely Grace did not make daily use of the lies, as I have counseled, it would long ago have brought about much erroneous opinion. The world has often to be turned away from knowledge of the truth by the angels and saints. The Bible is full of this."³⁰¹

What principles! God allows the concubine, says Bucer, who in his time had so thundered against concubinage in the Church—lying *must* be resorted to as a means to the end!

And what is the "Reformer's" attitude in the matter? Precisely that in which we have hitherto seen him conducting his operations. In a letter to a Hessian councilor, he makes use of sophistries, advises lying, and, like Bucer, permits a concubine. The bigamic marriage had to be denied publicly: "That which is a secret 'yes,' (namely the "conscience advice" of himself and others, permitting the taking of a second wife in addition to the first), cannot become a public 'yes.' Otherwise secret and public would be one and the same, with-

²⁹⁸ Lenz, loc. cit. and p. 362 sq.

²⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 178. It is the sense of the words written by Bucer July 8, 1540, to the Landgrave, that not only the Fathers of the Old Testament, but Christ and the Apostles as well had "held up false delusion and visions" to their enemies to save the people. "Thus should we also not only withhold from our enemies the truth by which they could injure us, but we should divert them from it *by adverse delusion*" (i.e. deception and lying)!

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Ibid. (p. 193).

out distinction, which nevertheless cannot and ought not to be. Therefore the secret 'yes' must remain a public 'no,' and vice versa."³⁰² Since the Landgrave, now that his bigamic marriage was already known, was unwilling publicly to deny it, and since he even threatened the "conscience advisers," in case they did not stand by him in the attacks to be expected, with publishing their advisory opinion, Luther, in the letter mentioned, continues that it would be useless for the Landgrave to appeal to the doctrine which he (Luther) once expressed, that a bigamic marriage is not forbidden in the Scriptures,³⁰³ because "in full many a wise, before and after, he had taught that the laws of Moses were not to be brought up. * * * Consequently, although confession-wise I advised a poor conscience in secret need, to use the law or the example of Moses, I should not and could not thereby have established a public right," and so on. The Landgrave should withdraw again to his secret "yes" and to his public "no."³⁰⁴

Luther and Melanchthon, who had given the "conscience advice" to the Landgrave had a bad conscience and shunned the light.³⁰⁵ Melanchthon even fell ill over the consequences that arose from the bigamic marriage which he also had sanctioned.

In the middle of July, at the insistence of the Landgrave, a conference between Saxon and Hessian councilors, in regard to the bigamic marriage and its consequences, took place at Eisenach. It was the wish of the Landgrave that Luther and the other signers of the "conscience advice" should also publicly acknowledge their act. But they had given it, says the Reformer, only on condition of its being kept secret. The Landgrave surely had to take the state of the Churches into consideration, and what an uproar would arise from its being made public. Philip would have to deny the affair upon any terms. "*What were it, if one, especially for the sake of*

³⁰² Letter of June, 1540, in De Wette, VI, 263.

³⁰³ See above p. 24, note 77.

³⁰⁴ De Wette, loc. cit.

³⁰⁵ Such was the judgment of even Katharina von Mecklenburg, Duchess of Saxony, who but a short time before had won over her husband Henry "the Pious," of Saxony, to the doctrine of Luther. See Janssen, loc. cit., p. 481, note 1.

something better and of the Christian (i.e., no doubt the Lutheran) Church, achieved a good stout lie?" He advises the Landgrave to put the one wife, (the second), away for four weeks, and to take the other (the first) to himself and to be on good terms with her.³⁰⁶ Thus would the mouth of evil gossips be shut up. Publicity could give rise to a great schism. *The matter brought no distress upon conscience.* Before he should give publicity to the Landgrave's "confession," and speak thus about the "devout prince," he would rather say that Luther had made a fool of himself.³⁰⁷

On July 17, the Reformer went to still worse lengths. There is much that is right before God, he said, which before the world must be suppressed. Were one to acknowledge all that is right before God, not right before the world, that is the devil's work. *That the Landgrave cannot compass some stout lies, it matters not.* There is a maiden here concerned. He would lose land and people, were he to attempt to stick to his decision. *"A lie of necessity, a lie of utility, a helping lie—to bring about such lies were not against God; he would take them upon himself."* They had granted a dispensation to the Landgrave, *because it was a case of necessity.* He and his associates "give the advice and suffer him to retain the maiden secretly and on denial,"³⁰⁸ or "he should bear no burden in telling a lie on account of the girl for the sake of the advantage to Christendom and all the world."³⁰⁹

There is an abyss here! Luther utters almost the same sentiments that we have heard from Bucer's lips³¹⁰ touching

³⁰⁶ Similarly in the opinion of July 19 or 20. The Landgrave was "to take the second wife to another place, so that the people would be less aware of her, and he, according to his pleasure, was to ride over to her secretly, for a time leaving his (right) wife so much the oftener and more by herself." Kolde, "Analecta Lutherana" p. 363.

³⁰⁷ Lenz I, 373. Luther says the same in the opinion given in De Wette, VI, 272: "Before I would openly help to defend it, I will rather say 'no' to the advice of myself and M. Philipp, if it is made public. For it is not a *publicum consilium* and it becomes *nullum per publicationem*. Or, if that will not avail, I will rather confess, should it be called a counsel whereas it is not much more than a petition, that I erred and made a fool of myself, and beg pardon; for the scandal is too great and intolerable."

³⁰⁸ Lenz, p. 375 sq.

³⁰⁹ Kolde, "Analecta Lutherana," p. 356.

³¹⁰ See above, p. 130.

the keeping of concubines, and the Reformer repeats them various times. He writes in such a strain that, after receiving an "exemption" in "confession," it scarcely any longer appears to be adultery for a married man, in "necessity," to keep a concubine.³¹¹ As Luther terms it, the concubine then becomes a "conjugal concubine,"³¹² with whom the married man "may sleep as with his wife, and whom he need not put away."³¹³ How many married men were there then in Germany whose case was similar to that of the Landgrave? "Luther and Melancthon, it is true, have not the power to set something else in opposition to the public and praiseworthy law; but *secretly*, in a necessity of conscience, they are *bound* to counsel otherwise."³¹⁴ How often may they have looked upon it as their bounden duty to hasten to the relief of married men in their "necessity of conscience," *secretly* permitting them to have a "conjugal concubine"?

These abominable maxims, on which Luther acted so late in his day in this miserable affair, were expressed in principle by Luther from the time of his inner apostasy from the Church. As early as 1520, he had set up the proposition:

³¹¹ Thus, e.g., in the opinion of July, 1540: "The Landgrave should consider that it was enough for him *that he might have the girl secretly, with a good conscience*, by the terms of our conscience advice submitted after and according to his confession." De Wette, VI, 273. Shortly before, he wrote that he would not have delivered his conscience advice, had he known "that there was to be a public wedding," and more, that a landgravine was to come out of it; that was certainly not to be suffered and was intolerable to the whole country. "I understood and *hoped* that, since through weakness of the flesh he had had to make use of the common being in sins and in shame, (i.e. prostitutes, from whom he had also contracted syphilis), he *would secretly keep some honest little maiden or other in a house in secret marriage, although before the world* it might have an unmatrimonial appearance; and, *for the sake of his conscience*, that he would ride back and forth *according to his great need*, as has happened more than once with great gentlemen." "Lauterbach's Tagebuch," Supplement, p. 198, note. See above, p. 132, note 306.

³¹² On July 24 he instructs the Landgrave: "Why does Your Princely Grace put forth the contention that you do not wish to keep the girl as a whore? Now anyhow, before the advice is public, you have to suffer her to be a whore before all the world, *although before us three* (Luther, Melancthon, Bucer), *that is, before God, she is not held to be other than a conjugal concubine*," etc. De Wette, VI, 275 sq.

³¹³ Lenz, p. 373, applied to the Landgrave.

³¹⁴ Thus Luther, De Wette, p. 275.

"I abhor divorce so greatly that I prefer *bigamy* to it, but whether it be allowed, I do not venture to decide."³¹⁵ After setting up the principle, however, that there is no resisting the sexual instinct, he did not hit upon the decision, when he found that polygamy was not against the Scriptures; he himself, he said, could not forbid it, although on account of the scandal, and for the sake of honor, he was unwilling to counsel it to anyone.³¹⁶ "*The husband himself must be sure and certain in his own conscience*, by the word of God, that this is allowed him." He may therefore look up such as "by God's word make him positive."³¹⁷ The husband naturally found them at once! In 1526, Luther repeats that the husband "must have a *divine word* for himself, *making him certain*, just as the old fathers (of the Old Testament) had it."³¹⁸ In 1527, likewise, he finds that it is not forbidden that a man is allowed to have more than one wife; "*I could not now forbid it*, but I would not wish to counsel it."³¹⁹

On September 3, 1531, Luther sent an opinion on the marriage affair of Henry VIII. of England to the English mediator, Robert Barnes. In this he declared against the dissolution of the marriage, emphasizing his view thus: "I would even rather permit the King *to take another* queen in addition to the first, and, after the example of the old fathers and Kings, *to have two wives or queens at the same time*."³²⁰ The same standpoint was taken by Luther, as we have seen, in regard to the bigamic marriage of Philip von Hessen, and

³¹⁵ Weim. VI, 559.

³¹⁶ Enders, IV, 283, for the year 1524, and above, p. 18 sq., p. 24.

³¹⁷ Enders, IV, 282.

³¹⁸ De Wette, VI, 79.

³¹⁹ Weim, XXIV, 305. See above, p. 24, note 77, especially "Opp. var. arg." IV, 368, where Luther (1528), accounts polygamy among those things of the Old Testament which in the *New Covenant* are neither commanded nor forbidden, but are free. That polygamy is not specially forbidden in the *Gospel* he writes in 1539. De Wette, VI, 243.

³²⁰ Enders, IX, 93; cf. p. 88. Twelve days before, Melancthon had already expressed himself in the same sense. *Corp. Ref.* II, 528. Against Enders' conjecture that the Pope had proposed the *same* solution, see N. Paulus in the literary supplement No. 48, (1903) to the "Kölnischen Volkszeitung."

so also later, although the contrary is asserted by Protestants.³²¹

After all, however, our interest centers on Luther's relation to lying, deception, fraud. We see him acting in the craziest manner on the principle that "the end justifies the means." I have to admit to the Protestant Luther researchers, especially Kawerau, that they stigmatize Luther's conduct.³²² But why do they go only half way and stay there? Why do they consider the principles uttered by Luther in 1540 on lying as isolated? Why did not the question occur to them: Is it possible that any one can suddenly commit himself to such statements? Does not the same spirit manifest itself in Luther even earlier, on quite another occasion?

When Luther writes to Melanchthon, in 1530, in reference to their course towards Catholics in the Reichstag: "Si vim evaserimus, pace obtenta *dolos* ac *lapsus* nostros facile emendabimus, (we shall easily correct our *wiles* and our *lapses*), qua regnat super nos misericordia ejus,"³²³ is that something other than what the Reformer expressed, in 1540, about being permitted, for the sake of the Church, to achieve a stout lie? In the latter case he uses the word "lie," in the former, fraud, wiles, deceptions.³²⁴

In all of this, Luther, "for the sake of the Christian Church," was a master. How does he instruct the apostate Franciscan, Brisman, July 4, 1524, to get the people little by little to bring pressure to bear on the Grand Master of the

³²¹ See N. Paulus loc. cit., No. 18, where he rightly lays stress on the fact that Luther was the first to grant a dispensation in respect to polygamy, while no medieval theologian maintained it was allowed in the New Testament. With regard to St. Augustine, see below, Chap. XIII, § 6.

³²² In "Jahresbericht f. neuere deutsche Literaturgesch." (Stuttgart, 1893), II, 183. Like Köstlin, "Martin Luther," 3 ed., II, 481, 486, Bezold also, "Gesch. der deutschen Reformation" (1890) p. 735, declares the bigamic marriage of Philip, etc., to be "the darkest spot in the history of the Reformation."

³²³ Enders, VIII, 235. In some recensions, one finds "et mendacia" inserted after "*dolos*." But "mendacia" is missing in "Cod. Palat. lat." 1828, fol. 135^b. In truth there is no need of this word. "*Dolos*" suffices perfectly and expresses more.

³²⁴ Seidemann in: De Wette, VI, 556, translates "Leisetreterei"—soft-stepping, cautious proceeding, and Enders approves this coloring expedient!

Teutonic Order to take a wife and establish a right authority? "He (with Paul Speratus and Johann Amandus) should strive to realize this conviction of the great mass, not suddenly and bluntly, but first ingratiatingly and by way of questions. For example, as a subject they were to discuss how nice it would be, seeing that the Order is an abominable hypocrisy, if the Grand Master took a wife and, with the assent of the other gentlemen of the people, changed the Order into a state. After they argued and conferred on this for a time, and Brisman and the two others named saw that the feeling seemed to incline favorably to their view, the matter was to be furthered and pushed openly and with numerous arguments. I should wish, of course, that the Bishop of Samland (George von Polentz, who had already apostatized to Luther) would do the same; but, as prudence is necessary, *the outcome seems more certain if the bishop apparently holds his judgment in suspense.* Only after the people assent should his authority, as though mastered by the arguments, also fall in line." Naturally the Reformer implores God's protection on the carrying out of this insidious, seductive plan!³²⁵ It is also generally known with what guile Luther and Melancthon bore themselves in doing away with the Mass.

This character of Luther manifested itself everywhere. On July 24, 1540, he informed the Landgrave that he wrote all the foregoing about not making the "conscience advice" public, not as if it were any of his, Luther's, concern, for, "if it comes to a clash of pens, *I know well how to wriggle out and to leave Your Princely Grace sticking there.*"³²⁶ Sixteen years previously, in 1524, Carlstadt, meeting with the same tactics, replied to him: "You have always to speak like that, to maintain your prestige and to arouse hatred for other people."³²⁷ Luther followed the same course, in 1521, in his quarrel with Emser,³²⁸ and as early as 1519 with Eck.³²⁹

³²⁵ Enders, IV, 360.

³²⁶ De Wette, VI, 276.

³²⁷ Weim. XV, 339.

³²⁸ Naturally Kawerau characterizes not Luther but Emser, as "treacherous." Weim. VIII, 244.

³²⁹ Luther himself admits, in the beginning of 1519, that, in his disputa-

Luther's duplicity, as he revealed it, 1540, in so glaring a light before all the world, had already been shown in 1520, when he entered into an agreement on October 14 with the no less blameworthy Miltitz to write a letter to the Pope. In this he proposed to relate the whole story of the origin of his opposition, to fasten everything upon Eck, and quite humbly to declare himself ready to keep silent, if the others would do so too, so that he would appear to neglect nothing that could be demanded of him to further peace in every possible way. It was all a trick, for it was simply intended to dupe the Pope, whose Bull of excommunication, brought from Rome by Eck, was already published September 21 and had been seen by Luther. To catch the Pope the more adroitly, the letter was dated back to September 6, that is, to a time in which in Germany there was no exact information about the contents of the Bull.³³⁰ Luther was thus to appear to be the innocent party and Eck's charges, which were not without influence upon the writing of the Bull, were to appear to be groundless.

About the nature of Luther's letter of submission to the Pope, January 5 or 6, 1519, no one will longer entertain any doubts. Interiorly at the end of 1518 he had already held the Pope to be antichrist. This was declared by him to his intimate friends, whilst to the Pope, on the contrary, he hypocritically simulated humility and submission.³³¹ This trait was manifested as early as 1516, when Luther, for the sake of his doctrine, knowingly substituted the word "peccatum" for Augustine's term "concupiscentia." In an earlier

tion with Eck, he had set a trap for him, intending to catch him in his own words (Enders, II, 4 sqq.). To one diatribe against Eck, he appends twenty-five heretical articles, which he alleged he had drawn from utterances and negations of Eck and the Franciscans of Jüterbogk. With what cunning he fabricated these articles and how he distorted Eck's utterance, is evident to the initiated merely on reading the case up. Weim. II, 652.

³³⁰ See Enders, II, 494 sq., and Weim. VII, 11, 49.

³³¹ On this letter of submission, see N. Paulus in "Katholik," 1899, I, p. 476 sqq. (against Brieger, who nevertheless found the correct date.)

period, when he still held the Catholic teaching, he had known and cited the correct passage.³³²

Luther's practice, in 1516, had already been carried into effect in his work on the monastic vows. The previous as well as the following chapters confirm the fact. His insidious character, with which and against which he never busied himself, least of all after his apostasy, entered essentially into his deceptions in respect to St. Bernard, his perversions with regard to the essence of the vows and to the form of profession, his sophisms, which I exposed, his counsel to priests and religious to put their own mental construction on their vows, as he proposes, and the rest. What was quite his own he ascribed to the Church. Naturally he then says: *Everything is allowed* against the deception and wickedness of the Papal chair,³³³ therefore also a good, stout lie; for if this was allowed for the sake of his Church, as we heard him say, it was also above all permitted against its adversary. Of what is a person not capable who takes *lies of necessity, lies of utility, helping lies* upon his conscience? He will use them as his most powerful allies against his enemies. The apostates from the orders and from the Church made and still make use of them. "To the first of the devil's weapons belongs that one which is called a lie, which he adorns with the sacred name of God, of Christ, and of the Church, and precisely with which he damns the truth and seeks to turn it into a lie." Thus runs Luther's own admission.³³⁴

It is no wonder, then, that Duke George, on the occasion of the Pack affair, described Luther, December 19, 1528, as "the most coldblooded liar that ever got among us." "We must say and write of him that the recreant monk *lies to our face*

³³² A more copious treatment follows in the next section.

³³³ Enders, II, 461. The editor as well as other Protestant Luther researchers, who charge Catholics with having grossly misunderstood the passage, distorting the sense into an opposite meaning, understood the passage just as little themselves. According to Luther, the Papacy and the Catholic Church generally are identified with wickedness and deception: "All Popedom is fallen into hell and condemned to the same" (Opp. exeget. 1, V, 311). Thus it was all one and the same thing to Luther, if one said: "against the Popedom" or "against the unworthiness of the same, everything is allowed."

³³⁴ Erl. 50, 18.

like a despairing, dishonorable, perjured scoundrel." "We have hitherto not found in the Scriptures that Christ used *so open and deliberate a liar* in the apostolic office, allowing him to preach the gospel."³³⁵ Others who knew Luther spoke to the same effect.³³⁶ I also shall venture to say the same of him without reserve. To that I am determined by my exhaustive and wholly unbiased studies of Luther.

I. LUTHER'S BUFFOONERY.

Every reader must marvel at the unexampled, the even cynical levity with which Luther set up his assertions and conclusions in all these earnest questions, which for him and his followers out of the ecclesiastical state were decisive for eternity. But one who knows his buffoonery will be less astonished. Protestants like R. Eucken, of course, know how to speak of Luther's "deeply earnest spirit";³³⁷ Bauer asserts that Luther was too sober for trifling, "which must have seemed to his *earnest sense* like a desecration of the most holy."³³⁸ Indeed, it *should have seemed* so, but it did not. After Luther's wiving in 1525, Melanchthon himself wrote that Luther was a man of the utmost levity. He, Melanch-

³³⁵ Letter of Duke George in Hortleder, "Von den Ursachen des deutschen Krieges Karls des Fünften" (Frankfort a. M. 1617), p. 604, 606. [The Pack affair mentioned in the text refers to Otto Pack who, in 1528, sent Philip an alleged copy of a treaty between Duke George and other Catholic princes, to the effect that they would rise up and annihilate the Protestants. Pack was never able to produce the original or to offer the slightest proof of its existence.]

³³⁶ If, on the one side, Münzer, in 1524, says of Luther that *he lies the depth of a lance down his throat*, [i.e., like a trooper], or if he calls him the "mendacious Luther," (Enders IV, 374, note 6; 373, note 1) and charges him with treachery and cunning, (p. 374, note 7), and if S. Lemnius on the other hand writes: *Fraus soror est illi rapiturque per omnia secum* (Querela ad rev^m, principem D. Albertum eccl. Rom. card. in M. Simonis Lemnii Epigrammaton libri III, an. 1538, fol. I, 5), the judgment of these two men is more than amply confirmed by Luther's conduct in 1540 and during his warfare against the Church. Luther's Catholic opponents had a greater right to launch these charges against him and, as a matter of fact, from the beginning, they were unable to draw enough attention to Luther's cunning and lying.

³³⁷ "Kantstudien," philosophische Zeitschrift, edited by H. Vaichinger, (1901) VI, 4.

³³⁸ "Zschft. f. Kirchengesch." XXI, 265.

thon, and his associates had often rebuked him on account of his *buffoonery*.³³⁹

Before his warfare with Rome, he still kept himself under some restraint in this respect, as was evidenced by him in 1516. His fellow religious of ill repute, J. Lang in Erfurt, at that time sent him a note with a pretended petition to the Pope. In this there was some blustering against the education and conduct of the "sophists," i.e., the theologians, "who were misleading the people," and the Pope was besought to take measures against them, and, among other things, to tear Thomas and Scotus from them. To this knavish petition there was attached a no less knavish decree of the Pope on the matter.³⁴⁰ Luther's taste was not like that of Lang. He found that those "*antics*" proceeded from a rude spirit, who would "turn out to be the same *Jack Pudding*, or one like him, who had achieved the letters of the obscurantists."³⁴¹

And in 1520? In September of this year, this petition, together with the Papal decree, was finally *printed* at Johann Grünenberg's under the title of "*Pasquillus Marranus exul*"; but it was also accompanied by a scurrilous introduction against the theologians, among them the Leipzig Franciscan, Augustine von Alfeld, who had ventured to write against Luther and was called by him the "*Leipzig Ass*" for his pains. There was also included a derisive letter to this same Franciscan.³⁴² This writing was hardly printed when Luther

³³⁹ Melanchthon's letter to Camerarius on Luther's marriage, edited by Dr. P. A. Kirsch, "Brief, etc." 1900, p. 11.

³⁴⁰ Printed in "*Pasquillorum tomi duo*," Eleutheropoli 1544, p. 196-291 (i.e. in the first series, for these two numbers recur again, the new sheet O2, erroneously beginning with p. 111 etc., having been inserted after p. 220); newly edited by Böcking, "U. Hutteni operum supplem.," I, 505-507. The contents are concisely given by O. Clemen, "Beiträge zur Reformationsgesch., I (1900), p. 12, sq.

³⁴¹ Enders, I, 60 (to Lang, Oct. 5, 1516): "Ineptias illas, quas ad me misisti, de Supplicationibus ad S. Pontificem contra theologastros, nimis apparet, a non modesto ingenio effictas esse, prorsusque eandem olentes testam, quam epistolae obscurorum virorum." P. 62 (to Spalatin): "Supplicationem contra theologastros * * * eundem vel similem *histrionem* sui testantur autorem, quem et Epistolae obscurorum virorum. Votum eius probo, sed opus non probo, *quod nec a conviciis et contumeliis sibi temperat.*"

³⁴² In the "*Pasquillorum tomi duo*," p. 191-196, there is only the introduction which is followed by the supplication and then the decree: complete in Böcking, loc. cit., p. 503 to 510. Cf. also Clemen, loc. cit., p. 14 sqq.

at once (Sept. 28) sent a copy with these "antics" to the Merseburg canon, Gunther v. Büнау.³⁴³ To give the reader an idea of these new knaveries, I only mention that in the introduction Marsorious closes his letter to Pasquin: "Farewell, Pasquin, my greetings to Affen (monkey) feld, (instead of Alfeld) from behind (a tergo). Rome from the Aventine." This was after the fashion of the obscurantist letters. Luther, who, as we saw, had no mind for tomfoolery four years before, was now pleased with it in his warfare against the Church and made use of its antics to ridicule Pope, bishops, priests, and monks

By the end of March of the same year, he fully approves those who ridicule the famous canon, "Omnis utriusque sexus," with the interpretation: "that is, only those who have both sexes, namely *hermaphrodites*, have to make confession of all their sins."³⁴⁴ The following year, after he had already sworn war against the vows, he writes wholly after the manner of a buffoon: "The Pope commands all Christians, men and women folks—*perhaps he feared there might be Christians who were neither man nor woman*—to confess, once they have arrived at the use of reason," etc. In virtue of this noble command, young children and the innocent must also confess, *would they wish to remain masculine or feminine*, else the Pope might eliminate, i.e., castrate them.³⁴⁵ In like manner he speaks of hermaphrodites in the year 1537³⁴⁶ and still later. Hence came his favorite characterization, "the hermaphrodite Church." "Men in front, women behind are the Pope's hermaphrodites."³⁴⁷ It cannot be maintained from this, however, that Luther really imagined the expression, "utriusque sexus," admitted no other meaning. He himself uses it repeatedly.³⁴⁸

³⁴³ Enders, II, 482.

³⁴⁴ Weim. VI, 193.

³⁴⁵ Weim. VIII, 168 sq.

³⁴⁶ In his marginal gloss on the Bull of Paul III, 1537 (original in the Vat. Bibl., Pal. IV, 82): "Ergo qui non sunt hermaphroditae, ad hos non pertinet ista verba papae" (viz. "singulos utriusque sexus christifideles").

³⁴⁷ Erl. 26, 143, 129, 118, for the year 1545.

³⁴⁸ E.g., Gal. III, 11, "Conjuges utriusque sexus."

Luther reveals the same buffoonery when, in the glosses on the above mentioned Bull of Paul III, he transcribes the words, "in casibus reservatis" (in reserved cases): "in caseis et butyro," (in cheese and butter). Yet this is not the origin of another characterization, in which Luther speaks of a certain kind of papal bulls as "Butter-encyclicals,"³⁴⁹ or "Butter and cheese encyclicals."³⁵⁰

Is one to seek Luther's "earnest sense," his "profoundly earnest spirit," the evidence "that he was too sober for trifling," in the fact that, from the beginning of his warfare against the Church and the theologians, he takes pains to make his opponents ridiculous and to expose them to mockery? His former serious professor, Usingen, whom earlier he had so much revered, he calls "Unsingén," [a play on the name, "Unsinn" meaning nonsense; all the succeeding instances are of the same somewhat punning intent.—Translator's note]; his opponent Cochlaeus is called "Snotspoon"; the Franciscan Schatzgeyer becomes "Schatz-gobbler," and Crotus, once all enthusiasm for Luther, is designated "Doctor Toad, plate-licker of the Cardinal of Mänz." There would be no end, were one to enumerate all the buffoneries of that kind, precisely at the time in which he was fighting against the vows. He wrote a reply to Emser's controversial work, 1521, "lest the belly grow too big for the sow."³⁵¹ The phrase "Bulle Cena Domini," i.e., the Bull which was proclaimed "in coena Domini" or Holy Thursday, he renders, 1522. "The Bull of the *evening gorging* of the most holy gentleman, the Pope." Instead of "Domherrn" or "Thumherrn," i.e., canons of a cathedral chapter, he writes "vorthumpfte (i.e., damned) Herrn." He speaks of "Geese and Cuckoo Bull carriers,"³⁵² and so on. If any one wishes at all to convince himself that there was not a spark of an earnest sense in this man, let him read this writing. It is the product of a buffoon. Luther gives evidence of the same profundity when, some years later, instead of Papal decrees and decretals, "Dekrete und De-

³⁴⁹ Erl. 31, 143.

³⁵⁰ Erl. 26, 208.

³⁵¹ Weim. VII, 271.

³⁵² Weim. VIII, 691.

kretalen," he writes "Drecketen," "Drecketale."³⁵³ ["Dreck" meaning dirt, Luther's wit in this case might be paralleled in English by turning the word document into excrement.—Translator.] He took delight in such distortions and jocosities as "jurisperditi" instead of "jurisperiti;"³⁵⁴ "a great 'limen cresae maiestatis' again the Holy See;"³⁵⁵ "against the 'Concilium Obstantiense,' or rather 'Constantiense.'" ³⁵⁶

It is simply contemptible when, to make the rite of the consecration of a bishop ridiculous, he states that he also had consecrated a bishop of Raumburg, but "without any chrism, likewise without butter, lard, bacon, tar, smear, incense, coals, and anything else pertaining to the same great holiness."³⁵⁷ What depths of frivolity lay in Luther is also evidenced by his statement that he did away with the elevation of the host to spite the Papacy, but that he retained it as long as he did to spite Carlstadt.³⁵⁸ Other things of like nature were compassed by Luther elsewhere, and we shall return to them. Is it earnestness in him, or not far rather buffoonery, when he writes: "With the Papists there is no one who sins, except the Son of God; no one is just except the devil?"³⁵⁹

In a sermon³⁶⁰ published by him, alleged to have been preached at a profession in a nunnery, by the Dominican Provincial, Hermann Rab, he carries his jocularities to still greater lengths. To the words of the sermon: "For God here and there specially elects unto Himself virgins," Luther adds the gloss: "ut patet 10 libro Physicorum et Aesopi lib. 5." Now it is well known that Aristotle's Physics has but *eight* books and Aesop's fables only one. This is the same buffoon-

³⁵³ Erl. 41, 295 sq., 299, 308; 63, 403; 26, 77 sqq. 128, 211; De Wette VI, 284; "Tischreden" edited by Förstemann, II, 258, 430; III, 178.

³⁵⁴ Erl. 65, 79.

³⁵⁵ Ibid. 26, 127, instead of "crimen laesae maiestatis."

³⁵⁶ Ibid. 31, 392.

³⁵⁷ Ibid. 26, 77.

³⁵⁸ Ibid. 32, 420, 422.

³⁵⁹ Opp. exeg. lat. V, 312: "Nemo apud eos peccat, nisi Filius Dei, nemo justus est, nisi diabolus."

³⁶⁰ Original print in Vat. Bibl. Pal. IV, 121; Opp. lat. var. arg., VII, 21, under the title: "Exemplum theologiae et doctrinae papisticae." See farther on, Chap. XI.

ery which previously had vaunted itself in another form in derision of the scholastics in the letters of the obscurantists, whose author Luther, as is known, called a *Jack Pudding*, and which in identical fashion was exercised by Hutten and others before Luther's apostasy.³⁶¹

On the words of the sermon: "and because the maiden now making her profession does so after the example of the Blessed Virgin, who first took the vow of virginity," etc., Luther achieves the tidbit of comment: "because the Blessed Virgin was a *nun*, and *Joseph was her abbess* * * * *The ass was her father-confessor and preacher*," and so on. We find him indulging in the same buffoonery when he answers the objection that the apostles also possessed nothing of their own, by saying: "I also advise that we make monks of the *apostles*. And what is the harm of it? It is said furthermore that, for the sake of chastity, they forsook their wives and would have bestowed their perfect poverty, chastity, and obedience on such as gave them something, and thereupon straightway shaved their pate, donned a frock, girded their bodies about with a rope, and said: '*Welcome, dear St. Peter, thou holy Guardian.*'"³⁶²

Turn we back to the year 1521. In a sermon on confession, dedicated to his friend von Sickingen, Luther wrote: "If nothing more belongs to a council than a gathering of many who wear cardinals' hats, bishops' mitres, and birettas, one might as well gather the *wooden saints* out of the churches, put cardinals' hats, bishops' mitres, and birettas on them, and say that it was a council; *any painter and sculptor could well make a council*. What are they anyway but blocks and stocks, the unlearned, unspiritual cardinals,

³⁶¹ Thus Hutten, in the second part of the letter mentioned, lets an Apostolic Prothonotary cite "Kings" CXXXVIII, instead of "Psalm" (Böcking, "V. Hutteni operum supplēm." I, 186.) Afterwards the citation, "primo Proverbiorum XII" (ibid. p. 295) is put upon the lips of another. Of course, there is no first book of Proverbs. Another time (p. 365, n. 29), one writes: "XII physicorum Aristotelis," "VI de anima," therefore in the same way as Luther above.

³⁶² Erl. 31, 298.

bishops, doctors, who with their hats, shaved pates, and birettas afford us a carnival comedy?"³⁶³

But enough examples of the many which demonstrate Luther's buffoonery. Speaking of Bucer and his comrades, Luther writes: "They always croak something different from what we ask. If we ask '*quae?*' (what a miracle), they answer '*Ble.*'"³⁶⁴ Bucer replies this is by no means the case and Luther's complaint *oversteps the bounds of decorum*; Paul was wont to write otherwise.³⁶⁵ Quite true; but Paul's spirit and earnestness were wholly wanting in Luther. Instead we see him, from 1520 on, treating the gravest affairs of the soul, decisive for time and eternity, with incredible levity and buffoonery. How did he defend marriage of priests and later his own? "By this marriage I have made myself so mean and despicable that *I hope the angels will laugh and all devils weep.*"³⁶⁶ An identical spirit speaks out of his work on the monastic vows.

To this, then, let us turn our attention again, and especially to the subject treated in the beginning of this chapter, to Luther's polemic against the counsels, to the following of which the members of the religious orders bind themselves by vow. Let us investigate what, according to Catholic teaching, the nature of those counsels may be, in what relation they stand to the commandments, and what bearing the both of them have, commandments and counsels, upon the Catholic ideal of life and Christian perfection. The result, which will be laid down in the next two chapters and upon which the doctrine prevailing through the centuries before Luther is founded, will afford a sure basis of a critical holding up to the light of Luther's assertions and perversions and those of his followers, old and new.

³⁶³ Weim. VIII, 151.

³⁶⁴ Enders, V, 387: "Quaerimus, quae? ipsi reddunt Ble."

³⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 301, note 9: "rogantibus quae, nequaquam respondemus Ble, ut nobis Lutherus profecto citra decorum objicit. Paulus sane aliter scribere solitus fuit."

³⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 197.

CHAPTER VII.

FUNDAMENTALS OF THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF CHRISTIAN
PERFECTION AND THE IDEAL OF LIFE.

It has already been pointed out³⁶⁷ that the highest end of an order is the fulfilling of the commandment of the love of God and of neighbor. But this end also belongs to the Christian who is not a member of a religious order. The monastery and the world alike are bound by the commandment: Love God above all things and thy neighbor as thyself. All have to ascend the mountain of the Lord, all pursue a *like* direction, have the *same* aim. There is only this difference. Some go a longer way, or a slower, others seek a shorter way or strike out more vigorously, even running. Some seek easier pathways, others a rougher one.

Luther's thoughts, before his apostasy and warfare against the Church, were not unlike these, as we have seen above. But afterwards he swore destruction to the orders and their vows. Naturally he then had to have recourse to new tactics. His declarations on this score are henceforward inspired only by hatred towards the Church.

He intentionally omits any further setting forth *what* perfection is, according to Catholic teaching, of what the ideal of life common to all consists, or that all, according to Catholic teaching, should strive after perfection, though not all are in the *state* of perfection. He never again distinguishes between the *state* of perfection and *perfection* itself, thereby seeking to beget the view that, according to Catholic teaching, to live in the state of perfection is identical with being perfect. Hence he writes: "The monks divide Christian life into the state of perfection and that of imperfection; to the common herd they assign the state of imperfection, but to themselves that of perfection."³⁶⁸ That this division is an invention of Luther's will be seen below. Be it enough here to observe that Luther wishes to be understood in this wise: the monks assign perfection to them-

³⁶⁷ See above, p. 74.

³⁶⁸ Weim. VIII, 584, 23. See below, chap. IX.

selves; to the crowd, the people, imperfection, or, as he writes about the same time: "*The Gospel, according to them, is not common to all, but is divided into counsels and commandments. The monk keeps the counsels, not merely³⁶⁹ the commandments; these are given to the rest of the crowd.*"³⁷⁰

This we have already heard him say. But he goes still farther. The monks and nuns had abandoned the way of salvation which God had indicated in the secular callings with their cares and straits; but these they held as works too contemptible and sought apparently more difficult ones. "But they thereby at once fell from the faith and become disobedient to God." So also "the Pope abandoned the way of salvation, faith in Christ, and chose another way instead, the sacrifice of the Mass, *vows*, and the like."³⁷¹ The religious believed they had a higher way than Christ, since God would be propitiated by *their* works. What further need did they have of the Blood of Christ?³⁷² The monks also set the counsels above the commandments.³⁷³

First of all, then, let us take a cursory glance at the time before Thomas Aquinas and before the period nearest to Luther, to learn wherein up to then the doctors saw perfection and whether Luther has any hold upon them.

It was a Catholic principle known from the remotest antiquity that perfection was accessible not only to monks but to all, and that it is binding *upon all*. St. John Chrysostom (407) discursively develops the truth that both the monk and the layman should attain the same height (κορυφήν)

³⁶⁹ "Non tantum," i.e. in the Lutheran sense, he keeps, *instead* of the commandments, something higher, namely, the counsels.

³⁷⁰ Ibid. p. 580, 22.

³⁷¹ Opp. exeg. IV, 109: "Papa cum suis huic tentationi (that every one live according to his calling and not be curious about another) succubuit. Habuit propositam salutis viam, fidem in Christum; eam deseruit, et delegit sibi alias vias, sacrificium missae, vota et similia. * * * Hanc certam pietatis viam deseruerunt monachi et nonnae seu monachae; judicabant enim nimis exilia esse opera, et quaerebant alia in specie graviora; ita simul et a fide discesserunt et Deo sunt facti inobedientes."

³⁷² Enders, IV, 224, for 1523. Cf. In Gal. I, 257, and above p. 71.

³⁷³ Weim. VIII, 585, 3: "Error et insignis ignorantia est, statum perfectionis metiri consiliis, et non praeceptis. Non enim, ut ipsi fingunt, consilia sunt supra praecepta."

for those in the world, who were not so free as religious, the task was only the greater.³⁷⁴ The Synod of Aachen in 816 says expressly that seculars need not indeed forsake the world according to the body, as do the monks, and follow the poor Christ, but they must do so in spirit. Monks and seculars were obliged to go the strait way and to enter the narrow gate into life, for this did the Savior say to all Christians. All were obliged constantly to keep in view the covenant which we made with God in baptism, when we renounced Satan, his pomp, and his works. We all have the same end, although it is reached by divers ways.³⁷⁵ Evangelical perfection, writes Rupert von Deutz (1135), is possessed not only by monks but by many others, wherefore the former may not become puffed up.³⁷⁶

This doctrine is based on the exhortation of Christ Himself, who says to all: "Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect."³⁷⁷ All humans, be they noble or not, rich or poor, learned or idiots, old or young, men or women, should let this word be told them.³⁷⁸ One might go through almost the entire literature of that time and come to no other result. In works for religious, e.g., those of St. Peter Damian, there are indeed, *by way of exception*, some expressions that can lend themselves to an interpretation in the misused sense, but the universal Christian teaching is the rule.

But in what does perfection consist according to the latter and in general according to the old view? The exposition of Cassian (about 435) became a classic. He teaches that "*perfection* is not given at once with the stripping of one's self, or the renunciation of all temporal goods, or with the giving up of all honors, if there be not present at the same time *love*, which the Apostle describes (I Cor. xiii, 4 sqq.) and which consists in purity of heart." What can be

³⁷⁴ Adv. oppugnatores vitae monasticae, l. 3, n. 14. 15. Migne, Patr. gr. t. 47, p. 373 sqq.

³⁷⁵ Concil. General. ed. *Mansi* t. XIV, p. 227, c. 114 with splendid passages from the Gospel and the Epistles.

³⁷⁶ De Vita vera apostol., l. 2. c. 1, Migne, Patr. 1, t. 170, p. 621.

³⁷⁷ Mark, 13, 37.

³⁷⁸ S. Jacobi *Alvarez de Paz*, De perfectione vitae spiritualis, l. 3, p. 1, c. 3.

the purport of all the characteristics of charity enumerated by Paul, except "constantly to offer a perfect, wholly pure heart to God and to keep it untouched by all disturbances?"³⁷⁹ Consequently, continues Cassian, all monastic exercises are only instruments of perfection, but this consists in *charity*. Useless are the pains of him who puts the aim of his life in the exercises, i.e., in the means and instruments, and not in purity of heart, i.e., charity.³⁸⁰

On this there is but *one* voice. The rule of St. Augustine, as has already been remarked,³⁸¹ set forth the content of the ideal of life, the command of the love of God and of neighbor, in the very words with which it begins, so that the brethren, in their exercises, might never lose sight of it. St. Benedict, the father of the monks of the West, calls the religious life in the prologue of his rule, a "*school of divine service*."³⁸² He begins the fourth chapter, "*Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum operum*"—"Which are the instruments of good works?"—with the exhortation, "above all to love God with all one's heart, with all one's soul, and with all one's strength and one's neighbor as one's self." Hence the further exhortation, "to prefer nothing to the *love* of Christ; daily to fulfill the *commandments of God* in deeds."³⁸³ And in the last chapter but one, St. Benedict again calls upon the monks "to prefer absolutely nothing to Christ."³⁸⁴ Everything else, as the commandments, all exercise of virtue, even poverty, chastity, and obedience are subordinated by him to the com-

³⁷⁹ Conlat. Patr. I, c. 6 (Corp. Scrip. eccl. lat., t. XIII, p. 12 sq.

³⁸⁰ Ibid. c. 7, p. 13: "*Ieiunia, vigiliae, anachoresis, meditatio scripturarum, propter principalem scopon, i.e. puritatem cordis, quod est caritas, nos convenit exercere et non propter illa principalem hanc perturbare virtutem. * * * Igitur ieiunia, vigiliae, meditatio scripturam, nuditas ac privatio omnium facultatum non perfectio, sed perfectionis instrumenta sunt, quia non in ipsis consistit disciplinae illius finis, sed per illa pervenitur ad finem. Incassum igitur haec exercitia molietur, quisquis his velut summo bono contentus intentionem sui cordis hucusque defixerit et non ad capiendum finem, propter quem haec adpetenda sunt, omne studium virtutis extenderit, habens quidem disciplinae illius instrumenta, finem vero, in quo omnis fructus consistit, ignorans.*"

³⁸¹ See above, chap. V, p. 74.

³⁸² "*Divini scola servitil.*"

³⁸³ Reg. (Migne, Patr. l., t. 66, p. 295, n. 1. 21. 62).

³⁸⁴ C. 72: "*Christo omnino nihil praeponant*" (ibid. p. 928).

mandment of the love of God and of neighbor; for everything must stand in the service thereof, not only in members of the religious orders, but in every one. To correspond more perfectly with the contents of the exhortations quoted, there can only be question of choosing the appropriate means. Therefore does he also call the different rules "*instrumenta virtutum*"—the instruments of the virtues.

It is in this sense that St. Bernard (1153), at the close of his sermon³⁸⁵ on the words of the Psalmist (Ps. 23, 3): "Who shall ascend into the mountain of the Lord," which all must climb, calls upon the brethren of his order: "Come, Brethren, let us ascend the mountain; and if the way seems steep and hard to us, let us free, let us unburden ourselves; if strait, let us strip ourselves of everything; if long, let us but hasten the more; if laborious, let us say:³⁸⁶ 'Draw me, we will run after thee in the odor of thy ointments.'"³⁸⁷ To unburden, free, and strip one's self are fit *means* the better to reach the *end*, which is no other than "to love God without measure."³⁸⁸

Look up any doctor of that time who has written on this subject and we shall hear it from him that perfection consists in the love of God and of neighbor,³⁸⁹ and that by it one attains to likeness with God. This love is the mark of perfection and the greatest of the goods that all can have; holiness is very *diverse*, but it is never without the Blood of Christ.³⁹⁰

As a matter of fact, this diversity moved St. Augustine in his day to go to the servant of God, Simplician, to learn from him how in future he might most fittingly walk the way of

³⁸⁵ C. 73 (*ibid.* p. 930).

³⁸⁶ Cant. 1, 3.

³⁸⁷ Sermo de diversis 34, n. 9.

³⁸⁸ De diligendo Deo, c. 6 (Migne, Patr. l., t. 182, p. 983).

³⁸⁹ E.g. Bruno of Asti, Abbot of Montecassino (1123), Migne, Patr. l., t. 164, p. 515. Richard of St. Vicar (1173), Migne, etc., t. 196, p. 471.

³⁹⁰ Cf. Ruppert von Deutz, in Migne, t. 170, p. 313; t. 169, p. 867; t. 168, p. 1366.

God, upon which he saw some moving in one manner, others in another.³⁹¹

This diversity in the striving after the *one* end, to reach perfection, holiness, is especially brought to light in two saintly contemporaneous widows of the close of the period with which we are presently occupied. St. Elizabeth of Thuringia desired to enter a monastery and to follow the poor Christ, even by the renunciation of her inheritance, from which she was hindered only by her spiritual guide, Konrad von Marburg. St. Hedwig, on the other hand, though she wore the gray habit, was not to be moved, spite of the persuasion of her daughter, the Abbess Gertrude, to take membership as a nun in the community of the order. "Knowest thou not, my child," she said, "how meritorious it is to give alms?"³⁹² Both Elizabeth and Hedwig, strove after the perfection of the love of God. This was their ideal of life, but both sought to attain it in a different way. In the *chief respect*, however, in their interior, complete self-oblation to God, they were both at one.

In this period there is no ground found for Luther's utterances and charges cited above. Anyway it was more the succeeding time that he had in his mind's eye. Let us therefore pass over to it and be the more occupied with its investigation.

CHAPTER VIII.

DOCTRINE OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS AND OTHERS DOWN TO LUTHER ON THE IDEAL OF LIFE AND ON THE COUNSELS.

A. FROM THOMAS AQUINAS TO THE GERMAN MYSTICS.

Let us now turn to the great doctor of the middle ages, Thomas Aquinas, who as late as the fourteenth century was

³⁹¹ Confess. 1. 8, n. 1. 2. After setting forth his then inner agitations and after mentioning that he desired to go to the servant of God, Simplician, Augustine declares the reason: "Unde mihi ut proferret volebam conferenti secum aestus meos, quis esset aptus modus sic affecto, ut ego eram, ad ambulandum in via tua (i.e., Dei). Videbam enim plenam ecclesiam, et alius sic ibat, alius autem sic."

³⁹² E. Michael, "Gesch. des deutschen Volkes vom dreizehnten Jahrh. bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters, II (1899), p. 219, 231 sq.

here and there called the "doctor communis," the universal doctor, by Luther's fellow religious,³⁹³ and who, on the acknowledgement of Protestants themselves, faithfully renders the forms of Church teaching, always ready to accept the traditional as such.³⁹⁴ Further, as it was the wont in the Franciscan Order more than half a hundred years before Luther's appearance largely to go back to St. Thomas in respect to the doctrine on grace, so also in respect to the teaching on the religious life. St. Thomas' doctrine appeared alongside that of St. Bonaventure, and both were referred to in preference to others.³⁹⁵

Now what does St. Thomas teach? Does he set up a different idea of perfection from that of his predecessors? Does the observance of the vows mean a higher form of Christianity to him, so that the three evangelical counsels, to the keeping of which one binds himself by vows, stand without distinction *above* the commandments? Let us see.

As in general, according to Church teaching, so also according to St. Thomas, the highest ideal of Christian life consists in the attainment of man's supernatural end, namely, eternal happiness, or, what amounts to the same thing, God as He is in Himself. Our ideal of life and our perfection can therefore consist only in that which unites us to God even here on earth, and that is *charity* alone.³⁹⁶ Therefore did God set up the commandment of the love of God and of neighbor as the first and the highest commandment, to which

³⁹³ Cf. Thomas v. Strasburg, "in 2. Sent., dist. 9, a. 3; dist. 12, a. 4; dist. 14, a. 2; dist. 18, a. 4; dist. 25, a. 1; 3 Sent. dist. 14, a. 4, etc.

³⁹⁴ R. Seeberg, "Die Theologie des Duns Scotus," p. 642.

³⁹⁵ It was the Observantines who brought about this turn of things; as, e. g. in "Monumenta Ordinis Minorum" (not to be taken for the counter work: "Firmamenta trium Ordinum"), in Salamantina 1511, Tract. 2, fol. 118 sq. (Serena conscientia), the Summa of St. Thomas is adduced as the first authority on the doctrine of the religious life.

³⁹⁶ The ultimate perfection of every one consists in the attainment of the end, and that is God; "Charitas autem est, quae unit nos Deo," 2. 2. qu. 184, a. 1.

all others are subordinated and in which all are fulfilled.³⁹⁷ The chief business of Christian life can therefore lie only in the striving after the perfection of charity.³⁹⁸ "The law of Divine love ought to be the rule of all human acts."³⁹⁹

Now what is the nature of the counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience, to whose observance the religious freely binds himself by everlasting vows? Did God possibly, according to St. Thomas, set gradations, higher and lower degrees, in the ideal of life? Did He make the love of God and of neighbor a duty only up to a certain degree, so that what lies beyond this limitation, namely, the higher degree of love, is only a matter of counsel? Not at all. The *perfection* of love, says St. Thomas, is given to man as a commandment. All are obliged to it by the necessity of the precept,⁴⁰⁰ that is, they must love God above all things and as much as they can. That proceeds, he says in his ripe manhood, from the form of the commandment: Thou shalt love God with *all* thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself. In the Christian ideal of life, in the end, there can be no measure, no more nor less, but only in the means to the end.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁷ Comment. ad Gal., c. 5, lect. 3: "Omnia (praecepta) in uno praecepto charitatis implentur." Cf. also 2. 2., qu. 189, a. 1 ad 5. This doctrine is based on that of St. Paul, which St. Thomas frequently cites, e. g. De perfect. vitae spirit. c. 12: *Finis cuiuslibet praecepti est charitas, ut dicit apostolus 1 Tim. 1, 5.* Gregory the Great also writes: "Omne mandatum de sola dilectione est, et omnia unum praeceptum sunt: quia, quidquid praecipitur, in sola charitate solidatur." Homil. 27 in Evang., n. 1.

³⁹⁸ Thus St. Paul, Coloss. 3, 14: "*Above all things* have charity, which is the bond of perfection"; Rom. 13, 10: "Love is the fulfilling of the law."

³⁹⁹ Opusc. VIII., De duobus praeceptis charitatis et decem praeceptis: "*Lex divini amoris debet esse regula omnium actuum humanorum.*"

⁴⁰⁰ De perfectione vitae spirit., c. 5: "Divinae dilectionis perfectio datur homini in praecepto * * * Hic est tertius perfectae dilectionis divinae modus (scil. in statu huius vitae), ad quem omnes ex necessitate praecepti obligantur." 2. 2. qu. 183, a. 2 ad 2: "Diligere deum ex toto corde omnes tenentur."

⁴⁰¹ 2. 2. qu. 184, a. 3: "Non autem dilectio dei et proximi cadit sub praecepto secundum aliquam mensuram, ita quod id, quod est plus, sub consilio remaneat, ut patet ex ipsa forma praecepti, quae perfectionem demonstrat, ut cum dicitur: *Diliges dominum deum tuum ex toto corde tuo*; totum enim et perfectum idem sunt * * * et cum dicitur: *Diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum*, unusquisque enim seipsum maxime diligit. Et hoc ideo est, quia *finis praecepti charitas est*, ut apostolus dicit 1 ad Timoth. 1. In fine autem non adhibetur aliqua mensura, sed solum in his quae sunt ad

This had been the declared teaching of St. Thomas even in the days of his youthful mastership, however much to several other things he later found occasion to give more exact expression. "One must judge one way in respect to the end," he says, "and another in respect to the means. With regard to the latter, there is measure; not so with regard to the end itself. Every one attains it as best he may. *The commandment of the love of God, which is the end of the Christian life, is confined within no limits*, as if a certain measure fell under the commandment, but a greater love came under the counsel as an achievement transcending the bounds of the commandment. *Each and every one* is commanded to love God as best he can, and this is evident from the form of the commandment, 'thou shalt,' etc. Each and every one *fulfills* it according to his capacity, one more perfectly, another less perfectly," and so on.⁴⁰² Therefore all have the same ideal of life, the perfection of Divine love. There is a difference only in the striving thereafter and in its attainment. But how? The difference consists in this, that the one removes only the hindrances which are in opposition to charity itself, that is, with which charity cannot coexist—the remaining commandments apart from that of the love of God and of neighbor are an aid to this;⁴⁰³ the other at the same time removes such hindrances as stand in the way of the freer and easier practical realization of charity.⁴⁰⁴

It is in the latter case, in the facilitation of the activity of charity, that the counsels serve their purpose, and the re-

finem * * * sicut medicus non adhibet mensuram, quantum sanet, sed quanta medicina vel diaeta utatur ad sanandum. Et sic patet, quod perfectio essentialiter consistit in praeceptis."

⁴⁰² Contra retrahent. a relig. ingressu, c. 6. See below in this chapter, on Gerson.

⁴⁰³ 2. 2. qu. 184, a. 3: "Praecepta alia a praeceptis charitatis ordinantur ad removendum ea quae sunt charitati contraria, cum quibus scil. charitas esse non potest."

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.: "Consilia ordinantur ad removendum impedimenta actus charitatis, quae tamen charitati non contrariantur, sicut est matrimonium, occupatio negotiorum saecularium et alia huiusmodi."

ligious freely binds himself⁴⁰⁵ to their observance, that his whole heart may be directed towards God. To this extent is the religious state a *school* of perfection.⁴⁰⁶ By the vow of poverty, the religious removes the covetous desire of temporal good. By the vow of chastity, he removes the lust for sensual delights, among which sexual pleasure stands first. By the vow of obedience, he removes irregularity in the inclinations of his will. By these means is his heart also calmed, and at the same time he offers God an all-embracing sacrifice, since he gives to God all that he has, all that he is according to the body, and his own soul.⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁵ For that, as St. Thomas teaches, is just the difference between counsel and commandment—the commandments must necessarily be kept whilst the observance of the counsels is left to the free discretion of each one. The former are indispensably necessary to the attainment of our last end, the latter serve for its better and easier attainment. 1. 2. qu. 108, a. 4. Very well does Mausbach say: "Commandment and counsel do not form separate fields; in the fulfilling of the counsel, there is also, *at the same time*, the fulfilling of the commandment, since charity feels itself obliged to sacrifice everything, both great and small, to God." "Die Kathol. Moral, etc., p. 116.

⁴⁰⁶ "Disciplina vel exercitium ad perfectionem perveniendi." 2. 2. qu. 186, a. 2, 3, 5, etc. Cf. next note.

⁴⁰⁷ 2. 2. qu. 186, a. 7: "Respondeo dicendum, quod religionis status * * * est uno modo * * *, quoddam exercitium tendendi in perfectionem charitatis; alio modo * * * quietat animum humanum ab exterioribus sollicitudinibus * * *; tertio modo * * * est quoddam holocaustum, per quod aliquis totaliter se et sua offert deo. * * * Quantum ad exercitium perfectionis, requiritur, quod aliquis a se removeat illa per quae posset impediri, ne totaliter eius affectus tendat in deum, in quo consistit perfectio charitatis. Huiusmodi autem sunt tria; primum quidem cupiditas exteriorum bonorum, quae tollitur per votum paupertatis; secundum autem est concupiscentia sensibilibus delectationum, inter quas praecellunt delectationes venereae, quae excluduntur per votum continentiae; tertium autem est inordinatio voluntatis humanae, quae excluditur per votum obedientiae. Similiter autem sollicitudinis saecularis inquietudo praecipue ingeritur homini circa tria; primo quidem circa dispensationem exteriorum rerum, et haec sollicitudo per votum paupertatis homini aufertur, secundo circa gubernationem uxoris et filiorum, quae amputatur per votum continentiae; tertio circa dispositionem propriorum actuum, quae amputatur per votum obedientiae, quo aliquis se alterius dispositioni committit. Similiter etiam holocaustum est, cum aliquis totum, quod habet, offert deo * * * primo quidem exteriorum rerum, quas quidem totaliter aliquis deo offert per votum voluntariae paupertatis; secundo autem bonum proprii corporis, quod aliquis praecipue offert deo per votum continentiae, quo abrenuntiat maximis delectationibus corporis; tertium autem bonum est animae, quod aliquis totaliter deo offert per

The counsels therefore do not establish a new ideal of life. They are not achievements that reach out beyond God's universal law. On the contrary, they are precisely *subordinated* to the universal law, the commandment of charity.⁴⁰⁸ They are an aid to its better and more perfect fulfilment. They stand in the *service of the commandments*, insofar as these demand interior acts of the virtues, which all together aim at purity of spirit and the love of God and of neighbor. But insofar as the commandments have a bearing upon external acts, the counsels are also concerned with them, *but not as with their end*.⁴⁰⁹

This was but half understood by Luther. We have already seen⁴¹⁰ how, as late as 1519, he expressed himself to the effect that the commandments, without distinguishing them, are the end of the counsels. The former rank higher; the latter are only certain means to the easier fulfillment of the commandments. A virgin etc. more easily fulfills the commandment, "Thou shalt not covet," than one married.⁴¹¹ Correct! But does that exhaust and determine the whole matter? The counsels do indeed help to fulfill the commandments better. Whoso undertakes to observe continency and poverty on Christ's account, puts himself at a far greater

obedientiam, qua aliquis offert deo propriam voluntatem, per quam homo utitur omnibus potentiis et habitibus animae. Et ideo convenienter ex tribus votis status religionis integratur." Cf. 2. 2. qu. 44, a. 4 ad 3.

⁴⁰⁸ 2. 2. qu. 186, a. 7, ad 1: "Votum religionis ordinatur sicut in finem ad perfectionem charitatis."

⁴⁰⁹ Quol. IV, a. 24, where Thomas develops: "quod consilia ordinantur sicut ad finem ad praecepta, prout sunt de interioribus actibus virtutum; sed ad praecepta, secundum quod sunt de exterioribus actibus (puta, non occides, non furtum facies, etc.) ordinantur ad praecepta non ut ad finem;" But the observance of the counsels has the effect that the commandments "tutius et firmitus observantur." Likewise ad 2. Here and there he refers to Cassian, cited above.

⁴¹⁰ P. 42.

⁴¹¹ Enders II, 40; Weim, II, 644: " * * * non ergo distinctio est inter consilium et praeceptum, quod consilium plus quam praeceptum sit—sic enim errant et nugantur theologi—, sed quod sunt media commodiora ad praeceptum (implendum): facilius enim continet, qui viduus aut virgo est, separatus a sexu, quam copulatus cum sexu, qui concupiscentiae aliquid cedit," and "consilia sunt quaedam viae et compendia facilius et felicius implendi mandati Dei."

distance from adultery and theft.⁴¹² But the counsels do not therefore bear a relation to the commandments as to their end, for no one observes and keeps virginity to avoid adultery, or poverty to abstain from theft, *but to make progress in the love of God.*⁴¹³ It is only as a consequence, then, that the remaining commandments are rendered easier of fulfillment by the counsels. Since the latter remove the hindrances to *perfect* love, it follows that the occasions of such sin as *fully destroys charity* are thereby the more cut off.⁴¹⁴ It was precisely this distinction and the proper end of the counsels that Luther had then already overlooked. He was too little grounded in theology.

The counsels, therefore, according to Thomas, have only a relative value. They are a relative means to the fulfillment as perfect as possible of the commandment of charity, which is given to all. In this sense, the counsels are *instruments* of perfection,⁴¹⁵ and the religious state itself is a *state of perfection*; not that, on entering it, one binds himself to be perfect, but because one binds one's self for always to strive after the perfection of charity.⁴¹⁶ This is wholly within the

⁴¹² Thomas Contra retrah. a relig. ingressu, c. 6: Qui continentiam aut paupertatem servare proposuit propter Christum, longius ab adulterio et furto recessit." Expos. in ep. ad Rom. c. 4 lect. 4: "* * * addit Christus quaedam consilia, per quae praecepta moralia tutius et firmitus conservantur."

⁴¹³ Thomas Contra retrah. etc., l. c.: "Consiliorum observatio ad aliorum observantiam praeceptorum ordinatur; non tamen ordinatur ad ea sicut ad finem, non enim aliquis virginitatem servat, ut adulterium vitet, vel paupertatem, ut a furto desistat, sed ut in dilectione Dei proficiat. Majora enim non ordinantur ad minora sicut ad finem." Cf. also Quol. IV, a. 24.

⁴¹⁴ 2. 2. qu. 186, a. 1, ad 4: "Religionis status principaliter est institutus ad perfectionem adipiscendam per quaedam exercitia, quibus tolluntur impedimenta perfectae charitatis. Sublatis autem impedimentis perfectae charitatis, multo magis exciduntur occasiones peccati, per quod totaliter tollitur charitas."

⁴¹⁵ Perfection exists in the counsels only "instrumentally," (instrumentaliter), i.e., they are certain instruments by which perfection is attained. "Quod." iv, a. 24, ad 2 (See exhaustive treatment of the question in Jac. Alvarez de Paz, "De perfectione vitae Spirit," 1, 3, parte I, c. 5).

⁴¹⁶ 2. 2. qu. 184, a. 3 ad 1: "Ex ipso modo loquendi apparet, quod consilia sunt quaedam instrumenta perveniendi ad perfectionem." Ibid. a. 5, ad 2: "Dicendum, quod homines statum perfectionis assumunt non quasi profitentes seipsos perfectos esse, sed *profitentes se ad perfectionem tendere* * * * Unde non committit aliquis mendacium vel simulationem ex eo, quod non ex perfectus, qui statum perfectionis assumit, sed ex eo quod ab *intentione*

meaning of St. Bernard, who writes: "The tireless striving to make progress and the constant struggle for perfection is deemed perfection."⁴¹⁷ Now just as the counsels are not necessary to the fulfillment of the commandment of divine love,⁴¹⁸ it can also occur that one who has taken the obligation of the counsels to strive after the perfection of charity does not remain true to his obligation, whilst seculars without the assumed obligation are perfect and are able to do that to which the unfaithful pledged themselves.⁴¹⁹ "For, to be perfect and to be in a state of perfection are two different things. There are those who live in the state of perfection but are not perfect, and there are those who are perfect without being in the state of perfection."⁴²⁰ The one who takes the three vows upon himself is not the more perfect, but the one who possesses the greatest charity. It is the measure of this that determines the measure of perfection in the religious and in secular life as well.⁴²¹

If, then, the religious state is called a state of perfection, this does not happen as if the religious had a higher ideal of life than the ordinary Christian (there is nothing higher than love for God), or as if perfection consisted of the three counsels, and as if the one pledging himself to them is at

perfectionis animus relinquit." 1, 2., qu. 108, a. 4: *Consilia oportet esse de his, per quae melius et expeditius potest homo consequi finem praedictum.*" 2. 2. qu. 188, a. 7: "*Religio ad perfectionem charitatis ordinatur.*" *De perfect. vit. spirit.*, c. 17: "*Si quis totam vitam suam voto deo obligavit, ut in operibus perfectionis ei deserviat, jam simpliciter conditionem vel statum perfectionis assumpsit.*" 2. 2. qu. 186, a. 1 ad 3: "*Religio nominat statum perfectionis ex intentione finis.*" See p. 159, note 422.

⁴¹⁷ Ep. 254, n. 3. See in this chapter, Charles Fernand.

⁴¹⁸ 2. 2., qu. 189, a. 1 ad 5: "*Praecepta charitatis, ad quae consilia ordinantur, non ita quod sine consiliis praecepta servari non possint, sed ut per consilia perfectius observentur*" * * * *Observantia praeceptorum potest esse sine consiliis.*"

⁴¹⁹ *Ibid.*, qu. 184, a. 4: "*In statu perfectionis proprie dicitur aliquis esse non ex hoc, quod habet actum dilectionis perfectae, sed ex hoc, quod obligat se perpetuo cum aliqua solemnitate ad ea, quae sunt perfectionis. Contingit etiam, quod aliqui se obligant ad id quod non servant, et aliqui impleant ad quod se non obligaverunt.*" And *De perfect. vitae spirit.*, c. 17, he writes: "*Unde patet quosdam perfectos quidem esse, qui tamen perfectionis statum non habent, aliquos vero perfectionis statum habere, sed perfectos non esse.*"

⁴²⁰ Quol. III. a. 17.

⁴²¹ Cf. *Quaestio de charitate*, a. 11, ad 5.

once perfect (the counsels only remove what can hinder the perfection of love), but it is because, in an order, one binds himself perpetually to means (which are precisely the counsels), by which one can attain an ideal of life as perfect as possible.⁴²² (This ideal includes) different pathways and one objective point (or end).⁴²³

Since the counsels are only means of removing the hindrances which stand in the way of the free activity of charity, they, as such and at the same time as its effects, *presuppose* charity, therefore also faith and justification. Even Luther still admitted this shortly before the composition of his work on the vows, all the more so earlier, when he wrote: "St. Bernard and all those who were happy religious, did not vow to be just and to be saved by this manner of life, but that, already justified by faith, they might live with a free spirit in those vows," etc.⁴²⁴ This is correct in the sense that, by the vows, one does not become a Christian or a believer, a thing that certainly no one ever taught in the Catholic Church. Luther soon after spoke quite differently, as we have seen above.⁴²⁵

But did not St. Thomas set entering an order, putting on the religious habit, and profession in the same category with baptism? According to him, therefore, have not the vows a

⁴²² 2. 2. qu. 185, a. 1 ad 2: "Ad statum religionis *non praeexigitur* perfectio, sed est *via in perfectionem*." Contra retrahentia a religionis ingressu, c. 6: "Consilia ad vitae perfectionem pertinent, non quia in eis principaliter consistat perfectio, sed quia sunt *via quaedam vel instrumenta* ad perfectionem caritatis habendam;" 2. 2. qu. 186, a. 1, ad 4: "Religionis status est principaliter institutus ad perfectionem *adipiscendam*." Hence was the religious state named "*status perfectionis acquirendae*." See below on Henry of Ghent.

⁴²³ A brief concise exposition of the doctrine of St. Thomas on the counsels and the orders is given by Abert, "Das Wesen des Christentums nach Thomas v. Aquin" (Würzburg 1901), p. 16 sq. and by Mausbach, "Die Katholische Moral, ihre Methoden, Grundsätze und Aufgaben" (Köln 1901), p. 133 sqq. But the whole question is treated in a special work by Barthier, "De la perfection chrétienne et de la perfection religieuse d'après St. Thomas d'Aquin et St. François de Sales" (2 vol. Paris, 1902). No understanding of the subject is shown by K. Thieme in "Real-Encykl. f. protest. Theol. und Kirche," 3 ed., IV, 275.

⁴²⁴ Themata de votis, n. 78-72 (Weim. VIII, 326 sq.). In general he says this before, from 1519 on. See above, p. 41.

⁴²⁵ See above, Chapter VI.

justifying, sin-forgiving power? It is this that, as we shall hear more fully below, is constantly charged against the holy doctor and the monks generally by Luther and Melancthon. Not only that, but they trace back the doctrine on the so-called "*monastic baptism*," in *their* sense, to St. Thomas himself, as the first who spoke of it. Not to break the thread of the present account, I shall set up an investigation farther below, apropos of the discussion on "*monastic baptism*," and now hasten on to the succeeding doctors of Catholic teaching.

The preceptor of St. Thomas Aquinas, Albert the Great, wrote his treatise "*De adhaerendo Deo*," after the death of his great disciple. He begins it with the words: "The end of Christian perfection is charity, by means of which one is attached to God. And to this attachment by means of charity, every one, if he desires to attain salvation, is in duty bound. It is effected by keeping the *commandments* and by union with the will of God. Thus is everything excluded that is contrary to the *essence* and the habit of charity, namely mortal sin." Religious, he continues, pledge themselves besides to the *counsels*, the more easily to attain the end; for, obeying them, they shut out that which hinders the *act* and the *ardor* of love.⁴²⁶ As we see, Albert the Great moves wholly along the line of thought of his disciple, and there is no need of its further analysis. Let us therefore pass on to contemporary Franciscans.

St. Bonaventure teaches that all the commandments, and the counsels as well are referred to the fulfillment and observance of charity, as described by St. Paul. The vow of religion places one in the state of perfection, as *assisting* in the exercise of perfect charity, and in its maintenance and full realization.⁴²⁷ The religious life is a better life⁴²⁸ on ac-

⁴²⁶ *De adhaerendo Deo*, c. 1 (In opp. XXXVII, p. 523, ed. Paris, 1898). On this see extensive account in E. Michael, "Gesch. des deutsch. Volkes," III, 144, 247.

⁴²⁷ *Apol. pauperum* c. 3 n. 3: "Omnia tam praecepta quam consilia referuntur ad caritatis impletionem et observantiam, quam describit Apostolus 1, ad Timoth. 1, 5: Caritas est finis praecepti * * *"; n. 14: "Religionis votum in statum perfectionis collocat, tamquam *adminiculans* ad perfectae virtutis exercitium, custoditionem et complementum" (Opp. ed. Quaracchi, VIII, 245, 248).

⁴²⁸ *Dec. Grat. C. Cleric. c. 19. qu. 1*: "*melior vita*".

count of its more appropriate means to the end, which conduce to greater assimilation to Christ, wherein precisely the perfection of the way (to eternal life) consists. Nothing makes one more like Christ than the observance of the vows of continency, poverty, and obedience.⁴²⁰

The older contemporary and fellow-religious, David von Augsburg, dedicated his "Formula novitiorum" to Berthold von Regensburg, when neither Thomas nor Bonaventure had given out a work. This book forms the first part of his large work, "De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione septuplicem statum libri tres,"⁴³⁰ whose purpose it was to train the true Franciscan and the true religious generally. The immense number of manuscript copies⁴³¹ proves that the work was in universal use.

Now what ideal is set up to view by David for the novice in the religious life? He immediately begins the first chapter with, "Wherefore didst thou enter the order?" "Perhaps not solely *on account of God*, in order that He (according to Gen. 15, 1) may be the reward of thy labor in eternity? Thou camest *for the service of God*, whom each of His creatures must serve." After enumerating the natural and supernatural benefits received from God and binding *man* to serve God more than the rest of His creatures are capable of doing, he concludes: "Behold how much we are bound to serve God more than all other creatures, and *to love Him above all things* Who has loved us above all creatures."⁴³²

⁴²⁰ 4. Sent., dist. 38, a. 2. qu. 3: "Perfectio consistit in assimilatione ad Christum maxime, sicut dicit August. in libro de vera rel. (c. 16, n. 30; c. 41, n. 78); et quia in nullo tantum assimilatur homo Christo, sicut in his (in triplici voto scil. continentiae, paupertatis et obedientiae)" etc. Cf. Apol. paup., c. 3, n. 4.

⁴³⁰ Castigati et denuo editi a. PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae. Quaracchi 1899. On this celebrated doctor and for more extended account, see Michael, loc. cit. p. 133 sqq.

⁴³¹ In the edition mentioned, p. XX-XXXIV, no less than 370 manuscripts, still existing in different European libraries, are described.

⁴³² Ibid., p. 3 sq.: "Primo semper debes considerare, ad quid veneris ad Religionem, et *propter quid veneris*. Propter quid enim venisti? Nonne solummodo propter Deum, ut ipse fieret merces laboris tui in vita aeterna? Sicut ergo propter nullum alium venisti, ita propter nullum alium debes omittere bonum nec exemplo alicuius tepescere, quin studeas *ad id, ad quod venisti*. Venisti enim ad servitutem dei, cui servire debet omnis creatura ipsius, quia

There is, then, but *one* ideal of life, the love of God. But what about the counsels? According to David, their observance does not transcend the fulfillment of the commandment of the love of God and of neighbor. For it is just his love for God that impels the good religious the more zealously to seek all that belongs to God. The counsels serve him so that, with more exact imitation of Christ, he may follow the teacher of all justice.⁴³³

It may be assumed as a matter of course that, in their "Quolibeta," the opponents of the mendicant orders in the second half of the XIII century, the secular clergy and the professors of the University of Paris, Godfrey de Fontaines and Henry of Ghent, put forth no exaggerated ideas respecting the relation of the counsels to the commandments and that to them the religious was not *the* Christian. Nevertheless they bear witness that this was not the view of the doctors of the religious orders. They determine the essence of the matter as does St. Thomas. To them also the counsels count only as more appropriate *instruments* for the attainment of the perfection of charity, which is only *one* and the same *for all*, according to which, therefore, no different states (of life) are to be distinguished.⁴³⁴

nihil habet nisi ab ipso; et ideo debes ei dare totum, quod es et quod scis et potes. Et si omnia serviunt creatori suo pro omni posse suo, multo magis homo tenetur ei servire, quem non solum creavit sicut cetera, sed insuper intellectu decoravit, libero arbitrio nobilitavit, mundi dominum constituit, sibi similem fecit, naturam eius assumsit, verbo et exemplo proprio eum instruxit, proprio sanguine suo de morte aeterna redemit, Spiritum sanctum ei infudit, carnem suam ei in cibum tradidit, curam eius habet sicut mater parvuli filii sui et aeternam hereditatem ei dare disposuit. Ecce, quantum nos tenemur servire Deo prae ceteris creaturis et diligere super omnia eum, qui nos prae omnibus creaturis amavit."

⁴³³ Ibid., p. 229: "Caritatis dei secundus gradus potest esse, cum homo voluntate pleniori et affectu ferventiori non solum communia contentus est praecepta servare * * * sed etiam *ad omnia quae dei sunt* studiosus est et voluntarius. * * * Hoc proprie est religiosorum bonorum, qui non solum praecepta dei, sed etiam consilia ipsius implere et ipsum specialiter imitando *sequi deliberant omnis iustitiae doctorum Dominum Jesum Christum.*" See also Michael, III, 137 sq.

⁴³⁴ Thus Godfrey de Fontaines in his "Quol." 12^{um} (Ms. Burghes. 121, fol. 140 in the Vatican Library): Quantum ad ea, quae per se et essentialiter ad perfectionem pertinent, non potest poni differentia inter status, nec unus alio perfectior est. Sed quia aliqua sunt *instrumentaliter et dispositive* facientia ad perfectionem, in quibus magna diversitas invenitur, ille status, potest

Godfrey's preceptor, Henry of Ghent, expresses himself very clearly on this subject. His fundamental idea is wholly that of St. Thomas. "A state" (of life), he writes, is one thing, "perfection" another, and "a state of perfection" still another. "State" (of life) dominates that manner of living in which one wishes to *remain* and to live his life, or even to which he *binds* himself. Appealing to the authority of St. Gregory, he sees "perfection" in *charity*. According to one's possession of it, one is more perfect or less perfect, for charity, according to the Apostle, is the bond of perfection, the form of the virtues. On the authority of Cassian he calls all the other works of virtue *instruments of perfection*. "State of perfection" does not mean the final perfection of a thing in its completion, but rather a constant, persevering manner of life, in which one can reach perfection as is possible here, or practice it, once it has been reached. Hence such a manner of life must necessarily be furnished with means to attain or to practice such perfection. Religious are constituted in the state of perfection to be attained ("*status perfectionis asquirendae*") ; bishops and, according to Henry, parochial priests, in the state of perfection to be practiced, ("*status perfectionis exercendae*"). We are not here concerned with the latter, but only with religious.

To the state of perfection to be acquired, continues the teaching of Henry of Ghent, some instruments for attaining perfection are *essential*, some *accidental*. The former are the three vows. All other instrumental means are accidental and differ in different orders. Of these non-essential instruments, some consist in the *removal* (in *negatione et amotione*) of that which prevents (*prohibet*) the attainment of perfection. Among these are classed fasting, solitude, etc. Others consist in the *establishment and maintenance* (in *positione et conservatione*) of that by which perfection is attained. These include prayer, contemplation, meditation of Holy

dicl perfectior quantum ad talia, qui includit huiusmodi *instrumenta magis congruentia* ad hoc, quod per ea melius in hiis in quibus perfectio per se consistit, possit se aliquis exercere et gradum perfectiorem attingere." These are precisely the orders instituted for the sake of following the counsels. See also below, Chapter 9, B.

Writ, and the like. Those instruments, however, which are essential to the state of perfection, consist only in the *removal* of the hindrance to the attainment of perfection, i. e., perfect charity. By the three vows, then, one renounces the threefold good which in any way can increase and foster cupidity and therefore diminish charity. Now if the previously mentioned instruments are accidental to the *state* of perfection, they are nevertheless essential for the *attainment of perfection*, for it is by fasting, prayer, contemplation, and so on, that the possession of perfection is wrought, (*agitur ut perfectio habeatur*).

From this, Henry draws the conclusion that there may be and are some very perfect who are not in the state of perfection, whilst in that same state there may be and are those who are very imperfect.⁴³⁵ For it is not the external means, but rather is it the degree of the love of God and of neighbor, the purity and strength of the inner disposition towards virtue, that determines the measure of essential perfection.⁴³⁶

But was there perhaps a tradition in the Augustinian Order of Hermits that the religious is the most perfect Christian? Quite the contrary! One of Luther's own German fellow-religious, Henry von Friemar, distinguishes, 1334, very clearly between the religious state and the hermit state. In the former, one *strives* after the attainment of perfection. It is a school of perfection, a "*status perfectionis acquirendae*." In the hermitical state, perfection should already be *possessed*, etc.⁴³⁷

⁴³⁵ Quol. VII, q. 28 (et Venetiis, 1613, I, 431^b sqq.). He also treats on subject in "Quol." II, qu. 14 (fol. 66). In "Quol." XII, qu. 29, he shows with reason that every lay person and not only a religious, is bound to the highest degree of charity, to be ready to suffer martyrdom for God and for His house; the obligation of the religious is greater, (not on the ground of his vows but because of his charity). Cf. also the next chapter.

⁴³⁶ See Mausbach, loc. cit. p. 114.

⁴³⁷ Tractatus de origine et progressu Ord. frat. Heremit. et vero ac proprio titulo eiusdem compilatus per frat. *Henricum de Alania*, sacre pagine professorem, pro directione simplicium non habentium plenam notitiam predictorum Ms. Virdun. n. 41, fol. 147: "*Licet status religionis communiter sit status perfectionis acquirende*, status tamen anachoritarum sicut et episcoporum est status perfectionis acquisite. Quod patet per hoc, quod ille status

B. THE GERMAN MYSTICS IN COMPARISON WITH LUTHER.

But perhaps Tauler, beyond all others Luther's favorite author, put forth a doctrine different from that of St. Thomas? Not in the least! He, too, recognizes no other ideal of life than the love of God. To it, all in baptism have pledged themselves by solemn oath. All laws of the orders aim more perfectly to attain this end. The founders of the orders never intended anything else. "Dear children," he preaches to some nuns, "this did we all vow to God and swear under oath, to love and to have all affection for God, when we first foreswore the world,⁴³⁸ and swore to Him to serve Him, and to love and to have all affection for Him, and to serve Him until death. From this oath not all the priests and bishops who were ever born can free us, and it binds us more than any other oath. * * * This it is that our Order and all our laws direct and intend." Only the Dominican Order? No. "For this are *all* orders and all spiritual life, and the discipline and laws of all monasteries, and the manners of all hermitages and of every kind of life, whatever they seem or are called; for this are all our laws made and ordained." Wherefore? "That we love our God alone with a pure love, and that He have His nuptials in us, and that we have with Him an untroubled depth containing nothing but God purely. And the more all works and ways serve thereto, the more praiseworthy and holy and useful are they." That, he continues in his preaching, was also said by St. Dominic in reply to the question why he had prescribed all (his) laws,

non congruit cuilibet homini, sed solum homini perfecto; nec ad illum statum assumendum homines moventur ex humano consilio, vel etiam ex proprio arbitrio, sicut moventur ad sumendum statum religionis, sed solum ad hoc moventur ex spiritali instinctu Spiritus Sancti. Et ideo Jeronymus in epistola ad Demetriadem virginem et etiam Rusticum monachum dissuadet istum statum hermiticum assumere a convolantibus immediate a seculo, nisi prius in religione sint bene exercitati in actibus virtuosis, et hoc propter excellentiam status solitarii, qui non congruit hominibus imperfectis, eo quod solitarii vehementius per insidias diabolicas temptentur et per consequens citius precipitarentur, nisi essent perfecte in virtuosis exercitiis solidati." The tractate concludes, fol. 150, with the words: "Compilatus fuit iste tractatus anno Dom. MCCCXXXIII." On the different Henrys of Friemar, see Charularium Universitatis Paris. II, p. 536, not 5.

⁴³⁸ "Do wir die welt allererst verswuorent und verlobent."

and "he spoke: that there might be true godly love and humility, and poverty of spirit and of goods too. This is the reason: To love God with a whole, pure heart and nothing besides, and that out of brotherly love we love one another as ourselves, and in an humble, prostrate spirit under God, etc." This is the reason and the essence of *all* orders, says Tauler further: "This is the intent and the reason, and this it is that we have more vowed to God, and sworn to Him and owe Him. If we keep not this order, we therefore surely violate it; but if we keep this, we therefore have the order, the reason, the essential order, which our father meant and *all Fathers*, be it St. Benedict, St. Augustine, St. Bernard, St. Francis. They all mean this essential order, and to it all external directions and laws point."⁴³⁹ Thus it is understood that, according to Tauler, for all that or rather just for that reason, Jesus Christ is "our rule and modeler."⁴⁴⁰

To Tauler, moreover, the religious state in itself was superior to that of the world, not on account of a different ideal of life, which, as we have just seen, is the same for all—(Love God above all things and thy neighbor as thyself)—but because its way to it is higher, namely "the ways of the virtues, as chastity of the body, poverty, and obedience."⁴⁴¹ This, then, is wholly according to the mind of St. Bernard and St. Thomas, and even of Luther himself before his apostasy.⁴⁴² To this way God calls some and that "of his own free, pure love apart from all deserving."⁴⁴³ "That this counsel of God in this vocation may be rightly and well obeyed, the Church on the suggestion of the Holy Ghost has formed spiritual gatherings and orders, in which one may follow the counsel of God. And these have many laws and *they all bear upon that*."⁴⁴⁴ "Truly, those who come into a monastery in an approved order, they get into what is surest, quite un-

⁴³⁹ After a copy of the Strasburg ms. which was destroyed by fire. The sermon is in the Frankfurt edition I, 229.

⁴⁴⁰ After "Codex Vindobon." 2739, fol. 121, Frankfurt edition, I, 233.

⁴⁴¹ Frankfurt ed., II, 254.

⁴⁴² See above, Chapter I.

⁴⁴³ Frankfurt ed., I, 232.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid. II, 254, after the Strasburg ms.

like one's own ordinances."⁴⁴⁵ But Tauler does not forget the admonition: "Let everyone look before himself, how he may securely walk upon this way and so truly follow the invitation of Christ, that he may not be found without the wedding garment on the day of the inspection, lest he be cast into exterior darkness."⁴⁴⁶ "This wedding garment is true, pure, divine love and truly to have an affection for God. This shuts out self and alien love and to love something other than God."⁴⁴⁷ With all the preceptors, Tauler also says that it is not enough to wear the habit and to be in the order. "God has given all things to be a *way* to Himself; He alone and nothing else, neither this nor that, is to be its end. Do you fancy it is a mock? No, indeed! The order does not make you holy. Neither my cape, nor my tonsure, nor my monastery, nor my holy company, none of these make holy. If I am to become holy, there must be holy, single, unoccupied ground. To say many times: 'Lord, Lord,' to pray, to read many beautiful words, understand much, be of good appearance—no, no, that will not do, here there is something else needed. If thou deceive thyself, the harm is thine and not mine, with your wordly hearts and spirits and your vanity in spiritual show."⁴⁴⁸ And why? Because the *means* of the order must have the interior, true, pure mind as their subsoil, the sincere, entire oblation to God, the ideal of life for all; otherwise all is trumpery and imposture, show without substance.

Therefore are such religious as neglect themselves and bear only an outward semblance rebuked by Tauler. He points to the poor, simple folk and working people in the world, who, if they pursue *their calling*, make their way

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid. p. 118.

⁴⁴⁶ Frankfurt ed., II, 254.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., II, 287. After the Strasburg ms. as also the following passage.

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid., III, 104. Another time, II, 202 sq.: "tu alle die cappen und habit an die du wilt: du tuegest denne das du von rehte tuon solt, es enhilffet dich nüt." Similarly, I, 237: "Let yourself be baptized a thousand times and put on a hundred cowls—it will avail you nothing as long as you wish to do what is not right."

better than the former.⁴⁴⁹ He shows that "married people in the world and many widows far outrun these seemers."⁴⁵⁰

Thus runs the Catholic doctrine, and at the turn of the twelfth century we hear: "Not the habit makes the monk, but profession,"⁴⁵¹ that is, as was then read in the form of profession: the obligation to a "conversio morum," a real, true change of morals. For this reason St. Bernard says that the mere outward change without the inner is nothing. It lacks truth and virtue. It bears only the *semblance* of godliness.⁴⁵² And it was St. Benedict who in his day said of false monks that, by their tonsure, they are known to lie to God.⁴⁵³ It required the full Lutheran hatred towards the Church to cast the all-including common reproach upon the religious, monks and nuns: "they came trolling along and want to be saved by their order, their cowls and tonsures, and thereby to obtain forgiveness of their sins."⁴⁵⁴ Charges of that kind were the ones Luther pronounced from the time of his warfare against the orders. His followers, particularly the apostates, echoed them after him, and the lie is believed to this day.⁴⁵⁵ That there were religious who only wore

⁴⁴⁹ Ibid. II, 254, after the Strasburg ms.: "Wissent, das manig mensche mitten in der welte ist und man und kint, und sitzent etteliche menschen und machet sine schuche, und ist sin meinunge ze gotte, sich und sine kint generen; und ettelich arm mensche in eime dorffe get misten, und sin brötelin mit grosser arbeit gewinne (*sic!*); und disen mag also geschehen; sie süllent hundert werbe has gevarn, und volgent einveltikliche irme ruoffe. Und daz ist doch ein kleglich dinge! Dise stont in der vorthe gotz, in demütikeit, in irme armute und volgent *irme ruoffe* einvaltiklichen. Armer, blinder, geistlicher mensche, sich für dich und nim *dines* ruffes war von innen mit allem flisse, war dich got haben welle und volge deme, und gang nüt irre in dem wege."

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid. II, 7.

⁴⁵¹ "Monachum non facit habitus, sed professio regularis." Decret. III, 31, 13. As much as a century earlier, June 25, 1080, the Synod of Brixen reproaches Gregory VII: "*Habitu* monachus videre, et *professione* non esse." Mon. germ. hist., Leg. sect. IV, t. 1. p. 119, 8.

⁴⁵² In cap. Jeiunii serm. 2, n. 2 (Migne, Patr. 1., t. 183, p. 172).

⁴⁵³ Reg., c. 1: "mentiri Deo per tonsuram noscuntur."

⁴⁵⁴ Er. 36, 269. Similarly Weim. XV, 765 for the year 1524.

⁴⁵⁵ Thus, e.g., O. Clemen, "Beiträge zur Reformations geschichte," I, (1900), p. 53, finds "a just understanding of the fundamental thought of the reformation" and naturally approves it—in a small work by the apostate Franciscan, Johann Schwan, wherein he brings forward nothing but Luther's calumnies against the orders, and especially justification by vows, cowls, tonsures, ropes, or girdles. (See p. 55).

the habit, the tonsure, and the girdle, and were content therewith, concealing a wordly, sinful heart beneath—who will deny that? I have frequently referred to the fact. Why, one would have to deny away the whole of Lutherdom, which originally was recruited by precisely such depraved members of the religious orders! Did not Luther himself say of his first apostles that they had entered the monastery for their belly's and their carnal freedom's sake and that they again abandoned it for no other reason?⁴⁵⁶ And such religious in name only were found in all the orders which gave its increase to Lutherdom. They were the rabble from whom, as the Franciscan Alfeldt writes, God had set the orders free.⁴⁵⁷ They were the ones of whom the last chapter of the Hermits in Germany, on June 8, 1522, openly confessed that "they crowded the land like irrational beasts or like wild runners, belly-servers, undisciplined and drones, who seek themselves, not God, the flesh, not the spirit."⁴⁵⁸

If ever there was one, it was Luther who should have refrained from charges which fell most thickly upon his fellows and followers, but in no wise affected the upright religious, whom however he had wanted to hit. So when the former Augustinian prior, Johann Lang, twice wived before Luther took his Kate, once preached that, according to Catholics, there was justification in the tonsure and cowl, his former fellow-religious, von Usingen, replied: "Who can keep from laughing when he hears that cowl and tonsure made the monk?"⁴⁵⁹ He was entirely right, for he knew with St. Jerome⁴⁶⁰ and with all the other teaching authorities

⁴⁵⁶ See above, Introduction p. 23.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 10.

⁴⁵⁸ In Reindell, "Doktor Wenzeslaus Linck aus Colditz," I, 281, 7 proposition.

⁴⁵⁹ In the Sermo "quem fecit in nupciis Culsameri sacerdotis an. 1525," Lang says, among other things: "Si legis opera, per Deum mandata, non justificant, quid cucullus et rasura praestabit?" Usingen replies: "Quis sibi a risu temperare poterit, quando audit, cucullum et rasuram facere monachum?" Bartholomaeus de Usingen, "De falsis prophetis." * * * Contra factionem Lutheranam. Erphurdie 1525, fol. H. iij.

⁴⁶⁰ Ep. 125 (ad Rusticum), n. 7: "Sordidae vestes candidae mentis indicia sint; vilis tunica contemptum saeculi probet."

of the Church that the habit is only a sign of the inner state.⁴⁶¹

But Luther goes farther, making the blunt assertion: "Open the books of the more recent theologians and you will see that, to them, to serve God is nothing else than fleeing into the solitary wilderness, abandoning political or economical offices, and burying one's self in a monastery."⁴⁶² What divine service is, the monks and other preceptors of the Pope did not know, otherwise they would not have commanded

⁴⁶¹ That the change of garb and the putting on of the habit was but the exterior *sign*, the symbol, of an interior change to take place in the one receiving the habit and much more in the one making profession—this idea was expressed everywhere at receptions and professions in the Order of the Hermits of St. Augustine. The laying aside of the old garb *symbolizes* the putting off of the old man and the putting on the habit symbolizes the putting on the new man, fashioned according to God. In chapter 18 of the Constitution of the Hermits of St. Augustine, we read in the blessing of the cowl, that the Fathers wore this as the "*indicium innocentiae et humilitatis*." Thereafter "*prior exuat novitium habitum novitiale, dicendo hunc versum: Exuat te dominus vterem hominem cum actibus suis. Amen. Consequenter induat eum veste professorum dicens: Induat te dominus novum hominem, qui secundum deum creatus est in iusticia et sanctitate veritatis. Amen.*" This custom obtains more or less in every Order. St. Thomas Aquinas styles the habit, the "*sign of profession*," 2. 2. qu. 187, a. 6 ad 3. So also does his contemporary, the Abbot of Monte Cassino, Bernard I, in his "*Speculum monachorum*" (ed. Walter), p. 58, say, habit and tonsure are but signs and shadows of religion, not the substance itself. If there were any subjects stupid and evil enough to believe "*cucullatim se non posse damnari*," (see A. Dressel, "*Vier Dokumente aus Römischen Archiven*," Leipzig, 1843, p. 74, "*Tadel des Dominikaners Kleindienst in Dillingen*," they were themselves to blame and were severely reprimanded by their Orders. It was not the fault of the Church or the Order that the misconception should occur, any more than that they were responsible for the extravagant statement of Bartholomew of Pisa in "*Liber Conformitatum*": "*Nullus frater in habitu fratrum Minorum est damnatus*." Kaspar Schatzgeyer answers the unbridled Franz Lambert by saying that the Franciscans hold this book apocryphal and concludes: "*Tu ergo totum Ordinem ob nonnullorum sive indiscretionem, sive insipientiam praecipitabis in ruinam? Si hoc licet, quis in ecclesia status erit a calumnia inmundis?*" (*De vita christiana*, tr. 3us, 10a impostura). Subsequently he would much better have been able to cite Luther himself, who in 1524 said to the Orlamünder: "If anything were to be discarded by reason of abuse, you would needs have to pour away all the wine and kill all the women." Weim. XV, 345. See above p. 72 seq. Let Protestants note well this saying of their Reformer.

⁴⁶² Enarr. in Ps. II., in Opp. exeg. lat. XVIII, q. 98: "*Consule recentium theologorum libros, et videbis servire deo eis nihil esse aliud quam fugere in eremum, deserere politica aut oeconomica officia, et sese abdere in monasterium.*"

(jussissent) that one should enter a monastery and give up public and home life.⁴⁶³ According to the Pope's teaching, it is positively necessary to become a religious in order to be justified.⁴⁶⁴ Thus Luther, but are his words true? There was never a man, not even Luther himself, ventured to put this reproach upon the great theologians. But is not his utterance verified at least among those who practically influenced the people and who still at the same time were upright religious or priests? Let us see.

What does Tauler say about this matter? "Go not according to either this one or that one, which is an especially blind proceeding. *As unlike as people are, so unlike are also the ways to God.* What would be one man's life would be another one's death; and as the natures and complexions of people are, does their grace often adjust itself. Attend above all things to what *thy* calling is; pursue that to which God has called thee."⁴⁶⁵ Even in respect to the renunciation of all things, voluntary poverty, he preaches: "Let a man therefore so far accept it as he finds it *a help to himself and a furtherance to the freedom of his spirit.* The spirit of many a man is purer and more single when he has the necessities of life than when he would have to seek them every day.⁴⁶⁶ But that is what Tauler says, it may be objected. Quite true, but on this subject he expressly appeals to the authority of "the masters, particularly Thomas."⁴⁶⁷ Here again Tauler comes back to the universal

⁴⁶³ Ibid, p. 100. See also below, chapter 10, A.

⁴⁶⁴ "If now you wish to escape hell, sin, God's anger, law, and all that, do not do your work as such was taught by the Pope, that one should become a member of an order and be devout" (i.e., be justified). Erl. 48, 4.

⁴⁶⁵ Frankfurt ed. II, 281, after the Strasburg ms.—Köhler in "Luther und die Kirchengeschichte," I, 267, writes with reference to this passage: "Even the *specific* (!), Luther-like, * * * emphasized high valuation of the knowledge of a God-given *vocation* is not alien to Tauler." What Luther appropriated from the Church is represented by the Luther-researchers as something specifically Lutheran!

⁴⁶⁶ Frankfurt ed., III, 132.

⁴⁶⁷ Cod. g. Monac. 627, fol. 219^a: Cod. theol. 263, fol. 201^a of the Landesbibl. in Stuttgart, say expressly: "Sprechen die meister und mit sunderheit Thomas"; the Strasburg ms., Stuttgart, 155, fol. 234, Ms. Berol. germ. 68 say only: "Spricht Meister Tomas."

ideal of life. It were true poverty, if "*God were so my dear to a man*, that nothing could be a hindrance to him."⁴⁶⁸

To Tauler as to every Christian preceptor, the Christian state of life in the world is as much founded on the *call of God*, or, if one will, on an order of God, as the religious life, although he also holds the latter to be the higher state. "But not all are called to it. Nor should any one take this ill of God. He is the Lord and may do or leave what He wills. It applies to all "that we become conformed unto His only begotten Son and become His beloved children," some in a less degree, some in a greater."⁴⁶⁹ Religious "are called spiritual because they have one will and are uniform with God, and are united with Him; but *to that are all Christians bound*, who should be kept to wishing nothing against God's will."⁴⁷⁰ To serve God, i. e., to live like a Christian, it is not just necessary to enter a monastery. Christian life in the world, "in the commandments of God and of Holy Church," a life which culminates "in the fear of God and in the love of God and of neighbor, *is and is called a right Christian life and (that of) a Christian man*. This is a good norm and this life belongs without doubt to everlasting life. To this norm *God has invited and called* divers people, and He demands nothing more of them; and it might well happen that the same people lived so purely on this way as to fare into life everlasting without purgatory."⁴⁷¹ From this alone it follows that life outside a monastery is not to be looked upon as an imperfect life, for God calls no one to what is imperfect. But, according to Tauler, is not the religious, as against the simple Christian, the perfect Christian? No, he says, appealing to Thomas Aquinas: "Religious are bound in duty, said Master Thomas, to live and *to strive* after perfection,"⁴⁷² but not to be perfect.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁹ Frankfurt ed., p. 253. See also "Kirchenlexicon," 2 ed., XII, 1077.

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 45.

⁴⁷¹ Frankfurt ed., p. 143.

⁴⁷² Ibid., p. 45: "Sie sint schuldig, sprach meister Thomas, zu lebende und ramende noch vollekomenheit." After Strasburg ms.

The chief thing is always that every one endeavor to fulfill the will of God and to yield obedience to His call,⁴⁷³ in respect, too, to the works and offices in every state. With this Henry Suso is in full accord. "According to my understanding, to a God-seeking soul there is nothing of all things so right desirously to be known as that it might know what is God's will in its regard." "God moves immovably as an object of tender love. He gives haste to hearts, and speed to longing, and stands an immovable end, which all beings await and desire. *But the course and impulse is unlike*" etc.⁴⁷⁴ The exterior without the inner is not enough for Suso either. And although he admits that it goes hard with those in the world because of their troubles, ("for one can hardly escape dust in a mill and a scorching in fire"), nevertheless he cries out to the religious: "Yet you must know that, with all their troubles, I have found people in such purity and perfection that religious might well feel ashamed of themselves,"⁴⁷⁵ those religious namely who have worldly hearts concealed under the habit of their order. They are the greater part, although such people, who shine like gleaming stars in the darkness, "are yet found in great numbers *in every state*, in every order, in every age and of both sexes."⁴⁷⁶ Suso's maxim applies to all: "Place thyself in the divine will in all things, in thy having, in thy want, in something, in nothing, in comfort, in discomfort. But the most lovable exemplar of all (Christ), let Him be ever evident to thee in the bottom of thy heart and soul."⁴⁷⁷

According to Ruusbroek as well, as according to every Christian doctor, Christ's life and rule is the foundation of all the orders, of the life of all the saints, of all the exercises of the Church, in the sacrifices, in the sacraments, and in all good manners of living. Christian life, he says further, is founded on Christ and on His life, and His life is His

⁴⁷³ Very beautifully touched on *Ibid.*, p. 197, sq., 284.

⁴⁷⁴ *Liber epistolarum* in *Cod. theol.* 67 of the Stuttgart "Landesbibliothek," fol. 53 sq. Cf. also the writings of B. Henry Seuse, edited by H. Denifle, I, 615 sq.

⁴⁷⁵ After "*Cod. Vindobon.*" 2739. Also Diepenbrock's edition, p. 411.

⁴⁷⁶ "*Horologium Sapientiae*," ed. J. Strange, (Coloniae 1861), p. 48.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ms.* cited and Diepenbrock, p. 410.

rule, and without His rule no one shall be retained.⁴⁷⁸ This rule prescribes for *all* that they shall keep the commandments of God in right obedience and do God's dearest will in all things. "*To love God and to have affection for Him, to bless, thank, and praise Him, to honor, invoke, and adore Him in spirit and in truth—that is the rule of all human beings.*"⁴⁷⁹ This it is that soon thereafter Theodoric Engelhus sets up in his rule for the laity as the *first virtue*: "that thou holdest Him dear, that thou praisest, servest, and thankest Him, Who created thee for His praise and gave thee soul and body," etc.⁴⁸⁰ It is the foundation laid in almost the same words a hundred years later by St. Ignatius in his Spiritual Exercises.⁴⁸¹ All therefore have the same ideal of life. But Christ in His rule only counseled some things. Those are the three Evangelical *counsels* which one can follow, not of necessity, but of free will. Far from their leading away from Christ, true religious recognize in Christ "their abbot and their King, with whom they live."⁴⁸² "But does the *outward* habit make the true monk? Oh no, rather are there many who have vowed to live according to the counsels of God, but who live according to neither counsel nor commandment. The *interior* habit, that of virtue, has largely disappeared. What wonder, if it has already been begun to make the external habit like a garment of the world?"⁴⁸³ Like all the other preceptors, he too finds no utility in the outer without the inner. "All who serve the flesh and the world and despise God's service, in whatever state, in whatever order they are, or whatever habit they wear, cannot please God." One is reminded of Tauler when he continues: "Dignities, religious state, priesthood are of themselves neither blessed nor holy, for the evil and the good

⁴⁷⁸ Werken van Jan van Ruusbroec, t. v. (Gent 1863). "Dat boec van den twaelf beginen," c. 69, p. 205.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 206.

⁴⁸⁰ Edited by Langenberg, "Quellen und Forschungen zur Gesch. der deutschen Mystik" (1902), p. 76 sq.

⁴⁸¹ See farther below.

⁴⁸² Ruusbroek, loc. cit., c. 59, p. 163.

⁴⁸³ Ibid., c. 61, p. 177 sq.

receive them alike; but those who have accepted them and do not live accordingly, are the more damned."⁴⁸⁴

The booklet of the Following of Christ, widely current even in Luther's time both in print and in manuscript, was written in Ruusbroek's spirit. One finds it in all, even in Protestant hands. They can convince themselves that the author traces the religious life back to an unmerited call of God.⁴⁸⁵ It is no small thing to dwell in monasteries, he says, but only he is blessed who there lives well and there happily ends. The habit and tonsure makes but little alteration, but the moral change and the entire mortification of the passions make a true religious.⁴⁸⁶ And yet the religious has no other ideal of life than one whom God has not called to that state. For the one as for another, the commandment and end of life is the service of God, the love of God above all things, and to serve Him alone.⁴⁸⁷ The religious life only lightens the attainment of the same. God must be the last aim and end for all.⁴⁸⁸

C. SUCCEEDING DOCTORS DOWN TO LUTHER.

The famed Gerhard (or Gerrit) Groote was also one who stood high in Luther's esteem.⁴⁸⁹ All the world knows how powerful Groote's influence was on the religious life of his time. Now what did he teach in respect to the ideal of life, in respect to perfection and the orders? I choose a work written in the language of the people and addressed to women from their midst, the Beguines. Groote developed his views wholly after the Summa of Thomas Aquinas, which he repeatedly adduces as his reference and cites

⁴⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 179.

⁴⁸⁵ Imit. Christi, III, 10.

⁴⁸⁶ Ibid., I, 17.

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid., III, 10; I, 1. Cf. Deut. 6, 13: "Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and shalt serve Him only." 10, 20: "and shalt serve him only."

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid., III, 9.

⁴⁸⁹ In his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, c. 5, fol. 167, Luther finds that none other so well explains the nature of original sin as Groote: "Hanc originalis peccati apud nullum inveni tam claram resolutionem, quam apud Gerardum Groot in tractatulo suo *Beatus Vir*, ubi loquitur non ut temerarius philosophus sed ut sanus theologus." On this, see below in next section.

with accuracy. According to Groote, as according to all the doctors, the essential thing in perfection out of love for God is the inner conversion from earthly things, the heart's renunciation of money and goods and of carnal lust and self-will, for therein consists the right union with God. To attain this it is not necessary to search for the monasteries. Perfection of charity and perfect communion with God, he states, appealing to St. Thomas, (2.2., qu 184, a. 4), are also found outside the enclosed monasteries, in people who at times are poorer and who have more renounced their will before God than depraved religious in monasteries. For this he also refers to Suso's work, already cited, "*Horologium Sapientiae*,"⁴⁹⁰ where he treats of religious who bear only the outer semblance, but whose hearts are far removed from God.

Look into whatever author of that time one will, and one meets everywhere the same doctrine. Groote rather restricted than exaggerated the idea of the religious state. On this one need expend no further words.

Groote's contemporary, the Carthusian Henry von Coesfeld, presented no other doctrine in his works than that of his predecessors. "Charity is the root, form, completion, and bond of perfection. * * * To the perfection of charity, there belong essentially the commandments of charity. The counsels of poverty, chastity, and obedience are only *instruments*," and so far are there different degrees distinguished in the perfection of charity.⁴⁹¹ The ideal of life remains the same for all.

To whom, then, can Luther have appealed, when he asserts that "the monks had said, if any one donned the cowl, he would become as pure and as innocent as if he just came from baptism?"⁴⁹² Either to the most profligate or to the

⁴⁹⁰ De Simonia ad beguttas, in R. Langenburg's "Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Mystik," p. 27 sq., 31 sq.; also p. 49-51.

⁴⁹¹ See this and other passages in Latin in Landmann's "Das Predigt-wesen in Westfalen in der letzten zeit des Mittelalters" (1900), p. 179.

⁴⁹² Erl. 40, 165. A passage occurring in the "Tischreden," ed Förster-mann, II, 187, n. 53, is genuinely Lutheran: "How one is to become devout (i.e., be justified). A barefooted monk says: put on a gray cloak, wear a rope and a tonsure. A preaching friar says: put on a black mantle. A papist: do this or that work, hear mass, pray, fast, give alms, etc., each one what he thinks to be the means by which he may be saved. But a

greatest simpletons, to the *excrescences*, whom in his hatred toward the Church Luther was barefaced enough to represent as the true and only type. Against such, however, there was immediate action taken in their monasteries and orders,⁴⁹³ to which they were a cross and an injury, as became evident at the beginning of Lutheranism. Now if all the founders of orders and the doctors of the Church regard the inner disposition as the essential thing in entering an order, putting on the habit, and making profession—the thing without which the habit alone makes no living being holy—can the habit, according to their view, have made the dying or the dead holy?⁴⁹⁴

Let us go a step farther. Let us take a glance again at such writers of that time as were anything but favorable to the orders, especially the mendicant ones. Notwithstanding that Peter d' Ailli gave evidence of no great sympathy for them, and was overstrict in respect to entrance into the orders, he does not depart by a hair's breadth from Thomas Aquinas in the doctrine of the ideal of life and of the relation of the monastic life to it. According to him, too, the

Christian says: Only by faith in Christ shall you become devout, just, and blessed, out of pure grace, without any work or service of yours whatever. Now compare which is the true justice."

⁴⁹³ One of the most interesting examples to the point for me has always been the Franciscan, Alvarus Pelagius, (*De planctu ecclesiae*, cod. Vat. lat. 4280, pars 2^a. c. 167, fol. 322, 325^b sq.; in the edition Venetis, 1560, lib. 2. c. 78, fol. 214^b sq.), who took hypocrites in religion, especially among the mendicants, namely the Franciscans, severely to task. I shall return to this subject in the second volume in my introduction to the rise of Lutherdom.

⁴⁹⁴ On this subject, Luther proceeds as he always does. He charges that the monks had often put monastic cloaks (or habits) on people on their death-bed, that they be buried in them. Cf. e.g., Erl. 40, 165. But he suppresses the preliminary condition, that those concerned must previously have become converted to God in true sorrow. If abuses occurred, and they did occur, Luther should but have remembered his own utterances on the subject of abuses, and he would have had to hold his peace. Besides, such abuses were rather of a prosaic kind and had nothing to do with faith. We perceive, namely, that, here and there, mendicant monks at times were not displeased to see, and sought to encourage, a wish in the dying to be buried in the habit, because they were then buried in the respective monastic cemeteries, which was not without advantage to the monasteries concerned. The thought that the habit effected salvation, lay remote. Simple, stupid, people do not make the rule in this case. Yet it was only such to whom Luther could refer.

perfection of the Christian religion consists *essentially* in the commandments of the love of God and of neighbor. The specifically monastic part of it is only an *instrument* to its realization. Herein again everything depends upon the inner disposition; for, he said, in many orders the essential is lost sight of, inasmuch as they have regard only for the observance of the constitutions; or the essential is not observed as it ought to be. It frequently happens that one in a less perfect state becomes more perfect, and vice versa, as, for example, some religious are more perfect than many prelates and anchorets.⁴⁹⁵ It is evident even from Ailli's objections that he retains the distinction between different degrees of perfection.

The subject is treated more diffusely by Gerson. He stands in fundamental agreement with his preceptor Ailli and with St. Thomas. "The perfection of human life consists in charity. No Christian is at liberty to deny this."⁴⁹⁶ "It is charity and its commandments that make up and perfect the Christian life."⁴⁹⁷ The love of God is a matter of

⁴⁹⁵ De ingressu religionis from the Cod. Bruxell. 21 106 in Tschackert, "Peter von Ailli" (1877), p. [52]: "Attendatur libertas religionis sub abbate Christo, et qui[a] in ea stat salus, sine transferendo se ad iugum constitutionum additarum, propter quas in multis religionibus fit irritum mandatum dei de dilectione dei et proximi, in quo stat essentialiter religionis christianae perfectio, in aliis solum instrumentaliter; aut saltem hoc mandatum non ita quiete ab aliquibus et excellenter impletur propter exercitium corporalis servitii et similium. Stat enim frequenter, quod aliquis de imperfectiori statu fit perfectior et econtra, sicut quidam religiosi perfectiores sunt multis in statu praelaturae existentibus aut multis solitariis." How little understanding of such things prevails among Protestants is evidenced by the editor of this work, when he puts an interrogation mark after "instrumentaliter!"

⁴⁹⁶ De perfectione cordis, Opp. III, p. 437.

⁴⁹⁷ De consil. evangel., Opp. II, p. 671. This writing is certainly one of Gerson's earlier productions, done in the scholastic style. The doubt of Schwab (in his "Johannes Gerson, p. 765, note 2) as to the genuineness of it is unfounded, as is evident from his arguments. The constant reference throughout to Thomas of Aquin, he says, is foreign to other works of Gerson's. But there is good reason for that. Here there is question of a subject-matter upon which precisely Thomas of Aquin wrote most extensively and solidly. All other writers refer to him on it. Why not also Gerson, particularly as a scholastic theologian? It also escaped Schwab that the work is poorly edited, as he might have learned from "the alleged saying of Christ, p. 671: "Neque enim, ait Christus, recte curritur, si, quo currendum est, nesciatur—a saying else-

commandment. "All theologians are agreed that only the blessed wholly fulfill the commandment of charity, and there was not one who affirmed that the blessed thereby observed a counsel but rather that they fulfill a commandment." Gerson then repeats the teaching of St. Thomas that, in the love of God, there is not a certain measure falling under the commandment, whilst any excess comes under the counsel.⁴⁹⁸ With Thomas, Gerson likewise draws conclusions about the counsels; with him the result also runs that the vows are only relative means of perfection, "instruments by which the essential perfection of the Christian life is more easily and speedily attained."⁴⁹⁹ With Thomas, he also calls the religious state a *school* of perfection.⁵⁰⁰ With this statement I cut this point short, for I should only have to repeat in Gerson's words what we already know from St. Thomas.

As in other times, so also in Gerson's, there were those who went too far and made more of the religious state than lay in the intention of the Church and of the founders of the religious orders. To them belonged the Dominican, Matthew Grabow. Such overwrought souls were the exception, and as such only confirmed the rule. Church and theologians promptly rose against them, as they did as early as the fourteenth century against the overstrung Franciscans, with

where sought in vain." If Schwab had looked up Thomas, 2. 2. qu. 184, a. 3, ad 2, he would have found this well known passage of Augustine (De perfect. justitiae c. 8, n. 19), and everything must have become clear to him. There are also other citations taken from Thomas. There is only one thing to dispute about—viz., whether the writing is Gerson's original elaboration or only a copy made by some student.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 672. The writing here erroneously cites Thomas, "De perfectione vitae spiritus." The passage is found in "Contra retrahentes a relig. ingressu," c. 6, and, in Gerson's text, which is corrupted, must be emended as follows: "Praeceptum dilectionis dei, quod est ultimus finis christianae vitae, nullis terminis coarctatur, ut possit dici, quod tanta dilectio cadat sub praecepto, maior autem dilectio limites praecepti excedens sub consilio cadat; sed uniusque praecipitur, ut Deum diligat quantum potest." Schwab, p. 766, note, did not observe this.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid. p. 677: "Consilia proprie et maxime respiciunt materiam instrumentalem disponentem ad facilius et brevius acquirendam essentialem vitae christianae perfectionem, et ideo sunt perfectio secundum quid et accidentaliter; praecepta vero divina magis de directo et immediate respiciunt illa, quae essentialiter pertinent ad vitam christianam et spirituales, sicut virtutes et actus eorum."

⁵⁰⁰ De religionis perfectione, consid. 5^a, Opp. II, 684.

whom I have here no further concern. "One should not believe every chance false preacher," confesses John Nider for this reason, "even if he stood upon the belfry. If he does not speak the truth, his preaching is that of a hedge-parson."⁵⁰¹ This was what Grabow achieved in his writing, in which there was just occasion afforded for grave offence. He represented the orders as the "Verae religiones" in contrast with so upright and useful an association as the Brethren of the Common Life, and expressed the view that one was *not permitted* to follow the counsels in the world.⁵⁰² Both Peter d' Ailli and Gerson (the latter, April 3, 1418, at the instance of the Pope) gave their judgment against the work.

It is conceivable that Gerson, justly indignant, was very sharp, so that an inexperienced reader might believe he had retracted a part of his earlier views on the religious life. But since he had to defend himself against Grabow's erroneous notions in the sense that a monk, merely as a monk, is not yet perfect but acknowledges *striving* after perfection, that one can also reach perfection without the vows, and that religion, properly speaking, is the Christian religion, to which not only religious belong, one can rightly understand Gerson's every cutting expression. On account of abuse and misunderstanding,⁵⁰³ he would like, he said, to have the characterization of the religious state as a *state of perfection* done away with. Whilst contending against this characterization, however, he bears witness to the truth that those who had thitherto employed it did not take it to mean that *religious had already attained perfection, but that they sought to attain it*. But it is precisely this that we have heard St. Thomas and the other doctors prior to Gerson declare. They all gave to the counsels, (and consequently to the state of perfection as well), the value of ways,

⁵⁰¹ In one of Nider's sermons, in K. Schieler, "Mag. Johannes Nider," p. 407.

⁵⁰² See his propositions in Opp. Gerson, I, 473. On this subject and on the occasion of Grabow's work, see Schwab, p. 763; Salembier, "Petrus de Aillaco," p. 113.

⁵⁰³ Prevalent to this day among Protestant theologians.

of instruments to perfection, but not of perfection itself.⁵⁰⁴ Gerson only repeats these old doctrines when he proposes that the religious state be designated as a way, an instrument, an arrangement for the attainment of perfection.⁵⁰⁵ Spite of his indignation Gerson was constrained to confirm the tradition handed down to his day. It is no wonder a later work of his, "De religionis perfectione," again moves within the sphere of the ideas of his earlier utterances.⁵⁰⁶

The temperate Dionysius the Carthusian wholly occu-

⁵⁰⁴ See on this, Suarez, "De statu perfectionis," lib. 1, c. 14, n. 6, specially against Gerson.

⁵⁰⁵ "Religionis hujusmodi facticiae satis improprie et abusive et forsan arroganter dictae sunt *status perfectionis*: patet, quia stat, homines imperfectissimos tales Religiones profiteri, sicut notat Augustinus, quod non peiores reperit, quam eos qui in hujusmodi religionibus defecerunt. Sed aliunde declaratur haec abusus vel usurpatio nominis; quia secundum illos, qui noviter post sanctos Doctores usi sunt tali vocabulo *status perfectionis*, ille status non dicitur apud religiosos perfectionem habitam vel acquisitam, sicut est de statu praelatorum; sed tantummodo dicitur perfectionem acquirendam: constat autem, quod perfectio acquirenda non est jam acquisita. Et ideo melius nominaretur viae quaedam vel instrumenta seu dispositiones ad perfectionem acquirendam, quam diceretur status perfectionis; immo et, sicut hujusmodi status sic dictus dirigit et juvat quosdam ad perfectiorem observationem verae religionis Christianae, sic et multos impedit atque praecipitat, quos tutius fuerat in seculo remansisse, quia *displicet deo stulta et infidelis promissio* (Eccle. 5,3), quae scilicet vel indiscrete sumitur, vel non observatur" (Opp. I, 468). From this it is evident what one ought to think of the Lutheran (or Augsburg) Confession, saying in article 27: et ante haec tempora reprehendit Gerson errorem monachorum de perfectione, et testatur, suis temporibus novam vocem fuisse, quod vita monastica sit status perfectionis ("Die unveränderte Augsbургische Confession," kritische Ausg. von P. Tschackert, Leipzig 1901, p. 183). The above words need no commentary. "Noviter post sanctos doctores" certainly means something else than "suis temporibus novam vocem fuisse." These words also betray in the authors a remarkable ignorance of history. On this Confession, see below, Chap. 10.

⁵⁰⁶ Opp. II, 682 sqq. In consid. 3^a, p. 683, Gerson does not only not demur to the term, "religio," for the religious state, but he declares it very apt: "Sicut ecclesia significat principaliter universalem congregationem fidelium et inde dicitur catholica * * * sic in proposito de religione etiam est propter maiorem circa consilia religionem." As he and others called the orders, "religiones factitiae," considered with reference to the "Religio Christiana," so did the Council of Constance call them "religiones privatae." The religious orders are called "religiones," not on the ground of synonymy but of analogy. The Protestants of the Confession deliberately translated: *fictitious* spiritual religious states.

pies the standpoint of St. Thomas.⁵⁰⁷ This holds likewise of the holy Florentine bishop, Antoninus.⁵⁰⁸ But let us hasten on to the immediate period before Luther.

One could the soonest expect exaggerations on the part of those religious who essayed to re-introduce the ancient cloistral discipline into degenerated monasteries. There was great likelihood of setting too high a value on the monastic, neglected as it had been up to then and yielding to the wordly, as against common Christians. At all events this was not rarely the case in *practice*. Just at the time of Peter d'Ailli and Gerson, in a word, when it was undertaken to reform the various orders and to bring them back to their original strictness, there were observants in the orders who, in their punctilious observance of the statutes of their institute, frequently more or less neglected the fulfillment of the essentials, particularly neighborly charity. For there are never wanting, especially in practical life, those who are inconsiderate and erratic. In contrast with these, however, the masters of the spiritual life and the doctors, as well as those who brought the reform about, pressed on, like the founders of old, to the observance of the essentials. This was also done by the Popes of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in their Bulls to the observants, and further by the reformers of the orders at that time with which we wish now to busy ourselves.⁵⁰⁹

Peter du Mas, appointed abbot of Chezal-Benoit by Sixtus IV, August 18, 1479, undertook to reform his monastery, and, from 1488, applied himself to the redaction of the statutes. He complains in the introduction that in the course of time these had too greatly increased. He was unwilling to fall into the same fault, but sought "rather

⁵⁰⁷ This is self-evident from his "Summa fidei orthodoxae," which is a compendium of the Summa of St. Thomas. But he shows this elsewhere as well, e.g., "Comment in Ps. 118, n. 96.

⁵⁰⁸ Summae pars IV, tit. 12, c. 2: De consiliis. A contemporary and fellow member of the Order, Johann Herolt, likewise presents no differing principles on charity, and external exercises. See Paulus in "Ztschft. f. kath. Theol." XXVI (1902), p. 428, 430.

⁵⁰⁹ I have collected a considerable amount of matter on this. It is used in part in the introduction to the rise of Lutherdom.

to bind ourselves fast to the teaching of the love of Christ on the way of humility, that we may deserve to reach heaven by the pathway of the Gospel, as we are taught in the prologue of the rule.⁵¹⁰ Our holy father diffusely and very prudently teaches this royal road of humility and charity in the rule."⁵¹¹ His reform, encouraged by the Pope, made progress. Several monasteries joined the movement. The Congregation of Chezal-Benoit was formed. One of the participating monasteries was Saint-Sulpice of Bourges, where from 1497 the French humanist, Guy Jouvenaux, was abbot. One of the most zealous promoters of the reform, he composed the work "*Reformationis monasticae vindiciae*" to further it. In this work he plied evil, depraved monks, (such, namely, as resembled to a hair those who several years after were Luther's most zealous adherents) with the lash, and also set forth the principles of the monastic life.⁵¹²

Now, according to Guy, what is monasticism in its true form? *The* Christian life perhaps? Oh, no! There are divers lives or ways of life for reaching God, he writes, although for the monk, the monastic life, *after* he has chosen it, is the way to God.⁵¹³ Still, is not he who enters upon the monastic life forthwith the perfect, or even the most perfect Christian? Certainly not. On this point Guy develops no doctrine different from that of St. Thomas and the other authorities. "Is not the religious state," he asks,

⁵¹⁰ See above, p. 73.

⁵¹¹ In U. Berlière, "La congrégation bénédictine, de Chezal-Benoît" In "*Revue bénédictine*," 17^e année (Maredsous 1900), p. 37; now also published by the same in "*Mélanges d'histoire bénédictine*, t. 3 (Maredsous 1901), p. 104 sq.

⁵¹² *Reformationis monastice vindicie seu defensio*, noviter edita a viro bonarum artium perspicacissimo Guidone Juvenale, O. S. B., necnon per eundem rursus diligentissime castigata. (Impressum impensis Angelberti et Godfridi Maref * * * MDIII). On the author, see Berlière, *Revue*, etc. p. 347.

⁵¹³ *Ibid.* l. 1, c. 2, fol. 1^b: "Sed ex nostris dicit aliquis: numquid est alia via (instead of vita), que ducit ad Deum, quam ista, que imponitur nobis? *Est plane*, sed non tibi. Antequam enim hanc elegisses, plures tibi alie patebant: quando autem de pluribus hanc viam tibi elegisti, de omnibus unam fecisti."

"a school and an exercise for the attainment of the perfection of charity?"⁵¹⁴

An order has no other ideal of life than the common Christian. A religious as such only seeks more perfectly to attain it. In that Congregation, this was an understood thing. Another of its members, the famous humanist, Charles Fernand, monk of St. Vincent du Mans,⁵¹⁵ often recurs to the subject. Both the rule of St. Benedict and the entire Christian religion are founded on charity and humility.⁵¹⁶ To be a Christian and to love God faithfully are indissolubly bound together.⁵¹⁷ It is necessary to every Christian to believe in God, to hope for eternal life from Him, and to be of good life in the ordinary way, that is, to love and fear God and to keep His commandments.⁵¹⁸ The task of the religious is not different. He must uproot vice and possess charity, in a word, he must strive after perfection, in order gradually to attain it.⁵¹⁹ For the whole motive of entrance into a monastery is no other than, trusting in God's help, doing penance daily, and making progress, as far as possible, to attain to perfection. For every Christian, all the more so a religious, must most zealously take thought of gathering virtues unto himself.⁵²⁰ And *all*

⁵¹⁴ The 9 Chapter of the second book bears the title: *Quod status religionis sit facile compendium, quo ad perfectionem veniatur* * * * The Chapter itself begins fol. 34: "*Status autem religionis nonne est quedam disciplina et exercitium perveniendi ad ipsam charitatis perfectionem, cuius officina monasterium est?*" etc.

⁵¹⁵ Concerning him, see Berlière in *Revue bénédictine* l. c. p. 262 sqq.

⁵¹⁶ *Speculum disciplinae monasticae* Parisiis 1515, l. 4. c. 28, fol. 72^b: "*Charitas ut virtutum summitas, humilitas ut fundamentum, in his potissimum Benedictina regula et omnis christiana fundatur religio.*"

⁵¹⁷ *Epistola paraenetica ad Sagienses monachos*, Parisiis 1512, c. 21: "*Itaque mi frater, si revera in deum credis, si christianus es, si deum fideliter amas—haec enim indissolubili sibi iunctura cohaerent—non equidem video qui fiat, ut nullus te propriae conscientiae permoveat scrupulus*" etc.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*, c. 23.

⁵¹⁹ *Ibid.*, c. 44: "*Coenobitica conditio extirpandorum vicio- rum possidendaque charitatis (quam caeterarum virtutum universa sequitur soboles), i.e., studiosae perfectionis paulatim attingendae status est. * * * Ad meliora donec vivitur pro virili portione conari, in suo quemque genere perfici est.*"

⁵²⁰ *Ibid.*, c. 22: "*Haec petendi coenobii tota ratio est, ut ope freti divina quotidie poenitendo proque virili nostra (parte) proficiendo ad quantum fieri potest perfectionis gradum foeliciter evehamur. * * * Omni chris-*

are commanded to be converted with all their heart to the Lord. Equally *to all* do the Saviour's words apply: "Not every one who saith to Me: Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the will of My Father, that is, diligently giveth heed to the Fatherly will."⁵²¹ These principles are frequently repeated elsewhere by Charles.⁵²² Wherefore the three vows then? They are means rendering the attainment of the end easier, in order through them to triumph over one's self and the world.⁵²³ It is true he writes all this in his humanistic style, but at bottom it is the doctrine of St. Thomas. Far from setting up a different ideal of life for ordinary Christians and for the religious life, he precisely holds up to the dissolute religious the ideal common to all, to strive after which, every Christian, but the religious in a greater degree, is in duty bound.

Another French humanist, not of the same Congregation, indeed, but one who left the University of Paris to enter the reformed abbey of Clugny, John Raulin, does not vary from his brethren by a hair, so that one is necessitated constantly to repeat the same thing. What we heard above on the part of the Germans, is here said by the French, namely, that the habit alone will not do, that it is only a sign of that which should take place within. If the interior is wanting, then the religious is only a hypocrite. The habit indicates that the religious bears the cross of Christ, is a friend of the cross of Christ, whilst that is what the evil religious is not. His habit gives him the lie.⁵²⁴ With

tiano, maxime tamen monachis, de congerendis virtutibus assidua est sedulitate cogitandum."

⁵²¹ Ibid., c. 23.

⁵²² Ibid., c. 53, and his two works; *De animi tranquillitate* (Parisii 1512), *Confabulationes monasticae* (Parisii 1516).

⁵²³ More fully treated in Chapters 6-8 of the first book of the "*Speculum disciplinae monasticae*."

⁵²⁴ Rel. viri frat. Joannis *Raulin* art. et theol. professoris scientissimi epistolarum * * * opus eximium. Venundatur Luteciae Paris. (Parisii, Jean Petit, 1521), fol. 55, Letter to the Brethren of St. Alban's in Basel; on p. 57, he writes among other things: "Nihil enim vilius religioso homini quam ventris ingluvies, qui professione et habitu mentitur abstinentiam tanquam ypocrita, exterius mentitus, sobrietatem, interius autem plenus omni fetore et spurcitia, ut sepulchrum patens et fetens, sicut guttur eorum.

the change of garb and of one's state of life, there should also be a change within.⁵²⁵ "Let God," he exclaims to the monks of St. Alban in Basel, "possess all your interior and exterior, who made all, redeemed all. * * * Mark the rock from which you have been hewn out; but the rock was *Christ with whom you are firmly joined by faith, by baptism, by charity* * * * awaiting the blessed hope and the coming of the glory of the great God. Love Him therefore with all your heart who first loved you, considering what you have promised Him and fulfilling it, if you will one day be worthy of His 'promise, a hundredfold in this life and everlasting glory in the next. Believe me, brothers, *if you love Him with all your heart, living according to the legitimate institutes of the ancient most blessed fathers*, you shall be prospered in all things," etc.⁵²⁶

There is not always opportunity found to speak about everything. Raulin's letters, for instance, (excepting a few to some priests) are mostly addressed to religious, not one to a layman. One speaking to laymen, to the people, has occasion to touch on other points belonging to this chapter. This is true in the case of Raulin's contemporary, the Leipzig Dominican and preacher, Marcus von Weida. In accord with all Catholic doctors, he preaches in Advent time, 1501, that manual labor, to earn one's bread in the sweat of one's brow, "in order the more constantly to serve God

Habitu quidem ferre Christi crucem mendaciter ostendunt, se amicos crucis Christi simulant, se crucem portare post Jesum fallaces ypocritae confingunt." Also above, p. 168 sq. p. 174.

⁵²⁵ Ibid. fol. 94^b To the Master, John Barambon; "Si mutavi vestem, mutavi statum, mutavi animum."

⁵²⁶ Ibid. fol. 58: "Ipse omnia interiora et exteriora vestra possideat, qui omnia fecit, omnia redemit, et, cum placuerit, omnia morte consummabit. Attendite petram unde excisi estis, petra autem erat Christus, cui per fidem, per baptismum, per amorem firmiter juncti estis, et per longanimitatem, patientiam in tribulationibus, angustiis, et laboribus ad tempus excisi videmini, expectantes beatam spem et adventum gloriæ magni dei. Itaque illum amate ex toto corde, qui prior dilexit vos, considerantes, quæ sibi promisistis, ea adimplendo, si forte et ab eo vobis pollicita quandoque digni eritis suscipere, hic in præsentem centuplum et in futurum gloriam sempiternam. Credite mihi, fratres, si eum ex toto corde dilexeritis juxta antiquorum beatissimorum patrum legitima instituta viventes omnia vobis prospere succedent, et cum moribus optimis moenia domorum vestrarum alta," etc.

and to support wife and child" is a continual *prayer* to God. "Man should always be doing what is due to his state and being, and what is good and right. Doing that, he is praying always. One finds many a poor peasant, farmer, or mechanic, as well as others, carrying on their business or whatever they undertake, solely that it may conduce to the praise of God as their last end. One like these, *with his daily labor*, is more pleasing to Almighty God, and deserves more from Him by his work than many a Carthusian, or other black, grey, or white frairs, who daily stand in choir, chant and pray."⁵²⁷ Tauler once preached in this sense in reference to such religious as "bear the burdens of an order—singing, reading, going to choir and the refectory—with their outward man, and thereby render but petty service to our Lord." His words are very significant: "Do you suppose, dear children, that God has made you solely to be His birds? He would fain have in you also his special brides and friends."⁵²⁸

To the secular priest and renowned preacher, Geiler von Kaisersberg, the perfection of charity likewise counted as the first to be striven after in the world and in the religious state; but the latter possessed means for the better attainment of this ideal of life.⁵²⁹ Following St. Bernard, he enumerates nine advantages⁵³⁰ which those enjoy who with the exterior have also the interior disposition, for "without the spirit in the heart," one has "only the shoe-string without the shoe."⁵³¹

Let us close the witnesses before Luther with an older contemporary of Geiler and of Marcus von Weida, Gabriel Biel, Professor at Tübingen, who exercised so great an influence upon the theologians of his time and upon Luther

⁵²⁷ "Das Vater Unser," edited by V. Hasak, "Die letzte Rose," (1883) p. 8 sq. On the life and writings of Marcus, see N. Paulus, "Marcus v. Weida" in "Zeitschrift f. Kath. Theol. XXVI. Jahrg. 1902, p. 251.

⁵²⁸ Frankfurt ed. III, 111, corrected after the Strasburg ms.

⁵²⁹ "Der Hase im Pfeffer," Strasburg, Knobloch 1516, fol. b. iiij.

⁵³⁰ Ibid. Fol. e. iiij. It is only on this subject that his "Sermones novem de fructibus et utilitatibus vite monastice" treat; Argentine, 1518, on which subject more in the course of this work.

⁵³¹ Ibid. Fol. diij.

himself in his earlier period. Although a nominalist like Peter d'Ailli, he sets forth the relation of the religious life to the married state and the relation of these both to their one common end as did all his predecessors. The married state is good, indeed, but virginal perfection is more exalted by far. Nevertheless *one can be more perfect in marriage than many in the state of perfection*. After adducing his authorities, he concludes: "It is not the state of life that perfects a person, *but charity* by which *according to the state of life* there is union with God. The religious state is not perfection, but *a sure way possessing many means of attaining perfection*. It may not be despised, therefore, for that were equivalent to despising the evangelical counsels."⁵³²

It is no wonder that, out of the mouths of those who first stood forth against Luther, we find only the doctrine of the earlier authorities confirmed. The evasion, the assertion, namely, that Luther's opponents first hit upon the more circumspect doctrine because of his charges, is from now on cut off. One, to whom Luther had so recommended the religious state, his quondam instructor, Bartholomew von Usingen, met the apostate Franciscan Aegydius Mechler, 1524, with the retort: "Who does not laugh to hear that the religious wanted to be saved by their vows, their order, habit, food, etc. All this only serves and is an aid to preserve justifying grace and to make progress in it. By the vows, one is supported and enabled more calmly and unhindered to walk according to God's law and

⁵³² Sermones dominicales de tempore, Hagenau 1520, fol. 21 b (dom. 2 post oct. Epiphan.): "Nunc autem, quia bona est castitas coniugal, melior continentia vidualis, optima perfectio virginalis, ad probandum omnem electionem graduum, ad discernendum quoque meritum singulorum *ex intemerato* Marie virginis utero nasci dignatus est; a prophetico Anne *vidue* ore mox natus benedicitur; a *nuptiarum* celebrationibus iam luvenis invitatur, et eas sue presentie virtute honorat. Hec Beda. Verum, licet status coniugal inferior sit inter tres predictos: *potest nihilominus aliquis in matrimonio perfectior esse multis in statu perfectionis*. Sic de Abraam loquitur b. Augustinus et Hieronimus (et allegat magister in IV, dist. XXXIII.), qui non preferunt celibatum Joannis coniugio Abrahe. Unde *non status perficit personam, sed charitas, qua unitur secundum statum*. Unde status non est perfectio, sed quia quedam habens multa adiutoria ad perfectionem" etc.

to keep His commandments."⁵³³ The essentials of the religious state, then, the vows, are to Usingen, as they were to all who preceded him, but a relative means of attaining to perfection. Not in general to serve God, but "to serve Him *more calmly*, did I enter the order."⁵³⁴ The ideal of life is the same for all, but "the aim of the religious state is that one may serve God in His commandments more easily and more calmly."⁵³⁵ These are ideas which Luther himself avowed when he was an Augustinian and prevailed upon Usingen to enter the same order. Usingen, the soul of honor, did not shrink from expressing them openly as against his fellow religious. He did not fear they would bring the charge of lying upon him.

The case was the same with the Franciscan provincial, Kaspar Schatzgeyer⁵³⁶ as against both his own fallen associates and Luther. Against the latter's charge in his book on the monastic vows, that salvation was sought through one's order and all its trappings and appurtenances, and by one's own works, that the religious put themselves in the place of Christ, just as if they could save themselves and others, he writes: "In what monastic rule did you read that? Go through them all, and then say if you have found *even one*. The religious answer quite differently. Our state teaches and it is our teaching: to honor and serve God with a pure heart, a good conscience, and an unfalsified faith, more diligently to beware of every offence against God, zealously to fulfill the Divine will, to strive after likeness with God, to invoke help from above without ceasing, to subdue the flesh by mortification, to preserve purity of mind and of body, to flee the world and still to serve one's

⁵³³ After the Latin passages adduced by N. Paulus in his writing: "Der Augustiner Bartholomäus Arnoldi von Usingen (1893), p. 19, note 2, and p. 18, note 1. See above p. 169. Note 459.

⁵³⁴ "Religionem nostram intravi, ut in illa quietius Deo servirem." Ibid. p. 17, note. 5.

⁵³⁵ "Monasticae vitae observantia eo tendit, ut quietius et expeditius Deo serviatur in mandatis ejus," for the year 1525, *ibid.*, p. 18, note 1.

⁵³⁶ Concerning him and his writings see N. Paulus, "Kaspar Schatzgeyer" (1898). The points which I here treat of, however, Paulus does not touch, p. 62 sqq. (Defence of the Religious Life against Luther and others more recent). I make use chiefly of Schatzgeyer's "Replica" and "Examen."

neighbor. Look and see if all this is against God's commandment, against Christ, against the Gospel, against Christian liberty, against all good."⁵³⁷

According to Schatzgeyer, too, as well as all the doctors prior to his time, the ideal of life set before all consists in the fulfillment of the commandment of the love of God and of neighbor. It includes "the essential perfection of the Christian religion and there is no act of charity not contained within this commandment. Therefore no such act falls under the counsels." It is this that we have already heard from St. Thomas. In the commandment of the love of God, there is no greater, no lesser degree to be distinguished, the former belonging to the counsels, the latter coming under the commandment. And Schatzgeyer was not a Thomist but a Scotist. As he continues, he but writes with all Christian doctors: "The evangelical counsels belong to the means without which the Christian can mount to every essential evangelical perfection, so far as it is possible in this life; the religious, therefore, has no grounds for exalting himself above others, although the counsels are means which not a little, but powerfully advance man and further the end of a true Christian life to be attained both in the present and in the future."⁵³⁸

⁵³⁷ "Replica contra periculosa scripta etc., s. l. et a., but still of the year 1522, Fol. e ij: "Obsecro ubi hec in aliqua monastica legisti regula. Discute singula monastices instituta, si vel unum ex his invenire queas; aliter respondent monastici. Audi monasticorum responsa: nostra instituta docent, nostra doctrina est, Deum puro corde, conscientia bona et fide non ficta colere, ab omni eius offensa studiosius cavere, divinam sedulo implere voluntatem, ad deiformem aspirare unitatem, supernum indefesse implorare auxilium, dominicam passionem deplorare, in eandem imaginem transformari: et ut hec efficacius fiant, docent carnem ieiuniis, vigiliis et laboribus macerare, carnis lascivias frenare, indomitos ire motus cohibere, mentis et corporis pudicitiam custodire, mundi vanitates circumspecte fugiendo declinare, quietem et silentium amare, proximis nihilominus pro loco et tempore secundum fraterne charitatis exigentiam obsequi devote. Hec sunt monastices exercitia. Perpende, si sint fidei consona, si catholica, si evangelice et apostolice doctrine quadrantia, an vero preter aut supra aut extra aut vero contra fidem, contra verbum Dei, contra Christum, contra evangelium, contra Dei precepta, contra christianam libertatem, contra omne bonum."

⁵³⁸ Ibid. Fol. c. ij: "In quocunque gradu quantumcunque heroico veritas huius ex illo primo et maximo concluditur precepto: Diliges Dominum * * * quod tam arduum est, ut a nullo homine viatore possit consummate

Neither did he later depart from this doctrine, though he might have expressed it in other words. "The religious state appears to him to be only a relative, though a more effective means, of attaining the Christian ideal of life."⁵³⁹

The Frankfurt Dominican and Lector of Theology, Johannes Dietenberger, follows the same course in his two works against Luther's *Themata* and *Opinion on the Monastic Vows*.⁵⁴⁰ He appeals to the elaborations in the "*Collationes Patrum*," mentioned above in Chapter VII, and concludes that it is not the end of the vows and other monastic arrangements to acquire justice and salvation—"no one has hitherto said that"⁵⁴¹—but their end is to be instruments and means which further our salvation.⁵⁴² The observance of the commandments is unavoidably necessary to salvation, but not that of the counsels. For, although they are very helpful and useful means of attaining salva-

impleri, sed a solis comprehensoribus hoc modo impletur. *Hoc autem, cum omnem essentialem christiane religionis complectatur perfectionem, et omnibus propositum sit observandum, ex eoque charitas proxime manare dignoscatur, quantumcunque perfecta vel consummata, infertur, nullum esse charitatis actum, qui non in hoc concludatur precepto, ex consequenti nullum cadere sub consilio.* Evangelica consilia de hiis sunt, sine quibus christianus ad omnem essentialem evangelicam ascendere potest perfectionem statui vie possibilem, ut monasticis nulla falsa remaneat gloriatio ex solis consiliis evangelicis vel traditionibus adiectis cumulacioris perfectionis essentialis super vulgares quosque: nam talis gloriatio, cum sit odiosa et non immerito cuique zelatori discreto displicibilis, convellenda est. Evangelica consilia de hiis sunt, que non parum, verum vehementer, hominem promovent et provehunt ad vere christiane vite assequendum finem et in presenti et in futuro."

⁵³⁹ Thus he writes in "*Examen novarum doctrinarum*" (1523), Fol. F⁴: "Monasticum institutum est quidam modus vivendi in unitate sanctae ecclesiae catholicae et apostolicae compendiosus, quo efficacius vetus Adam per crucem mortificatur, novus homo qui secundum Deum formatus est in justicia et veritate sanctitatis induitur, et spiritus humanus in divinum spiritum transformatur, ad gloriam dei et hominis salutem, per spiritum sanctum ordinatus, evangelicis et apostolicis institutis bene quadrans."

⁵⁴⁰ *Johannis Dytenbergii theologi contra temerarium Martini Luteri de votis monasticis iudicium liber primus* * * * (1524). *Johannis Ditenbergii sacr. litterarum professoris de votis monasticis liber secundus*, editus in secundum de votis monasticis Luteri iudicium * * * Anno MDXXIV. See on this, H. Wedewer, "*Johannes Dietenberger, sein Leben und Wirken*." (1888), p. 464. I use the edition of the two works in one volume: Coloniae Pet. Quentell, 1525.

⁵⁴¹ "Quod nemo dixerit unquam."

⁵⁴² *Ibid.*, fol. 55^b, 56.

tion, or rather perfection, they are nevertheless by no means necessary.⁵⁴³

These points are treated wholly in the sense of St. Thomas by the Parisian theologian Jodok Clichtove,⁵⁴⁴ as they also are in part according to St. Bernard, here and there somewhat confusedly, by the Cistercian abbot, Wolfgang Mayer.⁵⁴⁵ There is no point in fatiguing the reader by a constant repetition of the same thoughts. But even from the nunneries there was a voice sent forth by a nun to her contemporaries, that religious were wrongly charged with believing they would be saved by orders, frocks, prayer and fasting; that such a belief was far from them; that *never had they been taught the like*. They knew right well that all human justice was but like an unclean cloth, and that they no more ascribed justice to the frock than the burghers of Cologne did to their wordly costume.⁵⁴⁶

To bring myself to a close, I adduce the foundation and arrangement of the Jesuit Order by St. Ignatius Loyola. How does he prepare his disciples for entrance into the order which he founded? By considerations on a higher ideal of life, according to which they are henceforward to live and to strive in the order as Jesuits? Not a word to that effect. He knows only one ideal of life, common to

⁵⁴³ Ibid., fol. 136^b: "Praecepta de his sunt, quae ad salutem adeo sunt necessaria, ut non possit cuiquam his non observatis salus contingere. Consilia autem de his sunt, quae ad salutem quidem conferunt nonnihil atque utilia sunt, ut tamen nulli sit desperanda salus, ubi haec non accesserunt. * * * Sunt itaque in Evangelio, praeter Christi praecepta omnibus necessaria, ad perfectionem haud parum accommodata quaedam, quae consilia dicimus."

⁵⁴⁴ Antilutherus Iodoci Clichtovei Neoportuensis, doctoris theologi, tres libros complectens. Parisiis 1524. The third book treats only of the vows and is directed against Luther's treatise, Judgment of the Monastic Vows. I frequently refer to the work. I use the edition, Coloniae, Pet. Quentell, 1525.

⁵⁴⁵ "Votorum monasticorum tutor," in Cod. Lat. Monac. 2886 of the year 1526. Concerning the author, see N. Paulus, "Wolfgang Mayer, ein bayrischer Cisterzienserabt des 16 Jahrhunderts," in "Hist. Jahrbuch," 1894, p. 575 sqq. But the article treats of this writing only too briefly, p. 584. Above I have already adduced Mayer several times.

⁵⁴⁶ In the writing: "Ayn Sendbrieff vonn einer andächtigen frummen Klosterfrauen von Marienstayn an yren Bruder Endris von wegen der lutherischen ler."—(Place not given) 1524. See also A. Baur, "Deutschland in den Jahren 1517-1525" (Ulm 1872), p. 217.

all men. He first requires of a Jesuit novice the carrying out of a four weeks' retreat or spiritual exercises.⁵⁴⁷ This is to be conducted according to the *same* method and direction that Ignatius gives to laymen in the world, and which he himself, indeed, pursued in solitude at Manresa when he had not the least thought of entering or of founding an order.⁵⁴⁸ He sought that solitude in order to live there wholly to God, shortly after that time in which Luther had hardly left the Wartburg, where he compassed his vituperative writings against the monastic vows and the Holy Mass. Now, as an indispensable foundation for all, Ignatius places at the beginning of his exercises a principle that forms the content of *any* ideal of life whatever: "Man is created unto the end that *he praise his God and his Lord, show Him honor, and serve Him, and thereby save his soul*, (that is, attain his everlasting destiny). All else on earth is created for the sake of man, to be helpful to him in the attainment of his end, for which he was created," etc.⁵⁴⁹ This is the same thought that we so often heard expressed above.

Now if this is the ideal of life for religious as well, the obligation of fulfilling the three counsels could not, according to St. Ignatius, make a higher one. It is only a more appropriate *means* to reach as perfectly as possible the ideal of life common to all. This is so true that, in the Spiritual Exercises, only the ideal of life mentioned, only this *one* foundation is set up, to the consideration of which an entire week is to be devoted, but there is no allusion to a particular ideal of life for religious. The succeeding

⁵⁴⁷ See Primum ac generale examen iis omnibus, qui in Societatem Jesu admitti petent, proponendum, c. 4, in the Constitutiones Societatis Jesu, latine et hispanice, cum earum declarationibus, Matrity 1892, p. 20.

⁵⁴⁸ See Vita Ignatii Loiolae et rerum Societatis Jesu histori, auct. J. Alphonso de Polanco, I (Matriti 1894), p. 18, 21, 23, 25, but particularly the most thorough work of P. A. Astrain, Historia de la Compañía de Jesús en la asistencia de España (Madrid 1902), p. 31 sqq. On the plan of the Exercises, see *ibid.*, p. 140 sqq., and Handmann in "Theol. prakt. Quartalsch. (Linz 1903), p. 746 sqq., 777.

⁵⁴⁹ Exercitia spiritualia S. P. Ignatii de Loyola, cum versione literali ex Authographo hispanico notis illustrata (a Joanne Roothaan, praeposito generali), Romae 1852, p. 23 sq. (edit. quarta). See also below, Chap. 10, C.

considerations on the kingdom, the life, and the virtues of Jesus Christ, whom the whole of Christendom obeys and who seeks to conquer all lands of unbelievers, do not set forth a new ideal of life but the duty of any Christian, after the subjection of himself, reconciliation with God, and the ordering of his life, to form himself by the exercise of the virtues after Jesus Christ, in order to attain his end. This is because Jesus Christ is to all the way to the Father, to the end to which they are called.

It was wholly in the spirit of their founder that the superiors of the Society later laid down as a rule that actual members, whether solemnly professed or not, should follow the Spiritual Exercises in their annual retreats. These had served them in their preparation for reception into the order. They recognize no other ideal of life than the one common to all, no other way than Jesus Christ. By them the older Jesuits were, and the newer ones are formed.⁵⁵⁰ All the remaining orders followed the custom without *therefore* taking an iota from their old statutes. On the contrary, carrying out the Spiritual Exercises conduces to a better observance of the laws of their order. By means of the same aid and practice, the Christian in the world also learns to know better and more penetratingly the ideal of life that he has in common with the religious, and

⁵⁵⁰ This was very beautifully expressed by General Roothan in a letter to all the members of the Order. This letter accompanied the first edition (1834) and the words we refer to are as follows: "Saepe ac multum cogitanti mihi, Patres ac Fratres carissimi, immo vero assidue animo volenti, quam maxime ratione in renata paucis abhinc annis ac. sensim adolescente Societate *spiritus ille vel exsuscitari, ubi opus sit, vel conservari, foveri, promoveri possit*, qui eius olim tum primordia tum incrementa tam laeta reddidit ecclesiae dei, tam fructuosa ad innumerabilium hominum salutem; illud iamdudum occurebat, *nihil fore ad convertenda corda Patrum in filios, ad filios, inquam, Patribus reddendos quam fieri posset similimos, aptius atque efficacius, quam sancti Patris nostri Exercitiorum spiritualium diligens studium et accuratum usum*. Etenim cum primos illos patres nostros, et qui eosdem subsequuti sunt, *non alia re magis, quam horum Exercitiorum opera, in alios plane viros mutatos fuisse constet*, perque ipsos alios deinceps atque alios, iisdem hisce spiritualibus exercitiis exultos, a vitiorum laqueis expositos, non virtutis modo, verum etiam eximiae sanctitatis studio incensos fuisse, et in concepto semel ardore spiritus ad mortem usque per multos labores et aerumnas perseverasse: quid est, quod iisdem exercitiis nos rite utentes non eundem spiritus fructum in nobis fidenter exspectemus?"

the way to it, Jesus Christ, that on this he may attain to the other. The difference between the laic and the religious does not even consist in the way, then, to say nothing of the *end*; it consists in the more perfect or less perfect walking in the footsteps of Jesus Christ. *Both* can be found in the religious state and in the world. The religious in himself has only a better prospect of becoming like the image of Christ because his means are more adapted thereunto. But these more adapted means are of no use without the interior disposition, and one can possess the latter without having outwardly embraced the former.⁵⁵¹

Although St. Ignatius furthermore, both before his conversion and after the founding of his order, had lived or studied much in monasteries, he was not aware that, according to the teaching of the Church, or at least of the monks, one would be saved by his habit and tonsure. Hence, finding it more suited to the time and to the tasks of his institute, he did not even prescribe a determinate dress, rope, or cincture for his order, nor did he lay down that his followers were to wear tonsures like monks. What we heard the earlier authorities teach, namely, that such things are unessential in the religious life and that the essentials lie in the interior disposition, is proved by St. Ignatius in his creation. Omitting a special habit for his order, he only omitted a symbol, a sign,⁵⁵² not the thing symbolized, the essential part. It is not to be wondered at, either, that he set down no other fasts for his followers than those of the universal Church. He had learned from the works of St. Thomas that it is not the order more strict in external exercises that is superior, but the one whose observances are ordained to the end with greater discern-

⁵⁵¹ Likewise the other exercises in the years of probation of the Jesuits indicate nothing which would point to a different ideal of life; on the contrary, they only serve to teach the aspirant asceticism, self-control, humility and charity, that he may the better realize the ideal of life pictured in the *Spiritual Exercises*. This includes service in the hospitals, for a time, without money, begging from door to door, for Christ's sake, menial services, instruction of children and the ignorant in Christian doctrine, and also (when possible) preaching and hearing of confessions. *Constitut. Societ. Jesu*, etc., p. 20, 22.

⁵⁵² See above, p. 170, note 461.

ment.⁵⁵³ The particular end of the Dominican Order, that is, solicitude for the salvation of souls, the defence of the faith against unbelief and false belief, all for the sake of the spread of the Kingdom of Christ, gave occasion to the founder of the order and his successors, as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century, to provide that individual students, professors, and preachers might be dispensed, if expedient, from the severities of the order, and in some circumstances from assistance at choir. They determined in general that the universal statutes of the order should be made subservient to its particular end.⁵⁵⁴ This could not be done, if the essence of the order, or the very salvation of its members, pertained to those statutes. St. Ignatius and his successors in office were led by the right insight, when, in view of the particular end of their order, which coincides with that of the Dominicans, and in view of new demands and problems, they wholly suppressed *choir office in common*,⁵⁵⁵ both day and night, but in lieu thereof urged the interior life, the spirit of prayer, the ascetic formation of each individual, and purity of mind and heart. The sad state in which the orders and their members then on the whole largely found themselves,⁵⁵⁶ had not unlikely

⁵⁵³ 2. qu. 188, a. 6 ad 3: "Arctitudo observantiarum non est illud, quod praecipue in religione commendatur. * * * Et ideo non est potior religio ex hoc, quod habet arctiores observantias, sed ex hoc, quod ex maiori discretione sunt eius observantiae ordinatae ad finem religionis."

⁵⁵⁴ See my treatise bearing on this subject in "Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters," I, from p. 177 on. At that time, i.e., seventeen years ago, I had already said that the Dominican Order, although on the whole still possessing the appearance of the old orders, was nevertheless *preparing* a new conception, or, more correctly, a new *form* of the religious state for such as, in later times, proposed to themselves an end similar to that of the Dominican Order. The first to give this new form to the religious state was St. Ignatius.

⁵⁵⁵ The breviary offices and prayers prescribed by the Church were to be recited by each one in private. But even in the first days of the Dominican Order, it had been ordained, in respect to the general duties of the choir: "All the hours shall be chanted *briefly* and *succinctly*, so that the brethren lose not their devotion and study suffer not the least detriment. (This study was to serve as an aid in the defence of the Faith and to preaching). (Archiv, etc. p. 191). It was but a step from this provision to that of St. Ignatius.

⁵⁵⁶ I treat of this in the second volume of the book on the rise of Lutherdom.

a great deal to do with drawing chief attention to the points indicated.

Were not this book to grow overbulky, I would gladly adduce still far more witnesses out of Catholic antiquity and Catholic tradition.⁵⁵⁷ But that were carrying water to the sea. Those brought forward in the two present chapters are enough to enable one to form a sure judgment of the Catholic doctrine and of its distortion by Luther and his following. I have presented ancient doctors, monks, founders and reformers of orders, the preferred theologians of the Church, and doctors of the spiritual life, mystics, religious of the different orders, secular priests and professors, such as were more hostile than friendly to religious, popular preachers, even Luther himself in his earlier days. We asked them all the question if the religious has an ideal of life other than that of the common Christian, in what relation the counsels and vows stand to that ideal, and whether they transcend the commandments, whether the religious is perfect directly he dons the habit, makes profession, and performs the external exercises of his order, and whether perfection is attached only to the religious state.

However various was the treatment of these themata at times by the different writers, they all agree in the following propositions:

1. The tradition of the Church knows but *one ideal of life* for both religious and the rest of Christians—the fulfillment of the commandment of the love of God and of neighbor.

2. The *perfection* of Christian life consists precisely in the most perfect fulfillment of that commandment possible, that is, so far as is possible in *time* and in the different states of life.

3. Perfection therefore does not consist in the counsels, but in the commandments, or rather in the commandment of charity as the final end of all morality; but the counsels, to which the religious binds himself by vows, are means adapted to the easier attainment of the perfection of char-

⁵⁵⁷ See pertinent matter in H. Laemmer, "Die vortridentinisch-Kathol. Theologie (1558). p. 171 sqq.

ity, though this is not saying that a Christian in the world cannot attain the perfection of charity, so far as is possible in this life.

4. The counsels do not directly serve to remove the hindrances which stand in the way of charity in itself, for that is the task of the commandments subordinated to the commandment of charity. It is the purpose of the counsels to remove such hindrances as are opposed to the freer and easier activity of charity and to the most frequent and enduring actuality possible to it.

5. The religious state is not called a state of perfection, as if that state were deemed perfect, so that anyone belonging to it forthwith possesses perfection, but because in it one, by assuming the vows, irrevocably and forever binds himself to strive after perfection.

6. The habit and everything else external serve no purpose without the purity and power of an interior disposition towards virtue, without self-oblation to God. The more inly and perfect this oblation is, the more perfect does the religious become, and so too the Christian in the world.

7. A true vocation to the religious life and a true vocation in the world are equally based on a call from God. Every vocation, in this sense, is of God's will and pleasing to Him; therefore, the means of grace being applied, it is a way to the attainment of everlasting blessedness. Hence it is that the Church chants to the triune God:

"Per tuas semitas duc nos quo tendimus

Ad lucem quam inhabitas."⁵⁵⁸

"In thy footsteps conduct us on

Our way to the light which is thy dwelling."

It was reserved to Luther alone to set up the claim that the founders of the orders, Bernard, Francis, Dominic, and (in his opinion) Augustine did not deem that the orders were ways to salvation!⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁸ In the doxology of the hymn, "Sacris solemnibus" for matins on the feast of Corpus Christi.

⁵⁵⁹ Erl. 28, 167 for the year 1522. In accordance with this he writes the year after: "What is worst of all, our vows have this dirt upon them,

The setting forth of these propositions, however, is not to be understood as including a denial that, in the course of centuries, there were not some who exaggerated the idea of the religious state, particularly when they spoke thoughtlessly in a moment of enthusiasm. Are our own professors and others always very correct and tactful in their utterances under the excitement and enthusiasm of the moment? Are they not compelled to correct their discourses, now and again, even a second and third time? The consideration to which they lay claim in their own behalf they might also bestow upon medieval authors, recalling the saying of Nider quoted above: "Even if a preacher stood upon the belfry, if he does not speak the truth, his preaching is that of a hedge-parson."⁵⁶⁰ Extreme views in respect to the religious state, too, may well have been evoked in many cases by the extreme views of enemies of the religious state⁵⁶¹—a phenomenon of frequent occurrence in controversies. Truth lies in the mean, and this mean, as on other points so also in respect to the ideal of life and to the religious state, is maintained by Catholic doctrine.

By the doctrine of the Church and of her masters of the spiritual life as set forth in these last two chapters, let us now test the utterances of Luther and of his old and new followers on this same Catholic teaching. This will at the same time offer occasion for further development and exposition.

CHAPTER IX

LUTHER'S SOPHISMS AND DISTORTIONS IN RESPECT TO CHRISTIAN PERFECTION

It has repeatedly struck our attention that Luther was a master in sophistry. His talent was of service to him in its formulation and after his apostasy, in his warfare against the Church, he made use of it to deceive others

that they seek to constitute a way to heaven. The whores in the monasteries wish to be the brides of our Lord Christ." Weim. XIV, 395. Luther's only understanding is for distortion and wholesale confusion.

⁵⁶⁰ See above, p. 180.

⁵⁶¹ Such a one was Pupper von Goch in the XV century.

and to tear them away from her. In respect to the most important affair of life, the salvation of the soul, he often acted like the opponent in the philosophical and theological disputations in medieval and later schools. These disputations, or so-called "circles," served, among other things, and are still in use, to sharpen the understanding of the candidates. The opponent, to be sure, largely has recourse to sophistical arguments to catch the defendant in the debate. The latter is thus put to the test to see if he is competent to expose and solve the opponent's sophistry. If he succeeds, the opponent yields. If unable to answer, he fails. In this case, the opponent then frequently gives the solution. In his talks on religion and in his theological writings, Luther employs sophistry just as in those school exercises, only with this difference that in the latter he awaited the answer, whilst he did not do so in his writings against the Church. Here he had recourse to the trick of setting up his arbitrarily fabricated major premise as one universally acknowledged by monks and theologians or in the Church, and about whose correctness no one entertained a doubt. Then he proceeded to knock it down.

I shall illustrate this by an example, in order then to pass over to Luther's sophisms on perfection.

A. THE VOWS ALLEGED BY LUTHER TO BE OF TWO KINDS, ESSENTIAL AND ACCIDENTAL.

In his work on the vows, Luther writes: "They make three of the vows *essential* ones—poverty, chastity, and obedience; the rest they consider *accidental*. Therefore it was decreed by them that only those broke vows who broke the essential ones. *On this there exists only one opinion among them.* But in vain, for it is only a human invention, wholly useless to fortify the conscience, aye, useful to mislead it. Who assures us that *this division* of the vows is pleasing to God? Would you perhaps build up my conscience upon your dreams?"⁵⁶² This was written by Luther

⁵⁶² Weim. VIII, 638. Likewise in the well known sermon, Erl. 10, 454: "They had divided the vows into *substantialia* and *accidentalialia*, i.e. some vows are immovable, some movable. Immovable they made three: poverty,

in connection with that already discussed untruth of his, that one vows the whole rule.⁵⁶³

There is hardly another place in which Luther's rascality so palpably shows itself as here. Quite the whole of his assertion is a mendacious fabrication, which he represents as a universally accepted opinion. What Catholic doctor before Luther's time ever divided the vows into "substantialia" and "accidentalialia"? Not one. Hence as early as 1528, Luther was called a fabulist who draws up divisions and definitions and conclusions at his pleasure, and then is barefaced enough to pass off his fictions as the general opinion among monks.⁵⁶⁴ Luther knew very well that the three vows mentioned are not classed "substantialia" as though they were, as such, set over against others classed "accidentalialia," but because it is in them that the religious life essentially (essentialiter, substantialiter) consists,⁵⁶⁵ and because a religious, in virtue of the religious life, takes no other vows than the three mentioned. It was said, indeed, that, of the instruments or means serving in the attainment of perfection, some are essential to the state of perfection, others accidental. The three vows were classed among the essential means, but fasting, solitude, prayer,⁵⁶⁶ etc., were

chastity and obedience. All the others with the whole rule and order they call movable (vows)." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 456.

⁵⁶³ See p. 56 sqq.

⁵⁶⁴ Thus writes the Cistercian abbot, Wolfgang Mayer, in his treatise, "Votorum monasticorum tutor," (Cod. lat. Monac. 2886, fol. 66): "Narrat surdis hanc fabulam Lutherus, nos eam non audimus, cum res longe aliter se habeat. Facit tamen pro sua auctoritate diffiniendo, partiendo, concludendo et condemnando, ut libitum fuerit. Cur non etiam eadem libidine istam votorum partitionem confingeret? * * * *Accidentalialia vota non novimus nisi Luthero iam docente. Mentitur ergo rabula, omnium nostrum de hac votorum partitione unam esse sententiam, et quod soli violatores voti per nos censeantur, qui prima tria solvissent.*"

⁵⁶⁵ See above, loc. cit., and also Thomas in Chapter 8, and "De perfect. vitae spirit.," c. 11: 2. qu. 186, a. 7. It was also said those three counsels or vows pertain "ad substantiam status religiosi."

⁵⁶⁶ Henry of Ghent, "Quod. VII, qu. 28 (See above, p. 162 sq.). *Dictorum instrumentorum quaedam sunt substantialia statui perfectionis, quaedam vero accidentalialia. Substantialia, ut illa que pertinent ad tria vota substantialia, quae fiunt in religione, quae communia sunt omni religioni. Caetera vero omnia sunt accidentalialia, quae variantur in diversis religionibus secundum diversa praecepta, statuta, et consuetudines diversas eorum. Quarum*

held to belong to the accidental instruments. But absolutely never has there been question of *accidental*, in contradistinction to essential vows.

Since in philosophy, when one speaks of substance there is also question of accident, Luther's division of the vows could happily have been turned to account in a theological disputation to catch an inexperienced theological candidate. But what sort of offence was it to saddle this fictitious division upon the Catholic theologians and, with Luther, to argue the conclusion against them that all vows are essential and fall under the commandment, "vow ye and pay," so that none may be broken? As though violation of vows had ever been taught in the Catholic Church! It was Luther's concern only to throw sand into the eyes of his readers and slyly to instruct them that God knows no accidental vows, and that all vows are essential; in order then to represent the monks as vanquished by himself. "Wherever they may turn, they find themselves driven into a corner and cannot escape."⁵⁶⁷ Like another Don Quixote, the "Reformer" fights a phantom, in order then to blare himself the victor. In the end, he, who had broken his vows and had misled others to do the same, assumes the role of great gravity: "The word and the commandment of God stands for eternity. It suffers no jest nor perversion and distortion."⁵⁶⁸ He perverts and distorts everything. He does it intentionally, and the very ones whose teachings he has perverted and distorted, he censures for perversion and distortion!

quaedam consistunt in negatione et amotione eius, quod perfectionis acquisitionem prohibet, ut sunt ieiunia, solitudines, et huiusmodi; quaedam vero in positione et conservatione eius, quo ipsa perfectio aquiritur, ut sunt oratio, contemplatio, scripturae meditatio, et caetera huiusmodi. Illa autem, quae statui perfectionis sunt substantialia, consistunt solummodo in negatione et amotione eius, quod est perfectionis acquirendae, scil. perfectae charitatis impeditivum, quia est contrarii eius, scil. cupiditatis, augmentativum, vel principaliter, vel per occasionem."

⁵⁶⁷ Or as he preaches Erl. 10, 457, he had disputed all this: "I prove perforce, *incontrovertibly*, that either all vows are movable ('accidentalia'), or all are immovable ('substantialia') and wholly the same."

⁵⁶⁸ Welm. VIII, 638.

B. THE CHRISTIAN STATE OF LIFE, LUTHER ALLEGES, DIVIDED
BY THE DOCTORS INTO PERFECT AND IMPERFECT.

Exactly the same procedure was observed by Luther in respect to the state of perfection. He says: "It is a further principle of the perfidy of those, that they divide Christian life into the *state of perfection* and *that of imperfection*. To the common herd they give the state of imperfection, but to themselves that of perfection."⁵⁶⁹ Two years later he amplifies this and explains what he means by it. The Scholastics (sophists) had said that Christ, by his sermon on the mount (containing the commandment of the love of one's enemy) (Matt. 5, 38-44), had abrogated the "law of Moses." The doctors "had made counsels out of such commandments (of Christ) *for the perfect*."⁵⁷⁰ In accordance with this, he continues, "they divide Christian doctrine and state of life into two parts; *they call the one perfect*, adjudging it those counsels; (they call) *the other imperfect*, adjudging it the commandments. They do this of their own sheer wantonness and misdoing without any warrant of Scripture. They do not see that in the same place Christ so severely enjoins His teaching that He will not have even the least of it set aside, and He condemns those to hell who do not love their enemies."⁵⁷¹ What approved doctor of the Catholic Church before Luther's day divided Christian life into the *state* of perfection and the *state* of imperfection or even into the *perfect* and the *imperfect* state? Not one. Thomas Aquinas, the leader of the later doctors, is with Jesus Christ in knowing two ways to salvation; the *ordinary way* of the commandments, common to all Chris-

⁵⁶⁹ Weim. VIII, 584, 23: "Alterum principium perfidie illorum, quod vitam christianam partiuntur in statum perfectionis et imperfectionis. Vulgo dant imperfectionis, sibi perfectionis statum." See also, *ibid.* p. 580, 22 sq., already adduced above, p. 146.

⁵⁷⁰ *Ibid.* XI, 249. Cf. Erl. 49, 167: They "make counsels out of God's commandments, which are only *for the perfect*." See also Erl. 7, 334.

⁵⁷¹ How greatly Luther here deceives his readers, seeking to lead them to believe that, according to the doctrine of the Church and of the Scholastics, the *love of one's enemies* is only a *counsel* but not a *commandment*, and how he *intentionally* confuses and does not distinguish what is of counsel in this commandment, I will briefly touch up in the next chapter under the title Melancthon and the "Augustana" (creed).

tians, and sufficient for the attainment of everlasting blessedness; and the *way of perfection*,⁵⁷² from which, however, the commandments are not excluded. I say Thomas Aquinas is with Jesus Christ. To the young man who all his lifetime had kept God's commandments and asked what was yet wanting to him, the Divine Saviour made answer: "If thou wilt be *perfect*, go, sell what thou hast and give to the poor, * * * and come, follow Me."⁵⁷³ Now, is the way of the commandments the way of imperfection? Not at all. All men, as we sufficiently know, have the same ideal of life, the perfection of Divine charity. All are therefore under the obligation of striving after the degree of perfection that is *possible* to them. But how could Christ make a difference between the way of the commandments and that of perfection? Did He not thereby place the latter as something higher above the former? Certainly. But why? Just because, in ordinary life, one so often does not strive after the perfection of charity, the following of Christ, but suffers the temporal to hinder him. It was just this that was the case with the young man, as appears from the context. Too much attached to his riches, he gave no heed to striving after the perfection of charity. Therefore the Saviour advised the renunciation of all as a means to its attainment, in order then to be able to follow only Him.

If all men were to strive after the perfection of charity and the following of Christ, there would be no need of a state of life which has made it its peculiar task to reach the highest possible degree of charity, to attain to likeness with Christ, and to pursue this purpose by every available means. Since men do not so strive, the religious state was quite naturally developed with reference to God's word, and those belonging to it order their life according to unchangeable rules and bind their will by the holiest and most solemn promises, "so that striving after perfection is now for them

⁵⁷² Thomas Aquinas on Matth., c. 19, 21: "Est enim duplex via: una sufficiens ad salutem, et haec est dilectio dei et proximi cum sui beneficio, sine suo gravamine. * * * Alia est perfectionis, ut diligere proximum cum sui detrimento. * * * Quia duplex est dilectio proximi, scil. dilectio secundum *viam communem*, et dilectio *perfectionis*."

⁵⁷³ Matt. 19, 21.

no longer a matter of free pleasure, but the first and most compelling of all duties, that is, the duty of their state and calling."⁵⁷⁴ And precisely because in the religious state one binds himself by solemn public vows forever to strive after perfection, this state, since the middle of the thirteenth century, (at least so far as my knowledge goes), has been called the *state of perfection*.⁵⁷⁵

Since this state has no other end than that to which all Christians in their manner are bound, the only difference being that it seeks to attain the ideal of life common to all by specially adapted means in the most perfect manner possible, it is self-evident that it cannot be set up as against a *state of imperfection*. For what else would this mean than that, in this state of imperfection, one openly, and, because it is a matter of "status," state of life, forever professes imperfection, whereas, in virtue of the commandment, every Christian is bound to love God with all his heart and soul.

What else would such an opposition of those states to each other signify than that the state of perfection would absolutely exclude the state of those not found within itself, because the perfect does exclude the imperfect, so that the way of the commandments would be shut out of the state of perfection? That, certainly, is the construction that Luther ascribed to the Christian doctors and monks, but that is the most that can be said of it—he ascribed it to them. The Christian doctors know that idea no more than they do Luther's division. They speak only of the state of life common to all Christians according to the commandments, and of that of perfection, as we just heard Thomas, whom all follow, express himself. They teach that the state of ordinary Christian life is *included* in the state of perfection. The former possesses the basis of salvation and of all perfection to be striven after, namely, the life of grace and of charity. It is therefore *necessarily included* in every other wholesome state, consequently also in the

⁵⁷⁴ See a beautiful exposition of this by Albert M. Weiss, "Apologie des Christentums," Vol. 5, (2 and 3 edit., 1898), p. 589 sq.

⁵⁷⁵ See above, Chap. 8.

state of perfection. *The keeping of the commandments belongs to the essence of Christian perfection.*⁵⁷⁶

Again, what else would be the meaning of such an opposition of these states to each other, as imputed to Catholics by Luther, than that all in the state of perfection were really perfect, and all outside of it were actually imperfect; that the religious state is as perfect as Christian perfection itself, whilst those outside of it could absolutely never reach perfection except by entering the religious state? How false this is and opposed to the teaching of Christian doctors we have seen repeatedly.

He who admits with the Catholic Church that the different callings in the world are of God's will must also admit that God wills the sanctification and the attainment of perfection of everyone in his calling. The commandment of Christ: "Be ye perfect as your Father in Heaven is perfect," or the saying of St. Paul: "This is the will of God, your sanctification," apply to all callings. But how does one reach perfection in the world? By fulfilling the commandments of God and the duties of one's state *for the love of God*, which is the bond of perfection. The intenser this love is, the nearer does one approach perfection. What the religious state must strive after is exactly the same, and in the ceaseless observance of the counsels it recognizes the chiefest duties of its calling. In respect to the end pursued by Christian life in the world and by the religious state, no difference exists. The difference is in the specific means by which the same end is attained. It is only in relation to these means that one can say the religious *state* is *more perfect* than that of Christians in the world, but not as regards the *end* or with respect to particular *individuals* here and there. While someone in the religious state is but a beginner in perfection, or is even imperfect and will never get farther, one in the world may have made great progress in the love of God—a progress the greater because of the

⁵⁷⁶ See extensive treatment of this by Suarez, "De statu perfectionis," lib. 2. c. 2, n. 7-9; c. 14. The celebrated theologian there discusses only the ancient tradition. In what sense "*conjugium*" is sometimes called a "*status imperfectus*," see *Ibid.* c. 3, n. 13.

greater difficulties he had to contend against. As in respect to the essential reward in eternity, so in respect to the greater perfection here on earth, the degree, the measure of charity and of one's oblation to God is the determinant, not the external works and achievements of virtue in themselves.⁵⁷⁷

Luther's setting up of the religious state as *perfect* in contradistinction to the life of Christians in the world as *imperfect*, is based on the wholly erroneous idea that, by what is known to be better and accepted as such, a contrasted object forthwith proves bad, so that the matter is one of *contradictories*. We shall see later that this idea plays a chief role with him and present-day Protestant theologians in their discussion of marriage against the Catholic Church. But from the principle mentioned, what follows in the question now occupying our attention? It follows that the religious state is also imperfect. Every order is a state of perfection. Nevertheless one order is *more perfect* than another. For, in the attainment of perfection, not only the three vows but other means serve, and these are different in different orders. The more means an order possesses aiding in the easier and speedier attainment of perfection, and the fewer things which can hinder the same, the *more perfect* such an order is in comparison with another.⁵⁷⁸ According to Luther's principle, the latter order as compared with the other is *imperfect* and therefore, if one wanted to go on to a logical conclusion from Luther's principle, would cease to be a state of perfection.

⁵⁷⁷ Thus does St. Thomas teach 3 Sent. dist. 29, qu. 4, a. 8, solut. ad 2. quaestiunc., in accord with antiquity: "Praemium essenziale * * * mensuratur secundum intensionem charitatis, non *sec-magnitudinem factorum, quia Deus magis pensat ex quanto, quam quantum fiat.*" Similarly Gregory the Great, "Hom. 5 in Evang., n. 2. It is all of Luther's ordinary spite when he seeks (Welm. XI, 249) to inform the doctors of the Church that perfection and imperfection are not in works, but in the heart; "he who believes in me and loves me, is perfect, he he whosoever he may." Luther deceives even in this, that by love he means only love of neighbor. Besides, what Christian doctor ever said that perfection consists in works? What Luther says here is only the more correctly and exactly expressed by them.

⁵⁷⁸ Henry of Ghent writes in "Quol." II, qu. 14: "Status perfectionis generandae * * * semper tanto est perfectior, quanto habet plura promotiva et pauciora impeditiva ad perfectionem celtius et facilius acquirendam."

Luther was unwilling to see (or did he really not know?) that, in our question, a contradiction is established only by a difference in the *end*, and not by a difference in the *means* by which the end is attained. As in *his* division of the vows into "substantialia" and "accidentalialia," so in *his* division of Christian life into the state of perfection and that of imperfection, Luther but assails a phantom,⁵⁷⁹ and as he there inveighs against the consequences of his lie, which he had set up as Catholic truth, so does he here pursue the same course.⁵⁸⁰

It is in the same spirit that Luther treats the questions, long ago answered by the earlier doctors, for instance, St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure,⁵⁸¹ whether religious can accept ecclesiastical offices and dignities, and whether a religious who has taken the three vows can become a bishop, cardinal, or Pope. Either must this be denied, says Luther, or the state of Pope, cardinal, or bishop must be condemned. Let him who will understand this alternative, but that is not the question here. Luther continues: "They (the Papists) say here that such a religious yields to obedience and *enters upon the state of perfection*. That is a nice lie on thy head. Why didst thou say before that the religious state is a state of perfection? I pray thee, how many states of perfection hast thou? If then the bishop afterwards resigns and goes into a monastery, which has sometimes happened, he goes from the state of imperfection into the state of perfection, and again, when a monk becomes a bishop and leaves his monastery, he enters upon the state of perfection. There seest thou how the states mutually perfect and imperfect each other, that is, how the lies go at, rend, and consume each other."⁵⁸²

What did not the "Reformer" concoct in his brains in order fully to lure the dissolute mendicant friars into his toils!

⁵⁷⁹ Weim. VIII, 584: "Merum commentum et ludibrium est de perfectionis et imperfectionis statu, ex ignorantia fidei proveniens, tantum ad seducendum idoneum."

⁵⁸⁰ Ibid. "Hanc differentiam non metiuntur iuxta mensuram spiritus et fidei et charitatis, quas certum est in vulgo potissimum regnare, sed iuxta pompam et larvam *externorum* operum et suorum votorum, in quibus nihil est neque spiritus, neque fidei, neque charitatis, quin spiritum fidei et charitatis extinguunt."

⁵⁸¹ See 4. Sent. dist. 38, a. 2, qu. 3, ad 5.

⁵⁸² Weim. VIII, 643.

Such thimble-rigging might have been brought forward at a theological disputation to corner the defendant and to give him an opportunity of sharply distinguishing the underlying conceptions, but it was a misdemeanor not only to exhibit this sophistical claptrap against the state of perfection, but to allege it as truly representing the case. Luther wants to make it believed that a twofold perfection is assumed, one for the religious state and another for the Pope, cardinals, and bishops. But we now know well enough that there can be but *one sole perfection* of the Christian life, namely, the perfection of charity, after which all ought to strive. The *commandment* "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God," etc., holds for all. We also are well aware that one and the same perfection discloses different degrees or phases of development. At profession, a religious takes upon himself the duty of *striving* after perfection. A bishop *ought* already to have that perfection which the religious binds himself to attain. The relation of the perfection of the religious to that of the bishop, according to St. Thomas, is that of the disciple to the master.⁵⁸³ Does the religious who becomes a bishop therefore enter upon the state of perfection? No, he is already in it. But now he ought to have that perfection as master, which heretofore he strove after as a disciple. Does the bishop who returns into a monastery pass from the state of imperfection into that of perfection? Apart from the Lutheran nonsense of such an assertion, the bishop in this case does not cease to be a bishop. All this was trumped up and fabricated by Luther, to enable him to bluster against the Papists. "What dost thou hope these impudent and idiotic (fellows) will finally say, except that perhaps they will also devise a state of perfection, when thou goest *from thy marriage bed into a whorehouse?* O Christ, in this sacrilegious manner of living there is nothing else than the most

⁵⁸³ Thomas Aquinas on Matth. c. 19: "Talis est differentia inter perfectionem religiosorum et praelatorum, qualis inter discipulum et magistrum. Unde discipulo dicitur: si vis addiscere, intra scholas ut addiscas; magistro discitur: lege et perface." Hence was it said, likewise from the XIII century, that a religious is "in statu perfectionis *acquirendae* or *generandae*," a bishop "In statu perfectionis *exercendae*." Cf. also above p. 159, note 422; p. 163 sq.; p. 181, note 505.

confounded lies!"⁵⁸⁴ It is Luther's usual tactics to distort Catholic doctrine in such a manner that he can then, with apparent justice, direct his attacks against it in his own trivial manner.

C. IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, LUTHER ALLEGES, THE HIGHEST PERFECTION IS IN CHASTITY. CONSEQUENCES. THE EARLIER LUTHER AGAINST THE LATER.

"This poor ignorant crowd does not even know why *chastity* is counseled. They believe that in itself it is the *very highest work* in which salvation and glory lie. *Therefore in perfection they esteem themselves by far above the rest of Christians.*" Thus writes Luther.⁵⁸⁵ Nevertheless we have already heard that the counsels, according to Christian doctors, are only relative means, "*removentia prohibentia*," removing the hindrance to the freer unfolding of charity. With the counsel of continency, they are in the service of the commandment of the love of God and of neighbor and consequently of man's everlasting destiny. So Luther is only again at his work of deception. But before taking up his charge, on this head, let us first more specially consider his assertion that the religious believed themselves by far superior to the rest of Christians in perfection.

Who will deny that there were religious who deemed themselves better than others?⁵⁸⁶ For such it would have been more advantageous to remain in the world. St. Augustine in his day had said: "Better humble marriage than proud virginity."⁵⁸⁷ But is pride necessarily bound up with the monastic vows? Luther certainly assumed this in his cunning way and at the same time asserted, too, that, according to Catholic teaching, the religious state is perfection, a religious is

⁵⁸⁴ Weim. VIII, 643.

⁵⁸⁵ Weim. VIII, 585.

⁵⁸⁶ But these were precisely the unspiritual, imperfect religious in name only, of whom moralists like Gregorius Morgenstern (*Sermones contra omnem mundi perversum statum*, Argentine, 1513, fol. 4^b) preached: "*despiciunt seculares, putantes se meliores ipsis*," etc. Such religious identify the "*should have*" with "*have*."

⁵⁸⁷ In psalm, 99, n. 13.

perfect, and considers himself perfect. St. Thomas, on the contrary, teaches that "it is presumption for any one to hold himself perfect, but not to strive after perfection."⁵⁸⁸ This striving after perfection excludes pride and presumption. Self-exaltation grows only out of pride and presumption. Since Luther by nature belonged to the proudest and most presumptuous beings of his time, as shall be proved in the course of this work, it would have been a wonder if self-exaltation had not already manifested itself in him in the Catholic period of his life. As early as 1516, after which he still remained a religious for some years, he wrote of himself that "he did not formerly comprehend how, after his sorrow was excited and his confession made, *he should not have preferred himself to others*, since he believed himself then to be without sin."⁵⁸⁹ Now this, *his own* evil sentiment he ascribed to all other religious, and he naturally censured them for esteeming themselves more perfect than others. At the same time, we get to see from this how far Luther, even in his Catholic days, had departed from true Christianity. If this then took place within him largely without his being conscious of it, the same cannot be said of him later after his apostasy. It was intentionally that he distorted Catholic doctrine and he was well aware of it when he imputed the worst to Catholics.

And now how about the first charge, that the monks believe chastity to be *the very highest work*, in which salvation and glory lie? Who taught this? Not a single Christian authority. And Luther later did not shrink from writing even to the effect that "the monks by original justice commonly mean chastity."⁵⁹⁰ According to the two greatest doctors of scholasticism in its flower, Thomas and Bonaventure, (and all other recognized teachers follow them) chastity is

⁵⁸⁸ 2. 2. qu. 185, a. 1, ad 2.

⁵⁸⁹ On the Epistle to the Romans, c. 4, fol. 144. I return to the passage in the next section.

⁵⁹⁰ In c. 2 "Gen. Opp. exeg. lat.," I, 143: "Monachi justitiam originalem fere intelligunt de castitate." It amounts to the same when he lies, 1539: "In the Popedom they said that chastity obtains forgiveness of sins not only for those who observe it but also for others." Erl. 34, 381.

not the highest vow, but obedience.⁵⁹¹ In accordance with this, only the vow of obedience is taken in the Benedictine and Dominican orders.⁵⁹² In the old statutes of the Carthusian order, with which Luther so busies himself, there is frequent enough treating on obedience, and it is celebrated as that virtue which makes everything in the order meritorious and without which all is lost.⁵⁹³ Chastity is mentioned but a few times and then only incidentally.⁵⁹⁴ As in the two above mentioned orders, so also in this, it is only the vow of obedience that is taken.⁵⁹⁵ As a religious, Luther himself saw, not in chastity but in obedience, the sum and the perfection of Christian life.⁵⁹⁶

There is a third charge alleged by Luther in the above quoted passage: "in chastity lie salvation and glory." But did he not attribute this to all Catholic exercises?⁵⁹⁷ However, what, according to *Him*, is the meaning of the counsel of chastity? In his book on the monastic vows he writes: "Christ wishes chastity to be in the service of the kingdom of heaven."⁵⁹⁸ But that is the Catholic teaching and that of

⁵⁹¹ See Thomas De perfect. vitae spirit., c. 11, "Inter haec autem tria, quae ad religionis statum dicimus pertinere, praecipuum est obedientiae votum, quod quidem multipliciter apparet." "Qui propriam voluntatem dat, totum dedisse videtur. Universalius igitur est obedientiae votum quam continentiae et paupertatis, et quodam modo includit utrumque." Diffusely 2. 2. qu. 186, a. 8; 2. 2. qu. 88, a. 6; Ep. ad Philipp., c. 2, lect. 3, and thus frequently. St. Bonaventure writes 4. Sent., dist 38, a. 2, qu. 3, n. 7: "Votum obedientiae est perfectissimum, quia in castitate vincit homo corpus suum, in paupertate mundum, in obedientia mactat homo seipsum." This is the self-denial which Luther and his adherents rejected.

⁵⁹² See above, p. 64.

⁵⁹³ Statuta et privilegia Ord. Carthus. Basilee 1510. Cf. therein statuta antiqua 2^a pars, c. 24; c. 14; c. 5, etc.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid. c. 30. 31.

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid. c. 24: "Ego frater, * * * promitto stabilitatem et obedientiam et conversionem morum."

⁵⁹⁶ Weim. III, 228: "* * * In hoc stat tota ratio et perfectio christiane vite."

⁵⁹⁷ Thus he writes Opp. exeg. lat. V, 143: "Monachus, monacha, sacrificulus, coelebs, omnes cogitant: nos sumus paupers, coellbes, leiunamus, oramus: ergo certo possideblmus regnum coelorum." Naturally the practical application follows: "haec est Ismaelitica superbia." One would have to write volumes to exhaust the list of such charges and reproaches.

⁵⁹⁸ Weim. VIII, 585, 23.

St. Thomas, "who renders the forms of the Church," as well as those of all Christian doctors.

And what conclusion does Luther draw? It resembles its motivation. The religious, *because by their vows, abandoning Christ*,⁵⁹⁹ *they sought to soar above the Gospel*, fell headlong into the abyss of error; they are the most disobedient, the richest, the most *unchaste*, etc.⁶⁰⁰ To this he often recurs, e.g., in 1522, when it is painted in glaring colors; in 1527, when he preaches against those who praise and practice virginity: "*As many of them as there are in popedom, if they are all hammered together, there would not be found one who had observed chastity up into his fortieth year.*"⁶⁰¹ *The ruin of some few or of one part he piles upon the whole state and upon the very essence thereof!* Is that just, does it become a Christian? Even St. Augustine in his day asks: "Shall we, on account of the evil virgins, condemn those who are good and holy in body and soul?"⁶⁰²

Luther brought a procedure into play which a short time before he himself had stigmatized in a drastic manner, and that occurred at the time in which he had already laid the lash on the corruption of the Church with violence.

In 1516, namely, he wrote: "God abandons no state in such a wise that there are not some in it ordained by Him to be the covershame of others. Thus are many evil women treated indulgently on account of the good ones; good priests protect the evil ones; unworthy monks are honored on account of the worthy. *But silly people rise against a whole state of life*, just as if they themselves were pure and nowhere unclean, whilst before, behind, and within they are

⁵⁹⁹ Or as he says elsewhere: to deny the faith, to trample the Holy Ghost under foot. See above, chapters 5-6, Weim. XIV, 395 sq., and below, 10, "Augustana."

⁶⁰⁰ Weim. VIII, 587-589. See also below, Chap. 14.

⁶⁰¹ Erl. 28, 165; Weim. XXIV. 517. Cf. Erl. 10, 450 sq., 464 sq.: "What they do secretly it is also a shame to speak about: you would not deem their highly lauded chastity worthy of being used by a whore for the wiping of her shoes." Weim. XIX, 290: "There is no more abominable invigoration of the flesh and of unchastity under heaven than in the monasteries * * *; they wallow (in their full, lazy life) *like swine in mud.*" See also above, p. 9 sq. and Weim. XII, 232 sq.

⁶⁰² In psalm. 99, n. 13.

nevertheless nothing but a market-place and stable of sows and swine."⁶⁰³ This fulmination did not satisfy him. A page later, he takes those people to task again. Their unjust conduct made him so indignant that he wrote: "These most beautiful idiots, who, as I said, wholly forget that they themselves are the dirty ones, let fly with energy against priests, monks, women and *hang upon the necks of all, that which a single one has done*. Such a one should be answered"—and here we have an apostrophe which the Luther of 1516 addresses to the Luther of 1521—"Didst thou never do anything in thy mother's lap that smelt bad? Or even now dost thou nowhere stink? 'Aut nullibi membrorum putes?' If thou art so clean, I wonder that the apothecaries did not long ago buy thee as a balsam-box, since thou are naught but fragrant balsam. If thy mother had done thus to thee, thou wouldst have been consumed by thy own excrement."⁶⁰⁴

The monk Luther has here pronounced severest judgment upon Luther, the father of the "Evangelical Reformation." Protestant Luther researchers cannot here employ their favorite empty phrase that Luther later reached a better, higher understanding. The matter is here one of facts. The religious life did not become something else within five years, *but Luther became another man*. In 1521 he denies facts which in 1516 he had seen everywhere before his eyes; namely, that in every state of life, in the order too, there are those who are good, for whose sake the evil are treated indulgently. With his admonition not to fasten the faults of the

⁶⁰³ Epistle to the Romans, fol. 285: "Vide itaque singulos ordines primum. Nullum deus ita reliquit, quin aliquos bonos et honestos in illis ordinavit, qui sint aliorum tectura et honestas. Sic malis mulieribus parcitur propter bonas. Sacerdotes boni protegunt malos. Monachi indigni honorantur propter dignos. Hic autem insulsi homines contra totum ordinem insurgunt, ac velut ipsi sint mundi, ut nullibi sordeant, cum tamen ante et retro et intus nonnisi suum et porcorum sint forum et officina."

⁶⁰⁴ Ibid., fol. 286: "Sed omnium pulcherrimi fatui, qui, ut dixi, oblit, quod et ipsi sordidissimi sunt, contra sacerdotes, monachos, mulieres acriter invehunt, omnibusque impingunt, quod unus fecit. Cui respondetur: Nunquam tu matri in sinum fecisti, quod male oleret? Aut nunc etiam nusquam sordes? Aut nullibi membrorum putes? Quod si tam purus es, mirum, quod apothecarii te non iam olim emerint pro balsamario, quando nonnisi balsamam (ms. calsamam) aromatisans tu es. Si mater tua sic tibi fecisset, a proprio stercore consumptus fuisses."

few upon the whole state of life, he is in agreement with all antiquity. Now all this is abruptly changed. Why? He already belonged to those of whom he had said in 1514: "Heretics cannot appear to be good unless they represent the Church as evil, false, mendacious. *They alone want to be esteemed good, but the Church is to appear evil in everything.*"⁶⁰⁵ He himself now deems himself a sweet smelling balsam, notwithstanding the carnal lust that overmastered him, despite his godless life at the Wartburg. Now he believes he has the right to find everything in the Church stinking!

CHAPTER X

MELANCHTHON AND THE AUGUSTANA ON THE RELIGIOUS STATE. NEWER PROTESTANT THEOLOGAINS

A. MELANCHTHON AND THE AUGUSTANA.

In respect to exposition of the vows and of the religious state, Melanchthon blindly followed Luther, filled as he was with hatred towards the Church and her institutions. At the same time he speaks like a preceptor against whose word no doubt dares assert itself. As early as June 2, 1520, he turns upon a Carthusian with the imputation that the sum of Christianity had been put in chastity. He is not forthwith a Christian, he writes against the Catholics, who moderates his carnal lust.⁶⁰⁶ But who taught this? We saw at the end of the preceding chapter that this is a view *foisted* by Luther upon the Church doctors.

Two years later in the third edition of his "Loci communes,"⁶⁰⁷ Melanchthon went a great deal farther, always led

⁶⁰⁵ Weim. III, 445. See above, p. 15.

⁶⁰⁶ Corp. Ref., I, 195: "Non permittam (castitatem) tanti fieri, ut in ea sola summam Christianismi positam censeam. Non continuo Christianus est, qui sibi quocunque tandem modo a Venere temperat." See Luther's utterance above, p. 210.

⁶⁰⁷ Ed. Kolde, Leipzig 1900, p. 127, note: "Impietas est vovere per infidelitatem, hoc est, si ideo voveas, quod hoc opere iustificari velis, scil. ignorans sola gratia per Christum iustificari credentes. Sic Aquinas docuit, votum etiam baptismo aequans."

however (down to the concluding sentence) by his master: "It is an act of impiety to vow out of infidelity, that is, if you vow for this reason that by this work you wish to be justified, for you thereby show your ignorance of how the faithful are *justified* only by grace through Christ. *Thus did Aquinas teach*, even making the vow equivalent to baptism." The impiety is on the side of Melanchthon, the "Preceptor Germaniae," not on the side of Thomas Aquinas, as anyone may see and learn for himself in the eighth and its following chapter. What Melanchthon here writes on justification by the vows is only an uncritical repetition of Luther's utterances on the same subject, with which we became acquainted above.⁶⁰⁸ Neither Luther nor Melanchthon had read Thomas. Luther's ignorance of Aquinas we take up in the second section. But Melanchthon's knowledge of Aquinas was perhaps even less than Luther's. He was wholly inexperienced in the history of theology and in theology itself, and he blindly accepted Luther's carpings at Thomas and the rest of the masters of the Church. In truth it was not a matter of importance to the founders of the "Evangelical Reformation" to study conscientiously, to test, and to judge. The first free-thinker of Protestantism, Melanchthon, gave evidence of this that same year, 1521, in respect to a contemporary, "that fat he-goat—I have not his name just now—who explained *I know not what part of Thomas* in a most wordy and truly Thomistic commentary."⁶⁰⁹ He alludes to the famous Conrad Koellin, who in 1512 published a commentary on *only one part* of the Summa of St. Thomas, namely the "Prima Secundae." He knew neither the author's name nor what book he wrote. But that does not matter. He grossly reviles the work and its writer anyhow. Genuinely Lutheran! Herein Melanchthon took no higher standpoint than did Luther's comrade in arms, the syphilitic Hutten.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁸ See above, p. 78 sqq.

⁶⁰⁹ Corp. Reform., I, 317: "Quin si vis et pinguem illum hirquitallum, nomen enim nunc non teneo, qui nescio quam Thomae partem verbosissimo planeque thomistico commentario illustravit."

⁶¹⁰ In his *Oðræ* he writes among other things: "Tactantur ab alteris subtilis Scotus, seraphicus Bonaventura, bis sanctus Thomas, unice magnus Al-

He even introduced this ignorance of his into Protestantism's famous Confession of Faith. He writes: "The monks pretended that the monastic vows were equal to baptism, and that forgiveness of sins and justification before God are merited by the monastic life. They added even more, that the monastic life merited not only justice before God but more, since it fulfilled not only God's commandments but also the evangelical counsels. The monastic vows were more valued than baptism."⁶¹¹ "Whoever therefore is caught and gets into a monastery, learns little of Christ."⁶¹² Then follow the ordinary sophisms of Luther, which are discussed in Chapter VI.; namely, that the vows are not able to abrogate God's ordinance and commandment; that there exists, however, the commandment: "For fear of fornication, let every man have his own wife and let every woman have her own husband." (I Cor. 7, 2). It is also said: "It is not good for man to be alone" (Gen. 2, 18). What rope-walking with the Bible in this Confession of Faith! Marriage is to be commanded, celibacy forbidden to all men. The close is in keeping with this: "Those therefore do not sin who obey this commandment and ordinance of God (that monks and priests take a wife). What indeed can one bring up to the contrary? Let the vows and duty be extolled as greatly as any one will, let them be praised as highly as can be, one cannot neverthe-

bertus ac irrefragabilis quidam, cuius mihi nomen per incuriam excidit" etc. For the year 1518, in Palat. IV, 121. He writes about the "irrefragabilis," not knowing that he is Alexander of Hales.

⁶¹¹ Confessio Augustana, in "Die unveränderte Augsburgerische Confession, deutsch und lateinisch," Critical edition by P. Tschackert (1901), p. 170, 171, 172. The "textus receptus" of the German text, which was given with the Latin text, here has no meaning or sense whatever. It reads: "They even add more thereto, (saying) that by the monastic life one *merits not only* devotion and justice before God, but *also* that one thereby observes the commandments and the counsels." Is one therefore to merit also this latter? No. But the Latin text does yield a meaning: "imo addebant amplius. vitam monasticam non tantum iustitiam mereri coram deo, sed *amplius etiam, quia* servaret non modo praecepta, sed etiam consilia evangelica."

⁶¹² This sentence is only in the German (p. 172) but not in the Latin text (p. 173).

less force God's commandment thereby to be abrogated."⁶¹³ It is a disgrace and a shame that such fallacies, sophisms, and distortions of Holy Writ occur in that Confession of Faith. It only throws sand into the eyes of the readers, of the "faithful." And to this day pastors and theologians draw therefrom their idea of Catholic teaching!

But Melancthon, in the whole of Article 27, does not only heap up sophism upon sophism respecting the monastic vows; true to his master he does not shrink from the lie either: "*It is certain* that the monks taught that the orders satisfy for sins, and merit grace and justification. What else is that but taking from Christ His honor, and obscuring and denying the justification of faith? *It follows thence* that those vows are a godless service of God; *therefore* they are null. *For*, a godless vow, taken against God's commandment, is not valid, since a vow may not be a bond of godlessness," etc.⁶¹⁴ And so upon one lie in the Confession of Faith another is built up, and then the desired conclusion is drawn! These lies are subsequently repeated in different forms. Sometimes Melancthon censures the monks for what he himself utterly fails to grasp, e.g., that they exalted their orders into a state of perfection. The conclusion that he drew proves he did not know what the proposition meant. "Does not that mean," he says, "putting justification in works?"⁶¹⁵ O sancta simplicitas!—O holy simplicity! But that is not yet enough. In the Latin text of the Confession one reads at least: "*religiones esse statum christianae perfectionis.*" In the German, the critical text prepared by Tschackert gives the wholly correct rendering: "that the factitious spiritual orders are *states* of Christian perfection." The hitherto commonly used German text ("*textus receptus*") of the Confession among Protestants nevertheless has it "*that*

⁶¹³ P. 173, 175; 174, 176. Similarly *ibid.*, c. 33, p. 125. Luther in Weim. XII, 233 sq. The reference to Gen. 2, 18 is too silly. But I Cor. 7, 2 contains an admonition to *those who are married* to have recourse to the legitimate use of marriage as a safeguard against the danger of unchastity. See also Cornely, "Comm. in pr. epist. ad Corinth," p. 164 sq.

⁶¹⁴ See p. 179 and 182.

⁶¹⁵ P. 181; 184. "*Persuaserunt hominibus facticias religiones esse statum christianae perfectionis. An non est hoc iustificationem tribuere operibus?*"

*the factitious spiritual religious states are Christian perfection.*⁶¹⁶ Therefore the religious state, according to the teaching of the monks, is Christian perfection itself and thus whoso belongs to it is perfect! No Protestant theologian took note of this nonsense. On the contrary, they have silently been building up their discussions on it to this day, just as Melanchthon himself did. Of course it is more effective against the Catholic Church and is moreover wholly Lutheran. It was Luther who in his rascally way foisted that nonsense upon the Church.⁶¹⁷

But in what, according to the Confession, does the Christian perfection of the monks consist, as set over against the "true?" In celibacy, in begging, or in the wearing of a sordid garb. For it aimed its shafts against the monks when it declared: "Christian perfection does not consist in celibacy, in begging, or in a sordid garb."⁶¹⁸ The author of Lutheranism's Confession of Faith turns even the most elementary Catholic ideas topsy turvy. And what is the "true" Christian perfection according to him? Possibly the perfection of *the love of God*, which according to Scriptures is the bond of perfection, the first and the greatest commandment? No, for one seeks in vain, in the Confession's definition of Christian perfection, that which it *solely* and *really* is, the perfection of charity, after which all should strive and to which the religious at their profession solemnly bind themselves. But then that would be too Catholic. With this let the reader compare the Confession's definition given in the note.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁶ P. 184^b. Thus also the Zerbst ms.

⁶¹⁷ See the preceding chapter, p. 200 sq.

⁶¹⁸ P. 181: "Vera perfectio et verus cultus Dei non est in coelibatu aut mendicitate, aut veste sordida." See Luther in Erl. 7, 334.

⁶¹⁹ P. 181, 186. I cite the German text and enclose in parentheses those words which do not appear in the Latin: "Christian perfection is to fear God earnestly (and from one's heart), and yet to conceive a great (text runs: heartfelt) (confidence and) faith and trust that, for the sake of Christ, we have a gracious (merciful) God, that we can (and should) ask of God (and desire what is of necessity to us) and expect with certainty help from Him in all our tribulations (Latin: 'In omnibus rebus gerendis'), each according to his vocation (and state), and meantime we should also with diligence do external good works and attend to our calling. Therein consists the right perfection and right service of God, not in begging or in a

Let us follow the Confession farther: "The common folk draw a dangerous and harmful meaning out of the false praise of the religious life. They hear celibacy praised without measure; hence they live in the married state with only a troubled conscience. They hear that it is only an evangelical counsel not to seek revenge; consequently there are those who do not scruple in private life to revenge themselves, for they hear it is only of counsel, not of commandment. Others consider all office-holding and civic callings unworthy of a Christian. One reads of instances of men who abandon wife and child and the cares of common life and retire into a monastery. They called that fleeing the world and seeking a manner of life more pleasing to God."⁶²⁰

This in its entirety is calculated only for the stupidity and inexperience of those who read it. In the innumerable sermons of the fifteenth century preached to the people, one is fairly obliged to *search* for some passage or another in which the religious state or celibacy is mentioned. Similarly in sermons at the wedding services, only marriage is lauded and virginity is not mentioned at all.⁶²¹ According to the declarations of the Confession, however, one is led to believe that the priests had preached to the people on hardly anything but celibacy. It is a Lutheran-Melanchthonic falsehood that it was taught or preached that the mendicants, that is, the mendicant friars, and only they, were perfect. On this point there is surely no further observation needed. What Melanchthon says about revenge, that according to Catholics it is only a matter of counsel, is a malicious calumny, copied from Luther. According to Catholic teaching, the first property or characteristic of the *duty* of loving one's enemy is to cherish in one's heart no spirit of *revenge* or of

black or gray cloak (habit)," etc. Ritschl cites and approves this definition in "Gesch. des Pietismus," I, 39, note 2. But how does it agree with the greatest commandment of the love of God and of neighbor, promulgated anew by Jesus Christ? How does it accord with the Lord's counsel: "If thou wilt be perfect, go sell what thou hast and give to the poor * * * and come, follow Me"? Where, in the Confession, is there anything about a virtuous life, and even about the subdual of the concupiscences?

⁶²⁰ P. 183, 188.

⁶²¹ See on this, below in Chap. 13, 34.

hatred against him and against one's neighbor in general. This is a *necessary* obligation. That which is counseled in respect to love of one's enemy is different and belongs to perfection.⁶²² I wonder besides that Melanchthon had the courage to touch this point. The "Reformer" and his followers were the very ones who conducted themselves as though the Divine Redeemer had positively *commanded* revenge and forbidden the love of one's enemy. To be convinced of this, one needs but read any book whatever by Luther, that hatred-filled and most biting of men.⁶²³

But some abandoned wife and child and retired into a monastery! "Some," or as the Latin text reads: "leguntur exempla hominum, qui deserto coniugio," etc. Do "some" constitute the rule? Did those men enter the monastery without the consent of their wives, without having made provision for the children, and without a vocation from God? It was not dared to set forth the actual state of affairs, for then the intended effect would have been wanting. And that sentence was to serve as proof that "others"

⁶²² To this pertain, e. g. the words of Christ (Matt. 5, 39 sqq.): "If one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other"; "if a man will contend with thee in judgment and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also unto him," etc. In these words, there was, and still is, rightly recognized a counsel and not a commandment (except in certain cases, the discussion of which is not here pertinent). This view, held by St. Augustine in his day, is seized by Luther in order that he may insidiously charge Catholics with having in general made a *counsel* out of the commandment of the *love of one's enemy*. Cf. also Weim. VIII, 582, 592, etc., and above, p. 184 sq. To the contrary, Thomas Aquinas 2. 2. qu. 25, a. 8, 9; qu. 82, a. 8; quaestio de charitate, a. 8, where he begins the body of the article with the words: "Diligere inimicos aliquo modo cadit *sub praecepto*, et aliquo modo *sub consili perfectione*." In respect to the, to us, interesting point against the "Augustana" and against Luther, he teaches: "Quicumque inimicum odit, aliquod bonum creatum diligit plus quam Deum, quod est *contra praeceptum charitatis*. Habere igitur odio inimicum est contrarium charitatē (therefore a mortal sin). Sequitur ergo quod *ex necessitate praecepti teneamur diligere inimicos*." He then goes on to show how far this binds, where *duty* ceases, and where the *perfection* of the case begins.

⁶²³ Only one example here of how Luther observed the commandment of love of one's enemy. He writes: "Let them be never so evil, I will be *yet worse* in dealing with them; let them have heads never so hard, I will have a *head* still harder. Let them henceforth yield to me, I will not yield to them; I will remain, *they shall go under*. *My life shall be their hangman, my death shall be their devil*." Similar examples will be met later in the course of this work.

consider all office-holding and civic callings *unworthy of a Christian*. In Article 16 of the Confession, they, i. e., the Catholics, are already condemned who place evangelical perfection in the abandonment of civic callings and not in the fear of God and in faith.⁶²⁴ "There one lie devours another," was once said by Luther.⁶²⁵ And so it is here. One lie is that civic callings are deemed *unworthy of a Christian* by Catholics. Again it is the light of Luther's principle against the Church that shines here. What is recognized as *higher* and *better* makes something else compared with it *evil*, or, as in the present case, *unworthy of a Christian*. It is furthermore a lie that evangelical perfection consists in the manner described, so that "worldly government, police, and married state are overthrown," as the text has it. But of this we shall treat in chapter thirteen.

Melanchthon writes further: "Now that is a good and perfect state of life which is on the side of God's commandments; but that is a dangerous state of life which is not on the side of God's commandments."⁶²⁶ The latter part is aimed at the religious state. It is a case again of Luther's sophisms. It is true that God does not *command* the religious state. But the religious state is based on the *counsel* of Christ, who said to the young man who had kept the commandments from his youth: "*If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell what thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow Me.*"⁶²⁷ Did Jesus Christ by these words counsel a dangerous state of life? Does he enter upon a dangerous state of life who, out of love for God, to fulfill His *commandment* of charity as unhindered and as perfectly as possible, goes into an order to be able there, detached from all things, to follow the poor Christ so much the more perfectly? Is that choosing a life *above*

⁶²⁴ P. 97. In the German text, p. 96. "So also are those condemned who teach that Christian perfection is: to abandon bodily house and home, wife and child, and to renounce the aforementioned part (secular, civic offices)." Ritschl, *loc. cit.*, cites and approves this passage too, stupidly enough, as "a point against Catholicism." About Luther, see above p. 170 sq.

⁶²⁵ Erl. 31, 293.

⁶²⁶ Confession, p. 183, 190.

⁶²⁷ Matt. 19, 21.

Christ?⁶²⁸ As every one must perceive, neither Luther nor Melanchthon with his Confession here takes a *Christian* standpoint. Their attitude is *rationalistic*.

The Confession closes its twenty-seventh chapter with the words summarizing its contents as follows: "So many godless opinions are involved in the vows: (1) that they justify; (2) that they are Christian perfection; (3) that by them one keeps the counsels and the commandments; (4) that they have an overmeasure of works. Since all this is false and idle, it also *nullifies the vows*."⁶²⁹

The *first two statements* are Lutheran lies, proved to be such by the genuine Catholic doctrine developed in the preceding chapters. The *third* proposition is correct in the sense set forth in chapters six and nine, and was never refuted by either Luther or Melanchthon. The *fourth* and last proposition is based on Luther's contempt of good works and on his falsification of Catholic teaching, as if they were done *without* and *against* Christ's suffering and merit, exclusively on the ground of one's own ability. Herein he sought to show that "no letter is so small in their (the Papists') doctrine and *no little work so insignificant but it denies and blasphemes Christ and shames faith in Him*."⁶³⁰

At the end of Chapter VI., it was mentioned that, in a letter to Melanchthon, Luther did not deny the *deceptive means* employed by him and his followers in proceedings with the Catholics at the Augsburg Reichstag, 1530, although he himself was not present.⁶³¹ The Confession of Faith of Lutheranism there formulated was realized by such means, particularly its Article 27 on the religious orders, in which Catholic principles are presented in a form causing it to be found natural and Christian to combat them. But the entire Confession was written in this manner.

⁶²⁸ As Luther preaches, Weim. XXVIII, 104: "How could we come to this, that one's self-chosen life and work were to be more perfect and blessed than the life and work of Christ, the Son of God?"

⁶²⁹ P. 185, 190. About Gerson, who immediately before is summoned as a witness, see above in Chap. 8, wherein it is evident in what a deceiving manner he was adduced.

⁶³⁰ Erl. 25, 43.

⁶³¹ See above, p. 135

It is truly lamentable to see with what distortions of Catholic teaching Protestants become acquainted from their youth, without ever hearing it correctly, and what a ballast of errors they constantly carry along even in their Confession of Faith. It was reserved to Melanchthon, too, to make Thomas Aquinas responsible for the *doctrine* of "monastic" baptism, whereas Thomas, as we shall see in the next chapter, did not even once make use of the expression, "second baptism," and in general spoke only of the entire oblation of self to God, and not merely of the external act. We know that Thomas, according to Melanchthon, makes the vow equivalent in value to baptism.⁶³² As early as 1520, he instructs a Carthusian in regard to Thomas: "Why do you so exalt your vows? Why did that *silly* Brother Thomas Aquinas make so much of profession, so that all transgressions shall be forgiven him who swears by your words?"⁶³³ The epithet, "silly," only recoils upon Melanchthon. In respect to his assertion that Thomas was the author of it all, he had a docile pupil, namely him who was his master, Luther. It is therefore advisable to unfold this mutual relation in the next chapter, (i. e., the eleventh).⁶³⁴

B. RITSCHL'S, SEEBERG'S, AND HARNACK'S NOTION OF THE CATHOLIC IDEAL OF LIFE.

The "textus receptus" of the Confession and Luther's false assertions are the foundation on which the corresponding statements of the newer Protestant theologians are built up. In the following analysis, only the chiefest types of them will be treated. It is known what a decisive influence was exercised upon the development of recent Protestant theology by A. Ritschl. If with his rationalism he met with strong

⁶³² See above, beginning of this chapter, p. 215 sq.

⁶³³ Corp. Reform., I, 199; also above, p. 213 sq.

⁶³⁴ It is not worth while taking up Lang's tirades. This most incompetent theologian knows no more than to ape Melanchthon, when he preaches: "Ergo Thomas Aquinas ineptissime mentitus est, quod per ingressum religionis et votis prestationem quis justificatur." In Usingen, "De faisis prophetis," Fol. H, iij. I doubt if Lang ever saw a work of St. Thomas, to say nothing of his having read one.

opposition, such was less the case in his notion of monasticism. And of what stripe is this? Is it based on a knowledge of Catholic doctrine?

One listens and is astonished to hear him say: "Catholic Christianity has its *ideal of life* in monasticism, in the united *achievements of poverty, of chastity, and of obedience* (to superiors), *which reach out beyond God's universal law*. In these virtues one attains, as is said, man's supernatural destiny offered in Christianity, a destiny not foreseen in man's original creation; one thus enters upon the life of the angels; the monastic state, thus understood, is Christian perfection."⁶³⁵ What Ritschl writes here is at once false and confused.

There is no need of further proof that the assertion that monasticism is the Catholic ideal of life is wholly erroneous. It is a greater error to maintain that this ideal consists of achievements *transcending* God's law, namely poverty, chastity, and obedience. But it is an indication of a great lack of understanding when Ritschl writes that in these "virtues," one attains the supernatural destiny offered in Christianity. These three "virtues" are necessary for every Christian, but not in the manner in which they are conceived and practised in the religious state. Neither is it by them *alone* one attains one's supernatural destiny. Ritschl's crowning stroke is the last sentence: "Monasticism, *thus understood*, is Christian perfection"—quite in the sense of the Augsburg

⁶³⁵ Geschichte des Pietismus, I, 38. On page 11, he already writes: "In the Catholic conception of Christianity, monasticism, turned away from the world, passes for the *proper*, perfect *Christian life*, besides which the secularized Christianity of the laity, assigned only a passive regulation through the sacraments, *was wholly relegated to the background*"—(Italics mine). Johann Gerhard in his time (Loc. theol., t. VI, loc. 15, c. 9, ed. Cotta, Tübingen 1767, p. 159 sqq.) bases his controversy against Bellarmine almost exclusively on the distortions due to Luther and the Confession. We find no better notion of the subject in Martensen, "Die individuelle Ethik," (Gotha, 1878) p. 503; or in "Al. v. Oettingen, "Die christliche Sittenlehre," (Erlangen 1873), p. 632 sq. According to Kolde, Luther hits the gist of the matter inasmuch as, "from the intention which is at the bottom of a vow, namely to gain salvation by one's own endeavor, he made clear its *immorality*." ("Ausgabe von Melanchthons *Loci Communes*," Leipzig 1900, p. 126. See also above p. 79 sq. In whose case the Immortality occurs, I dare say I need no longer tell Kolde.

Confession, according to which the religious state is Christian perfection.⁶³⁶

R. Seeberg assumes the outward appearance, indeed, of being a positive theologian, but at bottom he is rationalistic. What, according to him, is the Christian ideal of life? It is the "status perfectionis," the monkish life, the life of the "religiosi."⁶³⁷ "Evangelical perfection" or "the Christian ideal of life" is confounded with the state of perfection by Seeberg, just as by Ritschl, and he cites Thomas and Bonaventure as his authorities withal! The "Romish ideal of life" consists only in works (therefore, as Ritschl says, *achievements*) which Luther characterizes as unnatural, merely legal works!⁶³⁸ It is the perfection "supererogationis." "It is herein that the treasury of supererogatory works is created; herein is the great array of the saints set *alongside* of Christ as 'intercessores' and 'mediatores.'"⁶³⁹ And to preclude all doubt of the correctness of Seeberg's assertion that according to the Church, the saints are mediators *alongside* of Christ, he quotes, as his authority, Thomas, "Suppl. qu. 72, a.2.," where naturally there is *not a word* showing they are "intercessores" of *the same rank* with Christ.

With regard to the Catholic ideal of life, Seeberg writes down some wholly different propositions, too, and *each* of them contains an error. For the medieval Christian, faith was subjection to the teaching law of the Church (!). Sin was found primarily in the sensual movements of nature (!). The natural, as such, was evil (!). Then Luther's thoughts came as a counteracting agency by means of powerful Chris-

⁶³⁶ See above in this chapter, p. 218 sq. On account of Harnack, about whom farther below, I have intentionally left the text of the first edition unchanged. See also his "Lehrbuch der Dogmengesch.," III, 3 ed., p. 746, note 2.

⁶³⁷ "Lehrbuch der Dogmengesch.," II, 107, n. 6, compared with p. 259, n. 2. From Seeberg's treatise: "Luther und Luthertum in der neuesten kathol. Beleuchtung," Leipzig 1904, p. 10 sq., it is clearly evident that it was first through me he learned that the orders have no other ideal of life than the rest of Christians. On this, however, see my brochure: "Luther in rationalistischer und christlicher Beleuchtung," Mainz, Kirchheim, 1904.

⁶³⁸ P. 260, n. 2.

⁶³⁹ P. 107.

tian thoughts!⁶⁴⁰ Catholic doctrine is first garbled and then belabored. That is Luther's procedure. One does not therefore wonder to hear Seeberg say: "The schools expressed themselves flatly that Christ was only the *partial* cause of our redemption."⁶⁴¹

A. Harnack is of the same stripe with Ritschl. According to him the true monk is "the true, most perfect Christian," monasticism, "is THE Christian life."⁶⁴² Hence he but repeats Ritschl's pronouncement on the Catholic ideal of life, with this difference that he (Harnack) is a great deal more vague. No precision of ideas, no conception of means and end, judgment of some number of details according to preconceived generalities, setting up of premises that are not valid—these are the great faults of Harnack. They more or less permeate his discussions on the middle ages and particularly crowd to the fore in his reflections on monasticism. We feel an absence of clarity of idea when he writes that the Reformation pronounced it presumption "*to bind one's self by vow for life to asceticism.*"⁶⁴³

His very definition of the true monk, as given above, is unequivocally wrong, and is an indication of Protestant ignorance in Catholic matters. For, what is a true monk? According to the Catholic doctrine developed in the previous chapter, he is that Christian who has bound himself to *strive after* the perfection of charity, but he is not, as Harnack says, *the true, most perfect Christian*. The true Christian is he who lives in a Christian manner and who attains his

⁶⁴⁰ P. 258. See also, brief notice next article below, under A. Harnack, more extensively below in Chap. 13, on marriage.

⁶⁴¹ P. 163.

⁶⁴² "Das Mönchtum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte," 5 ed. Giessen 1901, p. 6. It is Harnack who lays the great stress on the THE. In his little treatise with regard to the exposition of western monasticism, but especially in respect to the reforms of Clugny and of St. Francis, he is so remarkably in accord with Ritschl's "Prolegomena, 2," in his "Geschichte des Pietismus," (1880) that I should not blame anyone for asserting that Harnack had copied Ritschl just a little too much. But, since Harnack does not so much as breathe a syllable of Ritschl's name, one must be satisfied to say that great geniuses meet.

⁶⁴³ "Das Wesen des Christentums," 4 ed., p. 180. And this miserable asceticism! "Fasting and asceticism are without worth before God, they are of no use to one's fellow-man," etc. Ibid. p. 175.

end by using the means of grace and fulfilling the commandments of the love of God and of neighbor. This Christian is in the world and also in the religious state. The most perfect Christian is he who does all that in the most perfect manner. Such a one is to be found in the world and in the cloister. The religious state only makes the attainment of the end easier. It is therefore wholly wrong to assert with Harnack that monasticism is *the* Christian life. And this conception of monasticism is simply presupposed to be Catholic by Harnack, is set down by him as self-evident,⁶⁴⁴ whereas it is only the Protestant notion of it. Without further investigation, Harnack concludes: "Even if it is certain to the Evangelical (!), i. e., Protestant, Christian that Christian perfection is not to be sought in the forms of monasticism, he must still test it and firmly fix its bright form. Only then is it overcome in truth, when over the best that it has some subordinating better can be placed. He who thrusts it aside as worthless, does not understand it," etc.⁶⁴⁵ But the one who does not understand it, who has not even a correct fundamental notion of it, is Harnack himself. And it is he who wishes to undertake to subordinate its best to something better, to investigate how much is to be learned from monasticism!

Underlying Ritschl's, Seeberg's and Harnack's wholly erroneous conception of a monk and of the ideal of life, there is another equally false notion, which again they inherited from Luther after his apostasy, the notion that, according to Catholic teaching, one cannot serve God in marriage, that married life is not Christian, or at best is but tolerated, that the sensual instinct is sin, that nature in itself is evil. In this they occupy the standpoint taken by Luther in his most violent frenzy against the Church. In order not to

⁶⁴⁴ Let the reader now judge with what right Harnack asserts, "*Theol. Literaturztg.*" 1903, n. 25, column 691, that I am carrying on a controversy "against the opinion, sustained by Ritschl and me (Harnack), that monasticism, as the state of perfection, according to the Catholic conception, is the proper Catholic ideal of life," etc. But this were also to be rejected as erroneous. See my brochure, "Luther in rationalistischer und christlicher Beleuchtung," p. 7.

⁶⁴⁵ "Das Mönchtum, etc.," p. 7.

break the thread of my investigation, I postpone the discussion of this phase of the matter to Chapter XIII, although what has been said in the previous chapter could really suffice.

Moreover, Harnack expresses himself to the effect, unwittingly, however, that, according to Catholic teaching, Christian life is also to be found outside of monasticism. On one and the same page of his work, the two following statements appear: "In the great reform on the part of the monks of Clugny and of their powerful Pope, (Gregory VII.), western monasticism for the first time puts forth the decided pretension of being carried out and of being brought to recognition as *the* Christian order of life of all the adult faithful;" then, secondly, "Monasticism, (according to Catholic teaching, or at least that of the Cluniacs of the eleventh century), is the *highest* form of Christianity."⁶⁴⁶ But just above we heard him say: "Monasticism is *the* Christian life." Now if monasticism is only the *highest* form of Christianity, there must be still another form, which, though not the highest, is a Christian form of life. And thus monasticism is *not the* Christian life, neither is it *the* Christian order of living of all the adult faithful.

To such a pass is one reduced, if one's fundamental ideas are not clear. And when Harnack writes that the Cluniacs, with their Pope, Gregory VII., had set up the pretension of carrying out their monasticism as *the Christian* order of living of all the adult faithful, he is likewise but talking at random, as shall presently be shown.

C. HARNACK'S ERRORS IN RESPECT TO THE IDEAL OF LIFE IN THE DIFFERENT EPOCHS OF THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

I do not at all mean to touch upon Harnack's arbitrary distinction between adult Christians and those not of age, the latter being the laity. But what was the character of the above mentioned pretension of the Cluniacs and *their* Pope, or of their program, set forth by Harnack in the assertion: "Those monks had a positive program in view—CHRISTIAN

⁶⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 43 sq.

LIFE of the WHOLE of Christendom,"⁶⁴⁷ i. e., "life according to monkish rule?"⁶⁴⁸ *These declarations rest solely on a lack of historical knowledge.* Where and when did the Cluniacs of the eleventh century put forth that pretension or set up this program? Where are the proofs, the documentary evidences? Some years ago, E. Sackur had already written: "It cannot be proved and it is wholly improbable that the Cluniac idea stepped into history with a definite program of reform or sought by agitation to carry out specific demands. It was an idealistic tendency, indeterminate and abstract. In conjunction with others, it was too quietly preparing the soil in which concrete wishes could be realized and on which more practical natures could be active, to be able to point to fixed aims or even to produce personalities like Gregory VII."⁶⁴⁹

Quite correct. Clugny had an ideal of course, but it lay in the interior of the cloister, not outside. The central point of this ideal was liturgical prayer. Gradually everything had to give way to its psalmody.⁶⁵⁰

Quite consequent, for the reform of Clugny is shown to be a continuation of the reform of Benedict of Aniane in the eighth century, who likewise unduly protracted the divine office. In just the eleventh century, the divine office, at Clugny, together with the other religious exercises, taxed the day so exorbitantly that Peter Damian, sent there as a legate by Pope Alexander II., could write to the brethren of that place that for the reason given there was hardly a half hour in the long summer days in which they could engage in conversation in the cloister.⁶⁵¹

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 45. Thus set out in type by Harnack.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 44.

⁶⁴⁹ "Die Kluniacenser in ihrer Kirchlichen und allgemeingeschichtl. Wirksamkeit bis zur Mitte des 11 Jahrhunderts," II, (1894), p. 449.

⁶⁵⁰ See U. Berlière in "Revue Bénédictine," 1901, p. 285.

⁶⁵¹ "Tanta erat in servandi ordinis continua iugitate prolixitas, tanta praesertim in ecclesiasticis officiis protelabatur instantia, ut in ipso cancri sive leonis aestu, cum longiores sunt dies, vix per totum diem unius saltem vacaret horae dimidium. quo fratribus in claustris licuisset miscere colloquium" etc. Lib. VI. ep. 5 (Migne, Patr. l., t. 144, p. 380). Mabillon, Ann. Ord. S. Ben., t. IV, p. 586 (Lucae, 1739), also cites this passage and correctly observes that this excess in the choral office led to many incon-

The Cluniacs, think Ritschl⁶⁵² and Harnack,⁶⁵³ were anxious to prevail upon the secular clergy to adopt the canonical life, i. e., a life as analagous as possible to the monastic. But, I ask again, where is the proof? A somewhat direct influence upon the secular clergy can be shown for that time only among the monks of Hirschau (under Abbot William), who had adopted the customs of Clugny; but this influence was not of the kind that Ritschl and Harnack construed it to be.

For the endeavors alleged by them about the Cluniacs in France, there is no other proof to be brought forward than their hypothesis that Gregory VII., who made clerical reform his special task, had been a Cluniac monk. But is this admissible? On the contrary, it is now much more shown that Gregory was rather a Roman Benedictine than a Cluniac.⁶⁵⁴ It almost seems as though Ritschl and Harnack believed that the entire monasticism of the eleventh century was that of Clugny, whereas the Cluniac reform of that time had reached but the smallest portion of the Benedictine Order, and had taken hold of even the north of France, as well as Belgium, only in the twelfth century.

But supposing that Gregory VII. had really been a Cluniac, was it *as a Cluniac* that he had undertaken the reform of the clergy? In what did the reform of Gregory VII. especially consist? In the prohibition of the concubin-

veniences. As a matter of fact it contributed largely, among other things, to the decline of the monastic schools in the XII century. Only when one has rightly grasped the nature of the reform of Clugny, can one understand the opposition of St. Bernard, as of the other Benedictines (See Berlière, "Le cardinal Matthieu d'Albano" in "Revue Bénédictine, 1901. p. 280 sqq.); one thus also understands the Dominican statute that the office be recited or chanted "breviter et succincte," and the reform statutes in later centuries.

⁶⁵² "Gesch. des Pietismus," I, 12.

⁶⁵³ "Das Mönchtum," etc., p. 50: "Clugny and its monks aimed their reform at the clergy."

⁶⁵⁴ See U. Berlière, "Revue Benedictine," 1893, p. 339, 347: Gregory first came to Clugny, and that only in passing, after he had already been a Benedictine. See also Grisar, "Una memoria di S. Gregorio VII e del suo stato monastico in Roma," (Civiltà cattolica, ter. XVI, vol. III, 1895, p. 205 sqq.), where, on new grounds out of the inscription on the bronze door of St. Paul's, he shows that Gregory had been a monk at Rome. The proofs in the case are not yet exhausted, however.

age of priests and in the rejection of sacerdotal marriage, as well as in the suppression of simony. Are these Cluniac, or even merely monastic, articles of importation? And on the ground of *this* kind of reform, is an historical researcher to be allowed to assert with Harnack that Clugny and "its great Pope" dominated the ideas of "*disciplining according to monastic rule*" the "adult" faithful of Christendom?⁶⁵⁵ Such is Harnack's opinion and he states it openly: "*Hence now the strict introduction of celibacy among the clergy, hence the warfare against simony, hence the monastic discipline of the priests!*"⁶⁵⁶

According to Harnack, the "world-ruling monk of Clugny" achieved other wonders as well. His ideas preceded the crusaders. "And from the Holy Land * * * they brought back a *new* or at least a *hitherto but rarely*⁶⁵⁷ practised form of Christian piety—burying one's self in the sufferings and in the dolorous way of Christ. Negative ascetism received a positive form, a positive end—to become one with the Redeemer in intimate love and in perfect imitation."⁶⁵⁸ Had Harnack said that the old exercise, fostered since Christianity began to exist, was now the more furthered, it might have passed. But to assert that this exercise existed practically only from the beginning of the twelfth century, is equivalent to denying away the whole of Christianity. If researchers, following in the wake of Harnack, then speak of the rise of the Gratian Decretal in the twelfth century, all the burying in Christ seems to them done away with again, so that practically it had lasted but a year or two.

Not more scientifically does Harnack speak of the relation of the cloisters to the people down to the time of St.

⁶⁵⁵ "Das Mönchtum, etc., p. 44, italics in passage mine.

⁶⁵⁶ Ibid. On reading Harnack's booklet, especially the above sentences, a reader "not of age" must necessarily reach the conviction that only at the time of Gregory VII was the celibacy of the clergy "introduced." I cannot naturally credit Harnack with such ignorance, but why does he speak so confusedly? All the more gladly, therefore, do I refer to the beautiful, accurate treatise of Funk, *Zölibat und Priesterehe im christlichen Altertum*, in his "Kirchengeschichtlichen Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen," I (1897), p. 121 to p. 155.

⁶⁵⁷ Italics mine.

⁶⁵⁸ "Das Mönchtum, etc.," p. 46.

Francis of Assisi. "To the close of the twelfth century, western monasticism was quite essentially still an aristocratic institution. In most cases the rights of the monasteries were in correspondence with the high origin of their inmates. As a rule the monastic schools existed only for the nobility. To the rough and common folk the cloister remained as strange as the manor-house."⁶⁵⁹ To the conclusion, not capable of proof, that it was St. Francis of Assisi who *first* gave the Gospel back to the people, the foregoing assertions, neither proved nor capable of proof, serve as preliminaries. Where in fact is the proof of the statement that monasticism was quite *essentially* an *aristocratic institution*? It is not furnished by Harnack. He simply assumes the truth of his assertion against which St. Benedict himself, the patriarch of western monasticism, bears witness.⁶⁶⁰ With later authorities Harnack's statement stands in no lesser contradiction.⁶⁶¹ Only occasional monasteries, like Reichenau, Waldkirch, Säkingen, turned out exceptions at the *decline* of the Order. Moreover, when he was writing his statement, did Harnack bear in mind what an immense number of abbeys and monasteries covered the soil of France, Germany, and Italy down to the close of the twelfth century, and how many inmates they then individually had? Even if *all* of the nobility of that day had entered the cloister, they would not have been numerous enough to make up the number of the inmates of the abbeys and monasteries.

Harnack and others have here made themselves guilty of a grievous blunder. They let themselves be misled chiefly⁶⁶²

⁶⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 49 sq.

⁶⁶⁰ In "Reg. c. 2, the abbot is admonished with respect to his subjects: "quia sive *servus*, sive *liber*, omnes in Christo unum sumus, et sub uno domino *equalem* servitutis militiam bajulamus, quia non est apud eum personarum acceptio." The 59 Chapter of the rule bears the title: "De filiis nobilium vel *pauperum*, quomodo suscipiantur."

⁶⁶¹ Cf. Migne, Patr. 1, 133, 71; 141, 774; 142, 906; 149, 747.

⁶⁶² I say "chiefly"; for there are still other grounds, e.g., at certain epochs one finds the high offices and dignities of the abbeys occupied by nobles. Considering the position in which the abbeys and their abbots were placed with reference to the outside world and considering their great possessions, which were derived from the nobles, one can understand that condition of affairs.

by the chronicles, which, to be sure, speak only, as a rule, of the entrance of nobles. Why? Because only nobles entered? No, but because it is only in their case, and not in that of a "common" person, that a sensation is created, if they choose the religious life. It is the same to this very day. When, for instance, I entered, there was not a ripple of excitement about the event, whilst the newspapers reported well the entrance of one of my fellow-novices who belonged to an old family of the Venetian doges. Of late years I have often heard the judgment expressed that there are only nobles in the Benedictine Abbey of Emaus or in the Benedictine nunnery of St. Gabriel in Prague. Why? Because, as a rule, the newspapers mention only the entrance of the nobles. As a matter of fact, however, those who are not noble there outnumber those who are. The world always stays the same.

Of analagous mould is Harnack's assertion that the monastic schools existed only for the nobility—naturally an assertion only *assumed* to be true, resting in great part on the same basis as the statements just discussed. The chronicles hardly give account of the cloister schools save when a high nobleman sent his sons to enjoy their instruction. As is conceivable, there was a difference at different epochs. But one thing is certain—the Benedictine Order, precisely in the eleventh century, so emphasized by Harnack, after the gloomy epoch of the tenth century, afforded instruction to rich and poor without distinction.⁶⁶³ And to the rough and common

⁶⁶³ In the contemporary "Vita S. Guillelmi abbatis Divionensis," it is related of him: "Cernens vigilantissimus Pater, quoniam non solum illo in loco (Fiscamni), sed etiam per totam provinciam illam, necnon per totam Galliam in plebeis maxime scientiam psallendi ac legendi deficere et annullari clericis, instituit scholas sacri ministerii, quibus pro Dei amore assidui instarent fratres huius officii docti, ubi siquidem *gratis largiretur cunctis doctrinæ beneficium* ad coenobia sibi commissa confluentibus, nullusque, qui ad *hæc vellet accedere, prohiberetur*: quin potius, *tam servis quam liberis*, divitibus cum egenis, uniforme caritatis impenderetur documentum. Plures etiam * * * utpote rerum tenues, accipiebant victum, ex quibus quoque nonnulli in sanctæ conversationis monachorum devenere habitum" (Acta SS. Ord. S. Ben., sæc. VI. p. 1^a, Venetis, p. 290, n. 14). On the *outer* schools of the Benedictine abbeys and on instruction for laics, see U. Berlière, "Les écoles abbatiales au Moyen-âge; Ecoles externes," in "Revue Bénédictine," 1889, t. VI, p. 499 sqq. On p. 506, the passage just cited is explained. In Germany and the countries contiguous to it, there were such

folk the cloister remained as strange as the manor-house, did it? But, then, who supported the cloister in those centuries? Why did people everywhere group themselves around the Benedictine abbeys in settlements, out of which the later towns arose? Why the proverb: "It is good living under the crosier"? What purpose was served by the guest-houses and parochial churches belonging to the abbeys? Were they for the nobility? But enough, as this subject does not pertain to the scope of my work. I have touched on it only incidentally, in connection with Harnack's utterances.

Harnack's discussions on St. Francis of Assisi and his creation in the thirteenth century are no less confused than his earlier ones. Here likewise there is no lack of contradictions. We heard him say that Christian life of the *whole* of Christianity was the program of Clugny in the eleventh century. Now, five pages farther on,⁶⁶⁴ he writes: "Francis of Assisi *first* assigned to monasticism exercises proper for *all* Christianity." How does this statement comport with the former? Of course, on the page on which he speaks about Francis, Harnack, to extol him, narrows the Clugny program down again. The Cluniacs in their reform, he alleges, had the *clergy* in view, but Francis recognized no distinction. Five pages before, the Cluniacs likewise recognized no distinction: the *whole* of Christianity, therefore rich and poor, clergy and people. And Francis of Assisi "did not wish to found a new religious order"; "his foundation assumed a monastic character against his will."⁶⁶⁵ Yet he assigned "to monasticism" new exercises for all Christianity? But when? When his institute was not yet "monasticism"? Then he assigned no exercises to "monasticism" at all, let alone new ones. Afterwards? But when did the institute of St. Francis become "monasticism"? I beg for ideas and enlightenment. On such fantastic evidences are set up the historical

outer schools in the Benedictine abbeys, e.g. of Gembloux in the XI century (cf. *Gesta abb. Gemblacens.* in *Mon. Germ.*, SS. VIII, p. 540 sq.), Tegernsee, Hersfeld, etc. Among those frequenting them, there were always clerics or priests who did not belong to the nobility. Let him who denies this prove the contrary.

⁶⁶⁴ "Das Mönchtum," etc., p. 50.

⁶⁶⁵ "Das Mönchtum," etc., p. 50.

epochs, the reform of Clugny, Francis of Assisi. The more muddled they are, the more original and ingenious they are esteemed!

Like the whole bit of his writing, the section on Thomas seems to be particularly calculated only for such readers as are not in a position to control the author. Without further ado these accept the statement that Francis "gave the Gospel back to the people, who hitherto had possessed only priest and sacrament."⁶⁶⁶ They do not so much as wonder that it was first in the tertiary brotherhood "the thought *gently* became effective that the interiorly devout layman, sincerely obedient to the Church, partakes of the highest benefits of which she can be the means"; that the *active* Christian life can be of equal value with the *contemplative*.⁶⁶⁷ The ὑστερον πρότερον in Harnack does not strike their attention, when he ascribes that as peculiar to the Order of St. Francis which first was realized "in the *cognate* one of the Dominicans." For the Dominican Order is the *first* to have been founded with the object of caring for the salvation of souls without being tied down, not only to individual parishes but to determinate localities. This object is found set forth in the prologue of the original Constitutions. Study, to which, as is known, St. Francis was not favorably inclined, was to help on this object as well as to form good preachers as defenders of the Faith. The Dominican Order was the *first* to regulate this by statute, and, in order to be in the forefront of the new period, sent its members to the University of Paris. The Franciscans, Benedictines, Cistercians, Hermits, and Carmelites only *followed* their example, without as yet having had provision made by statutes.⁶⁶⁸

Only a reader incapable of thinking will believe Harnack that "*the most beautiful medieval Church hymns have their origin in the Franciscan and Dominican Orders.*"⁶⁶⁹ Who-

⁶⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁶⁷ P. 51.

⁶⁶⁸ I refer to my Introduction to the edition of the old Constitutions of the Dominican Order in "Archiv. f. Literatur—und Kirchengesch. d. Mittelalters," I, 165 sqq. I shall speak of individual details, when I come to treat of the rise of Lutherdom.

⁶⁶⁹ Italics all mine.

ever affirms this does not so much as know how few of them⁶⁷⁰ there are to be even set up in comparison with the great numbers of those of an earlier time. The great achievements of the mendicant orders stand in no need of eulogies at the expense of others. Let the truth prevail above all!

But is it the truth when Harnack writes further in his bit of authorship: "What sacrament and cult could not hitherto create, *certainty of salvation*, it was the desire of the mysticism of the mendicant orders to engender; but not outside the Christian abodes of grace. The eye was to learn to see the Saviour. Through sense impressions of His presence, the soul was to come into peace. But 'theology,' which now arose, also proclaimed the religious freedom and blessedness of the soul lifted above the world and certain of its God. In this thought, if it did not begin the Evangelical (!) Reformation, it still prepared the way for it."⁶⁷¹

I here openly challenge Harnack—and this suffices as a reply—to cite for me *one* certain, clear, unassailable passage from the mystics, especially the Germans, which proves the correctness of his assertion that it was the desire of mysticism to engender the *certainty of salvation*. In the first place, Harnack's very manner of expressing himself demonstrates that he does not possess a correct idea of mysticism. What is the meaning of this, that *mysticism engenders, desires to engender?* What does Harnack understand by mysticism? Why does he bandy words and phrases about, whose ideas and meaning are so little clear to him? Furthermore, by his dragging in the "Evangelical (!) Reformation," anent the certainty of salvation, he gets himself beyond his reckon-

⁶⁷⁰ There are only three authors of liturgical Church hymns that can be considered here: Jacopone de Todi (with the "Stabat Mater"), Thomas de Celano (with the "Dies Irae") and Thomas Aquinas (with his dogmatic hymns and the sequence for Corpus Christi). Concerning the poetry of Thomas Aquinas in particular, compare the sound judgment of A. Baumgartner in "Geschichte der Weltliteratur," IV, "Die lateinische und griechische Literatur der Christlichen Völker," (1900), p. 456 sq. If Harnack lays stress on Church melodies, the case is still worse. For the truly beautiful choral melodies date from an earlier time. If one finds beautiful, earnest melodies for new hymns and sequences in the XIII and XIV centuries, they are borrowed from the more ancient ones.

⁶⁷¹ P. 52.

ing, as may likely be made apparent to him in the course of this work.⁶⁷²

How is it possible that the older mysticism desired to engender certainty of salvation and, in its announcement of the blessedness of the soul lifted above the world and certain of its God, paved the way for the "Evangelical Reformation," since it was only the latter that gave certainty? For, according to Harnack, certainty of salvation was the highest tidings that Luther announced to the soul.⁶⁷³ And how does it happen that the so-called mystics of Protestantism, as e.g., Valentine Weigel, Jacob Böhme, instead of remaining in Lutheranism, interiorly broke with it, turned away from it, and betook themselves to the older, Catholic mysticism?

A word, in conclusion, on Harnack's conception of the *Jesuit Order*, so far as it stands connected with my investigation. One gets curious about his arguments on reading the statement: "The Jesuit Order is the last and authentic word of western *monasticism*."⁶⁷⁴ Monasticism? Even so, for in it "*monasticism* was triumphant."⁶⁷⁵ But how? "This Order did not change into an institution of the Church, but the Church fell under the dominion of the Jesuits. *Monasticism* was truly victorious over the secular church of the West."⁶⁷⁶ Yet Harnack will pardon me if first of all I question him on his idea of *monasticism*, for it is evident from his statement that the idea of monasticism is unknown to him. He ought first to study, and only then to write. It is the height of nonsense to talk about a Jesuit *monasticism*. Not even the Dominicans and Franciscans belonged to monasticism in the strict sense of the word.⁶⁷⁷

And with this lack of idea Harnack pursues the game farther. According to him, the Jesuit Order, "in its *mysti-*

⁶⁷² See below in the further course of this work.

⁶⁷³ See above, p. 119 and after.

⁶⁷⁴ "Das Mönchtum, etc.," p. 57.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁷ If, in the German middle ages, they were, here and there, still inexactly called monks, that was because there were in their orders numerous religious observances, e.g., choral services, fasting, the habit, and tonsure, all more or less in accord with monasticism. But not even this is the case with the Jesuits.

cism, made that accessible to the layman which had thitherto been denied him."⁵⁷⁸ Here now, all at once, we hear him telling about a *mysticism of the Jesuit Order*. I am therefore constrained to repeat the objection already made sundry times. I beg to know his idea! Although I believe I have given more study to things of that kind than Harnack, I must confess I know nothing of a particular mysticism of the Jesuit Order. Half a page farther on, he explains himself: "Asceticism and renunciation of the world here came to be forms and means of politics, *sensuous mysticism* and diplomacy took the place of simple piety and moral discipline." *Sensuous mysticism!* Herr Harnack, I should like, if you please, to be made acquainted with your idea.

But who does not observe that here one empty phrase solves another? *Asceticism and renunciation of the world* are forms and means of *politics!* Again I query: Herr Harnack, what do you understand by *asceticism?* I beg to be made acquainted with your idea! Asceticism, renunciation of the world, mysticism, diplomacy, politics—all in one pot! What devilish fellows they are, those Jesuits! In spite of their *asceticism and renunciation of the world*, which, as we shall presently see,⁶⁷⁹ he admits in them, *diplomacy took the place of simple piety and moral discipline!* Harnack is wholly unconscious of what a *quid pro quo* he has here uttered, for the reason that he does not reckon with ideas. "Asceticism" and "moral discipline" are written differently, it is true, but all Christian asceticism, based, as it is known to be, on supernatural grounds, includes moral discipline, which is based on natural law. Asceticism is religious discipline, which tends to simple piety and fosters it. Common sense—more is not needed—at once recognizes the contradictions in Harnack's phrases. For, these being supplied with their true underlying ideas, it follows that the Jesuits possess asceticism, which includes moral discipline and tends to simple piety and fosters it, and they practice renunciation of the world; but, with these same Jesuits, diplomacy and

⁵⁷⁸ "Das Mönchtum," p. 57 sq.

⁶⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 517, and below next page, 240.

sensuous mysticism *have taken the place* of simple piety and moral discipline!

We do not yet know, however, in what this new Harnackian monasticism is distinguished from the earlier. "In the Jesuit Order," he says, "all asceticism, all fleeing the world, is only a means to an end."⁶⁸⁰ But to what end? What ideal of life, what end, according to Harnack, has the Jesuit Order? It is a *political* ideal of life, a *political* end. "Detachment from the world goes precisely so far as such is necessary for the domination of the world; for the *express* end is the world-dominion of the Church."⁶⁸¹ If this meant "the spreading of Christ's kingdom over the whole world," it would be quite correct. But with Harnack it is always something *political*, namely, to bring the Church under their subjection and then to dominate it."⁶⁸² Where is that *express* end so stated? I earnestly beg Harnack for enlightenment. Until this is forthcoming—and I shall not cease to remind him of it—let my interpretation suffice the reader, that the Jesuit Order had and has the same particular end which I assigned to the Dominican Order, the defence of the Faith against the heterodox and unbelievers, and particularly the care of the salvation of others for the honor of God. If Harnack comes along with *his* clarification, he will find me on the ground to answer him.

"As this Order arose," continues Harnack, "it was the product of a high-running enthusiasm, but of an enthusiasm proceeding from within *the* Church, which had already rejected every Evangelical (!) reformation."⁶⁸³ Thus do these gentlemen bandy catch-words about! Evangelical reformation! God pity us! Luther, whom we have sufficiently learned to know from the preceding pages, an Evangelical reformer!

⁶⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 57.

⁶⁸¹ Ibid. Italics mine.

⁶⁸² In his writing, "Das Wesen des Christentums," (4 ed.), p. 158, he even asserts this of the domination of the Church as well: "The 'Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus triumphat' (this should be 'imperat') is to be understood politically. He reigns on earth in this that His Church, guided by Rome, reigns, and it does this by right and by power, i.e., by all the means of which states make use."

⁶⁸³ "Das Mönchtum, etc.," p. 58.

What other sort of Christianity could proceed from a man of such principles than just such as it actually was and as it has been described in my introduction above? A Lutherdom, the very father of which recoiled from it shuddering, and which he found seven times worse than the society so hated by him in the Papacy. Was it not the sacred duty of the Church, did she desire still to remain Christian, to fend off this Evangelical reformation?

But of what enthusiasm is the Jesuit Order the product? Only of such as a complete oblation of self to God, with which St. Ignatius closes the fourth week of his Exercises, possesses as its foundation and contents: "Take, O Lord, and receive from me all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and all my will. Whatever I have and possess, Thou didst give it to me all; to Thee do I leave it again. It is all Thy possession. Dispose of it wholly as Thou wilt. Give me only Thy *love* and Thy *grace*, for these are enough for me." The enthusiasm with this basis and of this content was also to animate the members of his institution. They in their turn were to communicate it to others, to promote the salvation of whose souls it was their task. Let Harnack also learn from this that the Jesuit Order knows but one ideal of life, *the love of God above all things*, as was evidenced at the close of the eighth chapter above.

In his judgment on the Jesuit Order, Harnack conscientiously follows the admonition of the "Realenzyklopädie" for the Protestant Church and Theology:⁶⁸⁴ "We Protestants can have but one judgment on the Order, but *one* attitude towards it. Every acknowledgement, any toleration that we yield to its principles and its work, is not justice to it, but indifference to our own historical past and future, treason to our church and her lawful existence. It knows no common authorization of the Confessions, but only the omnipotent sole dominion of the Romish church * * * Jesuitism is the diametrical opposite of Protestantism, a soul-endanger-

⁶⁸⁴ In the 2 edition, VI, 641; the monition is the work of G. E. Steitz. Zöckler was not ashamed, in the VIII volume of the 3 edition, (1900), p. 784, wholly to reprint it with approbation, in an article assuredly bristling with monstrosities and untruths without their like in literature.

ing, folk-ruining caricature of Christianity." By this monition, Protestantism has condemned itself. It has openly declared that, when there is question of the Church and her institutions, it has no concern about *research free from assumption and without prejudice, nay, that research, free from assumption, must antecedently be excluded*. I will waste no words here to show that it was not the Church, not one of her institutions, not even the Jesuit Order, that placed themselves in opposition to Protestantism. The Church exists. Protestantism arose only after fifteen centuries of her existence, and *set itself up against* the Church in the character of a *party*.

Harnack then goes on to conclude with a reference to Luther: "History points beyond monasticism to the preaching of Luther, that that man begins the following of Christ who in *his calling and state co-operates with Christ's Kingdom by faith and service-giving love*."⁶⁸⁵ What? It was Luther who first said this? Luther only repeated it after the Church, as now even Harnack shall get to know. Luther credited the Church with a doctrine which he distorted that he might get a lease on the genuine teaching for himself, only with this difference, that the Church and her founder as well, Jesus Christ, demand, not a dead faith like Lutheranism, but only the living one.

CHAPTER XI

LUTHER ON "MONASTIC BAPTISM." THOMAS AQUINAS ITS ALLEGED INVENTOR.

In his treatise on the vows, regarding their relation to baptism, Luther writes in part with more reserve than later. Still he does not achieve his purport without perversions, to the effect that, according to the Catholic doctors, man by his natural works, attains grace and forgiveness of sin, denies Christ, and falls from his faith. Not to St. Thomas, however, but to *hearsay* does he refer in the statement, that, as often as a religious, in his heart, renews his vows with any slight-

⁶⁸⁵ "Das Mönchtum," p. 60.

est contrition, he enters his order anew. He who said this is alleged to have made entrance into an order equal to baptism, but all did this.⁶⁸⁶ It is remarkable, or rather it is not remarkable, that Luther himself, without being aware of it, here partly refutes the objections he raised against the vows. He asserted, as we already know, that, according to the Papists, the vows had justifying power and effected the remission of sins. Here he acknowledges that, in spite of the vows, contrition, therefore penance, was required.

Luther writes farther that *all* made entrance into an order equal to baptism. Now precisely in *his* order this doctrine was not widespread. At least when the apostate Franciscan, Aegidius Mechler, held up to the Augustinian Hermit, Bartholomew von Usingen, the Thomists, who taught that entrance into an order was a second baptism, Usingen told his adversary to settle that with the Thomists, he himself never having taught or written anything of the kind. He knew from the Scriptures, he said, that sins were remitted by penance, but the Scriptures did not speak of entrance into an order.⁶⁸⁷ But did the Thomists teach something different? Moreover, in the passage cited, Luther, as late as 1521, did not at all have the Thomists in view, but precisely the Franciscans, namely, Henry Kühne of whom, in 1523, he relates (probably, as usual, reporting more falsehood than truth) that he gave a discourse at table on the subject to himself (Luther) and other young brethren of his on the occasion of a visit to the Franciscan convent of Armstadt.⁶⁸⁸

If, as is not to be doubted, Kühne understood his utterance about complete oblation of self to God, about the love of God above all things, even above that which is dearest to man, namely, his own will, he only gave out something to

⁶⁸⁶ Welm. VIII, 596: "His auribus audivi quosdam maximi nominis inter eos docere, religiosum esse hac gratia ditissimum, ut, quoties renovarit votum religionis in corde suo per contricunculam aliquam, toties a novo ingrederetur religionem. Hoc autem ingredi baptismo aequabat, sicut aequant omnes." From a note to Bernard's "De praec. et dispens.," Migne, t. 182, p. 889, Kawerau quotes the two letters of St. Jerome, without indicating their source.

⁶⁸⁷ Libellus in quo respondet confutationi fratris Egidii Mechlerii monachi Franciscani. Erphurdiae 1524, fol. g liij.

⁶⁸⁸ Erl. 31, p. 280.

which powerful expression had long before been given by a favorite writer, exalted above all the scholastics by Luther, namely, Tauler.⁶⁸⁹ Tauler's subject being perfect charity, in which perfect contrition is included, he could speak not only of the remission of punishment but also of that of sin and punishment. Even the author of the "Theologia deutsch," twice edited by Luther (1516 and 1518), of which he says that after the Bible and Augustine, he had found no other book from which he had learned more about what God, Christ, man, and all things are,⁶⁹⁰ exhibits at bottom no other doctrine.⁶⁹¹ Of the *complete* oblation of self to God at profession, but not of mere entrance into the order and putting on the religious habit, nor of a mechanical reading of the form of profession, Luther's Catholic contemporaries likewise understood the proposition (not a "dogma") that he who thus

⁶⁸⁹ Sermon on the 22 Sunday after Pentecost, corrected after a copy of the fire-destroyed Strasburg ms; cf. also the Frankfurt edition, II, 294. "If one had true love, he would fall, with all his judgments and with all his shortcomings, into a loving descent into God, into His well pleasing, good will, into a true outgoing of all of his own will. For true divine love maketh a man denying of himself and of all self-will. And hence, in this love, man falleth at the feet of God and craveth the judgment of God in love, that God's justice may sufficiently be done to him and to all creatures, that God's will about him may be according to His dearest will, as He wished it eternally and as He preordained or will still ordain it in His will, whether it be in purgatory or as it pleases Him; what or how or when or how long or how soon, Lord, as Thou wilt. Likewise, whether man (in heaven) is to be great or small, near or far—let all fall within His (God's) will, and let man rejoice that God's justice is sufficiently done for his littleness and to an unworthy man's greatness and highness, and that He loves there. And thus the grace of another becometh thine. Children, this were true love. Oh, *whoso at his last end could get into such a turn that he might thus altogether fall into God's will and be found therein; had he done all the sins that ever all the world did, he would (still) immediately go up* (into heaven). But nobody can give thee this save God alone, and as there is neither surer nor better dying than herein, so also *is there neither nobler nor usefuller life than always to live herein.* And herein would man increase wonderfully without stop."

⁶⁹⁰ Preface of 1518; Weim. I, 378. Luther also says that in neither the Latin, Greek, nor Hebrew tongue had he so heard and found God as here in the German tongue.

⁶⁹¹ "Theologia deutsch," ed. Pfeiffer, 2 ed., 1855, c. 8, p. 28: "As soon as man betakes himself to interior recollection with feeling, and, in this time, turns with all his will and spirit to the Spirit of God, all that was formerly lost is restored in the twinkling of an eye. And were man to do this thousands of times a day, there would always take place a true union."

made profession became pure like a child at baptism.⁶⁹² For such a one takes God as the sole portion of his inheritance.⁶⁹³ Hence the saying: *to consecrate one's self wholly to God*. It is only when this is in reality the underlying idea—and that is the understanding of the Church—that profession has value before God. St. Augustine in his time had already written: "Not that do we laud in virgins that they are virgins, but that they are virgins *consecrated to God* in devout, virtuous continency."⁶⁹⁴ Only in this manner is the saying of the Following of Christ⁶⁹⁵ verified: "Leave all and thou wilt find all."

In 1516, Luther still half understood this. In 1521, understanding of that sort of thing had wholly left him. As on other points, so also on this Luther became an antagonist

⁶⁹² To mention only some, the Dominican already adduced, Markus von Weida, in 1501, expressly assigns, as the basis of perfection, the complete oblation of self, the entire sacrifice "of the very noblest and best that man has and which God accepts as of the highest value and in preference to all else, above all prayer and sacrifice: that is, man's heart and his free will." "This takes place especially in an order, where man binds himself henceforth to live, not according to his own pleasure, but according to the will of God and of his superior. To those who there rightly take the vow of obedience, God also gives the grace to be cleansed from all sins and by Him they are esteemed as an innocent child that is just come from baptism." In Hasak, "Die letzte Rose," p. 49 sq. N. Paulus, "Markus von Weida" in "Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie," XXVI, Jahrgang 1902, p. 253 sq. Naturally, in practice, *complete* oblation of self is a rare case, therefore also the *complete* effect. Geiler von Kaisersberg also writes: "According to the opinion of the saints, the religious life is like a second baptism, because in it, *as in baptism, one wholly and unreservedly renounces all that is of the world*." But this does not take place without, but rather with Christ. "Just as the one newly baptized represents in himself the passion and death of Christ, so does the novice, on entering his order * * * put the old life to death, being clothed with a new and *being conformed to the passion of Christ*." De Lorenzi, "Geilers von Kaisersberg ausgewählte Schriften," I. (Trier 1881), p. 278 sq. The Dominican, Johann Herolt, (Discipulus), died 1468, only copies, without comment of his own, in his "Sermones de tempore et de Sanctis" (Argentinae, 1484), sermo 121, P, the passage from Thomas 2.2., qu. 189, a. 3 ad 3, treating of the remission of punishment, as reproduced below, p. 254, sq.

⁶⁹³ Ps. 15, 5: "Dominus pars haereditatis meae et calicis mei, tu es qui restituas haereditatem meam mihi."

⁶⁹⁴ De s. virginitate, n. 11: "Nec nos hoc in virginibus praedicamus, quod virgines sunt, sed quod Deo dicatae pia continentia virgines."

⁶⁹⁵ Imit. III, 32.

of the Church and of the orders. After 1521 he gets to be very loquacious about "monastic baptism," whilst earlier, along 1516, when he had already completed his "system" in its main features, he had nothing to say about it. But now suddenly Luther knows how to recount that just after his profession he had been advised of its effects. Harnack cites⁶⁹⁶, "one of the characteristic passages" taken from one of Luther's writings of the year 1533⁶⁹⁷: "I was also felicitated, after making profession, by the prior, the community, and my confessor, on being new like an innocent babe that has just come pure from its baptism." But in what order, in what monastery did this custom after profession prevail? Among Luther's brethren in Erfurt, where he made his profession, or elsewhere in Germany? Usingen, who had also made his profession at Erfurt two years or so later, knew nothing of it, as we have just seen. In fact, although Luther said not a little in the lifetime of Staupitz, drawing from him a reproof upon himself, he never ventured to assert anything of the kind as long as Staupitz was alive. In 1523, Usingen likewise was already dead.⁶⁹⁸ Luther consequently had no longer reason to fear contradiction, for his apostate brethren went to more grievous lengths than he himself. Moreover Luther himself must bear witness that this was not their custom in Erfurt, for this doctrine on the "second baptism" was unknown there. When he and other young monks heard about it from the lips of the Franciscan Kühne at Armstadt, according to the report cited above, "we young monks," as he said, "stood gaping, mouth and nose wide open, also smacking our lips with devout relish of the unctuous speech about our holy monkery. And thus this opinion was common among the monks." And it was precisely Luther and his brethren who previously knew nothing about it.

Luther of course gives to monastic baptism a meaning entirely different from its true one, whereof we shall treat in

⁶⁹⁶ "Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte," 3 ed., III, 737.

⁶⁹⁷ Erl. 31, p. 278 sq. It is the "Kleine Antwort"—Brief Reply—to Duke George's book.

⁶⁹⁸ He died Sept. 9, 1532. See Paulus, "Der Augustiner Bartholomäus Arnoldi von Usingen," p. 125.

the next chapter. With not a syllable does he mention the required complete interior oblation of self to God. He leaves the reader in the erroneous opinion that the mere *acceptance* of the order by profession suffices and that there is question exclusively of an outer work of his own on the part of the religious. "The (Catholic) state of perfection now means a monk's cowl and tonsure!"⁶⁹⁹ Here there can naturally be no idea of self-oblation.

This is also proved by the anecdotes which he adduces in corroboration. His sources, however, are very suspicious, for *in part he fabricated them himself*. Thus, for instance, he wrote an accompanying note approving the contents of a letter of the Duchess Ursula of Münsterberg, in which she gives an account of the flight of herself and two others from the convent in Friedberg. In her letter, the duchess says, among other things: "We believed that by *acceptance* of the order, we should be freed from pain and fault, and that it was another baptism. And as often as in our heart we renewed the same intention, thinking still to do that, if we had not done it, we obtained the forgiveness of all our sins, which was openly declared to us from the pulpit. Is not that blasphemy and contradictory of divine truth?"⁷⁰⁰ This is genuinely Lutheran. Did Luther himself perhaps compose the letter? It is true Ursula relates that she "wrote the letter without any human counsel or help whatever."⁷⁰¹ But to what purpose was this remark made, if she was not possessed by the fear that the true author would be surmised, and that, from the style and contents of the letter, Luther's style and work would be recognized? But all artifice was unavailing. It could not be concealed that she penned her letter at Luther's dictation. This urges itself upon anyone measurably solid in matters Lutheran. By the shrewd trick of dating the letter back, (as he did a letter to the Pope in 1520),⁷⁰² —back to a time *in which Ursula was still in the convent*, she and Luther only betrayed themselves. Her flight took

⁶⁹⁹ Erl. 7, 334.

⁷⁰⁰ Erl. 65, 139.

⁷⁰¹ Ibid., p. 163.

⁷⁰² See above, p. 137.

place in October, 1528; the letter, written after the flight had occurred, was dated April 28 of the same year! This duchess was a person worthy of her master, as is learned from a reply written by the nuns of that convent, February 18, 1529.⁷⁰³

Not only a woman, however, but a man as well, a Dominican and master of theology, the Provincial, Hermann Rab,⁷⁰⁴ was constrained to serve Luther as a witness. Luther in fact published a sermon of his, preached from the pulpit to a community of nuns on the occasion of a profession.⁷⁰⁵ Is it genuine in all its parts? Truly the authority of Luther can no longer be brought upon the field. Let us see. The text of the sermon is *Latin*. At that time, then, a Latin sermon to nuns in Saxony? But Rab could speak and write German, as is evident from a letter written by him, 1527, to the nun, Katherine von der Plawnitz, of the convent of Kronschwitz in the Weimar district, against Luther's adher-

⁷⁰³ Fragments of it were published by Seidemann in "Erläuterungen zu den Reformationsgeschichte," (Dresden 1844), p. 115. The duchess, it is related p. 116, was dispensed from singing and reading in choir, and from rising for matins for over twelve years; for *the past eight years she has not come to any of the hours*; likewise for the past five years, another apostate did not go to matins at all. Both busied themselves only with Luther's sect and books, against which the rest spoke at times and had reported the matter to the superiors. In consequence of this, those two became bitter of heart towards all, so that, when any other two sisters spoke together the former became suspicious that there was talk and plotting against them, spite of the fact that those conversing had excused themselves in a friendly manner. Since the rest were unwilling to assent to Lutherdom, it would have been of no use to treat them considerately. If one spoke against things Lutheran, even when it did not concern them, they became as furious as if one had seared the apple of their eye. Concerning the Duchess Ursula, see also H. Ermisch, "Ursula von Münsterberg," in "Neues Archiv für sächs. Gesch., t. III (1882), 290-333.

⁷⁰⁴ From 1516 he was Provincial of the Saxon province, and he died in the beginning of 1534. His successor was Johannes Mensing. See Paulus, "Die deutschen Dominikaner in Kampfe gegen Luther," (1903), p. 9 sqq., 15, 43. Enders, II, 71 here greatly lacks critique.

⁷⁰⁵ An original print is in the Vatican Library, *Pal.* IV, 121, bearing the title: "Exemplum theologiae et doctrinae papisticae." Also in "Opp. lat. var. arg.," VII, 21, where the false date, 1523, occurs. The Sermo begins: "Incipit sermo eximii magistri nostri I (instead of H) R. provincialis Ord. Praedicatorum."

ent, Katherine von Friesen of the same place.⁷⁰⁶ Whence then did Luther get the sermon? He said it was taken down only fragmentarily during its delivery.⁷⁰⁷ By whom? Naturally by a friend who had handed him the excerpts. But it is clear that Luther's friend can lay no more claim to credence or to greater trustworthiness than he himself. This premised, one comprehends just how these fragments were perforce adapted to Luther's observations and faultfinding. In the very beginning, a text out of Aristotle's Politics is preached to the *nuns*, particularly to the one making profession. Then they hear: it is great to offer something temporal to God for the building of churches, *for one hopes thereby to obtain the forgiveness of his sins*; but it is greater if one, *of one's free choice and own will, offers his soul to God*, as the religious does, *thereby obtaining full remission, as if receiving baptism*,⁷⁰⁸ etc. And so the sermon proceeds, all quite opportunely for Luther's marginal gloss; there is no need of Christ, no need of Faith, nor of grace, but only of one's own work; baptism and belief in Christ are nothing in comparison with these offerings. It is not through Christ but through the denial of Him and through one's own work that one hopes for the forgiveness of one's sins, and so on.

Now is it improbable that Luther or his like-minded associates, if they did not fabricate the whole sermon, at least garbled it in some parts?⁷⁰⁹ To these belong, among others, the portions on forgiveness of sins and the offering of the soul of one's free will. What is this last to mean? It is too

⁷⁰⁶ Published in: "Fortgesetzte Sammlung von Alten und Neuen theologischen Sachen auf das Jahr 1721," (Leipzig), p. 700 sqq. Now in part in Paulus, loc. cit., p. 12 sqq.

⁷⁰⁷ "Sermo * * * frustillatim * * * ex ore dicentis excerptus."

⁷⁰⁸ " * * * qui offert deo animam per liberum arbitrium et propriam voluntatem, sicut facit religiosus, qui per hoc consequitur plenariam remissionem, quasi susciperet baptismum."

⁷⁰⁹ It is also remarkable that Luther gives only the initial letters, one of those wrong, of Rab's name. Why so mysterious? It is not otherwise his manner, as every one knows. More than that, in the work he even omits the initial letters and says the sermo is "*a quodam magni nominis domini-castro, in coenobio quodam hujus regionis misserimis illis puellis, quas nonnas vocamus, non multo ante hos dies praedicatus ad commendandum nonnarum institutum.*" Thus the monastery likewise is not mentioned, quite contrary to Luther's custom when he rails.

absurd to be attributed to an old theologian. It is precisely by the vow of obedience, *sacrificing one's free will*, that the soul is offered.⁷¹⁰ Luther knew that well enough, but in his blind hatred he made the passage up, so that he could make his marginal gloss thereon: "Grace is unnecessary, free will suffices; the religious is an adversary of Christ and a sacrilegious destroyer of Faith." The passage in "monastic baptism" is made to bear the gloss: "Behold here the glorious Anabaptists! Thou seest how they sacrilegiously and blasphemously put their fantastic fabrications on an equality with baptism, yea, with Christ Himself."⁷¹¹ If this gloss proves anything at all, it is that Luther wanted to make the world believe that, according to the teaching of the monks or of the Church, one loses baptism through sin, one falls back into the state of original sin; the new baptism is the monastic baptism without the blood of Christ and only through one's own work; therefore are they rebaptizers (or Anabaptists).

And now who, according to Luther, is the inventor of this monastic baptism, or say of *any* monastic baptism at all? In answering this question, Luther varies in nothing from Melanchthon, who designates Thomas of Aquin as the guilty one, in truth, in this matter he became the disciple, though otherwise he was Melanchthon's master. After 1521, Thomas of Aquin is to him likewise the one who not only made simple entrance into an order equal to baptism, but who also was the *first* to do this.⁷¹² Luther brought this out particularly in the year 1533: "Such a shameful, wicked doctrine of the perjured,

⁷¹⁰ A theologian knew that from the Catholic doctrine which St. Thomas, in "Ep. ad Philipp." c. 2, lect. 3 set forth as follows: "Obedientia inter alias (virtutes) est maxima. Nam offere de rebus exterioribus est magnum, sed maius si de corpore, *maximum autem si de anima et voluntate tua, quod fit per obedientiam*. 1. Reg. 15: Melior est obedientia quam victimae, et auscultare magis quam offere adipem arietum."

⁷¹¹ On the margin of the sermon mentioned.

⁷¹² Weimar XIV, 62, 23 (for the year 1523); cf. line 5. And in 1524 he writes: "They throw up such states by which one is to be saved, as was shamelessly written by Thomas, the Friar Preacher: when one enters an order, it is as much as though he just were come from baptism. Thus they promise freedom and forgiveness of sins by one's own works. Such blasphemies must one hear, etc."

faithless, apostazing monks' baptism they *first* had from St. Thomas of the Order of Preachers, who himself in the end also *despaired*, and had to say against the devil: I believe what stands in this book—he meant the Bible.⁷¹³ From him they forced it into all the orders, into all the monasteries, into the hearts of all the monks, and thus it put many a fine soul to lifelong torture and finally drove them despairing into the abyss of hell, so that I—as an experienced monk, who desired with great earnestness to be a monk—may well call monkery a hellish poison-cooky, coated over with sugar.⁷¹⁴

But is Luther right? Is Thomas the inventor of “monastic baptism?” Not in the least. The correct doctrine on the subject goes back to the “*Vitae Patrum*,” consequently to the end of the fourth century.⁷¹⁵ It is almost a thousand years later that St. Thomas first appears on the scene.

On the relation of the effects of religious profession to those of baptism,⁷¹⁶ Thomas twice refers to the “*Vitae*” just mentioned.⁷¹⁷ With equal justice he could have cited two letters of St. Jerome,⁷¹⁸ in which profession is compared with the baptismal *covenant*, since in either case the devil and his works and his world as well are renounced. St. Bernard

⁷¹³ This is a lie! Whence did Luther get it? In the old legends there is not even the slightest support for the assertion.

⁷¹⁴ Erl. 31, 279. “Die Kleine Antwort auf Herzog Georgs' nächstes Buch,” of the year 1533. Luther speaks in a like manner later, e.g., in “Schmalkaldische Artikel,” Erl. 25, 143.

⁷¹⁵ Not indeed in the Latin translation, which, so far as the sixth book is concerned, dates from the VI century but in the Greek original. See in Migne, t. 73, Proleg., p. 42, 49.

⁷¹⁶ 2. 2. qu. 189, a. 3 ad 3, and also 4 Sent., dist. 4, qu. 3, a. 3, qu. 3.

⁷¹⁷ In Migne, Patr. l., t. 73, p. 994: “virtutem, quam vidi stare super baptismum, vidi etiam super vestimentum monachi, quando accipit *habitu spiritalem*.”

⁷¹⁸ In Ep. 39 (n. 3) he consoles Paula, about 384, on the death of her daughter, who, after her husband's death, “propitio Christo, ante quatuor ferme menses secundo quodam modo propositi se baptismo laverit, et ita deinceps viverit, ut calcato mundo, semper monasterium cogitarit” (Migne, Patr. l., t. 22, p. 468). He speaks even more clearly in 414 to the virgin Demetrias, ep. 130, n. 7. (Migne, loc. cit., p. 1113): “Nunc autem quia saeculum reliquisti, et secundo post baptismum gradu inisti pactum cum adversario tuo dicens ei: ‘Renuntio tibi, diabole, et saeculo tuo et pompae tuae et operibus tuis,’ serva foedus quod pepigisti * * *”

seizes this thought, more to examine it in its wider aspect and more exactly to define it: one should renounce not only the devil and his works, but also the world and one's own will. *The baptismal covenant should not only be renewed, but it should also be strengthened*, by ridding ourselves wholly of that which again brought us under the dominion of the devil, whom we renounced in baptism.⁷¹⁹ From the first chapters, we know that Luther, too, as late as 1519, when his thinking was still unclouded, coupled the vows and the religious life with the baptismal covenant: they serve "to win the end of his baptism."⁷²⁰

For brevity's sake omitting other doctors prior to Thomas,⁷²¹ I ask what was the view of St. Thomas? First

⁷¹⁹ Sermo 11 De diversis (Migne, t. 183, p. 570, n. 3): "Irritum fecimus foedus primum; tibi peccavimus, Domine, satanae et operibus eius obligantes denuo nosmetipsos, iugo iniquitatis colla ultronee submittentes et subicientes nos miserae servituti. Itaque, fratres mei, rebaptizari nos convenit, secundum foedus inire necesse est, opus est professione secunda. Nec iam sufficit abrenuntiare diabolo et operibus eius, mundo pariter abrenuntiandum est et propriae voluntati * * * non *resarcire* tantummodo *foedus primum*, sed etiam *robore* solliciti, ipsis quoque affectibus pariter abrenunciamus." Cf. ibid. Sermo 37, n. 3, but particularly "De praecepto et dispens., c. 17, n. 54 (Migne, t. 182, p. 889): Comparison between first and second baptism. Everything turns on perfect renunciation, on resemblance to Christ, on the renewal and strengthening of the baptismal covenant.

⁷²⁰ See above, p. 41-42.

⁷²¹ Thus, e.g. Peter Damian, Opusc. 16, c. 8 (Migne, Patr. l. t. 145, p. 376): "Legisti aliquando vitae monasticae propositum secundum esse baptismum? Sed quia hoc inveniri in dictis patrum perspicuum est, negare licitum iam non est." Odo of Clugny also says: "Sicut in libro Gerontico dicitur; eadem datur gratia in monachico habitu, quae et in albis baptismi." (Migne, l. c., t. 133, p. 554). Like St. Thomas, Odo appeals to the passage in the "Vitae Patrum" (Βίβλος τῶν ἀγίων γερόντων). Later literature, see above p. 244, note 689; 245, note 692; and in Rosweid's edition of the "Vitae Patrum" (Migne, t. 73, p. 182 sq.); I further adduce the celebrated Parisian theologian, Jodocus Clichtove, (friend of Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples). In a sermon composed by him—"Sermo de commendatione religionis monasticae"—and delivered by his one time disciple, the Cluniac, Geoffroy d'Amboise, at the general chapter of Clugny, April 13, 1513, he says, among other things: "Quod enim vite genus religionis professione, in sue prime institutionis decore conspecte, praestatius invenias aut congruentius ad salutem aut *expeditius ad capessendam viam vite*? Id apertissime Bernardi comprobatur testimonium in lib. de praec. et dispens. (c. 17) dicentis: Audire vultis a me, unde inter cetera penitentiae instituta monasterialis disciplina hanc meruerit prerogativam, ut secundum baptismum nuncupetur," etc. Ms. Bibl. Mazarine, n. 1068, fol. 159^b.

of all it is to be stated as a fact that he always treats the question only *incidentally* and then with few words.⁷²² Again the doctrine is neither to him nor in truth to *anyone* a tenet of faith or of universal tradition, but it is an opinion. Further, St. Thomas does not even use the expression "*second baptism*," as did St. Jerome, Peter Damian, or St. Bernard; he only cites approvingly, both in the "Sentences" and in the "Summa," the passage quoted above from the "Vitae Patrum," and adds his comments to it. In the "Summa," indeed, he qualifies the statement in this passage to the effect that, by entering an order, one receives the same grace as the baptized, by saying: "But if those entering were not freed from every *punishment* they had merited," etc.⁷²³ With him as with every other, the proper fundament is the sacrament of baptism. Whatever else is called baptism, bears the name only relatively, that is, in relation to the *effect* of the sacrament,⁷²⁴ but not to the *essence* and *dignity* of baptism, which is such that it imprints an indelible character. The matter here, at least as it concerns the "second baptism," so-called, is one of analogy and not of synonymity. It is true that Thomas, as a young master, in his first book against William of St. Amour, silent with reference to St. Bernard, says: "As a man in baptism is bound to God through the religion of faith, and dies to sin, so through the vow of religion he dies not only to sin but to the world, that he may live only to God in that work in which he solemnly vowed to minister to God."⁷²⁵ Nevertheless, however diffusely he wrote on the religious life and however often the opportunity offered, he

⁷²² In the passages already cited.

⁷²³ 2. 2. qu. 189, a. 3 ad 3: "Legitur in Vitae Patrum (libro 6, libello 1, n° 9), quod eandem gratiam consequuntur religionem intrantes, quam consequuntur baptizati. Si tamen non absolventur per hos ab omni reatu poenae, nihilominus ingressus religionis utilior est quam peregrinatio terrae sanctae."

⁷²⁴ 4. Sent., dist. 4 qu. 3, a. 3, qu. 1: "Dicitur aliquid baptismus secundum proportionem ad eundem effectum, et sic dicitur baptismus poenitentiae et baptismus sanguinis," in the language of Peter Lombard.

⁷²⁵ Contra impugnantes Dei cultum et religionem, c. 1, n. 2: "Sicut autem in baptismo homo per fidei religionem Deo ligatur, peccato moritur: ita per votum religionis non solum peccato, sed saeculo moritur, ut soli Deo vivat in illo opere, in quo se Deo ministraturum devovit fidei."

nowhere in his works set down the proposition that, if one enters an order, it was just as if he came straight from baptism, or that the monastic life was equivalent to baptism.

Thus simply stated, the proposition would be untrue, or at least very easily misunderstood. The mere external, material entrance into an order will not do. He who, burdened with grievous sin, takes the three vows, not only receives nothing, but he also draws down God's wrath upon himself.⁷²⁶ St. Thomas in fact expressly states that, in the state of perfection, there are those who have an imperfect charity or none at all, like many bishops and religious, who are in a state of mortal sin, whilst many good pastors possess a perfect charity.⁷²⁷

He, like all the rest of the Catholic doctors, requires the honest, *complete oblation of self to God*; for "the common feature of all the orders is that each individual of them is to offer himself entirely to serve God,"⁷²⁸ so that the one entering, or the one making profession, reserves nothing from without or within, but makes in truth a sacrifice of everything and of himself. They understand it of the *interior mind*, of the *act of perfect charity*, which exemplifies itself in the three vows. But a complete oblation of self to God includes within itself reconciliation with God and presupposes it. Satisfaction for the punishment still due on account

⁷²⁶ Cf. Cajetan on 2. 2. qu. 189, a. 3.

⁷²⁷ "De perfect. vite spirit., c. 26. This is an old doctrine and there is nothing improper in the vision in which our ancient father saw "multos de habitu nostro monachali euntes ad supplicium, et multos laicorum euntes in regnum dei." (Vite Patrum, Migne, t. 73, p. 806). This vision rather confirms the Catholic teaching that entrance into an order, putting on the habit, and making profession are not of themselves sufficient; and that there must be a correspondence between the outer and the inner actions of religion. It is a genuinely Lutheran proceeding on Luther's part, after first falsifying this passage after his manner, (as though hell were *filled*—"infernum repletum"—with religious, who plunge into it *by troops*—"turmatim,") to use it against the Church, as if God had revealed this," ut erroris operationem tunc ingredientem ostenderet et differret," (Weim. VIII, 657). Such talk is again allowed by Kolde to pass without comment.

⁷²⁸ 2. 2. qu. 188, a. 1, ad 1.

of sins already forgiven, is made according to the degree of one's charity and of one's oblation and sacrifice.⁷²⁹

He who inscribes on his flag the Epicurean principle that man cannot resist his nature, he who accepts as a first principle that concupiscence is insuperable, does not understand this doctrine. He no longer comprehends anything of self-subdual, of self-denial, of sacrifice. He has given up all resistance to the old Adam, all action under grace—and such was the case with Luther.

But let us close. Luther, when he called Thomas the inventor of "monastic baptism," either deceived his readers or he only evidenced his ignorance. Likely he did both. Moreover he knew the "Vitae Patrum," he knew Bernard's work "de praecepto et dispensatione," both of which he otherwise frequently cites. Why, then, these subterfuges of his, and, besides, a wholly erroneous exposition of the doctrine itself?

CHAPTER XII

CATHOLIC "MONASTIC BAPTISM," ACCORDING TO LUTHERAN EXPOSITION, AN APOSTASY FROM THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

The reformer did some good maneuvering when he thrust everything upon St. Thomas. Well did he know that, after St. Augustine, Thomas was the most prized doctor in the Church. As Luther shrank from no means, if it availed to fight the Church, so did he stop at nothing to belittle Thomas,

⁷²⁹ After adducing the passage from the "Vitae Patrum," 4 Sent. dist. 4, qu. 3, a. 3, qu. 3, ad 3, Thomas says: "Sed hoc non est, quia talis a satisfactione absolvatur, sed, quia eo ipso, quod suam voluntatem in servitutum redigit propter Deum, plenarie pro omni peccato *satisfecit*, quem cariorem habet omnibus rebus mundi, de quibus tantum posset dare, quod eleemosynis omnia peccata redimeret, etiam quantum ad poenam." 2. 2. qu. 189, a. 3 ad 3: "Rationabiliter autem dici potest, quod etiam per ingressum religionis aliquis consequatur remissionem peccatorum. Si enim aliquibus eleemosynis factis homo potest statim *satisfacere* de peccatis suis (see illud. Daniel, 4 24; Peccata tua eleemosynis redime): multo magis in *satisfactionem* pro omnibus peccatis sufficit, *quod aliquis se totaliter divinis obsequiis mancipet* per religionis ingressum, que excedit omne genus *satisfactionis*." As is clearly evident from both passages, Thomas takes "remissio peccatorum" for "remissio poenae pro peccatis." Cf. also "De perf. vit. spirit. c. 11, and the amplified exposition from the "Lavacrum conscientiae," above, p. 84, note 147.

although, as shall be shown in the course of this work, he did not know him at all. To test his objections as to their correctness or better to instruct himself in Catholic doctrine was not a matter of need to one who, as we saw in Chapter VI, likewise looked upon lying as a serviceable expedient.

Luther's assertion⁷³⁰ that the doctrine of "monastic baptism" was forced from Thomas through the monks into all the orders, all monasteries, and the hearts of all the monks, no longer merits consideration. But when he concludes that this doctrine tortured many a soul a lifetime and finally plunged them through despair into the abyss of hell, the statement deserves to be more closely taken into account. For the so-called "monastic baptism" in its Catholic sense, that is to say, *perfect* self-oblation, the earnestly consummated interior offering of one's self to God, can torture nobody, or bring no one to despair and plunge him into the abyss of hell. This is possible only when one has reserved something to himself, for example, pride, haughtiness and duplicity, or when one gradually grows faithless to God and takes back what he had forever offered to Him. What then does Luther understand Catholic "monastic baptism" to be?

What we heard Luther say in his marginal gloss on the sermon of Hermann Rab, as narrated in the preceding chapter, lets us surmise that he has invested "monastic baptism" with a wholly erroneous, or even godless notion. And such indeed is the case. At bottom it is the same idea maliciously made by him to underlie all good works, that baptism is lost by sin, and that reconciliation with God is then to be effected by works: "As soon as we have taken off our baby shoes, and are scarcely come from the blessed bath, they (the Papists) have taken all from us again by such preaching: 'O thou hast long *lost baptism* and soiled thy baptismal robe with sin. Now must thou think to do penance for thy sins and make satisfaction, fasting so much, praying, acting the pilgrim, giving pious bequests, until thou propitiatest God and thus comest into grace again.'" In keeping with this he also speaks of a "*baptism by works*," inasmuch as the Papists

⁷³⁰ See above, p. 251.

"truly and in fact suspend the baptism of Christ," "*put our works in the place of baptism*, and thereby set up a rebaptism not by water but *by works*. How shamelessly then they have compared their monkery and cloister-life with baptism."⁷³¹ The entire troop of monks "*have forgotten their baptism*, entered a monastery, put on a cowl, made for themselves the tokens wherein they thought to find and come upon God, and they pretend that that is the right manner of serving God and of reaching heaven."⁷³²

He also writes that by "monastic baptism," in which one "becomes pure and innocent," there has been downright *apostasy from the baptism of Christ*; for the sense of the vow was: "Dear God, by the baptism and word of Thy beloved Son I have hitherto been certain that Thou art my gracious God, but *I will now apostatize from that* and accept a new *monastic baptism* of my own works."⁷³³ For, he writes in the same place, "under the Papacy the baptism of Christ and the Kingdom of Christ with all its noble grace was unknown and not understood, therefore one had to turn to works and one's own merit. For *they hold baptism to be a temporal work, that now has long passed away and been lost by succeeding sins, and not an eternally constant promise of grace, under and in which we remain without intermission and if we fall we return to it again*. But such things no Papist can understand."⁷³⁴ Or as he writes several years later, that the Pope and his adherents, since with them "baptism and Christian states are a *trifling thing*, take on particular, higher states and ranks, and had to create a *higher monastic baptism*."⁷³⁵ All this he represents withal as *wholly certain*, "even though it is twice a stink and thrice a lie," to put it in his own words.⁷³⁶

Luther, then, in his rascally way, uses the expression, "monastic baptism," in order that the contrast with the

⁷³¹ Erl. 16, 89, 90, 93 sq. for the year 1535. Similarly Erl. 49, 166 in respect to the loss of baptism and to entrance into a monastery.

⁷³² Erl. 19, 86.

⁷³³ Erl. 31, 292.

⁷³⁴ Ibid., p. 292 sq.

⁷³⁵ Erl. 49, 88 sq.

⁷³⁶ Erl. 23, 133.

"baptism of *Christ*" may be made to stand out in a stronger light, but, at the same time, that the opinion may be awakened that both belong to the *same* category.

But who taught this? St. Jerome and St. Bernard, as was not otherwise to be expected and as has already been observed above,⁷³⁷ looked upon "the second baptism" as a renewal and a strengthening of the *baptismal covenant*. All others who have written on the subject are quite out of the question. But what barefacedness did it not require on Luther's part to assert that, according to Catholic teaching, baptism was only a temporal, ephemeral thing, that it is lost by sin and not recovered again? Had Luther not heard of the *indelible* character which baptism, according to Catholic teaching, imprints upon Christians and which is not lost even by apostates, as St. Augustine says?⁷³⁸ Baptism is *never* lost, for baptism has its effect from the potency of Christ's passion, just as St. Thomas teaches with the Church. Now, precisely as sins after baptism do not suspend the potency of Christ's passion, neither do they suspend baptism.⁷³⁹ Grievous sins only *impede* the efficacy of baptism,⁷⁴⁰ so that baptismal *grace* is lost (but not irretrievably) and the baptismal *covenant* is broken. Nevertheless reunion with God does not take place through "monastic baptism" or "monkery," but through the sacrament of penance.⁷⁴¹ But this always indispensably presupposes the Blood of Christ and the baptism already received. "Monkery" facilitates the

⁷³⁷ See above, p. 252.

⁷³⁸ Contra ep. Parmeniani, 1. 2, c. 13, n. 29.

⁷³⁹ 3 p. qu. 66, a. 9 ad 1: "Baptismus operatur in virtute passionis Christi. Et ideo sicut peccata sequentia virtutem passionis Christi non auferunt, ita etiam non auferunt baptismum, ut necesse sit ipsum iterari." Thomas here expresses the universal doctrine.

⁷⁴⁰ Ibid.: "impediunt effectum baptismi."

⁷⁴¹ Ibid: "poenitentia superveniente tollitur peccatum, quod impediabat effectum baptismi." Cf. also what the XV century "Lavacrum conscientiae" says, as cited above, p. 84, n. 147. It goes without saying that the best known theologian of the Order of Hermits in Germany in Luther's time, Johann v. Paltz, whom Luther knew personally, had no knowledge of a "monastic baptism," by which lost baptismal grace could be regained, but he knew the sacrament of penance as the means to that end. "Suppl. Celifodine," (Erphordie, 1504) fol. LIj.

renewal or rather the strengthening of the baptismal covenant, but is not necessary thereto.

In an earlier chapter⁷⁴² I discussed how Luther, more than a year after his apostasy in 1521, pretended to be in a state of *uncertainty*, as to the *disposition* with which he made his vows. Eight years later he knows more about the matter: "I for my part did not go to the monastery that I should serve the devil, but that, by my obedience, chastity, and poverty, *I might deserve heaven.*"⁷⁴³ Another four years later, or twelve years after 1521, he knows even more still, in his presumption, and he rises, against his better knowledge, to the simply preposterous assertion: "What did I vow when I vowed my monkery? *Why, I had to vow this intention: Eternal God, I vow Thee such a life wherein not only am I equal to the baptism, blood, and passion of Thy dear Son, and therefore henceforth need not His blood and passion, and henceforth, by my works will make a way to Thee; He may not be my way and shamefully lied* when he said: No one comes to the father except through me; but I will further, by my works (which I share with them and sell for a bushel of grain), bring to Thee and make blessed other Christians also, whom Thy Son was to have brought to Thee. And *I will be the way* by which Thy poor Christians and Saints come to Thee. That such was the intent of my vow no Christian heart can deny, for it is the manifest truth that we held our *monastic baptism* to be our sanctity, and imparted and sold our good works to the common Christian. This is as plain as day and the stones must say Aye to my words."⁷⁴⁴ Here we have it made evident into what an abyss Luther gradually plunged. In 1521, he still had enough of a sense of honor in respect to one point,⁷⁴⁵ not to venture to say that *he himself* had made his vows in such a manner, nay, more, he had to acknowledge that that could not be

⁷⁴² See above, p. 86.

⁷⁴³ Erl. 36, 409 (1529).

⁷⁴⁴ Erl. 31, p. 285 from the "Kleine Antwort," 1533 already cited.

⁷⁴⁵ For, "that they not only praised the monastic vows more than Christ's baptism, (Weim. VI, 4, 40), but that, by the vow, they revoked baptism," he had already written at that time. See above, p. 78.

asserted of all the others. Twelve years later, in 1533, there was no longer any vacillation. He had lost all shame and thus had the effrontery to write that *he had vowed* no longer to be in need of Christ's blood and passion, since his life thenceforth was equal to the baptism and to the blood and passion of Christ, that Christ was no longer his way, that his own (Luther's) works were both for himself and for others to the exclusion of Christ, the way to the Father!⁷⁴⁶

It is only now that one can fully understand Luther's falsity with regard to his exposition of Bernard's "*Perdite vixi*," and no one will wonder that it was just in a lampoon written in 1533 that Luther speaks on the subject most fully.⁷⁴⁷ By those words, discussed by us above,⁷⁴⁸ St. Bernard, says Luther, "like myself became in truth a true apostate and a forsworn, runaway monk. For, although he did not put off the cowl, nor leave the cloister, nor take a wife, yet does his heart say: he may and will not become blessed by his monkery, but only by the merit and right of Christ." Had St. Bernard held that "his monastic baptism was enough and had cleansed him like an innocent child just from baptism, * * * he would have had to say: Well, dear God, I must die. Here I come with my monastic baptism and the holiness of my order. I am pure and innocent. Open all the gates of heaven, I have deserved well. * * *

But St. Bernard has no mind for that. He falls back, lets his monkery go, and seizes the passion and blood of Christ. In this wise have all monks been obliged in the end to apostatize, to abandon their monastic baptism and to become forsworn, or else they all went, cowl and tonsure, to the devil."

It is no longer needed to observe for the benefit of any intelligent, unbiased reader that Luther's whole handling of the question runs "*de subiecto non supponente*," on an imaginary thing. Still it is interesting that, after having, ten

⁷⁴⁶ See also above, p. 69 sqq., where I cited the prayers which were said over Luther at his profession, and in which the order is designated only as a way to Christ.

⁷⁴⁷ Erl. 31, 287 sq.

⁷⁴⁸ See above, p. 44 sqq.

pages back in the same treatise, made St. Thomas the inventor "of the perjured, faithless, apostatizing monks' baptism," he here has St. Bernard, even in his day, "living long in monastic baptism," and renouncing it. The "Reformer" here speaks, as often in other places, just according to his need of the moment. That is no longer anything novel.

If Luther wanted to set up an argument against "monkery" from baptism, he *had perforce* to lie, for the true Catholic doctrine gave him no foothold. And he did simply lie, and it was just he, who, like no other before him, debased the dignity of baptism. From as early as 1516, it was his teaching that baptism effectuates no blotting out of sin in its regeneration, since, according to him, original sin remains after baptism, only it is not imputed. Had Luther sought to be consistent, he would have had to say precisely that with which, in his rascally way, he charged Catholics. In fact in his "Kirchenpostille" he does write: "Those who do not fight against their sins, but consent to them, *do surely again fall into original sin and become as they had been before baptism.*"⁷⁴⁹ Therefore, according to him, baptism is lost! One is then not only in sin, but *in original sin*; this is what Luther says, and, that no doubt may arise, he adds the words, "*as before baptism.*" But must baptism be repeated then? God forbid! Faith suffices! But if faith suffices in *this* case, why ought it not to suffice *in the first instance*? To what purpose be baptized? In the Lutheran system in any event, the acceptance of baptism is a great inconsistency.

CHAPTER XIII

LUTHER'S LIE, THAT MARRIAGE IS CONDEMNED BY THE POPE AS SINFUL—HIS CORRUPTING PRINCIPLES ON MARRIAGE

Luther's assertion that the married state is forbidden and condemned by the Pope, is based on the untruth, given out by him and already discussed in Chapter VI, that according to the Papists the service of God is only to be found in the monastic state, that, to be justified, to escape hell and God's

⁷⁴⁹ Erl. 15, p. 55.

anger, to expiate sin, one must flee the world and enter the cloister; and that the vows are viewed as necessary to salvation.⁷⁵⁰

Thus did Luther also write in 1527: "Whoso (according to the Papists) wishes to be occupied with God and spiritual things, may not be a married man or woman; therefore (have they) frightened the young people off from the married state, only to engulf them in whoreishness. * * * Hence it is that they hold married life to be neither a Christian state nor a good work."⁷⁵¹ "Had God not hindered, all women would have taken the vows, that their sons and daughters might become 'clerics'; (each one thought:) I was not chaste and a virgin, the children shall bring that in again."⁷⁵² According to them a *holy* state was only the monastic state; in the married state, on the contrary, one lives only for the world.⁷⁵³

If this is true, there is no further room for the married state. It is done away with. Did Luther seek to maintain his premises, he was fairly compelled to confess to the further falsehood that the married state was forbidden by the Church, nay, more, was condemned by her as unchristian. And he knew how to acquiesce in this compulsion. In the beginning, it is true, it was to his interest to assert only that the married state was *forbidden* by the Pope, but *not condemned* by him.

A. MARRIAGE ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN FORBIDDEN BY THE POPE, BUT NOT CONDEMNED.

When Luther wrote his book on the monastic vows, it became one of the several things he was busied about to prove that marriage was unjustly forbidden to monks. The vow of continency, he said, was based on the prohibition of marriage to monks. But this prohibition was characterized by St. Paul as apostasy from the faith. In proof of this

⁷⁵⁰ See above, p. 78 sqq., p. 170, and below, under B. in this chapter.

⁷⁵¹ Weim. XXIV, 55.

⁷⁵² Ibid. XXVII, 24.

⁷⁵³ Ibid. p. 26.

Luther adduces the scriptural passage, 1 Timothy, 4, 1-3, in which Paul speaks of those who in the last times were to depart from the faith, and among other things should *forbid* marriage and the partaking of certain foods.⁷⁵⁴ Luther concludes that this *one* passage affords him grounds to venture to free all monks from their vows, as he had already freed the secular clergy.⁷⁵⁵ The passage from St. Paul, he asserted, was not aimed against the future Tatianists, as the Papists pretend, for Tatian did not only *forbid* marriage, but he *condemned* it as *evil* and *sinful*. The Pope and the Papists *condemned neither food nor marriage*, but they only *forbade* them. Therefore not the Tatians but the Papists are to be understood to be among those spoken of by St. Paul. Luther was so enraptured with his exposition of this scriptural passage that at the close he apostrophizes the whole world: "Has anyone still an objection to raise here? Is it not wholly clear and irrefragable?"⁷⁵⁶ The "Reformer" was wont to use similar expressions whenever his arguments were their weakest. And so it was here.

Who, according to St. Paul, are those future heretics who are to forbid marriage? Perhaps such as ever preferred continency and virginity to marriage? Certainly not, for then he would be contradicting himself and what, in Chapter VI,⁷⁵⁷ we heard him teaching on virginity. He could only mean such as were free to marry or to remain continent, for the latter is not a duty. Here the same St. Paul's teaching is applicable: "*melior est nubere quam uri*"⁷⁵⁸—it is better to marry than to burn.

But Luther was not concerned about a correct understanding and exposition of passages of Scripture. He merely looked upon words. He treated them in a purely mechanical way, otherwise he would have attained the opposite of his design. He set out to make the Church as despicable as possible and to represent her teaching as contrary to Scripture.

⁷⁵⁴ Weim. VIII, 596.

⁷⁵⁵ Ibid., 597.

⁷⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 597 sq.

⁷⁵⁷ See above, p. 87 sq.

⁷⁵⁸ I Cor. 7, 9.

Hence here again he constantly repeats the same lie, as he is wont to do in other matters. In 1522 he hits anew on the first quoted passage from St. Paul, that teachers should come in hypocrisy, "teaching doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, to abstain from meats, which God hath created. Behold, he himself calls those teachers of devils' doctrines who forbid marriage. And here speaks not, as the lying mouth at Dresden says, of the Tatianists. The Tatianists did not forbid marriage, but they *condemned it as a sinful thing*. But St. Paul speaks here of those *who only forbid it*, but do not condemn it or regard it as sinful. * * * *The Pope does not say, like the Tatianists, that marriage is evil or a sin: item not: that meat, eggs, milk are evil or sins, but he forbids them only for a semblance of spirituality, as here St. Paul says,*⁷⁵⁹ etc. He has the same passage in mind a year later when he writes: "Yunker Pope has forbidden marriage, since such had to come who forbid marriage. The Pope has brought it about that man is not man, and woman not woman."⁷⁶⁰ In 1527, similar ideas, at least in part, still illumine his mind.⁷⁶¹

It is not necessary here to touch further on the absurdities of Luther's method of argumentation, which he himself shortly thereafter overthrew, as shall be shown in the sequel.

B. MARRIAGE ALLEGED TO HAVE BEEN CONDEMNED BY THE POPE AS A SINFUL, UNCHASTE STATE.

He who tells a falsehood and lies, does not afterwards know what he had earlier asserted. Thus it was with Luther. He himself set up his trap and was caught in it. If he wrote, after 1521, that the Pope had only prohibited, but not condemned marriage or held it to be a sinful thing, like the Tatianists, we hear him as early as 1527 saying: "It was a sheer shame for a maid or a lad to take each other in marriage, *as if it were not Christian*."⁷⁶² "The married state they give to the devil."⁷⁶³ Soon after, one hears worse.

⁷⁵⁹ "Wider den falschgenannten geistlichen Stand," Erl. 28, 194.

⁷⁶⁰ Weim. XIV, 157.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid. XXV, 19.

⁷⁶² Ibid. XXIV, 123 sq.

⁷⁶³ Weim. XXVII, 26. And 1528: "They annihilated it." Erl. 63, 273.

For, whilst Luther still asserts, 1530, that the Pope did not respect woman-love, i. e., the married state, nay, more, forbade it,⁷⁶⁴ a year later he wrote that the Pope *condemned* marriage, (like the Tatianists); that the scholastics had viewed this state only from without and had spoken of it "as if it were another, common, immodest life."⁷⁶⁵ Therefore, Luther, according to his own principles, must admit that Paul, in the passage first cited above (A), did *not* have the Papists in view. From now on his language grows ever wilder, but particularly in the year 1533. Once in a sermon he preached that the Pope despised, *hated* and eschewed the married state,⁷⁶⁶ but in the "brief response" to Duke George of Saxony he went much farther, endeavoring among other things to prove that a religious by his vow of chastity *renounces marriage as unchastity*. The manner of his argumentation is as follows: "What did I vow by my chastity? I forswore marriage. In the cloister I cannot forswear what outside of marriage is unchastity, as, adultery, whorishness, impurity, etc., (i. e., I cannot vow not to do it), God having previously forbidden it to me, to the layman as well as to the monk. Indeed by just such a vow I have forsworn chastity, for God Himself calls the married state chastity, sanctification, and purity (1 Thess. 4, 3 sq., Hebr., 13, 4). Now such sanctification, purity, and honorable chastity I have forsworn, as if it were vain unchastity, and I could not be chaste if I forswore such chastity commanded by God and commanded to be held honorable. Therefore a monk, who in his chastity can forswear nothing more than the married state, must needs forswear marriage as unchastity. How could he otherwise vow chastity? But because he does, he first gives God the lie and blasphemes Him, His creature, and His word, Who lauds such a state as honorable, chaste, pure and holy; then he shames all the world in marriage, and, according to his vow, so that it is right, fatherhood and motherhood must be and must be called unchastity, and all children born in marriage children of unchastity, just as if they were whore-

⁷⁶⁴ Erl. 41, 294.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid., 17, 271.

⁷⁶⁶ Ibid. 1, 161.

children. * * * Is not that a shameful, lying, blasphemous vow? Is not that called blindness?"⁷⁶⁷ Aye, indeed, is not what Luther here says blasphemous and mendacious, and a sign of extremest blindness?

One who takes the perpetual vow of chastity certainly also vows abstinence from all inner and outer acts against the virtue of chastity. He is indeed already bound to such abstinence by the commandment and virtue of chastity, but by his vows he pledges himself to more. But this, not at all taken into account in Luther's fallacy, is only a consequence of the excellent, first object of the vow of chastity taken by a religious, namely, abstinence from marriage, renunciation of those carnal pleasures which in marriage are not unchaste *but permissible*. For this reason some scholastics preferred the term "*votum continentiae*," the vow of continence,⁷⁶⁸ or even "*virginitatis*," of virginity,⁷⁶⁹ to the term "*votum castitatis*," vow of chastity. They assigned renunciation of marriage as the primary idea of the vow of chastity.⁷⁷⁰ And this is the expression explained by Luther in 1518, when hatred of the Church had not yet so taken hold of him.⁷⁷¹ In 1533, when he finds no means evil enough to make the Church despicable, he does not even shrink from the calumny that religious renounce the married state as something not allowed and *unchaste*, whereas they simply give it its place as something less perfect after that which is more perfect, i. e., virginity.

Luther's utterance of 1533 completely contradicts what he said in 1521 and the succeeding years, that the Pope only

⁷⁶⁷ Erl. 31, 297.

⁷⁶⁸ Cf. e.g. St. Thomas, "*De perf. vitae spirit.*," c. 8, 9, where he uses only the expression, "*propositum continentiae*" in the sense of "*a matrimonio abstinere*." But see especially 2.2. qu. 186, a. 4: "*utrum perpetua continentia requiratur ad perfectionem religionis*," and here again only in reference to "*matrimonium*." So also St. Bonaventure, 4 Sent., dist. 38, a. 2, qu. 1; qu. 3, etc.

⁷⁶⁹ St. Thomas, "*Contra retrah. a religionis ingressu*," c. 1, und 2.2. qu. 186, a. 4.

⁷⁷⁰ St. Thomas, "*Contra impugn. religionem*," c. 1: "*votum castitatis, per quod abrenuntiatur conjugio*."

⁷⁷¹ De decem praeceptis, Weim. I. 483, 21: "*Sacrilegium, quod est cum religiosus, sacerdos, monialis et omnes alii, qui deo continentiam voverunt, fornicantur*."

forbids the married state but does not condemn it or declare it to be sinful. At that time, too, Luther did not as yet have the notion that, by the vow of chastity, marriage was renounced as an unchaste state. After 1523 he characterized it as the fruit and utility of virginity *on earth*, that one could so much the better keep up one's dealings with God. "For a married man cannot wholly give himself up to reading and prayer, but, as St. Paul here says (1 Cor. 7, 33), he is divided, that is, he must devote a great part of his life to seeing how he may get along well with his wife, and thus, like Martha, he is tied to many cares which the married life demands. But a virgin is not divided by such solicitude. She can give herself wholly to God. *Nevertheless the Apostle does not therefore wish to condemn the married state*: he does not say that a married man * * * is separated from God, but that he is divided and bears much care and cannot always keep on praying and being occupied *with the word of God*; however good his care and work are, it is nevertheless *much better* to be free to pray and to *practice God's word*, for thereby he is useful and consoling to many people in all Christendom."⁷⁷² In spite of these advantages of virginity, of freedom from marriage, especially to the *servants and preachers of the Divine Word*, Luther teaches, Paul does not condemn the married state. But what follows from this? That neither does the Church nor the Pope condemn the married state if they give a higher place to virginity. It follows, too, that the religious does not hold the married state to be sin and unchastity if he forever renounces it.

Luther's later charge is one wholly superficial, long ago threshed out and refuted since time immemorial. It is based on the wholly erroneous idea, conceived by Luther against the Church and championed by him in respect not only to marriage but to other points,⁷⁷³ that the recognition of a state of life as *better, higher, and more perfect*, involves as a consequence the condemnation of every other state of life as *evil and to be detested*. This false basic idea is defended

⁷⁷² Weim. XII, 138 sq.

⁷⁷³ See, e.g., above, p. 207.

even to this day by Protestant theologians in certain cases against the Church.⁷⁷⁴ But St. Augustine in his day writes in respect to the theme with which we are here busied: "Any chastity whatever, *marital* or *virginal*, has its reward with God. For, although the latter is greater, the former less, *each is still pleasing to God*, because each is God's gift."⁷⁷⁵ Placing the one higher than the other does not condemn the other. "Several who had read the praise of virginity in Holy Writ, just for that reason condemned marriage; and such as found chaste marriage lauded in the same place, therefore made it equal to virginity."⁷⁷⁶ The holy doctor has those in view who, like Luther and the Protestant theologians, always go to the other extreme in order to operate against the Church. Does not St. Augustine seem actually to talk about Luther and his followers when he writes that it was boasted there was no answering Jovinian by praising marriage but only by blaming it?⁷⁷⁷

St. Jerome, who heaps praises to overflowing upon virginity, does not less clearly express himself. To the objection: "Thou darest to debase marriage, which was blessed by God Himself?" he made answer: "It is not debasing marriage to give virginity the *preference*. No one compares the evil with the good."⁷⁷⁸ "Shall those who can freely choose their consort," writes St. Ambrose, "not be permitted also

⁷⁷⁴ E.g., Ziegler, "Gesch. der Ethik" (1886), II, 300; Seeberg. "Lehrbuch der Dogmengesch.," II, 258: "Sin," says Seeberg, loc. cit., in respect to the alleged Catholic ideal of life, "was found above all in the sensual instincts of nature. The natural as such was evil." And now the practical application: "Here Luther's thoughts worked powerfully to the contrary!" Seeberg was unaware that Luther was only letting fly at a bugbear which he himself had created.

⁷⁷⁵ Sermo 343, n. 4. He repeats the wholly like idea in "De bono conjugali," n. 9. 27. 28, and frequently elsewhere.

⁷⁷⁶ De fide et operibus, n. 5: "Quidam intuentes in scripturis sanctae virginitatis laudem, connubia damnaverunt; quidam rursus ea testimonia consecrantes, quibus casta coniugia praedicantur, virginitatem nuptiis aequaverunt," etc.

⁷⁷⁷ Retract. I. 2, c. 22, n. 1.

⁷⁷⁸ Ep. 22 (ad Eustochium), n. 19: "Dicat aliquis: et audes nuptiis detrahere, quae a deo benedictae sunt? Non est detrahere nuptiis, cum illis virginitas antefertur. Nemo malum bono comparat. Gloriantur et nuptiae, cum a virginibus sint secundae. Crescite, ait (Gen. 1, 28) et multiplicamini et replete terram," etc.

to prefer God above every other?"⁷⁷⁹ As Christ teaches that one should not reject marriage, since He approved it, so does He also teach⁷⁸⁰ that the striving after virginal chastity is to be preferred to marriage, for *only in this instance* did He say: He that can take, let him take this word.⁷⁸¹ "No one, therefore, having chosen the married state," concludes Ambrose, "may reprehend virginity, and no one who follows virginity may condemn marriage."⁷⁸² The same principles prevail among the Scholastics. Marriage and solicitude about temporal affairs, writes St. Thomas, are not *hindrances to the love of God*, therefore sinful and to be condemned, but only hindrances to charity's easier and freer activity.⁷⁸³ The liturgy of the Church stands for no other principles. As far back as the "Sacramentarium Leonianum,"⁷⁸⁴ it is pointed out at the consecration of virgins that "the honor and dignity of marriage are lessened by no prohibition and that the primeval blessing upon the married state endures, even if some higher souls renounce marriage, not choosing what occurs in matrimony but rather what it presignifies."⁷⁸⁵

As has been said, Luther in his later period, especially from 1523 on, wished to know no more about this aspect of

⁷⁷⁹ De virginitate, c. 5, n. 26: "Quibus licet sponsum eligere, non licet deum praeferre?"

⁷⁸⁰ Matt. 19, 12.

⁷⁸¹ De virgin., c. 6, n. 31.

⁷⁸² Ibid. n. 34: "Nemo ergo vel qui coniugium eligit, reprehendat integritatem, vel qui integritatem sequitur, condemnet coniugium. Namque huius sententiae adversarios interpretes damnavit jam dudum ecclesia," namely the heretics Tatian, Marcion, Manichaeus, and the Gnostics generally.

⁷⁸³ See above, p. 154, note 404.

⁷⁸⁴ Ed. Ch. Lett Feltoe (Cambridge 1896). There it is said, p. 140: "Hoc donum in quasdam mentes de largitatis tuae fonte defluxit, *ut cum honorem nuptiarum nulla interdicta minuissent, ac super sanctum coniugium initialis benedictio permaneret*, existerent tamen *sublimiores* animae, quae in viri ac mulieris copula fastidirent connubium, concupiscerent sacramentum, nec imitarentur quod nuptiis agitur, sed dilligerent quod nuptiis praenotatur. Agnovit auctorem suum beata virginitas et, aemula integritatis angelicae, illius thalamo, illius cubiculo se devovit, qui sic perpetuae virginitatis est sponsus, quemadmodum perpetuae virginitatis est Filius."

⁷⁸⁵ Cf. also Isidor. Hispal., De eccles. officiis, l. 2, c. 20, n. 2 (Migne, Patr., l., t. 83, p. 810): "Non tamen confugiorum honorabilis torus et immaculatum cubile sine fructu est; nempe soboles inde sanctorum, et quod laudatur in virginitate, coniugii est. Ideoque nec peccatum nuptias dicimus, nec tamen eas bono virginalis continentiae vel etiam vidualis coequamus."

the subject. He does not even hesitate to ascribe to himself, as a one-time monk, a view which as such he had not held, but had straightforwardly antagonized: "The Papists forbade the married state as *condemned by God*;"⁷⁸⁶ "the most pestilential Papists and heretics made mortal sins of all the words and all the doings of married people. But I myself, *whilst I was still a monk*, thought the same, *that marriage was a kind of life condemned*."⁷⁸⁷ A year before his death he preached that the married state "*was not to be rejected and condemned as the stinking and unclean state* which the Pope with all his following made it." Aye, "if it were in the Pope's hand and power to create human beings, he would neither create nor suffer a woman to be in the whole world. What would then become of it? Human beings would perforce cease to exist."⁷⁸⁸ Luther gives the lie to himself. As we saw in the beginning of this chapter, in the year 1521 and the years following, he still expressed himself to the effect that the Pope did *not* condemn the married state nor hold it to be sin. If Luther, as a heretic, still conceded this of the Pope, he could not only shortly before, as a monk, have condemned marriage and looked upon it as sin. This argument would really have been more efficacious than his assertion that the Pope had only forbidden marriage. But thus it is with the "Reformers"; after 1530, from which time on he notably harshened his tactics against the Catholics, he himself made a romance of his earlier religious life, as shall be demonstrated in the second volume.

In 1539 he expresses himself in this wise: "The Papists hold marriage to be out-and-out impurity and sin, in which one cannot serve God." "Pope, devil, and his church are hostile to the married state. * * * The married state, (according to them) is whore work, sin, impure, rejected by God. And although for all that they say besides it is holy and a sacrament, *that is a lie out of their false hearts*. If

⁷⁸⁶ Opp. exeg. lat., VI, 279, about 1540.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 283; "Pestilentissimi papistae et haeretici fecerunt peccata mortalia ex omnibus dictis et factis coniugum. Atque ipse ego, cum essem adhuc monachus, idem sentiebam, coniugium esse damnatum genus vitae."

⁷⁸⁸ Erl. 20, 47. He preached the sermon in Merseburg "at the wedding of the Rev. Mr. Sigismund von Lindenau, dean of the Merseburg chapter."

they held it to be holy and a sacrament, they would not forbid marriage to their priests."⁷⁸⁹ Who does not laugh at this rare logic of the Reformer? He had then already forgotten what he wrote in 1523, that a married man is tied to many cares which the married life demands,⁷⁹⁰ or, as he expresses himself as early as 1521, that Christ and Paul praise celibacy, because the unmarried, free from the cark and cares of the flesh, can more *easily* and *freely* apply themselves to the word and the faith day and night, whilst a married man is kept therefrom by his household cares and is divided.⁷⁹¹ Precisely on grounds of the utterances of the Saviour (Matt. 19, 12) and of the Apostle Paul (1 Cor. 7, 7, 32-34), a higher moral value has at all times been ascribed to virginity and it has been held to be the more fit for the service of God and for the preachers of the Gospel. On the same grounds there was recognized a certain connection between the unmarried state and activity for the Kingdom of God. *Without wishing to, Luther*, as we have just seen, gave *expression to this also*. Therefore it was that even in the first centuries celibacy was actually observed by a great part of the clergy, before it took on the form of law. Did any prejudice to the sanctity of the married state occur in this? We already heard Luther answer in the negative: "In spite of this, the Apostle does not wish to condemn the married state."⁷⁹²

To cover *his own* lies and *his own* contradictions, he accuses the Church of lying and of contradiction. Thus a short time before, he censured in this strain: "You want to be the lords of the Church; what you say is to be supposed right. Marriage is to be supposed right and a sacrament, if you wish; again, marriage is to be supposed to be impurity, i. e., *a befouled sacrament*, which cannot serve God, if you wish."⁷⁹³ By this smutty charge the "Reformer" seeks to withdraw attention from his own course of facing his cart about at pleasure. When he continues: "Because they for-

⁷⁸⁹ Erl. 25, 369, 373.

⁷⁹⁰ See above, p. 267.

⁷⁹¹ Weim, VIII, 585 and above, p. 89 sq.

⁷⁹² Above, p. 267.

⁷⁹³ Erl. 25, 374. There is a great deal in Luther "beschissen und beschmissen," which may be euphemized, "bedefecated and pelted with excrement."

bid marriage to their priests, they must hold the married state to be impure and sin, even as they clearly say: Be ye clean, you that carry the vessels of the Lord,"⁷⁹⁴ he deceives again. For he must have known well that this passage does not refer to abstinence from marriage, but that (like the quotation cited by him from elsewhere, "Be ye clean")⁷⁹⁵ it refers, in the Old as well as in the New Testament, to the care and duty of those consecrated to the service of the altar to strive to be clean of heart and of conscience.⁷⁹⁶ When he concludes: "Thus let the Ass-pope and the Pope-ass and his juristic asses be welcomed this time,"⁷⁹⁷ the "Reformer" brands himself, as so frequently he does, a low blackguard.

With all of this, Luther does not come to a standstill. He even knows that "the Pope in his books *calls* the married state a sinful state, in which no pleasing service can be rendered to God."⁷⁹⁸ Instead of Luther let Protestants answer me where the Pope says that. With the antecedent the following conclusion is in keeping: "The Pope-ass sees only the outer form and likeness and not the difference between wife and whore. For the married state is a pure and holy state, not for itself but for the sake of the word which God spoke thereof. Otherwise it would be quite as unclean as

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 373. Luther cites only: "Mundamini qui fertis." The editor, Irmischer knew neither what to make of it nor that the passage is taken from Isaiah 52, 11.

⁷⁹⁵ Opp. exeg. lat., I, 169. The scriptural passage is Levit. 11, 44.

⁷⁹⁶ This is so true that Scholastics like Peter de Palude and Gabriel Biel, on the ground of this passage "Mundamini," required that those about to receive the sacrament of marriage should be *so much the more* pure: "Qui in mortali contrahit per verba de presenti, peccat mortaliter pro eo, quod indigne suscipit sacramentum. Esai LII; mundamini qui fertis vasa domini. *Multo magis* qui suscipitis sacramenta, que sunt vasa gratie." Cf. Biel, "Sermones de tempore et de Sanctis" (Hagenau 1510), fol. 20. Luther on the contrary, remains consistent with himself until shortly before his death, inasmuch as, in 1545, he still lies: "By the saying: 'Be ye clean, you who carry the vessels of the Lord,' they desire to defend their celibacy, saying that priests cannot be married, and to condemn the married state as impure. * * * To be pure means to be unmarried and without a wife," etc. Erl. 20, 49 sq. There is no catching up with liars. There were some, of course, who also applied the "Mundamini" to abstention from marriage.

⁷⁹⁷ Erl. 25, 373.

⁷⁹⁸ Erl. 44, 376.

the state of whoredom. But because God says: Thou shalt be husband, wife, they are more blessed than a nun. For the state of the married is founded on God's word; *this the Pope-ass cannot understand.*"⁷⁹⁹ Luther wrote this in 1539. The year before he avowed the very opposite: "The Pope *recognizes* that the married state is a *good order of God and a godly thing*"; but with the same breath he cries out that the Pope is worse than those heretics who held the married state to be adultery and desired that no Christian should enter it; thus does the Pope also condemn the married state as a carnal and sinful state: one should not be married. For just this reason "the pious bishops had had enough to do in the Church to preserve marriage, and therefore *they had made a sacrament* of the married state."⁸⁰⁰ Now we know. According to the "Reformer," it was the bishops who, against the Pope, had maintained the marriage state in the Church, inasmuch as they had made it a sacrament! Well did he know how the then corrupted priests and monks could be caught; and quickly they let themselves be convinced that, having renounced marriage as a sinful, unchaste state, they could now make choice of it.

C. LUTHER'S LIES IN RESPECT TO HIS EARLIER VIEWS ON MARRIAGE.

But let us turn back to the passage of 1540, in which Luther appeals to his earlier monkhood and says he had held the married state to be a condemned state of life. He seeks to prove this: "We were debating whether it was permissible to love and seek an honorable maiden in marriage; whether it was a sin to joke with one's wife. I was greatly astonished at the view of Bonaventure, the holiest of monks, when he says, it is no sin to seek a woman in marriage, more, that it is allowed. He also says the husband may joke with his wife. I had expected an entirely different opinion, more worthy of his state; for I myself did not ap-

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 170.

prehend the matter otherwise than did the Jews."⁸⁰¹ By these words Luther again ensnares himself. Did St. Bonaventure among the Scholastics entertain a view on this matter peculiar to himself? Not in the least, as shall be shown farther on. But whence did Luther, who, according to Seeberg,⁸⁰² was a "thoroughly trained scholastic theologian," who "had pursued solid scholastic studies," takes his judgment? Whom could Luther cite as authority for his assertion that, as a monk, he had apprehended the married state, with all connected therewith and appertaining thereunto, not otherwise than did the Jews?

Indeed, as early as the time in which he was a "young boy"⁸⁰³ the marriage state was held to be dishonorable on account of the godless, unclean celibacy, so that "I thought one could not, without sin, think of the life of the married."⁸⁰⁴ Luther wrote this 1536-1537. He was then so debased that he was no longer conscious of how morally ruined a youngster he stamped the little Luther, by these words, if they have any sense at all. Of what life of the married can one hardly think, at least to some length, without sin? Every one knows, and I need not mention it. And of this the "boy" Luther is to be supposed to have already known somewhat? If this were true, what would it prove? But perhaps the later Luther thinks that the boy Luther held it to be a sin to think about the married at all, because according to Catholic teaching the marriage state was a sinful state? In this case we get back to the lie already discussed, in behalf of which the Luther of 1540 brings Luther the monk upon the scene. The intention is clear. He wanted to say: "Why, look here, I know it of my own experience, whilst I still lived in Popery,

⁸⁰¹ Opp. exeg. lat., VI, 238. St. Bonaventure writes, "Sent." IV, dist. 31, a. 2, qu. 3: "Licet viris cum uxoribus iocari et etiam delectari (et veniale est), ita tamen quod faciant affectu maritali." Ibid., a. 1, qu. 1, he teaches that "coniugium bonum est." What follows? "Ideo appeti potest." See dist. 30, dub. 6.

⁸⁰² "Die Theologie des Joh. Duns Scotus," p. 680; "Lehrbuch der Dogmengesch." II, 206.

⁸⁰³ Opp. exeg. lat., I, 169: "Me puero," is translated in "Luthers Tischreden" (Table-talk) ed. Fürstemann, IV, 152: "And Luther said: when he was a *young boy*."

⁸⁰⁴ Opp. exeg. loc. cit.: "ut putarem, sine peccato de coniugum vita me non posse cogitare."

whether as a monk, or as a youth before my entrance into the Order, that, according to the then Papistical teaching and conception, the married state was taken to be a sinful, condemned state." That had considerably more effect.

But Luther caught himself in the trap he laid. The writings of Luther the monk give the lie to the utterances of Luther the apostate. From 1516 to 1518, Luther wrote his, in many respects, beautiful treatise, at least in respect to its chief points, and lectured on the Ten Commandments with entire candor and freedom from assumption, so that we may learn with certainty what his then view was. What he says there on marriage and the marriage state, whilst treating the fourth and sixth commandments, reflects the Catholic doctrine of his time, and never do we learn that his own conception was different from it; on the contrary, both were identical.

The permissibility of marriage is presupposed by Luther throughout his treatise. Neither is there anywhere the lightest hint that the marriage state was forbidden by the Pope or, worse still, condemned by him, although Luther, on the sixth commandment, lauds virginity above everything and stigmatizes the violation of the vows in religious as well as in priests as a sacrilege.⁸⁰⁵ In the first place his development runs that, in the Old Testament, virginity (on the known grounds) was the greatest opprobrium, whilst in the New Testament it was the greatest honor, at least for those who have not the intention of marrying. Those, however, who undertake matrimony do not, it is true, have so great an actual honor, but they can have it if they are encouraged to virginity, about which many have written many and magnificent things; for there can be no restitution made to a virgin, etc.⁸⁰⁶

⁸⁰⁵ Weim. I, 488, 489. See above, p. 266, note 771.

⁸⁰⁶ "Tunc (olim in lege) virginitas summum erat opprobrium, nunc autem summa gloria, tunc damnabile dedecus, nunc incomparabile decus, iis saltem, qui non proposuerunt nubere. Nam qui proponunt matrimonium, non habent actuale tantum decus, sed possunt habere, si ad virginitatem animentur, de qua multi multa et magnifica scripserunt, quia vere nulli virgini potest fieri restitutio. Sane tamen hoc intellige, quia volenti non a deo tenetur, invitae autem non potest tolli, potest autem induci et sic tolli." Weim. I, 488.

Luther here says, in other words, the same things that we heard above from Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome, as well as out of the "Sacramentarium Leonianum." Virginity is higher than wedlock, nevertheless the latter is not therefore sin, is not condemned nor debased. How otherwise could Luther assert that, if a virgin proposed to marry, she has not the same honor as those who have renounced marriage? Were wedlock a sin and condemned, a virgin proposing to marry would not only have no honor at all, but rather, by her striving after marriage, i. e., something sinful and forbidden by God, she would be committing a sin.

It does not surprise us, therefore, that the same Luther as monk and professor not only presupposes the permissibility and the good of the marriage state, developing beautiful principles on the subject, how the married should live a good life together in peace and with merit for the Kingdom of God, but also shows it is nothing at all new to him, and does not seem a thing not allowed if a youth seeks a maiden in marriage or a maiden strives to acquire a youth as a husband. Rather does he give the maiden instructions what to do in order the more certainly to attain her object. A youth, he says, is deterred from taking to wife a maiden who makes too much of finery. "If you wish to catch a youth with love," he says to the maiden, "hear this most useful counsel: be retired and modest, adorn yourself moderately, speak little, and cast not your eyes upon his countenance. The highest adornment of a maiden and of a woman is a modest diffidence; this charms and catches the hearts of the men more than all adornment; besides it strengthens marriage, whilst the carnal love called forth by external finery soon brings disgust with the marriage tie, because such a love is based not on good morals but on vain finery. Do as I have advised you and you will acquire a husband; you will, indeed, *under God's blessing*, acquire him more speedily than by that unruly abyss of things whereby one resembles whores," etc.⁸⁰⁷

Can this be the language of that monk who, according to the assertion of the later Luther, in the spirit of his time,

⁸⁰⁷ Weim. I, 456.

held the marriage state to be a condemned state of life and the utterances of St. Bonaventure on seeking marriage to be strange, hardly in keeping with the state of a mendicant friar? On the grounds of the beautifully expounded passages, 1 Cor. 11, 7 and 1 Pet. 3, 7, the monk Luther says that the wife should honor the husband, who participates in the name and office of God; but husbands should show themselves worthy, cohabiting with their wives, not for the sake of satisfying carnal lust, thereby doing away with the distinction between wife and whore, as animals and pagans do, but the husband should hold his wife in honor as the weaker vessel and *see in her a coheiress to the grace of life*.⁸⁰⁸

It is just this that Catholic pastors in Luther's time used to say to the bridegroom in many German dioceses at the nuptial benediction. After admonishing him that "God had made him the head and administrator of his bride," they addressed him further: "You also shall maintain your cohabitation with her, with reason in discipline and in sanctity, and be considerate with her as the weaker vessel, and as one also a coheir to the grace of life, to the end that your prayers be not frustrated."⁸⁰⁹ They did not depart by a hair's breadth from the teaching of St. Peter.

In the succeeding year, 1519, preaching the second Sunday after Epiphany on the text, "*Nuptiae factae sunt*,"⁸¹⁰ Luther brings out no different language, although in consequence of his teaching on concupiscence he already shoots beyond the mark. Still the monk Luther in this sermon again

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 457.

⁸⁰⁹ Thus, e.g. in "*Agenda ecclesiae Moguntinens.*" (Moguntiae 1551), fol. 75^b. In the foreword, Archbishop Sebastian says that earlier "*Agenda*" or rituals, copies of which had become too worn or rare, had served as models. The same admonition is found in "*Agenda ecclesiae Wircebergen.*" (Wyrzburgi 1564), fol. 50. Bishop Frederick prefaces the edition with an observation similar to that of the Archbishop of Mainz. It is to be mentioned, however, that, in the earlier "*Agenda*," the *German* addresses were not as yet printed; but they were delivered, as is evidenced on p. 259 sq. of one to be later mentioned below, Surgant, as well as in notes, e.g. in the "*Agenda secundum rubricam Numbergen. diocesis*," Basilee impressa (1519), Fol. 34^b: "*hoc vulgariter, ut moris est, ab eisdem (sponso et sponsa) diligenter inquirat. Postea iterum in vulgari commendat viro mulierem et e converso.*"

⁸¹⁰ In both recensions, Weim. II, 166 sqq.; IX, 213 sqq.

gives the lie to the later Luther, when he asserted that, in the young Luther's time, it was the entire conviction of all that whoever desired to live a life holy and pleasing to God might not enter the married state, but had to lead a single life and take the vow of chastity.⁸¹¹ The monk Luther presents it as an old scripture-grounded truth that "neither Christ nor the Apostles wished to command chastity (i. e., continence), but they counseled it and left it to each individual's discretion to try himself: if he cannot be continent, let him marry; but if, of God's grace, he can, chastity is better."⁸¹² Quite in the spirit of the Church he says: "*Beg God to send you into a state of life pleasing to Him and blessed for you.*"⁸¹³ "Those who wish to enter the marriage state should be taught to pray to God with right earnestness for a consort. * * * A wife is given only by God, to each as he is worthy, just as Eve was given to Adam by God alone."⁸¹⁴ "One should beg the Lord Christ, saying: Behold, Lord, here I am. Thou knowest I am poisoned in my flesh and need Thy help. I pray Thee grant me a wife *pleasing to Thee and blessed for me.*"⁸¹⁵

With the Catholic Church, Luther recognized a *three-fold good* as the end of marriage—the sacrament, the covenant of fidelity, and progeny.⁸¹⁶ He expressly refers to the authorities for this: "Now the doctors have found three

⁸¹¹ Opp. exeg. lat., I, 169.

⁸¹² Weim., II, 168.

⁸¹³ Weim., IX, 214.

⁸¹⁴ Weim. II, 167.

⁸¹⁵ Weim. IX, 215.

⁸¹⁶ St. Augustine in his day (De Gen. ad litt., 1. 9, c. 7, n. 12) had already written: "Id quod bonum habent nuptiae, et quo bonae sunt nuptiae, peccatum esse nunquam potest. Hoc autem tripartitum est: fides, proles, sacramentum." The exposition of this threefold *bonum* by St. Augustine became the basis for later expositors. St. Augustine's gloss: "in prole attenditur ut amanter suscipiatur, benigne nutriatur, *religiose educetur*," more or less generally induced the doctors, and particularly preachers, in handling this question, to take up the fundamental principles of the education of children; also in handling the fourth commandment, where the discussion of the mutual relations of master and servant likewise found its place. Augustine's passage was familiar to all, at least through the medium of Lombard's Sent. 1, 4, dist. 31.

goods and benefits in the marriage state,⁸¹⁷ by which sinful pleasure which accompanies it in an undercurrent is made amends for and kept from becoming damnable." He then enumerates these three goods, expounds them, especially that *of the sacrament*, on the basis of Ephes. 5, 32, and concludes, in St. Paul's words and commenting on them, that matrimony is a great sacrament: "The marriage state does truly signify great things. Is it not a great thing that God is man, that God gives Himself to man and wishes to be his, as man gives himself to his wife and is hers? * * * Behold, for honor's sake, that the mingling of man and wife signifies so great a thing, the marriage state must enjoy such a significance that evil carnal lust, which no one is without, is *not damnable* in marital duty, which otherwise apart from marriage is always mortal, if it is consummated. Thus does the sacred humanity of God cover (!) the shame of evil carnal pleasure. Therefore should a married man have a care of such a sacrament, honoring such sacred things and *keeping himself moderate in his marital duty, so that no unreasonable consequences happen to carnal lust, as is the case with animals.*"⁸¹⁸

D. ECCLESIASTICAL PRACTICE AND TRADITION REFUTE THE CALUMNIES BROUGHT FORWARD BY LUTHER.

Whence did Luther the monk draw his conception of the permissibility, dignity, and sanctity of marriage? The answer is very simple: from Catholic teaching and liturgy. He learned the Catholic doctrine as a "young boy" at school; for in 1531 he preaches: "Who does not know that the marriage state was founded and instituted by God, created in paradise and also confirmed and blessed outside of paradise, as Moses indicates: 1 Moses 1, 2, and 2nd chapter?

⁸¹⁷ Of these three goods, the above mentioned "Agenda" also speak, and that is, in the address to the bridal couple. So also in "Agenda sec. rubricam eccl. Salisburg." (Salisburgi 1557), fol. 54-56: "Admonition to the couple before being joined in wedlock." First point, Gen. 2, 24; second point, Matt. 19; third point, grounds of the institution—propagation, purity, figure of the Church.

⁸¹⁸ Weim. II, 168. Here we glimpse Luther's un-Catholic doctrine that the fulfillment of the marriage duty is always a mortal sin, and that God only covers it, as will be more fully discussed below under E.

Everybody knows that well. I also learned to repeat the words."⁸¹⁹ But where, if not at school? So the later Luther also involuntarily makes a lie of what he had said of the boy Luther. As a monk he had but to turn to the "Missa pro sponso et sponsa" in the missal of his Order,⁸²⁰ were the beautiful office "unius s. mulieris" in his breviary not enough, to inform himself that, in the Catholic Church, the marriage state is highly thought of. Only its holiness is the lesson of this mass, which implores God's blessing on the bridal couple,

⁸¹⁹ Erl. 18, 270 (1531).

⁸²⁰ For Luther's time I cite the missal of the Order of Hermits, in manuscript form in *Bibl. Angel.*, Rome, No. 1098 (at the close), of the end of the XV century, and in printed form, Venetiis 1501, where the *missa* is given, fol. 229. Catholics are familiar with it, of course, though, in general, in their controversies with Protestants, they have made too little use of their Catholic liturgy. But I will adduce some portions of this mass for the benefit of Protestants: Introitus (from Tobias, c 7 and 8): Deus Israel coniungat vos et ipse sit vobiscum, qui misertus est duobus unicis. et nunc, Domine, fac eos plenius benedicere te. Psalm. 127: Beati omnes qui timent Dominum, qui ambulant in viis ejus. Oratio: Deus qui tam excellenti misterio conjugalem copulam consecrasti, ut Christi et ecclesiae sacramentum praesignares in foedere nuptiarum, praesta quaesumus, ut quod nostro ministratur officio, tua benedictione potius impleatur. Epistle Ephes. 5, 22—23; Gospel, Matt. 19, 3-6. In between, Graduale: Uxor tua sicut vitis abundans in lateribus domus tuae, filii tui sicut novellae olivarum etc., from Ps. 127. Post Septuages. Tractus: Ecce sic benedicetur omnis homo, qui timet dominum. Benedicat tibi dominus ex Syon et videas bona Jerusalem omnibus diebus vitae tuae. Et videas filios filiorum tuorum, pax super Israel. After the *Pater Noster*, prayers over the groom and bride. Over the latter, the priest reads: Deus, per quem mulier iungitur viro et societas principaliter ordinata ea benedictione donatur, quae sola nec per originalis peccati penam, nec per diluvii est ablata sententiam: respice propitius super hanc famulam tuam, quae maritali iungenda consortio tua se expetit protectione muniri. Sit in ea lugum dilectionis et pacis, fidelis et casta nubat in Christo, imitatrixque sanctarum permaneat feminarum. Sit amabilis ut Rachel viro suo, sapiens ut Rebecca, longaeva et fidelis ut Sara. Nihil in ea ex actibus suis ille autor praevaricationis usurpet. Nexa fidei mandatisque permaneat uni thoro iuncta, contactus illicitos fugiat. Muniat infirmitatem suam robore disciplinae. Sit verecundia gravis, pudore venerabilis, doctrinis coelestibus erudita. Sit foecunda in sobole, sit probata et innocens, et ad beatorum requiem atque ad coelestia regna perveniat. Et videant ambo filios filiorum suorum usque ad tertiam et quartam generationem et ad optatam perveniant senectutem. Per Dom. This mass, in part, especially the prayer over the bride, is found as far back as the "Sacramentarium Gelasianum" (see next note), the "Sacramentarium Leonianum" (ms. of the VI-VII century) ed. Lett. Feltoe, p. 141 sq., and was never after omitted. A German translation is given in "Seelen-Gärtlein, Vollständiges Gebetbuch für Kath. Christen," Augsburg-München, Huttler, 1877, p. 304-309.

that not only they may see their children and children's children unto the third and fourth generations, but, under God's protection and imitating the saints of the married state, they may also reach the heavenly fatherland. Luther found the whole view of the Church of his time thus beautifully expressed in the secret of the mass: "Accept, O Lord, we beseech Thee, the sacrifice which we offer Thee in behalf of the sacred covenant of marriage."

Luther read the nuptial mass in the missal of his Order, and it is found in that of the Roman rite and in many others.⁸²¹ How could the apostate monk, Luther, assert, that *now* for the first time it was known, i. e., through him, "that it is a good and holy state, when a man and a woman live together in peace in wedlock?"⁸²² Even in his one-time theological schoolbook, the Sentences of Lombard, the monk Luther had read that the marriage state is a "good" thing, not only because God instituted it, but also because Christ was present at the wedding of Cana, approving the marriage by the working of a miracle, and later He forbade any man to leave wife, except on account of adultery.⁸²³

The married could themselves tell Luther that, at their nuptial benediction in Church, in the very beginning of the sacred ceremony, they had heard from the lips of their pastor, acting for the Church, the words addressed to them in their tongue: "That you may accept *this holy state with*

⁸²¹ Above we speak only of the nuptial mass which Luther had at hand in *his* missal. But in more ancient times, there were various such masses, about which see Martene, "De antiquis ecclesiae rit., lib. 1, c. 9. The "actio nuptialis" from the "Sacramentarium Gelasianum" (Migne, Patr. l, t. 74, p. 1213 sqq.; see also U. Chevalier, "Sacramentaire et martyrologe de l'abbaye de Saint-Remy," Paris 1900, p. 354 sq.) is reckoned amongst the most ancient, and, no less than the nuptial mass cited, refutes the lies of the later Luther. In Luther's time, too, there were various other nuptial masses in various dioceses, as is evident from, e.g., "Manuale curatorium sec. usum eccles. Roskildens. (ed. J. Freisen, Paderborn, 1898, after a printed copy of 1513), p. 18 sqq.; also from "Liber agendorum eccles. et dioc. Sleszwicens. (ed. J. Freisen, *ibid.* after a printed copy of 1512), p. 65. Everywhere are found the beautiful prayers over the groom and bride, as cited in the foregoing note.

⁸²² Opp. exeg. lat., 1, 170.

⁸²³ 4 Sent., dist. 26 cited by Hugo of St. Victor, in "Summa Sent.," tr. 7, c. 2, in the following sentence: "Quod autem *res bona* sit coniugium, non modo ex eo probatur," etc.

more consolation and be able to keep it up in due honor, you shall know that the marriage state is not a trifling ceremony or an evil custom instituted by men, but one of the holy sacraments, through which Almighty God charitably and in many ways dispenses the rich, salutary treasury of His graces to the faithful unto their salvation."⁸²⁴ The couple would have told him that they had heard only of the "holy state of matrimony ordained by God,"⁸²⁵ and that the same pastor said to the people: "Because these two have here openly consented to and accepted *the holy state of matrimony according to God's ordinance*, * * * we desire in Christian charity to wish them God's grace for *this godly state* and all health, happiness, and welfare, and to beseech Almighty God from our hearts to bestow His divine grace upon this married couple and to deign charitably to maintain His institution between them * * * also to protect them from sin and harm," etc.⁸²⁶

From remotest days, the second Sunday after Epiphany (i.e., the first after the octave), with its Gospel about the marriage feast at Cana in Galilee, gave occasion to preachers to treat on the dignity and sanctity of the sacrament of matrimony⁸²⁷ on the education of children, on family life, and on kindred themes. Luther himself but kept up the custom of those preachers. One will not find a single one of

⁸²⁴ Agenda ecclesiae Moguntinensis (Moguntiae 1551), fol. 71^b (see also above, p. 277, note 809. Likewise in the Würzburg "Agenda ecclesiastica" of 1564, fol. 45^b. This German exhortation was widely current; in its underlying principles it is still to be found in the later edition (1572) of the "Forma vernacula lingua copulandi rite desponsatos et legitime proclamatos," per I. Leisentritium, eccl. Buddissenen. decanum (Budissinae), p. 5 sqq., and it is in use to this day in the diocese of Mainz.

⁸²⁵ Agenda eccl. Mogunt., fol. 74.

⁸²⁶ Ibid., fol. 77; Wirceburg., fol. 51.

⁸²⁷ Very interesting in this respect is the sermon on the gospel mentioned by *Radulphus Ardens* (XI century) in Migne, Patr. l. t. 155, p. 1742. Cf., e.g. p. 1743: "Quid est conjugium? Legitima coniunctio maris et feminae, individuum vitae consuetudinem retinens. Si igitur conjugium legitimum est, utique bonum est. Quae sunt bona coniugii? Tria, fides scil., sacramentum et proles." And p. 1744: "Accessuri igitur sponsus et sponsa ad sacramentum nuptiarum debent de praeteritis poenitere excessibus, et peccata sua confiteri. Non enim potest novam vitam inchoare, qui veterem non deponit hominem. Nec potest recipere benedictionem, qui in corde suo reservat iniquitatem," etc.

them, either in the fifteenth century or in the beginning of the sixteenth, in any way justifying the assertion of the later Luther that the marriage state was condemned in the Church as a sinful, illicit state. On the contrary, referring to Bede, they viewed the circumstance of Christ's working His first miracle at the wedding as a plain proof that He had condemned future heretics like the Tatianists, Marcionites, and others who were inimical to the marriage state.⁸²⁸ For lack of space I can only refer briefly (chiefly in the note), to a few of the very many medieval preachers who unitedly extol the dignity and sanctity of the sacrament of matrimony. Not a few of them speak of the *Order of the marriage state*. Thus, as early as the thirteenth century, Berthold of Regensburg said in a sermon: "God has more sanctified holy marriage than any order the world ever received, more than the barefooted friars or the preaching friars or the gray monks; in one respect these orders cannot be measured up to holy matrimony. Since *this Order* cannot be dispensed with, God commanded it; but *other orders* he only counseled," etc.⁸²⁹ Some, like the Dominican Brother Peregrinus (13-14 century) call the married happy because they have God Himself, who instituted marriage, "as their abbot."⁸³⁰ The force

⁸²⁸ Very beautifully Johannes de Turrecremata, "Quaestiones Evangeliorum tam de tempore quam de sanctis" (ed. Hain 15713), for this Sunday.

⁸²⁹ See, more extensively, Michael, "Gesch. des deutschen Volkes." II, 172.

⁸³⁰ In his sermon on the first Sunday after the octave of Epiphany among his "Sermones de tempore et de Sanctis" (Edition in Hain 12580). In the "Sermones mag. Nicolai de Niise, s. pagine professoris, fr. Min. de observ. patris et provincie Francie provincialis vicarii, De tempore hyemale (Hagenau 1510), fol. 83^b-89^b," for the second Sunday after Epiphany, there are no less than six sermons on marriage and the married state. They treat either of the dignity of marriage or of the preparation for so great a sacrament, which must be received in a state of grace, or they give instruction on how grace is given in this sacrament, etc. This Nicholas de Nizza, whose commentary on the sentences was widely published in Germany, died when Luther had already been in his Order four years. When the latter was a boy of twelve years, the German scholastic, Gabriel Biel died, leaving some much sought sermons after him (e.g. "Sermones de tempore et de sanctis," Hagenau, 1520). A wholly excellent sermon is that for the second Sunday after Epiphany on marriage. He counts the institution of the sacrament of matrimony among the chiefest goods of God's Providence for the salvation of man. "Inter cetera bona, que pro homine divina providentia, cui cura est de nobis, ordinavit, non minimum immo precipuum est matrimonii sacramentalis institutio, quo convenienti ordine humana species conservatur, indiv-

of my demonstration is in no wise weakened by the circumstance that frequently one preacher utilized and copied the sermon collections of another and presented the same thoughts as someone who had preceded him. On the contrary, my argument is strengthened, because that circumstance proves how the preachers of the Church always kept to the same doctrine. Does anybody believe that a preacher of the fifteenth or sixteenth century would use and copy a sermon on marriage composed by a thirteenth-century divine if the teaching of the Church in the fifteenth century had become other than that in the thirteenth?

idua multiplici adiutorio consolantur, contra carnis incentiva et fomitis tyrannidem remedium prestatur, ad summa dei collata nobis beneficia intelligendum illuminativa significatio instituitur, et ad politicum homo convictum sacramentali gratia roboratur, in quo magna et singularis dei cura pro nobis carnalibus declaratur. De cuius matrimonii commendatione, quemadmodum denique in matrimonio vivendum sit, nunc pauca dicenda sunt. Nuptias itaque esse licitas ad litteram satis probat Christi matris et discipulorum presentia ac primi miraculum per Christum exhibitio: si tamen secundum legem nuptiarum coniuges conversentur, ut ibi maneat Jesus cum matre et discipulis domini." This is developed, other points are discussed, and then he takes up the education of children. Biel's teaching was not new. His older contemporary, the Augustinian Hermit, Gottschalk Hollen (though not the first to do so), called matrimony an *Order*, which surpassed the Order of Benedictines, Franciscans, and Augustinians in so far as it was founded by God Himself. The married may break their rule even less than religious. "Super epistolas dominicales," Hagenau 1517; dom. 5, post epiphan. Cf. also Landmann, "Das Predigtwesen in Westfalen," p. 180, where, in the next to the last line of the 4 note, the text should read "praeter" instead of "propter." Berthold of Regensburg and Brother Peregrinus, both already mentioned, are the earliest ones in whom I found this thought. It was adopted by later writers, in the XV century by Joh. Herolt (same Sunday after Epiphany, ed. Nürnberg, 1480; concerning him see Paulus, "Zeitschr. f. kathol. Theol." xxvi, p. 439), and by the older contemporaries of Luther, the Passau canon, Paulus Wann (Hain 16144) and the Franciscan, Pelbartus von Temeswar, in his (Pomerii) *Sermones reportati de tempore* (Hagenau 1502, Sermo 27). Wann assigns eight grounds for the dignity of marriage, the last one as given above, p. 269, note 785, to the effect that marriage fills paradise with its denizens and engenders virgins. In his "Sermones de tempore" for the Sunday mentioned, Johann Nider sums up no less than fourteen goods or blessings of the married state (Sermo 13, Ed. Hain 11799). The mystic, Heinrich Herpf, of the Franciscan Order, in his "Sermo 16" on the same Sunday, simply sets forth the doctrine of St. Thomas, to which he repeatedly refers (Ed. Hain 8527). A beautiful sermon on marriage is the thirty seventh in "Sermones thesauri novi de tempore," (Argentine 1489). In this sermon, I Tim. 4, 1-3, is the authority for characterizing the prohibition of marriage as heresy and for saying: "ideo voluit Christus in-

What I have said of the preachers applies also to *practical handbooks* for pastors, universally current in Germany in Luther's day, for instance, the "Parochiale curatorum" by Michael Lochmayer, which in the section on Marriage is based mostly on the Scholastics and canonists; and the "Manuale curatorum" by John Ulrich Surgant. The latter is particularly interesting, since it contains addresses in German as formularies. Surgant speaks only of the "Sacrament of *holy* marriage," or of the "holy sacrament of marriage."⁸³¹ He calls it the "praiseworthy sacrament of marriage," the "*laudable, worthy* sacrament of marriage."⁸³² The priest is to draw the attention of the couple to the three goods of marriage: "Fidelity, offspring, and indissolubility," which three goods are symbolized by the "golden wedding ring." This symbolical meaning is then explained. The pastor is to give this admonition: "And now that Almighty God has *ordained your union*, let nothing part you, neither love nor sorrow, health nor sickness, friendship nor enmity, until death, according to the purport of the divine law. For this reason does the wedding ring, to be given by the groom to the bride, belong on the fourth finger of the left hand,

teresse ad ostendendum hoc sacramentum *salvificum et non criminisum*, ut dixerunt Tatiani; si enim nuptiis rite celebratis culpa adesset, nunquam Christus interesset." This idea is especially developed in Socci "Sermones de tempore" (Argent. 1485), in which sermons 52 to 54 treat of marriage. But let us close. To tarry longer on the subject were equivalent to carrying water to the ocean. An older contemporary of Luther, Marcus von Weida, of whom some account has already been given in Chapter 7, wrote a "Spiegel des ehelichen Ordens"—Mirror of the Order of Marriage. All these writers and preachers at the same time handle the subject of the education of children—a subject to which various works of the middle ages, some of them by great savants, were devoted. They also treated of the art of governing, of public and family life, etc. One needs but to keep his eyes open and to search with an honest will, and one will do justice to the Church. Protestants also may see that it was not Luther first, but many *before* him who spoke about the *Order of Marriage*, or, in the words of Raulin ("Itinerarium Paradisi," Lugd. 1518, fol. 93 sq.) about the "Ordo matrimonii a Deo institutus," or "Ordo matris Dei." God was the "*minister primus*, quando ad-duxit Evam ad Adam." Raulin discusses no less than *twelve* "dignitates matrimonii."

⁸³¹ *Manuale curatorum*, Argentine 1506, and with the same paging, Basle 1508. Its author was Surgant, according to the preface, in the year 1502. References for the above expressions, fol. 93^b, 94^b sq., 99.

⁸³² *Ibid.*, fol. 98^b, 99.

whither the heart-artery has its right course, to betoken that your hearts ought wholly to be united with each other like one heart and one body. And the holy sacrament of marriage signifies for us the union of our dear Lord Jesus Christ with His holy Christian Church, which Church is to keep the Lord God in her love without all stain of sin, as He keeps her in His incomparable love. And thus your love shall be crowned and ordered in God, to persevere with each other in virtue at all times ever more and more without all stain of sin.”⁸³³ Like every other sacrament, so shall this of marriage “attain to a special grace from God.”⁸³⁴ But precisely for this reason, “one is not to cherish any obstruction of grace, but beforehand being contrite and having confessed, he should have a pure conscience and a good intention.”⁸³⁵

Far from being regarded in the Catholic Church of Luther’s time as a sinful state, marriage, then, passed for a holy state, nothing less, and for its reception hearts free from sin were required of the couple, so that, *after* the marriage service, the priest could direct his prayer to God to bless them both, “*that they may persevere in Thy love, keep to Thy will, and in Thy love live, grow old, and have increase.*”⁸³⁷ In all truth the Catholic Church did not require purity of heart in those about to contract marriage that they might enter upon a sinful state, but a pure, holy state. This ought to be clear to even a Protestant.

⁸³³ Ibid., fol. 98^b sq.

⁸³⁴ Ibid., fol. 99. See also below, p. 292, note 857. The celebrated “Summa Angelica,” (Argentine 1502), fol. 211^b, says: “confert, si digne contrahitur, gratiam gratum facientem.”

⁸³⁵ Manuale, fol. 94^b.

⁸³⁶ This is also required in the old diocesan “Agenda,” e.g. in “Agenda Maguntinensis” (1513), fol. 40^b: “Expediit omnino, ut volentes contrahere matrimonium prius confiteantur peccata sua, ut penitentiali absolutione muniti non-ponant obicem gratie sacramentali, et eo salubrius inchoare valeant novum vivendi statum.” Thus also Radulphus Ardens in his day. See above, p. 282, note 827.

⁸³⁷ Manuale Curatorum, fol. 97. Surgant only took these prayers from the “Agenda,” thus also the prayer which reads: “Augeat Deus incrementa frugum iustitie vestre, ut *cum iustis Deum timentibus securi astare mereamini in die iudicii.*” Cf. Agenda sec. ritum et ordinem eccl. Wormaciens. (s. l. et a.) after fol. d liij.

In the German postils of the closing middle ages, serving those who could read as devout reading for Sundays and holidays, like say Goffine and Gueranger of today, we find no other view on marriage than that it was a *holy* life and that it ought *to be held in great honor*.⁸³⁸ Marriage receives the same promises in the *German marriage booklets* of Luther's epoch;⁸³⁹ so it is simply ridiculous, or quite bordering on insanity, indeed, when Luther wants to be the first to teach the "Papists" that, by the arrangement and ordinance of God, Adam and Eve were joined together.⁸⁴⁰

There is furthermore not a single *scholastic* of name, who on this point has varied either from the view of Hugo of St. Victor and of Lombard,⁸⁴¹ or from the entire ecclesiastical tradition in general. Though there are points of difference in some details, there prevails but one voice with regard to the permissibility, good, dignity, and sanctity of the sacrament of matrimony.

There was naturally still less possibility of the later Luther's quoting a Pope who had forbidden or even condemned the marriage state, and had counseled a general fleeing from the world. On the contrary, when once, for instance, there were those in Brittany "who sought to persuade men and women that virginity, widowhood, and celibacy were necessary to salvation," Pius II, on Dec. 17, 1459, raised his voice against them, ordered a strict investigation of these "errors in the Christian faith," and commanded that the guilty be severely punished.⁸⁴² About the same time, Cardinal Nicholas von Cues, bishop of Brixen, reminds his diocese that the sacrament of matrimony, instituted by God in paradise, is in the New Testament to be *reverenced as much*

⁸³⁸ See the proofs in Paulus, "Die Ehe in den deutschen Postillen des ausgehenden Mittelalters," in "Liter. Beilage No. 14" of the *Köln. Volkszeitung*, 1903.

⁸³⁹ Paulus, *ibid.*, No. 20. Cf. also the teaching on this subject of Theodorich Engelhus in Langenberg's "Quellen u. Forsch. zur Gesch. der deutschen Mystik," p. 101 sq., 103, 156.

⁸⁴⁰ Opp. exeg. lat. IV, 70.

⁸⁴¹ See above, p. 281.

⁸⁴² Arch. Vat., Reg. Pil II., n° 502, fol. 232^b sq.; Raynald, *Ann. ad. an.* 1459. n° 30; D'Argentré, *Coll. jud.*, I. 2, p. 253.

the *holier* as the truth of what matrimony signifies, namely the union of Christ with the Church, excels in dignity the figure of the Old Testament.⁸⁴³ All this Catholic teaching in respect to the dignity and sanctity of marriage was set forth by the *councils* in Germany before the Council of Trent, as, to name but one and the most important, the Provincial Council of Mainz, 1549.⁸⁴⁴

But has the later Luther any basis of support, perhaps, in the *monks* he so highly esteemed, in those who lauded virginity above all things? One would believe so, for to whom else could he cling? Yet St. Bonaventure must be excluded beforehand. We saw above how Luther's own words shut him out. But what says St. Bernard, to whom, according to the Protestant view, Christianity and monasticism amounted to one and the same thing? He, if any one, must have taught, not the world, but flight from the world, not the marriage state but the cloister, the only place where one gives pleasing service to God. Yet what do we hear from him? He turns to certain heretics of his time, who were forbidding marriage, and adduces against them as apostates from the Catholic Church, the very passage from I Timothy, 4, 1-3, which, as was set forth in the beginning of this chapter, Luther had mendaciously directed against the Pope and the Papists. It was only at the prompting of the devil, says St. Bernard further, that they forbade marriage and pretended that they did so out of love of chastity, whereas it was to foster and to increase immorality. "Take from the Church honorable marriage and 'the bed undefiled' (Hebr. 13, 3), are you not filling it with concubinaries, the unchaste, * * * and with every kind of the impure? Choose now one of the two (alternatives), namely, that either all these abominations of human beings will be saved, or that the number of those to be saved is limited to the few who are continent.

⁸⁴³ Document in the Agenda seu liber obsequiorum iuxta ritum et consuetudinem diocesis Brixinensis (1543), fol. 61^b: "Sacramentum matrimonii in primordiis a Deo in paradiso institutum, in novo testamento tanto sanctius est venerandum, quanto veritas significati eius, Christi scilicet et ecclesie, supra figuram veteris testamenti digne exaltatur.

⁸⁴⁴ See Constitutiones Concilli provincialis Moguntini * * * anno Dom. MDXLIX celebrati (Moguntiae 1549), fol. 244^b sqq.

Neither of the two becomes the Saviour," etc.⁸⁴⁵ What follows from this? Just the Catholic doctrine significantly enunciated by an encomiast of virginity and of the monastic state not inferior to Bernard, namely, St. Basil the Great, speaking as early as the fourth century in a sermon on renunciation of the world: "The good God, solicitous for our salvation, divided the life of man into two modes of living, the marriage state and the state of virginity. So that he who cannot persevere in the fight of virginity may be consorted with a woman, but in such wise that he knows he must give an account of his continence and holiness, as well as of his likeness to those saints who lived in marriage and begot children."⁸⁴⁶

The later Luther therefore lied again when he charged the Church with forbidding, aye, and with condemning, the marriage state as sinful, and with demanding, aye, commanding, flight from the world and the abandonment of public life, and so on. These assertions together with all their fallacies have been taken over into the Confession of Lutheranism.⁸⁴⁷ It is assuredly high time that such stuff should become too idiotic for even Protestants.

E. IT IS PRECISELY ACCORDING TO LUTHER'S PRINCIPLES THAT THE MARRIAGE STATE IS SINFUL AND ILLICIT.

Luther's lie stands out the more glaringly because *just he*, not the Church, *debased marriage to an impure, sinful state*, and therefore at bottom condemned it, though however "scholastically well educated a man" he was, he did not observe that. In his treatise on the monastic vows he had already written: "God does not at all impute the conjugal debt to the married, which, however, according to Psalm 50, *7 is a sin and*" he quite ravingly continues, "*is in no wise distinguished from adultery and whorishness*, so far as sexual passion and abominable lust are concerned; and this is of

⁸⁴⁵ Sermo 66 in Cant. (Migne, Patr. l., 183, p. 1094, n. 2, 3).

⁸⁴⁶ Migne, Patr. gr., t. 31, p. 628.

⁸⁴⁷ About Luther, see also above, p. 170-1; about Melancthon in the "Augustana," see above, p. 222, from the 16 article.

God's pure mercy, since it is impossible for us to avoid those things, though we are in duty bound to deprive ourselves of them."⁸⁴⁸ The year following he wrote: "Spite of the praise of married life, I do not wish to have given to nature that there is no sin there, but I say: flesh and blood are there, corrupted by Adam, conceived and born in sin (Ps. 50, 7), and that *no conjugal debt takes place without sins*; but God spares them of His grace, because the marital order is His work and, in the midst of and throughout sin, preserves all the good which He therein implanted and blessed."⁸⁴⁹ The next year he repeats that God blessed marriage, although He knew that "nature, corrupted, full of evil passion, cannot consummate such a blessing without sin." "God covers up the sin *without which the married cannot be*," he writes later.⁸⁵⁰

Now who reduces marriage to a merely *tolerated*, yes, to a *sinful* state? The Church? No. The monk Luther has quite sufficiently enlightened us on the matter. *The Church does not teach* "that no conjugal debt takes place without sin." Rather is that taught by the *apostate* monk Luther,⁸⁵¹ who at the same time, by his low conception of it, degrades marriage to such a degree that, according to him, there were no difference between the married state and whoredom, were God not willing to close His eyes to it.

⁸⁴⁸ Weim. VIII, 654. In the text, Kawerau chose the inferior (third) recension, and interpolated the verb "vocant": "Tale est et illud opus, quod debitum coniugale (vocant): cum teste psalmo L. sit peccatum * * * nihil differens ab adulterio * * * quantum est ex parte ardoris * * *, prorsus non imputat coniugibus, non alia causa nisi sua misericordia," etc. But in this form, the clause "quod debitum coniugale" would refer to "tale est et illud opus," leaving "prorsus non imputat coniugibus" up in the air. (without relation to the rest of the sentence). As a matter of fact, the relation is as follows: "tale est illud opus" stands connected with "opera dei," mentioned just before, in which Luther shows the "misericordia" and "bonitas dei," and he wishes to say: "It is a similar work of God that He does not impute the 'debitum coniugale,' sin though it is, and that He does not impute it is of His mercy." If the third recension comes down from Luther, he must later have read that section but hastily, not noting that he himself earlier had used the misleading "quod" after "opus," not as a relative pronoun (which), but as a conjunction (that). Kawerau should have noted this.

⁸⁴⁹ "Vom ehelichen Leben," Erl. 20, 87 (1522).

⁸⁵⁰ Weim. XII, 114 (1523). Opp. exeg. lat. IV, 10.

⁸⁵¹ K. Eger, "Die Anschauung Luthers vom Beruf," (1900) wholly in-

He stated this expressly in the passage first adduced above, and he repeats it frequently, and in a manner even more drastic. The conjugal act, according to him, is materially the same as the act of whorishness; it is only "per indulgentiam" that no adultery, no pollution occurs. "Because the commerce is of God's ordaining, He does not impute what is odious and impure in it."⁸⁵² The mutual commerce is only a concession "per indulgentiam divinam," says Luther, yet there is sin in the flesh on both sides.⁸⁵³ Who, then, makes the conjugal act materially the same as the act of whorishness? The Church? Scholasticism? Just the contrary. Scholasticism never departed from the principle uttered by St. Augustine: "The conjugal act for the sake of begetting children or of rendering the marriage debt *entails no fault or sin*."⁸⁵⁴ For God Himself instituted marriage for

capable of seeing through Luther's principles and ignorant of Catholic doctrine, has asserted that, according to the *Catholic* notion, the married state is only *tolerated* on the part of God. No, rather is that precisely Luther's doctrine!

⁸⁵² See the passage first cited and "Opp. exeg. lat. VI, 285: Concessit deus securitatem quamdam, sed secundum indulgentiam. Et sic intelligenda est Augustini sententia: "qui amat uxorem, securus expectat extremum diem." Quomodo? *Secundum indulgentiam; si absset illa, esset adulterium et pollutio*. Sed quia divinitus coniunctio haec ordinata est, ideo non imputat Deus, quidquid ibi foedum est aut immundum. Luther is wholly wrong in his interpretation of Paul's "secundum indulgentiam," (I Cor. 7, 6.) The connection with the preceding, and with verse 7, quite excludes the rendering of "indulgentia" as *remission of fault*; rather does it demand this exposition: "Not *commanding* do I say to you to return to the use of marriage, but I say it *out of consideration*; for I wish that all men observed perpetual chastity after my example." It is true that some Catholics have likewise not correctly grasped this passage; but it was *not* their opinion, as it was Luther's, that *every* realization of the matrimonial act, even though effected with reference to the principal end of matrimony, implied sin, even a *mortal sin*. In contradistinction to others, their position was, that a *venial sin*, needing forgiveness, occurred in the sexual commerce of marriage only then when the pleasure sought was its *chief motive*. On the passage and its interpreters see Cornely, "Comm. in ep. prior. ad Cor., p. 169 sqq. J. Becker, "Die moralische Beurteilung des Handelns aus Lust" in "Zeltschr. f. Kath. Theologie," XXVI (1902), p. 692 sqq.

⁸⁵³ Ibid., p. 284: "Ego quidem per indulgentiam divinam habeo uxorem, sed tamen peccatum est in utriusque carne."

⁸⁵⁴ De bono coniugali, c. 6, n. 6: "Coniugalis concubitus generandi gratia non habet culpam;" c. 7, n. 6: "Reddere debitum coniugale nullius est criminis." The Scholastics knew the passage from Lombard's "4 Sent. dist.

the propagation of the human race, and after the fall He also gave the commandment of the procreation of children,⁸⁵⁵ which commandment, however, cannot be kept without the conjugal act. From this alone it follows that if everything is done in the proper manner and in the order instituted by God, sin is excluded. Indeed, this being presupposed, far from its involving a question of sin, marital intercourse can even be *meritorious*, as St. Thomas demonstrated⁸⁵⁶ and others set forth at length.⁸⁵⁷ Many Scholastics mentioned *venial* sin only, then, when the conjugal act is primarily performed, not on the two grounds adduced, but only for the sake of the sensual pleasure connected therewith.⁸⁵⁸

How then can Gottschick assert: "According to Christian opinion, the conjugal act, *because materially the same as the act of whorishness, is ignominious.*"⁸⁵⁹ To whom does his assertion apply? Only to the "*Reformer.*" According to him, sin, grievous sin, is equally present in the marriage act and in the whorish act; therefore the former is as ignominious as the latter. "If you wish to consider cohabitation," he says another time, "and merely direct your eyes to the outer copresence, there is no difference whatever between the married and the whorish life; they are very near to each other and they look almost alike, that this one has a wife, that one a whore."⁸⁶⁰

31, c. 5. Cf. also Thomas, "Suppl." qu. 49, a. 5; qu. 64, a. 4, who expressly says: "*ut sibi invicem debitum reddant.*"

⁸⁵⁵ Gen. 8, 17; 9, 1.

⁸⁵⁶ Supp., qu. 41, a. 4. Let this reference suffice.

⁸⁵⁷ The strict Dominican, Johann Nider, e.g., in his "*Praeceptorium divinae legis*, 6, praec., c. 4, enumerates the cases in which the conjugal act is *virtuous* and *meritorious*; the same can even become an act of religion and of *divine service*: "*Est igitur concubitus in matrimonio meritorius et virtutis actus, que dicitur castitas coniugalis, quando fit solum causa prolis procreande et religiose educande ad ampliandum cultum divinum. Et si tunc assunt alie debite circumstantie, est actus virtutis, que dicitur religio.*"

⁸⁵⁸ See P. Jeiler in "*Bonaventurae 4 Sent.*, dist. 31, a. 2, qu. 1, Scholion," where at the same time the Scholastics are adduced, grouped according to their views, and compared with later opinions.

⁸⁵⁹ "*Realenzyklopädie f. protest. Theol. u. Kirche*," 3 ed., V, 191. Gottschick only copied Luther's lies. See above, p. 265, note 765. See also Weim XXVII, 28, 13: "formerly it was quite the same thing to take a wife or a paramour to one's house."

⁸⁶⁰ Erl. 18, 270 sq.

According to Luther, God does not impute the conjugal act, which he says is always a sin, but covers it up. Luther was compelled to teach this to keep in harmony with his doctrine on original sin. According to him, as I shall show in the next section, concupiscence in its full reach is original sin; since the former remains after baptism, the latter does likewise. It is only covered up, but not taken away. Since the conjugal act cannot take place without the satisfaction of concupiscence, its performance, according to Luther's principles, involves a two-fold sin—the concupiscence itself, i.e., the enduring original sin, and the satisfaction of concupiscence. And as God closes His eyes in respect to original sin, so also with regard to the conjugal act, of which enduring original sin is the underlying ground.

This covering up, or non-imputation of original sin, spite of its remaining, is one of the greatest contradictions in the Lutheran "system." Either God hates original sin, or He does not. If not, then it is no sin; but if he hates it, how can He fail to impute it as sin? Indeed, how is it true that sin is forgiven in baptism? God must hate sin as long as it is present; for either He must forgive it, and then hatred is gone from God's heart, and consequently sin is no longer present,⁸⁶¹ or He must hate it. *Enduring sin* cannot be viewed as *not present*. That is a contradiction. Should one retort that, according to Luther, the sin is present but God covers it, no point would be gained. God cannot cover sin as present, He must hate it. If He forgives it, it is no longer present. Luther makes God a hypocrite of the worst stamp: the Lutheran God outwardly feigns to be indifferent, tolerant, having His eyes closed, in the face of that which He inwardly hates.

God acts in like fashion, according to Luther's principles, in respect to the conjugal act. He institutes marriage, He commands it, He blesses it, He requires the conjugal act, spite of its being sin and necessary to the fulfilment of marital duty! As God's saving means given against original sin,

⁸⁶¹ Hence, on Romans, c. 4, fol. 154, Luther is much more logical when he writes: "Nunquam remittitur omnino, sed manet et indiget non imputatione."

namely, baptism, cannot take that sin away, nay, more, as God must have recourse to artifice, lest the scandal be too great, covering the original sin so as not to see it, so here the Lutheran God's remedy instituted for the "necessity"—when "nature seeks egress and to be fruitful and to multiply" and "in order to live with a good conscience and to fare with God"⁸⁶²—is a straight-out sin. And lest He too grossly commit Himself by the institution and blessing of something that can never be realized without sin, grievous sin, too, lest it be too conspicuous, He takes refuge in artifice again and nicely covers the sin up! In the face of this Lutheran hocuspocus, Gottschick has the temerity to assert that "in opposition to the religious and secular contempt of marriage (on the part of Christ, Paul, the Fathers, and Scholasticism), Luther stood up for the *full* honor of the marriage state, and thereby placed it in a wholly *new* light!"⁸⁶³ Luther did indeed put marriage in a *new* light, but only in this that *he stripped it of honor*. By way of contrast, it is interesting that Kolde, taking an opposite stand, as we shall presently see, denies to Luther and to the reformers generally, a *full* insight into the true moral nature of marriage.

According to Luther's principles, *marriage is illicit* because sinful. Following his teaching, he who, in his "necessity," enters the marriage state, knows beforehand that he is putting himself in the way of an act that is *always* a *grievous* sin: "there is no marital commerce without sin." Before God and his conscience, therefore, he dares not enter upon marriage, for one dares not do evil, that good may come of it.⁸⁶⁴ Hence it also follows that the differentiating point set up by the Reformer between married life and whoredom is valid, not in Lutheran but only in Catholic teaching, namely, that "a married man is certain and can say: God has given me this wife, with her am I to live; and a married woman can say: God has given me this husband, with him am I to live."⁸⁶⁵ God gives to no man a wife with whom he cannot

⁸⁶² Weim. XII, 114, 29 sq. 32.

⁸⁶³ Loc. cit., p. 192.

⁸⁶⁴ Rom., 3. 8.

⁸⁶⁵ Erl. 18, 271.

live in marriage without sinning, and vice-versa.⁸⁶⁶ But, according to Luther, man and wife do sin in the practice of their marital commerce. But just as God invites nobody to sin, so also may no man take sin upon himself.

According to the Reformer's principles, followed out to their consequences, *the marriage state, because sinful, is therefore an illicit, a condemned state*, as Tatian said, *and there is no difference between the marriage state and whoredom*. As happened so often, Luther fell into precisely those errors with which he insidiously charged the Church—a just judgment of God!

F. LUTHER'S WHOLLY MATERIAL, SENSUAL CONCEPTION OF MARRIAGE. KOLDE'S CALUMINATIONS OF THE CATHOLIC DOCTRINE.

In respect to marriage, Luther, from the time of his apostasy, had a low, indeed, the lowest notion, and it was just this notion that he set up before the dissolute priests and religious when he was spurring them on to violate their vows and to marry. He then looked upon sexual intercourse as a necessity by reason of the violence of sexual lust, which could not otherwise be resisted. Before his apostasy, he had openly acknowledged that this should not dominate, and he gave maidens desiring marriage directions to perfect themselves morally and to strive after virtue.⁸⁶⁷ After his apostasy there was no more of that. The Wittenberg traffic in nuns was of itself enough to open the eyes of anybody.⁸⁶⁸ As a consequence of Luther's fundamental teachings, the marriage of Christians went down to a brute standpoint. The "Reformer" does not shrink from putting this down in writing: "God does not take male or female form, members, seed, and fruit away from human beings, and thus the body of a Christian must propagate, increase, and discipline itself as well as other humans, *birds, and all animals*, for to that end it was created by God, so that of necessity man must hold to woman and woman to man, unless God work a miracle," etc.⁸⁶⁹ Everything tends towards the satisfying of the

⁸⁶⁶ Cf. Hugo of St. Victor, "Summa Sent., tr. 7, c. 3.

⁸⁶⁷ See above, p. 275 sqq.

⁸⁶⁸ See above, p. 15 sq.

⁸⁶⁹ Weim. XII, 113.

sexual instinct, just as eating and drinking tend to satisfy hunger and thirst. This is openly declared by Luther.⁸⁷⁰ For this reason he repeatedly brings up carnal desire, which he himself excited in others by his writings, to prove the necessity of marriage. But of this, as of the entire theme generally, we have already treated.⁸⁷¹

After sending his letter of renunciation to the Church, Luther deliberately omitted to cause it to be observed that the commandment of God, so insistently urged by him, "Increase and multiply and fill the earth," was given to the human race, as such, for its organic preservation as a whole, but that, except after the creation and the flood, when there were few people on earth,⁸⁷² it did not of itself obligate each individual. Now marriage is never necessary to the preservation and perfection of any single individual, otherwise God would be in contradiction with Himself both in the Old Testament and in the New, in which last, freedom of marriage as well as of virginity for all is proclaimed. Luther himself still used openly to say this as late as 1519-1520,⁸⁷³ a time

⁸⁷⁰ "It is not free choice or counsel, but a necessary, natural thing that all that is a man must have a woman, and what is a woman, must have a man. For the word which God speaketh: "Increase and multiply," is not a commandment, but more than a commandment, namely, a Divine work. * * * It is just as necessary as * * * and more necessary than to eat and drink, purge and eject, sleep and wake. It is an implanted nature and manner, just as well as the members which belong thereto." (Sermon on the Married Life," 1522 Erl. 20, 58). "If it is a shame to take wives, why are we not ashamed of eating and drinking, since in both parts there is a like great need, and God desires to have both?" (an Reisenbusch, 1525, De Wette, II, 639). The "Reformer" has an even more drastic and significant comparison: "Whoso were obliged to retain his dung or urine, when he is unable to do so anyhow, what would become of him?" (Weim. XII, 66, for the year 1523). These two comparisons he had already adduced, 1520, in his writing "An den christlichen Adel" (Weim. VI, 442), when he was blustering against the celibacy of priests: The Pope has no power to enjoin the same on priests, "as little as he has power to forbid eating, drinking, the natural discharge or to have an e——n."

⁸⁷¹ See above, Introduction and chapter 6.

⁸⁷² This was beautifully set forth by Thomas Aquinas in his day, 2. 2. qu. 152, a. 2, ad 1; Suppl. qu. 41, a. 1, particularly 2. Besides, all sensible persons are in complete agreement with this.

⁸⁷³ It was expected I should write: "at least till 1523"; for then Luther teaches * * * "that the marriage state is good, i.e., without sin and pleasing to God, and is free to every one; but the state of chastity is

in which his thinking was clearer, even with regard to the Old Testament. For, he writes, "it is certain that none of the ancient holy fathers would have taken a wife, if they had not believed the promise made to Abraham: In thy seed shall all the generations of the earth be blessed. It was only on account of Christ, in whose coming they believed, that they indulged in carnal desire."⁸⁷⁴ A year or two later, however, there is no more of this. Then he charges the Papists with not having seen how "in the Old Testament, the most exalted patriarchs, who had rendered the most exalted service to God, had been married and often had many wives," etc.⁸⁷⁵ It was necessary then to reply to him with Usingen: "What has it to do with the case that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the marriage state were pleasing to God? Who is finding fault with marriage? Who is belittling and dishonoring it?"⁸⁷⁶

If Luther had only commended marriage as a universal human and Christian duty, at least for the sake of its moral dignity! If he had only placed in the foreground the three-fold good mentioned above, which as late as 1519 he had still acknowledged, namely, the sacrament, offspring, and fidelity, instead of his "impossibility" of continence or of resisting the sexual instinct except by marital cohabitation, which nevertheless, according to him, was always a grievous sin! Poor human race, on which it never rains but it pours! What is become of the moral nature of marriage? Consistently Luther had to divest matrimony of its sacramental character and to degrade it to the level of "an external bodily thing,

more calm and *freer*." (Weim. XII, 141). Yet in these two clauses the word "*free*" has an entirely different meaning. It is just Luther who is talking!

⁸⁷⁴ Weim. IX, 374, 2 in Gen. c. 25, where he writes: *Praeterea certo constat, nullum sanctorum patrum duxisse uxorum, nisi credidissent promissioni factae Abrahæ: "in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes."* Solum enim propter Christum, quem futurum credebant, libidini indulserunt." Cf. also Augustine, *De bono coniugii*, n. 15.

⁸⁷⁵ Weim. XXIV, 55, in Gen. c. 1 of the year 1527. He frequently recurs to this. Cf., however, in the same vol. p. 427, where he speaks and writes of Abraham and his many wives. No one should think, he says, "that the holy patriarch was so carnal, that he took pleasure in sensuality."

⁸⁷⁶ "*Liber de falsis prophetis*," fol. 43. See the passage above, p. 93, note 180.

like any other secular affair," so that a Christian can marry a heathen, a Jew, or a Turk.⁸⁷⁷ The results of such teachings are known.⁸⁷⁸

If in respect to marriage the gratification of the untamed sexual instinct, of carnal desire, is the chief thing, there will be a speedy end of the other good of marriage, *fidelity* and *indissolubility*. As a matter of fact, as early as 1520, Luther advised the woman who could get no children by her husband but could not keep continent,⁸⁷⁹ to seek a divorce from him, so as to be free to marry another. If the husband was unwilling, she should get his consent—for after all he was no longer her wedded spouse—to her cohabiting (*misceatur*) with another or with his brother, *in secret marriage*, and the child should be ascribed to the first husband. If he is unwilling to give such consent: "Rather than permit her to burn (with lust) or to commit adultery, I would advise her to marry another and to flee to some unknown place. *What else can be advised to one who continually suffers from the danger of carnal lust?*"⁸⁸⁰ To fly into a strange country, and there, *should he be unable to keep continent, to marry, is*

⁸⁷⁷ Erl. 20, 65 (1522). As early as 1520, he robs marriage of its sacramental character, by asserting that marriage, as a sacrament, is a human invention (*De capt. babylon.*, Weim. VI, 550 sq.) although the year before he had still acknowledged it as a sacrament. See above, p. 278. The dead ride swiftly!

⁸⁷⁸ How matters stood in this respect with the apostate priests and religious, was briefly discussed by me above, p. 102 sq., pp. 121, 129. One who returned to the Mother Church, the Lutheran Professor Fr. Staphylus, wrote in 1562: "As long as marriage was regarded as a sacrament, chastity and honorable marriage-life were held dear and of worth, but since the people have read in Luther's books that the marriage state is a human invention, Luther's counsels * * * have at once been carried out to such a degree *that there is absolutely more chastity and honor in the married state in Turkey than among our Evangelicals in Germany.*" "Nachdruck zur Verfechtung des Buchs vom rechten Verstand des göttlichen Worts," etc. Ingolstadt, 1562, fol. 202^b. Other examples below, subdivision H.

⁸⁷⁹ "Aut non possit continere," in Luther's language: "could not sufficiently satisfy her pruriency, and therefore had to run to another."

⁸⁸⁰ *De captiv. babyl.*, Weim. VI, 558, repeated in Erl. 20, 60; Duke George, cited above p. 17, has reference to this. As we saw there, the "Reformer" advised something similar to the husband in the case of hindrances on the wife's part. Luther had the assurance to qualify those who charged him with a doctrine like that cited above from "*de captiv. babyl.*," as "perverse liars."

likewise Luther's advice to an adulterer, if he is not killed.⁸⁸¹ If a wife is unwilling to do her marriage duty, let the husband think "that his wife has been abducted from him by robbers, and he must set about getting another."⁸⁸² To marry again is generally permitted to the one who, after the separation of a couple, wishes to be reconciled to the other, the other not consenting to the reconciliation. The ground of another marriage on the part of the one willing to be reconciled, according to Luther, is, as always, the same: if such a one cannot keep continent, the impossibility, to which God will force no one.⁸⁸³

He who has only the sensual side of marriage in view, who, with Luther, makes of man's natural potency and inclination an irresistible natural instinct which *must* be gratified, goes, under circumstances, to extremest lengths. And this indeed the "Reformer" did, in fullest keeping with his fundamental teachings, and first of all in Wittenberg itself. As early as 1525, the Elector directed among other things a complaint to Luther, according to which both burgomasters of the city, where the married priest and intimate friend of Luther, John Bugenhagen, was pastor, had given information "that at Wittenberg matters were being handled rather triflingly with regard to divorces, and that the parties were secretly being given to each other in their homes without previous publication of banns."⁸⁸⁴ But the example of Wittenberg spread everywhere, rather than that there was any return, even after bitter disillusionments, to the ecclesiastical, or

⁸⁸¹ Erl. 20, 71.

⁸⁸² Ibid.

⁸⁸³ Weim. XII, 119: "How, if one party (husband or wife) was unwilling to be reconciled with the other (after they had separated), and simply desired to remain apart, and the other could not keep continent and had to have a consort, what should the latter do? Is there any change possible? Yes, without doubt. For, since it is not commanded that they live chastely, and one has not the grace either, and the other is unwilling to come and thus deprives the consort of the body which the consort cannot do without, God will not compel the impossible for the sake of another's misdeed; the (injured) party, not being to blame that they do not come together, must then act as if the other were dead. But the unwilling party is to remain without marriage, as St. Paul here says." But I Cor. 7, 10 and 11, run quite otherwise.

⁸⁸⁴ Burkhardt, "Martin Luther's Brlefwechsel," p. 96.

"Romish" principle: "Once validly married, married for life." It is a universally accepted principle of experience that easy divorce is attended by out-and-out licentiousness of morals, to say nothing of its direct ruination of home life.⁸⁸⁵

He who, like Luther, assigns the leading role in marriage to sensual gratification, will not recoil from a "confession counsel," such as was given by the "Reformer" to the Landgrave Philip von Hessen in respect to his bigamic marriage.⁸⁸⁶ This "confession counsel" is very inconvenient to the Protestants, but unprejudiced thinking would make them find it quite consistent with Luther's "system."

Kolde writes on it with shame: "No Evangelical (?) Christian will be willing to approve or even to palliate that pernicious decision."⁸⁸⁷ Only the Evangelical, i.e., Protestant Christian? Even so, for "clearly the reformers lacked a comprehensive insight into the true moral nature of marriage—an inheritance, of course, that came to them from Catholicism."⁸⁸⁸ What, an inheritance from Catholicism? Such is the assertion of Kolde, and elsewhere he proceeds to dilate on the subject: "In this respect (i.e., with regard to marriage), there remained *something of the medieval view* with Luther, and, it must be added, with all the reformers. At that time at least (1522 and 1523), it is always the sensual side of marriage, to which nature urges, that determines his manner of viewing the subject. That marriage is essentially a most intimate communion of person with person, and for that reason alone, according to its nature, is enough to exclude all plurality, did not clearly dawn upon either him or the rest of the reformers. To this is added that he nowhere in the Scriptures saw polygamy expressly forbidden but permitted to many of the Old Testament devout personages * * * That was a lack of grave moment, *but it was not associated with the "new gospel," as opponents of then and today so willingly calumniate, but, as said, it was based on the medieval view of the nature of marriage.* Why, even an August-

⁸⁸⁵ See below, subdivision H.

⁸⁸⁶ See above, p. 128 sqq.

⁸⁸⁷ "Martin Luther," II, 488.

⁸⁸⁸ Italics here and following are mine.

tine explained polygamy as permitted in certain circumstances, because it was not 'contrary to the nature of matrimony.' ⁸⁸⁹

We shall see who calumniates, Kolde or the opponents of Luther and of the "great reformation." For the present, leaving aside his assertion about St. Augustine, I ask if it is not remarkable that Luther, just in his Catholic days, pushes the sensual side of marriage more into the background and after his apostasy from the Church appears upon the scene preferably with the sensuality attaching to marriage?—an observation we also make in respect to his obscene language. But what does this prove, Herr Kolde? Furthermore, which recognizes marriage as a most intimate communion of person with person, the Catholic or the Protestant conception? The former and only the former, for *only* in it has the ideal comparison of the marriage bond with the *indissoluble* covenant between Christ and His Church any meaning, because only according to Catholic, but not according to Protestant teaching, is marriage a sacrament, whence in a particular manner the indissolubility of marriage follows.⁸⁹⁰ Christ Himself taught and required this indissolubility, whereas Protestantism teaches the dissolubility of marriage, and permits the divorced to marry again accordingly. More than from anything else, from the sacramental character of marriage and from its likeness to the covenant between Christ and His Church, there follows its monogamic character, i.e., the complete exclusion of polygamy;⁸⁹¹ for Christ cleaves only to the one Church and bestows His whole love upon her. In like manner man and wife become one flesh and are one in love like Christ and His Church.

⁸⁸⁹ Kolde, loc. cit., p. 196 sq.

⁸⁹⁰ The indissolubility of marriage is based by St. Augustine De nupt, et concupisc, I, n. 11, on Ephes. 5, 2 (Viri diligite uxores vestras, sicut et Christus dilexit ecclesiam) "huius procul dubio sacramenti res est, ut mas et femina connubio copulati, quamdiu vivunt, *inseparabiliter* perseverent * * * ut vivens cum vivente in aeternum nullo divortio separetur * * * nec sterilem coniugem fas sit relinquere, ut alia fecunda ducatur," etc.

⁸⁹¹ Thus St. Thomas says Cont. Gent., IV, c. 78: "Quia per coniunctionem maris et feminae Christi et ecclesiae coniunctio designatur, oportet, quod figura significato respondeat; coniunctio autem Christi et ecclesiae est unius ad unam perpetuo habendam."

But such are the tactics of Luther's adherents. If their "Reformer" writes something that brings the blush of shame to their cheeks, they foist the responsibility of it either upon the Church or upon the past; or they twist and drag Luther's words around until finally they get some sort of rational meaning out of them.

Now, however, I hereby openly challenge Kolde to prove that the "confession counsel" given by Luther and his associates to the Landgrave, their sanction of polygamy, "is based on the medieval view of the nature of marriage," and is "an inheritance from Catholicism," which lacked a comprehensive insight into the true moral nature of matrimony. After more fundamental, unbiased study, Kolde will perceive that the "medieval view" was not uniform, indeed, as to whether and how far polygamy was contrary to *natural law*, but that it was uniform in this, that the *sacrament* of matrimony of the New Testament *wholly excludes polygamy*.⁸⁹² Luther's confession counsel is absolutely his own creation, a sequel to his unblushing and wanton undertaking to rob marriage of its sacramental character.⁸⁹³ It was accordingly given out that now and then a *second* wife was even for Christians a wholesome medicine, a *sacred remedy* against whorishness.⁸⁹⁴ In addition to all this, Kolde was not even able to understand a simple text of St. Augustine.⁸⁹⁵

⁸⁹² Cf. e.g., St. Thomas, "Suppl.," qu. 65, a. 1, at the close of the article; St. Bonaventure, on "4 Sent.," dist. 33, a. 1, qu. 1 and Scholion, further qu. 2; Capreolus on "4 Sent.," dist. 33, qu. unica.

⁸⁹³ See on this, Denifle, "Luther in rational. und Christl. Belenchtung," p. 39, note 1; p. 61, where Luther's crass sophism in this respect is given.

⁸⁹⁴ "Argumenta Bucer, pro et contra," ed. by L(öwenstein), Kassel 1878, p. 49. In the above words, Bucer again gives his view in 1539.

⁸⁹⁵ We hear Kolde assert that even an Augustine declared polygamy permissible under certain circumstances. This is wholly untrue! Kolde, indeed, cites "De bono coniug., c. 17, for his assertion, but the only thing there is, that, in the interest of the increase of the human race, *God* tolerated polygamy on the part of the Fathers of the *Old Testament*. Augustine writes to the contrary—what Kolde did not observe—"Non est nunc propagandi necessitas, quae tunc fuit, quando et parientibus coniugibus alias propter copiosorem posteritatem superducere licebat, *quod nunc certe non licet*." To do this now would be a crime ("crimen"), he writes "contra Faustum" lib. 22, c. 47. Similarly "De nupt. et concupisc." I, c. 8, n. 9; c. 9 n. 10.

When he then asserts: "What a wonderful standpoint it is, after all, to assign the role of concubine to a woman in order to help her husband out of a necessity of his conscience! The injustice to the Landgravine is scarcely touched upon. Here again is *an echo of the medieval disregard for woman easily recognized.*" I once more openly challenge him to prove that, as he says, woman was depreciated in the middle ages. This assertion of Kolde's shows him mired in the prevailing Protestant prejudices and distortions since the time of Luther.

Still more inconceivable and unhistorical is Kolde's statement proved to be, when we contemplate the Christian woman of the middle ages, to whom the Church gave the Virgin and Mother of God, Mary, as her pattern and model. The honor paid to the Woman in heaven passed over to woman on earth, as Henry Seuse strikingly teaches.⁸⁹⁶ The Christian Church further laid the foundation for the uplifting of woman by her doctrine on duty, and inasmuch as she placed woman on a footing of equality with man in respect to moral capability, so that rights and duties on both sides are equalized.⁸⁹⁷

G. CONTEMPT FOR WOMAN AND THE DEMORALIZATION OF FEMALE YOUTH A SEQUEL OF LUTHER'S PRINCIPLES.

When, at the close of the middle ages, did contempt for woman take its rise? Then when Luther began his warfare against virginity, and not only asserted that "God so created woman that she *shall* and *must* be on account of man," but also set before woman the alternative of marriage or of vice. "God's work and word lie before our eyes; women must be used *either for marriage or for whorishness.*"⁸⁹⁸ He thus no longer recognized the exaltation of virginity as "opening to woman an ideal career and affording an opportunity of religious perfection as well as of charitable activity, *indepen-*

⁸⁹⁶ Denifle, "Seuses Leben und deutsche Schriften," I, 72 sq.

⁸⁹⁷ See Weiss, "Apologie des Christentums," 3 ed., I, 357 sqq.; 302 sq.; 305 sqq.

⁸⁹⁸ Weim. XII, 94 (1523). See my work just cited, p. 81 sq., 83.

dent of the will of man."⁸⁹⁹ Though Luther praises virginity as a "rare, noble gift," yet, as we have earlier heard him say, *nobody* possesses it.⁹⁰⁰ Contempt for woman began then, when Luther and his associates began to deride the Blessed among women, Virgin and Mother, and despoiled both virgin and wife of their most beautiful exemplar; then, when the "Reformer" allotted to woman, "*a mad animal*,"⁹⁰¹ the part of a mere instrument for the gratification of man's sexual instinct: "If anyone feels himself a man, let him take a woman and not tempt God. *Therefore* has a maiden her little paunch, to afford him a remedy by which pollutions and adulteries may be avoided."⁹⁰² The "stimulatio carnis," "temptation, can easily be relieved, the while there are still young wives and women."⁹⁰³ Man himself cannot respect the woman in whom he sees only an instrument of his sensual pleasure. It was as such that Luther represented her in the first years after his apostasy, during his warfare against virginity and the celibate life.

Contempt for woman began then, when Luther coarsely and unfeelingly degraded her to the level of a breeding cow: "If women breed themselves sick and eventually to death, that does no harm; let them breed themselves to death, *that is what they are for*. It is better to live a short time in health than a long time in sickness." According to statements of physicians, "unhealthy, weak, stinking bodies would be the result, if one restrained functions of this nature by violence."⁹⁰⁴ Woman began to sink then, when Luther by word and in writing fairly goaded nuns and virgins into sensuality and its gratification with his descriptions of the human body, and of marital cohabitation, and with his doc-

⁸⁹⁹ Mausbach, "Die Kathol. Moral, ihre Methoden, Grundsätze und Aufgaben," 1901, p. 131.

⁹⁰⁰ See above, p. 103. After 1537, he says again that "many" were found "who had this gift." Erl. 44, 148.

⁹⁰¹ Weim. XV, 420.

⁹⁰² Lauterbach, "Tagebuch zum Jahre 1538," ed. Seidemann, p. 101.

⁹⁰³ "Analecta Lutherana et Melanthoniana," G. Löschke, p. 73. Also ad-
duced by Melancthon in "Corp. Ref. XX, 567, n. 170: "Temptation is still
easily given help the while young virgins and women are at hand."

⁹⁰⁴ Erl. 20, 34 ("Predigt vom ehelichen Leben." 1522). My work already
cited, p. 83.

trine on sexual lust, hitherto in great part unknown to them, a doctrine which invited every one of them to marriage according to God's command and ordinance.⁹⁰⁵ Womanly modesty, worthy morals, were lost.

Luther himself had to acknowledge this, after it was too late, although he took good care to shift the responsibility of it from his course of action. He calls his Wittenberg a "Sodom," from which he advised his Bora to fly; in which "the women and girls begin to bare themselves behind and in front, and there is nobody to punish and hold in check, and, besides, God's word is mocked."⁹⁰⁶ Nevertheless the decline of womankind got the upper hand all over Lutherdom. "Few are the women and maidens," he writes, "who would let themselves think that one could at the same time be joyous and modest. They are bold and coarse in their speech, in their demeanor wild and lewd. That is now the fashion of being in good cheer. But it is specially evil that the young maiden folk are so exceedingly bold of speech and bearing, and curse like troopers, to say nothing of their shameful words and scandalous coarse sayings, which one always hears and learns from another."⁹⁰⁷ "It is a great complaint and all too true, alas! that our young are now so wild and dissolute, and will no longer permit themselves to be brought up."⁹⁰⁸

⁹⁰⁵ See above, p. 122 sq. and p. 15 sq. In the year 1522, he says: "Behold now a part of the misery. The greater part of our lasses are in monasteries, they are fresh and healthy, *created by God to be wives and to bear children*, are not able, either, willingly to put up with their state; for chastity is a grace above nature, if it were equally pure. * * * Now if you had a daughter or a friend, gone into such a state, you ought, if you were honest and devout, to assist her out of it, even if you had to apply for the purpose all your goods, your body and life." Erl. 28, 198.

⁹⁰⁶ De Wette, V, 753, for the year 1545. In 1531 he complained about the whores and rascals, debauchers of women and girls, blasphemers, gamblers, and carousers *there*. Erl. 18, 193. Scheurl, in 1508, had still lauded Wittenberg, hyperbolically to be sure, as a city which the university had converted "from a drunken to a sober one, from a place unholy to a holy one." Under Luther it became worse than ever. And still it is alleged that "with hunger and thirst for the living God, he had brought along his devouring yearning for peace of soul!" Thus writes Hausleiter, "Die Universität Wittenberg vor dem Eintritt Luthers" (1903), p. 48 sq. See also my above-cited work, p. 72 sq.

⁹⁰⁷ Erl. 6, 401.

⁹⁰⁸ Erl. 44, 67. More on the subject, Erl. 15, 457 sq.

But whose is the fault, particularly that the young girls are so unruly? "The cause of that is, that their mothers show them such example at home."⁹⁰⁹ The bringing up of children is wont to fall on the women folk; "for the children turn out like their mothers, and the maids get their knowledge from the women." Aye truly, and the reformed, mothers and women among them, turn out like the Reformer. Who in all creation gave a worse example to the world and its adherents than Luther, in respect to coarseness and vulgarity, smuttiness, blasphemy, insult, outbursts of rage, insolence, and the like? When in the end he complained that unfortunately, in his day, it was seen that neither discipline nor honor remained in any state of life, he himself had the responsibility of it. He himself had demoralized his followers. Evil example corrupts good manners, and woe if evil teaching is still added thereto.

On the corruption at that time of the young of both sexes, we have the reports of eyewitnesses wholly above suspicion. Only a few of them can be admitted to tell their story here. "Youths are now hardly weaned from the cradle," writes John Brenz in 1532, "when they want to have a wife; and girls, not at all marriageable, already permit themselves to dream about husbands."⁹¹⁰ "A little lass or lad now at ten years of age knows more about wantonness (i. e. whorishness), than formerly the old knew at sixty," writes Waldner.⁹¹¹ The most distinguished of the Danish theologians, Nicholas Hemming, thus expressed himself in 1562: "Once modesty was the most precious treasure of the young women, but now in dress and demeanor they betray all shamelessness."⁹¹² Indeed, "when unchaste pleasure has brought them to their downfall, or they live otherwise in shameless licentiousness, they become so bold that they allege Luther's law as a pretext; a chaste, continent life is impossible to man,

⁹⁰⁹ Eri. 6, 401.

⁹¹⁰ "Homiliae XXII sub Incursionem Turcarum in Germaniam, ad populum dictae." Vitebergae 1532, page before fol. D.-With a preface by Luther.

⁹¹¹ "Bericht etlicher Stücke den jüngsten Tag betreffend," Regensburg, 1565, Fol. E iiiij.

⁹¹² In Döllinger, "Die Reformation," II, p. 674.

the gratification of the sexual instinct is as necessary as food and drink."⁹¹³ "The young learn from the old," writes E. Sarcerius in 1554; "thus one impurity furthers another, and the young are so crafty in it all that they are better informed on the subject than the oldest people of former days. What vice is growing more riotously (than unchastity)?"⁹¹⁴ "We all exclaim and complain," writes General Superintendent of the mark, A. Musculus, 1561, "that the young were never more mischievous and wicked since the world began than just now, and they cannot well become worse." He calls them "ill-bred children steeped in all vice and wickedness."⁹¹⁵ Let Kolde answer me how it accords with his theory that precisely Luther's contemporary followers and Luther himself associate the complete degeneration of the female sex, in truth of both sexes generally, with the time of the appearance of the "pure Gospel." By scientific research, disinterested and unbiased, Kolde would reach the conclusion that not much more than the rubbish and the refuse in the medieval Church constituted the dowry to Luther's doctrine and that Lutherdom was the *full measure of the decline*.

H. THE LEWD AND ADULTEROUS LIFE, THE CONTEMPT OF THE MARRIAGE STATE AT THAT TIME, ARE CONSEQUENCES OF LUTHER'S COURSE AND TEACHINGS.

Although in the year 1520 Luther stated that he so abominated divorce as to prefer bigamy to it, and although he dared not decide if the latter was permitted,⁹¹⁶ nevertheless both divorce and bigamy, especially the former in the sense of adultery, increased in a frightful manner as a consequence of his teaching. In 1522, after he had developed his theory on divorce, he himself posed the objection: "Evil men and women will thereby be given chance and scope to leave each

⁹¹³ See Czecanovius (Staphylus), "De corruptis moribus utriusque partis," after fol. F. iij.

⁹¹⁴ "Von einer Disziplin, dadurch Zucht, Tugend und Ehrbarkeit mögen geflanzt werden * * * ", Eisleben, 1555, fol. 39^b.

⁹¹⁵ "Von des Teufels Tyrannei" published in "Theatrum diabolorum", Frankfurt 1515, fol. 137^b.

⁹¹⁶ Weim. VI, 559.

other and to change, i. e., to marry again, in strange lands,"⁹¹⁷ while the other consort is still living. Luther can only answer: "*What can I do. The authorities are to blame. Why do they not strangle the adulterers? I should not then need to give such advice. Of two evils there is always one better, namely, that whorishness does not take place than that adulterers go to other lands and change,*" i. e., marry."⁹¹⁸

Whilst the "Reformer" is seeking to rid himself of one blame, he incurs another. Duke George of Saxony complains of the increase of adulteries in consequence of Luther's teaching.⁹¹⁹ This teaching was to blame that man took more than one wife, inasmuch as they "absconded to parts unknown, and let themselves be given other wives. A number of women do the same. Hence there is no end nor limit to the run-aways of husbands and wives."⁹²⁰ But this occurred not only after emigration to "parts unknown," but in the very place and spot, and generally in Germany; it even, or rather naturally, was rampant in Luther's own district, where he was born, where he died, in the county of Mansfeld. Touching this matter the superintendent of the place wrote: "In many places there is fearful whorishness and adultery going on, and so common have these vices become that a number do not consider them sins."⁹²¹ "Hence there is everywhere a disorderly and scandalous fashion at the beginning and carrying out of marriage, so that the holy marriage state is dishonored and trampled under foot." "And thus almost everywhere there are now secret betrothals, aye, one is engaged to more than one person."⁹²² "Of adultery, unchastity, and incest there is no end."⁹²³

⁹¹⁷ Erl. 20, 72.

⁹¹⁸ Ibid.

⁹¹⁹ See above, p. 16. Cf. Janssen-Pastor, VIII, 14 ed., p. 473 sq.

⁹²⁰ This was written by no less a personage than the Superintendent of the county of Mansfeld, E. Sacerius in "Von werlicher Visitation," printed at Eisleben, (1555), fol. M 2. In accord with this are Luther himself and Czecanovius (Staphylus). See above, p. 102 sqq.

⁹²¹ E. Sacerius, *ibid.* Fol. K 3.

⁹²² *Ibid.* Fol. M 2.

⁹²³ Waldner, "Bericht etlicher fürnemesten Stücke," fol. E liij^b.

Both in Luther's time and immediately afterwards, we hear but one voice from the mouths of the most distinguished of Luther's followers on secret, vicious engagements, which came to be regarded as quite no sin at all; on the rapidly growing lasciviousness and sexual boldness, on the ubiquitous increase of the vices of whorishness and adultery, which came to be considered not only a matter for mirth but as no sin at all. Quite every married woman wants to live the life of a whore, and hence let no one wonder that adulterous homes have so powerfully and so mightily multiplied, *more than among our ancestors*, aye, more than among the heathens. "Oh," it used to be said, "God is a breaker of marriage, I only bend it." Even the young carried on whorishness, and then when it was sought to get them away from it, nothing would do but they must have wives. To be unchaste is to belong to the bon-ton, and adultery is the order of the day. In most cases of marriage, the marriage bond was looser than ever it was among the Jews, so that to contract such an alliance was rather to be viewed as being put on the rack than as entering true marriage,⁹²⁴ etc.

It was a just judgment of God! Luther had trampled celibacy under foot, held it up to universal contempt, and against it had lauded marriage as the highest, the only state indeed. And now, throughout Protestant Germany, led astray by him, marriage bears the character of a chamber of torture! Luther had mendaciously charged the Pope with having despised and condemned the marriage state. And now we not only hear from the mouths of those misled by Luther that *they* contemned marriage, but the facts themselves outshout the Lutheran moralistic preachers proclaiming in every highway and byway that whorishness and adulteries are preferred to well-ordered, honorable, and chaste marriage. What Luther knavishly charged against Catholics was itself verified in Lutherdom: it seemed almost to belong to perfection to go from

⁹²⁴ The exact proofs of all this have already been furnished in detail and for each proposition by Döllinger, "Die Reformation," II, p. 427-452. I have not adduced anything above for which the authority indicated has not fully cited authentic witnesses, especially for Nürnberg.

the marriage-bed to the whore house.⁹²⁵ Luther's degradation of marriage to an external, bodily thing, like any other secular affair, was everywhere put into practice. Like an artisan not seldom abandoning his present occupation and turning to another, or even to two or three together, for the sake of the advantage or on account of the cares of his maintenance, so in Lutheranism husbands left their wives or wives their husbands to try another; nay, more, "and a shame it is to say it, they have not only given two wives to one man, but, what the world has never heard and heathens never permitted, they have given two men to one woman; they have allowed the man, when the wife was refractory, to go to the maid-servant, and where the man was impotent, the wife might go to another,"⁹²⁸ as the Dominican, J. Mensing, writes.⁹²⁷

Things of this kind and even worse occurred likewise among the Protestant "*clergy*" and *preachers*. And Luther's principles were to blame. The first preachers were mostly "married" priests and religious, who, with Luther, held the oath they had once sworn to God to be nothing. Were they to have more regard for the oath they swore to their wives? Why should one be astonished if, in the end, such a "clergyman" had three living "wives," like Pastor Michael Kramer? Why should one marvel that Luther, in his decision of August 18, 1525, approved Kramer's *second* divorce and his "marriage" to another woman, just as he had approved the *first* divorce and his "marriage" to his second wife?⁹²⁸ Principles of that kind led the one-time Lutheran preacher, Sebastian Flasch, a native of Mansfield, to complain in 1576: "Although even the preachers are 'married,' they are nevertheless so little contented with their better halves that, under Luther's guidance, to satisfy their insatiable desire, they often misuse their maid-servants, and, what is shameful, they do not blush to do violence to the wives of others, and to arrange among them-

⁹²⁵ See above, p. 209.

⁹²⁶ See above, p. 16 and p. 298 sq.

⁹²⁷ "Vormeldunge der Unwahrheit Luther'scher Klage" * * * Frankfurt a. O., 1532, fol. G. Concerning the author, see N. Paulus, "Die deutschen Dominikaner im Kampfe gegen Luther," p. 16 sqq.

⁹²⁸ See De Wette, III, 22 (No. 734) and also Enders, V. 228 sq.

selves for an exchange of wives (*commutationem uxorum*). I should not make bold openly to assert and write this about them if, during my long association with them, I had not had frequent and certain experience of this and much else." He also tells of a leading preacher "*who wanted to conclude an agreement with me for the barter of our wives, and sought, as it were, to compel me thereto, when he saw that under no consideration could I be persuaded into such a misdeed. A sense of shame forbids any further dwelling on other nefarious deeds of the sort.*"⁹²⁹

Now who was the spiritual father of that generation? Was it not Luther? Who invited priests, religious, and nuns to violate their God-sworn vows? Was it not he? But that was paving the way to the violation of the matrimonial vows as well, and to general unfaithfulness, about which Luther later so complained,⁹³⁰ without making himself responsible therefore. He himself, by his wiving in 1525, only set a seal on his infidelity to God. I have already observed elsewhere⁹³¹ that it makes no essential difference if, before his "marriage," he had already sinned with a woman, and his saying, "*sic misceor feminis*"⁹³² is to be interpreted strictly or as a joke. One thing is certain—"Luther," as his associate Melancthon writes, "was an exceedingly wanton"⁹³³ man, and the nuns, (led astray by

⁹²⁹ "Professio catholica M. Seb. Flaschii" (Coloniae 1580, reproduction in a collection), p. 219 sq.; cf. Janssen-Pastor, loc. cit., p. 456.

⁹³⁰ Opp. exeg. lat., V, 167 sq.: "In nostro saeculo nulla pactorum fides, nullae syngraphae, nulla sigilla satis sunt, fraude eluduntur et vi turbantur omnes contractus."

⁹³¹ "Luther in rationalistischer und christlicher Beleuchtung," Mainz, 1904, p. 84.

⁹³² Enders. V, 157 (April 16, 1525). Nov. 6, 1523, he already uses "*misceri feminis*" for "*fluxus seminis alicuius si mulieri misceretur*" (Enders IV, 255). He also uses the expression, 1520 (Weim. VI, 558) to mean carnal intercourse. Hutten translates "*stuprum inferre*" by "*sich 'vermischen'*", or, after Barnbüler, by "*schänden*" to ravish. (Szamatolski, "Ulrichs v. Hutten Deutsche Schriften" (1891), p. 12. Naturally, according to the Protestant Luther-researchers, the above admission on the part of Luther was made only jokingly, and is to be taken seriously only in the case of a "Romish celibate", to use the irate word of a well-known Lutherophile, (Walther). "Das sechste Gebot und Luthers Leben" (1893, p. 51). Luther's "*misceri feminis*" is very inconvenient to him. See *ibid.* p. 80.

⁹³³ This is the most considerate rendering of the Greek *ἐστιν ὁ ἀνὴρ ὡς μάλιστα εὐχερής*.

him),⁹³⁴ who in all cunning spread their nets, ensnared him. Perhaps frequent association with them would have effeminated a more sturdy and high-minded man (not a moral weakling like Luther), and caused the fire to flame up within him.⁹³⁵ One needs not therefore urge the words written August 10, 1528 by Joachim von der Heyden to Catherine Bora, to the effect that she had betaken herself to Wittenberg like a dancing girl and had lived with Luther in open and flagrant immorality before taking him as her husband.⁹³⁶ But *something* suspicious must have been made manifest, otherwise he would not have dared to write this to the Bora woman herself. Besides, Melanchthon has it that the nuns had "effeminated Luther and caused the fire to flame up within him." Was that all at once, just before his wiving? Let him who will believe it. From 1523, two full years therefore, Luther had been in close relations with brazen runaway nuns in Wittenberg.⁹³⁷ He

⁹³⁴ These and other words following in parentheses are mine, used for illustration.

⁹³⁵ "Melanchthons Brief an Camerarius über Luthers Heirat vom 16 Juni 1525" von P. A. Kirsch (Mainz 1900), p. 8, 11. Kolde, "Martin Luther," II, 203, naturally characterizes this letter as "hateful." Although he had already known the correct genuine text of Melanchthon's letter, restored by W. Meyer and Druffel in the "Münchner Sitzungsber. der philos.-philol. Kl.," (1876), Vol. I, p. 601 sqq., and although he must have known that Camerarius often had Melanchthon saying just the opposite of what he had actually written (see Druffel *ibid.* p. 495), Kolde nevertheless makes bold to fuse both texts together and to write: "The nuns had ensnared the excellent and otherwise so high-minded man, but who is easily got round, and emolliated him." By falsification of the text, Camerarius succeeded in getting the words, "the excellent and otherwise so high-minded man," to refer to Luther, whereas Melanchthon, according to the true text, sets them up in direct contrast with Luther. Kolde knew the true text and still follows the falsifier Camerarius! With what words shall one qualify so deceitful a procedure? When he then writes of the "unchristianness of the Papacy and its celibacy of seeming holiness" I willingly concede that these words give testimony, not of deceit but of his ignorance. In this he does not stand alone. With him is to be ranged "Lutherophilus", i.e. the university professor, W. Walther, collaborator on the Welmar edition of Luther's works, with his "Das sechste Gebot und Luthers Leben" (Halle 1893). On p. 73 he calls this letter of Melanchthon's a "very hateful", on p. 93, "the fatal letter". It was fatal indeed! Walther's gyrations and tricks of translation fully suffice to justify this expression.

⁹³⁶ Enders, VI, 334.

⁹³⁷ One needs not therefore assume that he lived with them under the one roof. We have already heard, p. 116, what Eoban Hessus writes about *these* very nuns: "Nulla Phyllis nonnis est nostris mammosior."

would have had to be an angel to stay wholly unspotted in such danger. One having only a little knowledge of humanity and aware at the same time that, as a rule, God punishes pride and haughtiness with this sin, will not be provoked against such as entertain some doubt about Luther's blamelessness before his wiving. Nevertheless I am far from giving unqualified credence in everything to Simon Lemnius when, in his satire on Luther, the wives of Luther, Justus Jonas, and Spalatin surpass themselves in unchaste confidences and intelligences, and the Bora woman, whom Luther at his wiving is represented as seeking to elude, is described as bitterly upbraiding him for his faithlessness and dragging him away with her.⁹³⁸ It is still remarkable, nevertheless, that the letters of both Melanchthon and Joachim, and the satire of Simon Lemnius as well, indicate fatal points in Luther's life precisely in respect to the nuns. The fact is that there were evil reports about his life, and he believed there was no avoiding the sting of them except by a speedy wiving.⁹³⁹

⁹³⁸ *Monachopornomachia* (copy in the Stadtbibliothek of Mainz). Cf. Höfler, in "Sitzgsb. der. K. böhm. Gesellsch. der Wissensch.," 1892, p. 110 sq.

⁹³⁹ Without entertaining any mental reservation, I simply report that Luther's wiving took place in all haste (Enders V, 201). "On account of (wagging) tongues, he most hurriedly took her to wife" (ibid. p. 195, De Wette III, 2). He stopped the mouth, it is said, of those who bring him into evil repnte on account of the Bora woman (p. 197). Even his own thought evil (p. 199). The Lord suddenly threw him into "marriage" in a wonderful manner ("subito mire") (201). Is it remarkable that this "wonder" was also repeated in the case of others of his associates? The apostate Franciscan, Eberlin von Günzburg writes that he observed how the devil everywhere busied himself "to bring evil, scandalous suspicion upon him, to calumniate him, etc." He also knew how to stop the mouth of these calumniators; therefore he "wedded a wife." "Joh. Eberlin v. Günzburg Sämtliche Schriften," edited by L. Enders, III, 165. Also M. Radlkofer, "Johann Eberlin v. Günzburg," Nördlingen 1887, p. 150. Of course I do not wish to couple these two "reformers" with the "reformer of Württemberg", Erhard Schnepf, who, like Zwingli, also married suddenly in a quite wonderful manner, because of the too early heralded birth of a child by his concubine, Margaretha Wurzelmann—a somewhat fatal matter. Cf. Frohnhäuser, "Gesch. der Reichsstadt Wimpfen," Darmstadt, 1870, p. 154. It is only gossip that Bora was brought to bed only a fortnight after her "marriage" to Luther, although even Erasmus believed it (Opp. Lugduni Batav. 1703, t. III, ep. 781, p. 900), but afterwards denied it (ep. 801, p. 919). Still, nobody doubted Luther's too pronounced intimacy with women before his wiving.

Sarcerius finds a chief cause of the prevalent whorishness and many adulteries of his time in the circumstance that "there was neither limit nor measure to drinking and gormandizing." It is justly said: a *drunken* man, an unchaste man; a *drunken* woman, an unchaste woman."⁹⁴⁰ And Luther had it: "a *drunken* sow cannot have Christian life."⁹⁴¹ Unfortunately, however, it was just under Luther's gospel that in Germany, the demon of drink, though he did not come into existence, nevertheless *attained his growth*. "Every country must have its own devil. * * * Our German devil will be a good wine-bibber and must be named Guzzle (Sauf), being so dry and thirsty that he cannot be refreshed with such great guzzling of wine and beer. Guzzle will remain an almighty idol among us Germans, and he acts like the ocean and like dropsy. The ocean does not get full on all the waters that flow into it; dropsy gets thirstier and worse by drinking."⁹⁴² That the "man of God" was a child of the times in the matter of drinking, as in others, has already been noted.⁹⁴³ Even his *father* was given to *drunkenness*, but it made him jolly, not rabid, as it did Luther's sister's son, Hans Polner, pastor of Jessen.⁹⁴⁴ But Luther did not want everyone to follow him in his potations, "quia non omnes ferunt meos labores."⁹⁴⁵ —"not all sustain my labors." Soon there was talk in Ger-

⁹⁴⁰ "Von werlicher Visitation, etc.," the leaf before L. Husbands themselves contributed towards their own wives' practising vice by taking them into public taverns. "And the husbands are particularly pleased if the wives can have a hand at quints, be jolly, and guzzle stoutly. Good! And thus it goes that evenings these are perhaps devout wives; on the morrow come care and labor, and men and the poor children have a wife in shame and a whore-mother. I know whereof I write. I have seen and learned it. In like case are the maid-servants and little misses, guzzling and carousing in the taverns, dancing and skipping; they lose chastity and honor, and know not mornings what has happened them * * * That nothing may be wanting to lewdness, there is absolutely not a tavern in the villages but the keeper maintains a number of public whores and shameless trulls to serve his beer, etc." Ten years later in the same land, this is acknowledged by A. Hoppenrod, "Wider den Hurenteufel," Eisleben 1565, leaf after D 5.

⁹⁴¹ Erl. 19 (2 ed.), 419.

⁹⁴² Erl. 39, 353. Cf. "Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung," edited by E. Kroker (1903), p. 376, No. 311^b. Cf. No. 1, 60, etc.

⁹⁴³ P. 110.

⁹⁴⁴ Luthers Tischreden, etc. (Table-talk) No. 193.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid., No. 318. Cf. also Köstlin-Kawerau, "M. Luther", II, 497 sq.

many of an *Order of Guzzlers*.⁹⁴⁶ Other nations, writes Luther, "call us the *drunken Germans*, for they still possess the virtue of not being such drunken, full people."⁹⁴⁷ According to his own admissions, it had not always been so, but the old evil took on growth under him: "*When I was young*, I remember the majority, even among the rich, drank water and used the simplest foods which were easily obtained; a number hardly began to drink wine in their thirtieth year. But now even the young habituate themselves to wine, (not to a poor, inferior sort but) to strong, foreign wines, and in addition to that to distilled wines and brandies, which they drink on an empty stomach."⁹⁴⁸ What wonder, then, that guzzling came to be a *common custom of the country*, not only among the peasants but among the nobility as well, but this custom first came in Luther's day. For, "*when I was young*, it was a great disgrace among the nobility * * * ; but now they are worse and more addicted to it than the peasants. It has also seized upon the young, who are neither shy nor ashamed of it; they learn it from the old. For this reason is Germany a poor, punished, plagued country on account of this drink devil and is fairly drowned in this vice." Still, "children, maidens, and women were a little shy of it, although under cover one finds here and there some filthy sows; but they still persevere. For *there is yet that much breeding left*, that every one must say, it is especially shameful if a woman drinks herself full."⁹⁴⁹ But whence was so much breeding *still left*, if not from the days of the Papacy?

Luther's doctrine on faith was also a contributing factor to adultery. The Protestant rector, J. Rivius, writes in 1547: "If you are an adulterer, say the preachers, or one given to

⁹⁴⁶ Of this new Lutheran Order (a substitute for the monastic orders?), an account is given in the booklet, "Wider den Sauffteufel," appendix in the form of a circular letter to the "full brethren," 1552 (printed in 1562). "The first condition for reception into this order was that one can guzzle well" (Blatt K iiij.).

⁹⁴⁷ Erl. 8, 293. "Nos Germani sumus ventres ac proci Penelopes, fruges consumere nati." Opp. exeg. lat., X, 40.

⁹⁴⁸ "Me puero * * * ; nunc pueri * * * " Opp. exeg. lat., III, 59. Erl. 8, 293.

⁹⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 293 sq.

whorishness, * * * only believe and you will be saved. You need not let yourself be frightened by law, for Christ fulfilled it and made satisfaction for man. * * * Such talking misleads to a godless life," etc.⁹⁵⁰ Such was also the case when a common man heard Luther preaching: "No work is evil enough to be able to damn a man (only) disbelief damns us. If one falls into adultery, *that action does not damn him*"; he only evidences his fall from faith.⁹⁵¹

Hand in hand with these there were other causes. To these belong the depreciative manner in which the "Reformer" spoke of matters moral. This was better understood by the common folk than learned disquisitions, and they apprehended words in their obvious sense, though Luther's intention may not always have been so evil. "The mass (of the people)," he wrote September 14, 1531, to Margrave George von Brandenburg, "have now (so) gone the way of *carnal* liberty, that, for a time, *one must let them indulge* (i. e., satisfy) *their lust*. Things will certainly be different, once the visitation is well started."⁹⁵² That the mass of the people should give way for a time to the satisfying of their lust, is no harm, according to Luther. And what, according to him, is carnal lust and its gratification? Sin? Oh, no; just a remedy, although not an infallible one, against temptation to sadness and sin! "In expelling sadness I did not meet with success," he once expressed himself, "although I went to the length of embracing my wife, so that at least the carnal titillation thus excited might take those thoughts of Satan away."⁹⁵³ But

⁹⁵⁰ De Stultitia mortalium (Basileae 1557) l. 1, p. 50 sq. Also above p. 18.

⁹⁵¹ Erl. 13, 238, for the year 1522. See also below p. 321.

⁹⁵² De Wette IV, 308.

⁹⁵³ Cordatus, "Tagebuch über Martin Luther," edited by Wrampelmeyer (1885), p. 450. On these rather inconvenient passages and on others still more inconvenient, but less authentic, the editor discourses copiously, and naturally not without side thrusts at Catholics. But if anyone should have kept hands off this subject, it is Wrampelmeyer, the more so because he has given so much evidence of his incompetency. On p. 282, No. 1089, for instance, commenting on Luther's words: "One ought in reason assiduously to conserve (*"behalten"*) all the "*Regulas monachorum in perpetuam ignominiam et gloriam Evangelii; ego quinque habeo cum statutis ipsorum*," he explains "*behalten*" by the words "to adhere to, not to give up", and "*quinque*" he supplies with the word "*regulas*". Continuing he says: "Does Luther mean poverty, chastity, obedience, prayer, and work?" Then he ex-

perhaps this passage is not sufficiently authentic? It may be. But there is a wholly authentic one that only makes matters worse. To act *with another's wife* as Luther did with his, *to commit sin* in order to overcome the devil, is one of the highly paradoxical counsels which the "Reformer" gave to one who has tempted to sadness, and assuredly the advice was not given to him alone.

Writing to Hieronymus Weller, 1530, he says: "You ought to get up some jokes and games with my wife and the rest of them." But nothing sinful? Let us hear the "Reformer": "As often as the devil vexes you with those thoughts, seek immediately the company of people, or drink harder, joke, make fun or get jolly. At times one has to drink more copiously, jest, play the fool, and *commit some sin or another out of hatred and contempt of the devil*, so that we leave him no room to create a conscience in us on the least things, otherwise *we are beaten*, if we wish too anxiously to make provision lest we sin. Therefore if the devil says: 'drink not,' answer him: 'precisely because you forbid it, will I particularly drink, yes, and all the more copiously.' Thus must one always do the opposite of what the devil forbids." To arouse the troubled one's courage, Luther sets himself up as an example: "What else do you think were the reason why I drink so much harder, prate the more loosely, gormandize the more frequently, if not to

plains the whole passage: "Luther seems to want to say: 'I, for my part, observe five rules of living, which are in accord with the monastic statutes, which have their good and their evil sides; all the others, on the contrary, which do not redound to the honor of the Gospel but are rather to its ignominy, I reject.'" Is a thing like this possible? Does Herr Wrampelmeyer stumble over so simple a passage? He took "behalten" for "observare" instead of for "conservare", to preserve, or to conserve; so also "habere" How little solid he is in what he knows of Luther! Luther aims to say the same thing that he writes with regard to the works of the Scholastics which he had once studied: "I still *keep* (conserve) the books, which were such a torture to me" (Lauterbach's Tagebuch p. 18); or what he expresses in Opp. exeg. lat. XI, 140: "Evertantur monasteria, *nisi forte relinquuntur quaedam in memoriam peccatorum et abominationum*, quarum domicilia fuerunt." The passage in question, therefore, is intended by Luther to mean: "Let everyone conserve or keep, as I do, the monastic rules and constitutions as an everlasting remembrance or souvenir of the one time obscurity of the Gospel and of the present splendor of the same."

mock and vex the devil who set about mocking and vexing me? Oh, if only I could point out something particular about sin, merely to mock the devil, so that he might be aware that I recognize no sin and am not conscious of any! *The entire decalogue is wholly to be dismissed from sight and mind by us, whom the devil so threatens and vexes.*"⁹⁵⁴

In what an abyss we here find the "Reformer"! Yet he it was who, a year or two later, ascribed to himself as a young monk a conscience so tender that he had wondered at St. Bonaventure, "holiest of monks," for saying it was permissible for a man to joke with his wife. He had looked for an opinion more worthy of Bonaventure's state.⁹⁵⁵ Now, as a means of dispelling sadness, he advises joking with some one else's wife—using the word in the sense of sinning. From out the same abyss he writes in 1523: "Though it happened that one, two, a hundred, a thousand and even more councils decreed that the clergy might marry, * * * I would look through my fingers and entrust God's grace to him *who all his life had had one, two, or three whores*, rather than to him who would take a woman to wife after such a council decree and otherwise, apart from this decree, dared not take any.

And (if I were) *in God's place, I would command and counsel all, that no one should take a wife in virtue of such a decree on pain of losing his soul's salvation*, but that he should first of all live chastely, or, if that were impossible to him, he should not despair in his weakness and sin and should invoke God's hand."⁹⁵⁶

No word shall be wasted here on how this unauthorized apostle presumes, in God's place, on pain of loss of the soul's

⁹⁵⁴ Enders, VIII, 159 sq. Köstlin, "Martin Luther," II, 214, writes: "Such an exhortation to sin has naturally been eagerly seized upon by Luther's opponents; but for its meaning we have only to point to the context." But what would any kind of context whatever show, except that Luther seeks to exorcise one devil by another? From such and similar utterances on the part of Protestant Luther-researchers, there is one thing evident: they would like to have their "Reformer", from a moral point of view, something other than he really is and proves to be; they therefore seek to save him at any cost.

⁹⁵⁵ See above, p. 273 sq.

⁹⁵⁶ Weim. XII, 237. On similar outbursts of petulance, see Chapter 14.

salvation, to give a command, to do which he disallows to the Church of more than a thousand years and to her rightful authorities; but let it be well noticed that here, under circumstances, the "Reformer" *prefers whorishness, ever forbidden by God and His Church, to lawful marriage*; that he permits the former, condemns the latter. What he adduces as an explanation is null and void. Luther always caught himself in his own trap.

His hatred towards the Church, which impelled him to do just the opposite of what the ecclesiastical laws prescribed, exacted a bitter penalty.

But with what words is Luther to be characterized in view of the sentence he later addressed to the "silly, lascivious swine," namely the religious and priests: "greater is the chastity of Jacob, who had four, five, or a hundred wives, than that in all their celibacy, *even if they did not practice whorishness*. Let us suppose a true celibate, *who is wholly continent*; yet *it is certain* that Jacob is a hundred times more chaste; *for that continent one* burns day and night, is inflamed with lust, in his sleep *patitur pollutiones*, waking *sentit pruritum*. What kind of chastity is that, to live and burn in the midst of the flames of sensuality? Once he looks upon a pretty woman, he is all set on fire; and even if he masters himself and refrains from action, yet those flames cause him *pollutiones*, not only in sleep but also waking, as Gerson bears witness."⁹⁵⁷

I will not at all dwell on Luther's outrageous reference to Gerson, who, as is known, gives advice on the case, if it should happen, or to those momentarily tempted, but in no wise gives occasion to believe that that is the life of *all* who are continent. But where did Luther get this view? Only out of his own earlier life, as he gradually got to the proposition that concupiscence is irresistible, and then, in much grosser fashion, saddled *his own* unchastity upon *all*. What an influence must not such accounts and views as those just described have had upon public morality? Not only continence, but the virtue of chastity itself had to fall into abso-

⁹⁵⁷ Opp. exeg. lat. XII, 277.

lute contempt. For, after such expositions, any one had to say to himself: chastity is an impossible thing; a chaste man is the most unhappy mortal; why shall I bother about it? And so it really fell out. Superintendent Sarcerius thus expresses himself on the subject: "We Germans of the present truly know little to boast about of the virtue of chastity, seeing that it is so dying out that there is sheer nothing more known to be said about it." "Of those who still love chastity, there are so few that one must not only wonder at it but be shocked as well, and all immorality thrives apace, unabashed and unpunished."⁹⁵⁸ About the same time, 1554, Rector Konrad Klauser of Zürich ascribes the then contempt for true chastity and continence to the warfare thus far waged against the celibacy of the monks.⁹⁵⁹ Protestants are unwilling to see that their "Reformer" was to blame above all others. They likewise do not see that, for the contempt in which the Lutheran preachers were held, on which Luther and his associates uttered bitter complaints, it was precisely the earlier blustering of Luther and his associates against Catholic priests and religious that was responsible. And yet this would have been much easier to understand. Nobles and commons alike made no distinction between priests and preachers. "Priesthood is despised," it was said, "not only under the Papacy but also under the holy Gospel."⁹⁶⁰ In the same fashion, there was no distinction drawn between monastic chastity and chastity in general. When from the beginning the people heard celibacy, not only as it was observed here and there in practice, but in general, decried as "impure, godless, and abominable,"⁹⁶¹ they held that to apply to chastity as well, the more so as they had to hear from the same

⁹⁵⁸ Von einer Disziplin, etc., fol. 39b.

⁹⁵⁹ De educatione puerorum. Basileae 1554, fol. 76.

⁹⁶⁰ Ch. Marstaller, "Der Pfar-und Pfründ-Beschneiderteufel" (Ursel 1575), Fol. A 5. "Just because the pastor said something, a counterplay was made." Erl. 6, 8.

⁹⁶¹ "Impurus, sceleratus, abominabilis coelibatus"—these were the Shibboleths of which Luther and his fellows made constant use after 1521. Cf. Enders III, 241, 247; V, 280; Opp. exeg. lat. V, 90. Bugenhagen, Brisman, and others copied it after him.

lips that the sexual instinct is irresistible and that, to the Papists, celibacy and chastity meant the same thing.

Once the heart has simply *lost its regard for chastity, conjugal chastity* dies out also, and there is an end to the dignity of matrimony. But woe if there are still added to that doctrines making for the dissolution of the marriage bond, affirming Christian liberty, denying free will, and asserting the nothingness of works, etc., as Luther gradually developed them. As a matter of fact the "Reformer" wrote in 1523:⁹⁶² Christian liberty makes it possible "that all outer things are free before God and a Christian can use them as he will; he may accept them or let them pass. And Paul adds: 'with God,'⁹⁶³ i.e., as much as matters between you and God. For you render no service to God because you marry or stay single, become a servant, free, this or that, or eat this or that; again you do Him no annoyance nor sin if you omit or put off one of those things. Finally, *you do not owe it to God to do anything but to believe and confess (Him). In all other things He sets you unbound and free, so that you may do as you will, without any peril to conscience; nay more, so that, on His own account, He asked no questions whether you let your wife go, ran from the Lord, and kept no covenant.* For what is it to Him that you do or do not do such things?" According to Luther, then, God makes no inquiry about us, whether we are whoring or murdering. This of itself does not concern Him! Of the contradiction in which he thus entangled himself, Luther was unaware. If God has *joined* a married couple together—which Luther must admit on the authority of Christ's words: "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," (Matt. 19, 6)—how is it conceivable that an adulterer, as such, is not to be thought sinning against God?⁹⁶⁴

Luther continues: "But because you are thereby bound to your neighbor, to whom you have come to belong, God does

⁹⁶² Weim. XII, 131 sq. on the seventh chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

⁹⁶³ In the passage 1, Cor. 7, 24: "Let every man wherein he was called, therein abide with God."

⁹⁶⁴ See also above, p. 315 sq.

not wish through anyone's liberty to take what is his, but He wants it to be kept for your neighbor. For, although God does not consider it on His own behalf, He does consider it on behalf of your neighbor. That is what He means in saying: 'with God,' just as though He wanted to say: 'with man or with your neighbor I do not set you free; for I do not wish to take from him what is his, *until he himself also sets you free. But with me you are free (and) unbound and you cannot in anything ruin that, whether you leave go or keep what is external.*'"

From this it necessarily follows that, when a woman releases her husband, he is also set free with God; both are lawfully divorced! Rightly therefore does the famous Pistorius say: "All external sins therefore depend solely on the consent of that person against whom the act is committed. If this person is satisfied, it is no sin before God or the world to take many wives, to divorce wives from one's self, to violate an oath, to murder, whore, or steal!"⁹⁶⁵ The above teaching of Luther's is also at the same time the best commentary on his proposition, that marriage is an external thing like any secular affair. The readers now also understand that, by such principles, all fear of God was violently torn from the hearts of the married and consequently the door to all vices was opened to them.

This audacious "Reformer" concludes: "It is nothing to God that a man leaves his wife, *for the body is not bound to God*, but is set free by Him in all external things, and belongs to God only interiorly by faith. But before men the covenant is to be kept * * * *Herein one cannot sin against God, but against one's neighbor.*"

What a shocking moral doctrine on the part of the father of the "Evangelical Reformation!" "Should not the earth have opened and swallowed such a Tartar or living evil spirit?" exclaims Pistorius. "Could anything more Turkish or more devilish be taught? And is not Mahomet to be held even holy as compared with Luther? Do but open your eyes

⁹⁶⁵ "Anatomiae Lutheri, pars prima, "Köln 1595, p. 147. Pistorius, himself once a Protestant, became the feared, invincible opponent of the Protestant pastors and theologians after his return to the Church.

and your hearts, you dear Germans. Use only your human reason; do not let yourselves be drawn about even like fools, that you are not to recognize this gross Turkish spirit. According to natural understanding (to say nothing of the spiritual), is it to be supposed that Luther had even a blood-drop of honor in him—I will not say of the fear of God? God pity the miserable blindness!"⁹⁶⁶

What indeed could more weaken the marriage bond than such a hair-raising doctrine? If the fear of God has disappeared from the hearts of the married, the one will not even await the other's consent to the dissolution of the marriage tie. Whether the latter be obstinate or not, the former will go the ways forecast by lust.

That is quite logical, however, if marriage is looked upon as an affair like any other. In 1522, Luther knows no higher point of comparison for it than that of eating, drinking, sleeping, walking, riding, buying, talking, and trafficking.⁹⁶⁷ But something else follows from this. If the chief principle for the permissibility of a marriage was, that one could marry the person with whom he could eat, drink, sleep, walk, etc., then the marriage impediments, recognized up to that time, had to fall as the work of fools,⁹⁶⁸ and one would wonder greatly if Luther had not allowed the marriage bond between brother and sister. *But to this proposition he likewise agreed.*

In 1528, all the marriage impediments *juris ecclesiastici* were declared by him to be dead, i.e., set aside; also even such as are *juris naturalis*, or nearly akin to it, *consanguinitas*, *affinitas*, and *publicae honestatis*. This follows from Luther's marginal note, "dead," on Spalatin's general paragraph: "What blood-relationship, marriage-relationship, and spiritual affinity hinder marriage." In an incredible but logical manner, he then declares "dead," i.e. set aside, the *impedimenta*

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid. p. 149.

⁹⁶⁷ Erl. 20, 65: "Now as I may eat, drink, sleep, walk, ride, buy, speak, and traffic with a heathen, Jew, Turk, or heretic, so likewise may I marry one and stay married with him. And give no heed to the fool-laws which forbid the like."

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 62 sqq.

*consanguinitatis*⁹⁶⁹ also *consanguinitas in linea recta*, at least insofar as it forbids marriage *in infinitum* (a), and *consanguinitas in linea obliqua*, even in the first degree between brother and sister (b). Naturally there was less difficulty in the cases of marriage with the daughter of one's brother or sister, and with the sister of one's father or mother (a), or in the degrees of *affinitas* or marriage relationship (c, d), or in *publica honestas* (e).

All this was included in Luther's conception of Christian liberty, i.e., unbounded and unbridled licentiousness, not less, indeed, than in his endeavor to do the opposite of the provisions of the laws of the Church. Of the permissibility of marriage in the first degree of blood-relationship, Protestants of that time said nothing, as neither did Luther to my knowledge. But here and there in the circles of his followers, people were scandalized on account of the marriages of persons related in the second or third degree, such marriages being considered contrary to natural decorum.⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁹ On Jan. 3, 1528, John, Elector of Saxony, asked Luther to revise and correct Spalatin's memorial on marriage matters. Luther did so. Spalatin's memorial, with Luther's corrections and marginal notes, was printed in Burkhardt's "Martin Luthers Briefwechsel", p. 123-130 (thence taken by Enders, VI, 182-186). The portions that interest us are found on p. 130. The general section in Spalatin's memorial reads: "Welche Sippschaft und Magtschaft nach Vermuge und Ordnung die Ehe verhindern." On this Luther wrote the all-annihilating word "tod"—dead, i.e., set aside. In detail: (a) "Zum ersten so ist den Personen, so einander in der aufsteigenden und neidersteigenden Linie verwandt, die Ehe *in infinitum* durch und durch allenthalben verboten." On this proposition Luther made the marginal annotation, "tod." Spalatin continues: (b) "Zum andern: Bruder und Schwester mögen sich nicht verehelichen, so mag einer auch seines Bruders oder Schwester Tochter oder Enkel nicht nehmen. Desgleichen ist verboten seines Vaters, Grossvaters, der Mutter, Grossmutter Schwester zu heiraten." Luther wrote on the margin of the *first* line, and at the same time for the whole proposition, "tod." Propositions on *affinitas* (c, d) and *publica honestas* (d) follow. Moreover, the lawfulness of marriage between brother and sister according to Luther is a consequence of his principles, and only the imperial law would have been able to determine him for its unlawfulness. From his "tod" on proposition a, it would also have been possible to prove that, according to him, even marriage between father and daughter, mother and son was lawful.

⁹⁷⁰ Thus, e.g., there appeared in Württemberg, 1534, an ordinance against such "brutish, bold, and shameless persons, as, contrary to natural decorum, marry each other within the second or third degree of blood or marriage relationship." See Döllinger, loc. cit., II, 445 and note 30.

I. HOW CONDITIONS WERE BETTERED. THE SOUL NATURALLY CATHOLIC, NOT LUTHERAN.

To the great multitude of present-day Protestants, it is not known to what principles, in respect to marriage, their father once gave expression, and how those principles, if they had been put into practice for a longer time, would needs have led human society to its utter ruin. Merely with reference to the universal corruption among their own fellow believers, the very preachers and reformers of the Lutheran denomination had pronounced the judgment: "We must in truth * * * confess: that, as every possible thing that means and can be called sin, vice, and shame has risen to its highest in Germany, it is much to be presumed that the evil spirits are nowhere else in the world save * * * in Germany alone." "The people would simply have to turn into devils; in human form there is no getting any worse."⁹⁷¹

Owing to the Luther biographers and pastors, the Protestant public is led astray. It has been brought to believe that the well-ordered family life of today, as one does meet it to a considerable extent among Protestants and as I myself have witnessed it in my relations with them, goes back to the principles which Luther set up in his warfare against the Church. It has been kept unaware of how unjust and fallacious Luther's warfare was against the marriage laws of the Church and against marriage as a sacrament, and how disintegrating his principles were in their effect upon marriage and the family life of his time and the time immediately following. It may be that some Luther-researchers, at least many pastors, too much used to celebrating beforehand the "moral achievement of Luther" and the "blessings of the Reformation," handle their subject in good faith. But one thing is nevertheless certain. They all overlook the fact that Luther, in setting up his teachings, scarcely ever thought of the consequences resulting from them, least of all the practical ones. Thus it was at the beginning of the Peasants' War in respect to his teaching on Christian liberty. It was

⁹⁷¹ Thus the Lutheran A. Musculus, "Von des Teufels Tyrannei" in "Theatrum Diabolorum," fol. 128, 137^b.

also the case with regard to his principles on marriage. When the practical consequences became manifest and were matured, he spoke and preached and blustered against them, so that one could have thought he was the most innocent man in the world, full of moral earnestness, whereas he did not attack the root, the cause, at all, namely, his teachings, and indeed, at times, he held to them all the more firmly. By what course did Protestants reach bettered conditions? Chiefly through the interposition of the secular authority, which, to avoid its being irremediably swamped, had perforce to look after public morality and did look after it. Again through the endeavors of earnest Protestant theologians, following the same course that had enabled them to reach a betterment in many another point, when, partly in their symbolical books but even more in after times, they more or less unconsciously returned to Catholic principles.

This very thing happened in respect to the article of the standing and falling Church, Luther's doctrine on justification by faith alone. Who among Protestants accepts it today, as Luther taught it? Not rarely, in their camp, one glimpses justifying faith in the faith that is active in charity. The simple thought and feeling alone of the individual leads thither. Such was the case, speaking quite generally, with contrition, with many another doctrine, and even partly with marriage. After bitter experiences, there was an approach in this point, too, to Catholic principles,⁹⁷² from which, as from their conscience as well, many families had never swerved—although with Luther, the dissolubility of marriage, so contrary to Scriptures, is still always taught and its sacramental character is rejected.

The phenomenon just briefly touched on proves at least one thing—that the human soul is natively Christian in the sense of Catholic; for the approach on the part of the Pro-

⁹⁷² I say that there was a return to *principles, for the practice*, as among Catholics even, is often not conformed to the principles of their Church. What Jacob Rabus said in his account of his conversion, 1567, is to the point: "Among Catholics, faults are to be laid at the door of persons, among Protestants at the door of doctrine and persons." In Räss, *Convertitenbilder*, I, 512. The good Lutheran always stands higher by far than Luther and his doctrine.

testant theologians, as described, was unconscious. Luther himself could not escape being interiorly driven back, against his striving and his teaching, into his Catholic consciousness, even on leading points. There was no avoiding it. The soul is naturally Catholic. Nevertheless Protestant theologians absolutely do not wish to be Catholic, and, far from admitting that they had made any approach to Catholic fundamentals or principles, they suffer their people to remain in the belief that such doctrines, more resembling Catholic teaching than Luther's, are Lutheran, while at the same time they give out as Catholic some doctrines which Luther falsified and garbled beyond recognition. For, however much they otherwise get away from him, to this day they are steeped in the wholly false conceptions of Catholic doctrine which were foisted upon them by Luther. The very children at home and in the schools are thereby poisoned. If Protestants knew the true being and nature of Catholic doctrine, an understanding, assuming good will, would be possible. In that case, they would not say with Bugenhagen: "God Himself is Lutheran";⁹⁷³ rather would they confess with us: "Like the soul, so is God also Catholic." They would needs confess that the pure Lutheran doctrine is something unnatural, contrary to reason.⁹⁷⁴

CHAPTER XIII.

RETROSPECT AND SUMMING UP.

LUTHER'S DEBASED STAND IN HIS JUDGMENT OF AND OPPOSITION TO THE RELIGIOUS STATE AND RELIGIOUS.

Looking over the thirteen chapters of this section, we get worse than a bad impression of Luther's principles, demeanor, and character. We hit, not upon a man who even half deserved the title of a reformer, but upon an agitator, an overthrower, to whom no sophistry is too audacious, no artifice

⁹⁷³ "Von dem ehelichen Stande der Bischöfe und Diaken," Wittenberg 1525, fol. F.

⁹⁷⁴ In this chapter I have entered upon Luther's marriage doctrine only insofar as it included his utterances on the vows.

too bad, no lie too strong, no calumny too great, to justify his apostasy from the Church and from his own earlier principles. The entire Catholic doctrine on the counsels, on the vows, in a word, on the whole religious state was distorted by him and made contemptible before the whole world. The hearts of the religious were thus to be estranged from their state, to be incited to the violation of their vows and to marriage, or, if they had already ventured upon that step, to be confirmed in it. Luther does not shrink even from giving himself the lie by the statutes of his own Order, to ascribe words and views to himself as a young monk which he had never entertained; he does not disdain to falsify Catholic doctrine, even to hold up to his contemporaries as universally valid, propositions which not a soul either then or earlier had even thought of. The better to draw priests and religious, already decadant, into his toils, he represents to them the "impossibility" of resisting their sexual instinct, and marriage as a conscientious duty. And what principles he developed on the latter, i.e., on marriage! The more his following increased, the more boldly and audaciously he took his stand. The better to be able to show this, I took up, besides Luther's treatise on the vows, his other and later writings.

The same means as those against Catholics were at bottom employed by Luther against all his opponents. To cite but one example, that was the experience of one of his recruits, the apostate Dominican, Bucer, when he allowed himself to contradict Luther in his teaching on communion; Bucer did not therefore hesitate to tax him with shamelessness for alleging something against him out of a preface, as widespread as it had been in many copies, which he (Bucer) had never even thought of.⁹⁷⁵ He charges him *with raging*

⁹⁷⁵ In 1526, Luther was justly angered against Bucer (on the occasion thereof see Enders, V, 388, Note 2). But in the controversy with him, Luther showed himself the same insidious man as always. He charged Bucer with having written and printed things which in his work were nevertheless of an entirely different purport. Thus Bucer is alleged to have written: "Miracula Christi fuerunt talia, ut cum diceret: hoc est illud, mox sensibile quoque fuerit. Ideo et Christi corpus oportere esse visibile in sacramento, aut non est in sacramento." Bucer would thus be drawing a conclusion from the particular to the universal, which would make even a freshman laugh (Enders V, 386). Bucer replies: "Quid ad haec dicendum? Si legit mea, rursus

against the known truth.⁹⁷⁶ But why did Bucer and his fellows not rise up when Luther acted even worse towards the Church than against themselves? Because Luther stood forth against him, Bucer became sensible of how far it was from the spirit of Christ to answer with abuse and reproaches.⁹⁷⁷ But, from 1520 on, what means did Luther employ against the Church, the orders, and the priesthood? Words of contempt, abuse, calumnies were with him the order of the day. Then Bucer and his fellows found all that to be quite in order; with Luther they recognized therein the spirit of Christ.

In the preface referred to Bucer also took the part of Oecolampadius against Luther.⁹⁷⁸ This was the same Oecolampadius who had written to the apostate Benedictine, Ambrose Blarer: "Yield to the dirty Papists in nothing, for, if they are not hindered and caused to be hated by the people, they, personified wolves that they are and the most injurious of all, will sweep a great part away with them. If they are properly painted to the people from the very beginning, no

haereo, etenim tam confessae impudentiae, ut extantibus tot exemplaribus audeat mihi impingere, quod nunquam in mentem mihi venit, profecto gravatim ipsum insinularim." Bucer, however, had precisely argued from the universal to the particular, when, instead of the proposition foisted upon him by Luther, he wrote: "Omnia opera domini, quae scriptura corporalia commemorat dicendo: hoc est illud, ut cum aquam in nuptiis memorat vinum factum * * * vere corporalia, hoc est sensibilia adparuerunt." Bucer justly queries: "ubi hic argumentum huiusmodi: aliqua Christi miracula sunt visibilia, ergo necesse est omnia esse visibilia? Cur omissum est 'corporalia', in quo tota vis argumentationis?" But when Bucer writes: "Maliciously to misrepresent (calumniari) the writings of brethren in that manner becomes the enemies of the truth but not Luther," (Enders, loc. cit., p. 390, note 8), he should have been asked: "Is it only so late you begin to know Luther?" Did not Bucer and his like shout their applause, when Luther went to far worse lengths and was still doing so in respect to the Orders?

⁹⁷⁶ Enders, V, p. 390, note 7.

⁹⁷⁷ Bucer, in his preface, had called Luther a vehement opponent of his sect; Luther wished "utinam per negotia liceret esse vehementiorem!" (Enders, V, 387). Bucer replies: "Si de vehementia argumentorum intelligit, optarim idem et ego; sin conviciorum, optarim agnosceret, quam alienum id sit a spiritu Christi" (loc. cit., p. 391, note 11). Seeing Luther and Bucer engaged in disputation, one is involuntarily reminded of the first words of the third antiphon of Lauds on Good Friday: "ait latro ad latronem."

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 390, note 7.

one will believe them any longer."⁹⁷⁹ Luther was the one who set the tunes of this kind. His entire treatise on the monastic vows and his subsequent productions verify the old saying: "Every apostate is a slanderer of his Order." Luther could have seen the allusion to this saying in the acts of the general chapter of his Order, held under the master-general, James of Siena, at Toulouse in 1341.⁹⁸⁰ The proverb, founded on experience: "Every apostate is a persecutor of his Order," was held up by the first opponents of Lutheranism to their one-time brethren, now fallen away and given to measureless, shameless vilification.⁹⁸¹

In the following pages, I offer a necessary supplementary addition to my previous investigations, so that the reader may have the fullest possible idea of the debased standpoint which Luther took in relation to religious after his apostasy.

A. LUTHER'S WANTON EXTRAVAGANCE AND VULGARITY IN HIS JUDGMENT OF RELIGIOUS AND PRIESTS.

The older Luther got to be, the more outrageous he was. We hear from his lips: "Nuns are so called from a Germanism: for that is what castrated sows are denominated, as monks from horses (i.e., castrated ones.) But they are not yet healed. They have to wear breeches as well as other people."⁹⁸² What vulgarity! Wrampelmeyer teaches us that the words, nun and monk, are not derived, *as Luther thought*, from the German.⁹⁸³ What an ignoramus the Protestants brand their clean "Reformer," "the greatest man of Ger-

⁹⁷⁹ In Herzog, "Das Leben des Joh. Oecolompadius und die Reformation zu Basel," 1843, II, 291.

⁹⁸⁰ Ms. Virdun, 41, fol. 197: "Quoniam effrenata apostatarum dampnata temeritas nonnunquam, in Romana praecipue curia, ordinis famam denigrat vel obnubilare frequencius posset, quapropter statuimus * * * Apostatae fratres et ordinem infamantes, quos a malo timor dei non revocat" * * *

⁹⁸¹ Thus Schatzgeyer and Usingen. See N. Paulus, "Kaspar Schatzgeyer," p. 69 sq.; "Der Augustiner Barthol. Arnoldi v. Usingen," p. 37, 56.

⁹⁸² "Nonnae sic appellantur a germanismo, quia castratae sues sic vocantur, sicut monachi ab equis. But they are not quite healed, have just as much to wear breeches as other folks." Wrampelmeyer, "Tagebuch über Dr. Martin Luther geführt von C. Corbatus," p. 340, n. 1275; Lösche "Analecta Lutherana et Melancthoniana," p. 252, n. 391.

⁹⁸³ Loc. cit. But Lösche does not venture to correct his "Reformer." He only explains Luther's etymology in a note!

many" when they assume that Luther did not know that the term "monk," "monachus," comes from the Greek *μοναχός*, "living alone?" Furthermore, if it was unknown to Luther that the inmates of the convent, founded in the fourth century by St. Pachomius on the island of Tabennae in the Nile in Upper Egypt got the name "nun," i.e. lady,⁹⁸⁴ for "nonna" in the language of the land meant "lady," just as "nonnus" meant "sir," it must at least have been known to him that St. Jerome, in his day, used the name, "nun," for consecrated virgins,⁹⁸⁵ as St. Benedict used "nonnus" for "paterna reverentia"⁹⁸⁶ paternal reverence.

The same ribald character of Luther forced itself upon our notice in our earlier chapters. To him priests and monks are "devils in disguise," "coarse, fat asses, adorned with red and brown (i.e. violet) birettas, like the sow."⁹⁸⁷ Perhaps Luther was here thinking, not of the *life* of a priest but of his *ordination*. "If for their priesthood they can only show tonsure, anointing, and the long cassock, we allow them to glory in this filth, since we know one can also easily shear, anoint, and clothe with a long robe a sow or a block."⁹⁸⁸ "The monks define a priest as one who wears a long dress, has a shaved head, and reads the canonical hours. *Apart from this idea they know no priest*, just as if God approved those mass-priests howling in the churches. These are priests of the devil * * * They did not esteem Abraham highly, because he had no tonsure, no mass-vestment, nor anointed

⁹⁸⁴ See F. X. Funk in T. X. Kraus, "Real-Encyklopädie der christlichen Altertümer," II, 403.

⁹⁸⁵ Ep. 22, n. 16, and also the note of Ballarsi in Migne, Patr. lat., t. 22, p. 404 (c). Thus also does the Bishop of Chartres, St. Fulbert, of the XI century, in the section "de penitentia laicorum," count it a *peccatum capitale*: "si quis nonnam corruperit." Migne, Patr. lat., t. 141, p. 339.

⁹⁸⁶ Reg. c. 63: "iuniores priores suos *nonnos* vocent, quod intelligitur *paterna reverentia*." See further proofs in Migne, Patr. lat., t. 66, p. 876 sq.

⁹⁸⁷ Weim. XV, 51.

⁹⁸⁸ Ibid. XII, 189. Another time it is an ass. "Why, I will clothe an ass with such a frock, gird him with a rope, shave a tonsure on him, stand him in a corner, and he shall also fast and celebrate (in honor of) the saints." Erl. 13, 256.

fingers; he nourished a beard and was married. If he had a whore and spurious children, they would praise him more."⁹⁸⁹

It was this vulgar, ribald character that, as early as 1521, inspired the "Reformer" to utter the counsel: "I consider it the best that, in the future, the priesthood be called not priests but shavelings ("Plattenträger," wearers of a bald pate), and that the useless folk be driven out of the land. Of what use to us is the shaveling-gang, priests neither spiritually nor corporeally? And what need have we of them, since we ourselves are all corporeal, spiritual, and every kind of priests? Like alien useless guests, they gobble our bread. Therefore out with them, out with the rascals!"⁹⁹⁰ Hence, in 1540, he could say in his foul manner: "Where, in the long run, will the Papists get monks and priests? Here in Wittenberg there are many students, but I do not believe a single one would let himself be anointed and hold his mouth open for the Pope to void his dirt into it."⁹⁹¹ (The original German here, as in many other places, is too vulgar to be tolerated in its corresponding equivalent in English.—Translator's note.)

In the face of such trivialities, one is not astonished on hearing the "Reformer", in 1530, telling at length how the Pope "bespattered" everything: "Thus the Pope bespatters even the bodies of the priests. For the natural growth and creature of God, *the poor hair of the head, had to be sin*. They had to wear tonsures, shear their beards; then they were holy. And, in sum: *all Christians' body and life had to be called unholy, his anointed alone were holy*. I will not say how easily a laic could profane a consecrated person, place or thing. Thus the Pope bespatters clothing as well; for whatever monk or nun did not wear their capuches of special cut and color, *the same was a sinner and lost*, as also the priests with their

⁹⁸⁹ "Monachi sacerdotem definiunt, qui habet longam vestem, rasum caput, qui legit horas canonicas. Extra hanc ideam nullum sacerdotem norunt, quasi vero deus sacrificos istos ululantes in templis probet; Diaboli sacerdotes sunt * * * Abraham non magni faciunt, propterea quod non habet rasum caput, non habet casulam aut unctos digitos, alit barbam et est maritus. Si habuisset scortum et spurios, magis laudarent." Opp. exeg. lat., V, 213.

⁹⁹⁰ Weim. VIII, 251.

⁹⁹¹ "Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung" edited by Kroker, N. 235.

clothes.”⁹⁹² Thus runs the account of that which the Pope, the “devil’s head,” “bespatters”.

A ribald, whose only concern is to make a whole state of life ridiculous, must needs have recourse to lies, if he is to succeed. For, that one cannot and may not condemn a whole state of life, Luther himself in his better days proved with drastic effect.⁹⁹³ Now what a higgledy-piggledy of ribaldry, trifling, and lying do not the above-cited words of Luther contain? We find him therein in his own true humor to deliver priesthood and monasticism over to the mockery of the world and to do everything to vex the hated Papists. “The while they, in their judgment, are triumphing over one of my heresies, I, in the meantime, will produce a new one.”⁹⁹⁴ It is that humor in which he acted on the principle of making a “counter-play”, of doing the precise opposite of the “mad laws of the Pope”,⁹⁹⁵ even of scheming *what scandal he might set up, in order to anger them* and at the same time to please God!

In August, 1525, he writes that he took the Bora woman to wife out of contempt for the Papists, and that, if he can, he will do more to spite them and that they may confess the word.⁹⁹⁶ On January 5, 1526, writing to Marquard Schuldorp, who had married his sister’s daughter, he gives expression to these hair-raising words, which manifest the state of his soul to the whole world: “I also took a nun to wife, however I might have been able to arrange and had no particular reason except that I did it to spite the devil with his scabs, the big Jacks, princes, and bishops, who are like to be downright crazy because ecclesiastics are to be free. *And I would gladly set up more scandal, if only I knew of something more that pleased God and annoyed them.* For thereby do I vent my feeling at their raging against the Gospel that they are angered, and I do not care and always keep on and do it all the more, the more they do not want it. They boast of might, I trust to right (!) and shall wait to see whether might or right

⁹⁹² Erl. 41, 298.

⁹⁹³ See above, p. 213 sq.

⁹⁹⁴ Weim. VI, 501, 7, ad an. 1520.

⁹⁹⁵ Weim. VIII, 143, 172, ad an. 1521.

⁹⁹⁶ Enders V, 226.

will finally go or stay. Therefore I advise you to do the same. You should be sorry if they did not get vexed with you, otherwise it were a sign that you lived to please the enemies of the Gospel. But that they are vexed ought to make you laugh and be cheerful, since you know that it pleases God."⁹⁹⁷ Such was the quality of Luther's frame of mind. All clear, quiet thinking must have been lacking there. It was about the disposition of those of whom the Saviour foretold that they would think they did a service to God, if they killed His apostles (John 16, 2).

B. LUTHER'S LINE OF ACTION TO MOVE RELIGIOUS TO APOSTATIZE.

In his warfare against the orders (especially the Franciscan and the Dominican), Luther desired to deal a blow to the Papacy. He knew well that precisely the orders, especially the mendicant, and among them again the Franciscans and the Dominicans, are the most powerful auxiliary forces of the Church, as Luther himself confesses.⁹⁹⁸ To hit the Church most effectively, he had to make an end of the orders. This could succeed only if, on the one side, the religious could be brought to violate their vows and to abandon their monasteries and, if on the other hand, they could be made hateful to the people, who clung more to the religious, especially the mendicants, than to the pastoral clergy.

⁹⁹⁷ De Wette III, 84; also Enders V, 303 sq. Luther manifested the same disposition when his dispensation for the bigamic marriage of Philip of Hessen became public. "With the most beaming countenance and not without strong laughter," he spoke of the matter in a smutty manner, and made merry over the foreseen uproar of the "Papists," concluding thus: "I would not show the devil and all the Papists so great a favor as to be bothered about it. *God will make it all right.*" "Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung." No. 241.

⁹⁹⁸ In the "Tischreden" (Tabletalk), ed. Förstemann, III, 286, he says: "The Augustinians and the Bernardine monks were nothing against these shameful lice." P. 288: "Among all the monks the Preachers and the Minorites or Barefooters were the most distinguished and the most powerful aids and representatives of the Pope. The *dominicastris* * * * are the most famed and glorious Atlantes and bearers of the Pope. They were glad to hunt honor in the shame of others, when they scorned the people; could not tolerate learned folk, they wanted to be so alone." P. 290, he is of the opinion that both these mendicant Orders had been the *columnae* of the Papacy. P. 289: "The monks had the common people in their hands." "The monasteries were the Pope's best fowling decoys."

"*Between Philip (Melanchthon) and myself,*" wrote Luther from the Wartburg to his friend Gerbel, as we already know,⁹⁹⁹ "there is a powerful *conspiracy* on against the vows of the religious, namely, to do away with and to nullify them. Oh, that criminal Antichrist with all his scabs! How through him Satan has made all the mysteries of Christian piety desolate! Greetings to your wife * * * Happy are you that, by honorable marriage, you have overcome that unclean celibacy, which, partly on account of constant sexual desire and partly *immundis fluxibus*, is to be condemned * * * *I hold marriage to be a paradise.*"¹⁰⁰⁰ Thus did he write as he was about to compose his treatise on the monastic vows, after at the same time acknowledging that in the Wartburg he "was exposed to a thousand devils" and that he came "frequently to fall".¹⁰⁰¹

Some months previous, before he had published his theses on the vows, Luther writes: "I also wish to set celibacy free, as the Gospel requires, but how to accomplish that I do not yet sufficiently know."¹⁰⁰² But if he was already convinced that the Gospel demanded the liberty of celibacy, how could he say that he did not yet know how to bring it about that celibacy might be set free? All he needed to do was to step forward with those words of the Gospel which in his opinion demanded the liberty of celibacy, and the thing was done. But therein lay the difficulty. Well did Luther know that the Gospel, the sacred Scripture, was not on his side. So he considered how he might get it on his side. This he did in the same wise as in the case of the utterances of Bernard, of the constitutions of his Order, of the teachings of the Church, namely, *by falsification and contradictions, by trickery and sophistries.*

On this head I need not in any particular manner waste further words. We find the evidences at every crook and turn. "Luther is ashamed of no lie," wrote the Dominican John Mensing of his time.¹⁰⁰³ He made no scruple of misleading priests and monks into dissimulation, into *restrictio men-*

⁹⁹⁹ See above, p. 43.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Enders, III, 241 of Nov. 1, 1521.

¹⁰⁰¹ Ibid., p. 240.

¹⁰⁰² Ibid., p. 219 of Aug. 15, 1521.

¹⁰⁰³ Vormeldunge der Unwahrheit Luther'scher Klage," etc., 1532, fol.

talīs in the worse sense of the word,¹⁰⁰⁴ and finally of expressly declaring a lie permissible.¹⁰⁰⁵ It is evident what one can expect of such a man and what one can think of him. He falsifies and distorts ideas, and then assails the caricature he has made, as Catholic doctrine. The reader finds enough instances of this above. Against all the testimony of antiquity, Luther does not shrink from the mendacious assertion that the vows lead away from Christ, that, according the Catholic teaching, they take the place of baptism, that they are contrary to faith and reason, and so on. His sophistically formulated premises, to attain their result, had to hold up the vows as made in an evil, unchristian manner, and as therefore to be broken.

That his representations of these matters involved him in contradictions he does not observe at all. Thus he once has it that Catholics were obliged to keep even foolishly made vows: "if you had vowed to kill a fly or to pick up a straw, you would have to keep your vow."¹⁰⁰⁶ Here he slyly poses as one who had never heard the Catholic teaching that a foolish vow is invalid, and that a vow must be "*de bono meliori*."¹⁰⁰⁷

Luther made use of sophistries, distortions, and lies in order to set hated celibacy free. This was the aim of the conspiracy upon which he entered with Melanchthon. He knew well that if he adhered to the truth he could not accomplish his purpose. But he also knew that a great part of the members of the orders had already fallen away from the idea of the religious life, were in the condition of the "uri," and ripe for their lapse. In this condition, as Luther says, "one forgets everything, law, nature, Scripture, books

¹⁰⁰⁴ See above, p. 95 sqq.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Above, p. 132. Other proofs in Paulus, "Litt. Beil zur Kölner Volksztg," 1904, No. 8. I am well aware that nowadays this no longer produces an impression upon many Protestant moralists. On this see Mausbach, "Die Kathol. Moral," etc., p. 65 sq. But this phenomenon proves to those of good will how deep it is possible to sink in moral consciousness under the influence of Luther's principles.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Weim. VIII, 638.

¹⁰⁰⁷ In Eccles. 5, 3, it had already been said: "an unfaithful and foolish promise displeaseth him." And Thomas Aquinas 2. 2, qu. 88, a. 2 ad 3 says: "Vota quae sunt de rebus vanis et inutilibus, sunt magis deridenda quam servanda."

of God and of His commandments: there is nothing there but constant striving after the satisfaction of evil desire."¹⁰⁰⁸ That was the state in which a great part of the religious were, and for them were Luther's arguments against the vows calculated.

"The world wishes to be cheated," he once wrote; "if one wants to catch many redbreasts and birds, one must put an owlet or an owl on the block or lime-twig; then there will be success."¹⁰⁰⁹ First Luther distorted the doctrine on the counsels and vows and their relation to the commandments. He did this in such wise as to make the vows appear to be contrary to faith. At the same time he aroused carnal lust in the dissolute monks, and especially the nuns, mirrored to them the impossibility of resistance, and the uselessness of prayer, which they had neglected anyhow, and deceived them with the thought that God could not even help them to be continent, since He had instituted marriage as a remedy against "impossibility." He represented the violation of the vows as a work pleasing to God, marriage as God's commandment.¹⁰¹⁰ His conclusion was: "It is wholly and completely evident that your vows are null, not permitted, godless, running counter to the Gospel. Therefore one may not even debate whether you took them with a devout or with a godless intention, since it is certain that you vowed godless things. Consequently you must put your trust in the Gospel, abandon your vows, and turn back to Christian liberty."¹⁰¹¹ Those who were ripe for their fall heard this gladly. This was the "owlet" which the ungodly, conscienceless apostate had "set upon the block and upon the lime-twig"; religious who were already worm-eaten, who knew no logic but that of the flesh, and those nuns who could not say with the good that they had grown too strong for the wicked enemy,¹⁰¹² then "fell in heaps and with all their might from their Christian

¹⁰⁰⁸ See above, p. 87.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Erl. 25, 237.

¹⁰¹⁰ On this see the entire sixth chapter.

¹⁰¹¹ At the close of his treatise on the monastic vows, Weim. VIII, 668.

¹⁰¹² In the ms. of the sermon "Audi filia," presently to be cited, this saying is several times applied to the faithful nuns.

faith upon the devil's block and lime-twig."¹⁰¹³ Luther achieved this desired result the more certainly because many religious as well as particularly a great part of the secular clergy, were then living their lives in great ignorance. "I had then in all my days (when Wicel apostatized to Luther) never seen, to say nothing of reading, an instructor of the Church, on which account I was easily to be misled," writes Wicel; "besides, the German proverb may here be true: *It is easy piping to him who loves to dance.*"¹⁰¹⁴

A Protestant head-master recently wrote in this connection: "To what a sad pass monastic discipline had come, how little the monastic life was capable of affording true satisfaction and peace of soul, we know best from the exceedingly rapid decline of the monasteries in the regions which were caught up by the Wittenberg reform movement."¹⁰¹⁵ What a perversion and confusion of ideas dominates those heads! It might have passed, had this savant said, to what a sad pass the spiritual condition of some and the religious discipline of many a monastery had come, we know from the fact that they so soon permitted themselves to be convinced by Luther's frivolous and mendacious words. But when he also alleges as an explanation of the rapid decline of the monasteries, "how little the monastic life was capable of affording true satisfaction and peace of soul," he only proves his incapability of thinking, for it is not malice, as it is in Luther, who does the same thing. He identifies the religious state with the evil religious exactly in the same manner as if one were to identify an adulterer with the married state. Just as the Christian religion is not at fault if one who hypocritically feigns religion wallows in vice, as

¹⁰¹³ Erl. 25, 237. The above sense is more correct than that which Luther himself gives to his comparison.

¹⁰¹⁴ In Räss, "Convertitenbilder," I, 168. The meaning is: "It is easy to persuade one to do a thing, when he has a mind to do it." See E. Thiele, "Luthers Sprichwörtersammlung", No. 108, p. 124. Thus does Wolfgang Mayer also say: "Quomodo post se tantam apostatarum turbam traheret Lutherus, nisi placentia doceret?" Votorum monast. tutor (Cod. lat. Monac. 2886, fol. 67^b).

¹⁰¹⁵ J. H. Gebauer, "Zur Geschichte der letzten Mönche in der Mark," in "Ztschft. für Kirchengeschichte", 1901, Vol. XXI, p. 380.

St. Jerome writes,¹⁰¹⁶ so neither is the religious state to be blamed for the corruption of its members. Is true monastic life or the idea of the religious life one with and the same as apostasy from this idea? Is life, conformed to the duties of a state, one and identical with the life which runs into constant unfaithfulness and mistakes? That such is not the case is admitted by almost every Protestant, if the Catholic Church is not in question; but let her appear on the scene, and they straightway are minus a little wheel, and the greatest nonsense and contradiction seem to them to be apposite and reasonable. They were inoculated with this by the Father of the "Evangelical Reformation." Yet he spoke in a manner entirely different, before satanic hatred of the Church, whose ruin he had sworn, guided him.

Above¹⁰¹⁷ I have already quoted his words out of the year 1516, to the effect that religious could be the *happiest*, the most *blessed* (of people), if they wished, i.e., if they lived like true religious. According to even Luther's admission, therefore, the religious life was able to afford true satisfaction and peace of soul. As a true religious, one has but "to take upon one's self the sweet cross of Christ, obedience according to the rule, to follow His will and Him whom the heart desires, not like a cross that the thief on the left bore with murmuring, but like the one which St. Andrew received * * * The mouth of truth promised you it will be light and joyous, when He spoke: 'my yoke is sweet and my burden light, and you shall find rest to your souls.' *Believe those who have experienced it. If there is a paradise in this world, it is either in the cloister or in studying.*"¹⁰¹⁸ Such also was once the judgment of Luther, when he still grasped the idea of the religious life; but now he held *marriage* to be *paradise*, as we saw above,¹⁰¹⁹ i.e., the giving up of the monas-

¹⁰¹⁶ Ep. 125, n. 6: "Nec haec culpa est Christiani nominis, si simulator religionis in vitio sit."

¹⁰¹⁷ P. 38.

¹⁰¹⁸ Sermon "*Audi filia*" to the Dominican nuns of St. Catherine's monastery in Nürnberg, Fol. 104^b, ms. of the XIV century, which once belonged to that monastery and then came into the possession of the Seminary library of Mainz from the estate of F. Schlosser.

¹⁰¹⁹ See p. 335.

tic life by the violation of the vows and by wiving. For he was already mired. He had fallen away from the idea of the true religious. Through his own fault he now found everything that was once a pleasure to him burdensome, and he cast it off for the gratification of the lusts of the flesh.¹⁰²⁰ Luther knew his reading public. He knew how to arrange to catch them. He attained this in great part in Germany, among both the secular and the regular clergy, under the protest of the true clergy, secular and regular.

C. LUTHER'S TACTICS TO ESTRANGE THE PEOPLE FROM THE RELIGIOUS. MONKISH CAROUSING, HOLINESS, AND
"JUSTICE BY WORKS."

It was not enough for Luther's purpose to inveigle the religious. He had also to estrange the people from them. As I have already remarked, the people were very fond of the religious, especially the mendicants. This, as Luther often repeats, was on account of their alleged hypocritical sanctity, on account of their fasting, their coarse habiliments, their apparently secluded manner of life. This could not be permitted to remain so. There is nothing to be done without the people. If they were fond of the orders, they would also be fond of the Church, whose destruction Luther had sworn. It was therefore necessary to cause the Church to be

¹⁰²⁰ This was well expressed by the theologian William Gometius in Vienna in his rare treatise: "Apologia contra Martinum Lutherum," (1525), fol. B ij^b. After summarizing Luther's appeal to the religious in the words: "Papa nos in servitutis jugum submisit," he continues: "Ad hanc vocem monachos sub obedientiae vinculis clausos ac foeminas deo dicatas in claustris (quia experientia novit magnum eorum esse numerum, qui non voluntarie, sed inviti deo serviunt) eos allicere facile putat, ut sibi militent, et amarissimi toxici poculum sub hac mellis dulcedine vulgo nihil altius consideranti propinet * * * ut hac insana libertatis voce illecti innumerosus facinorosusque exercitus sub eius insanæ libertatis signis militet, quo optimos quosque expugnare facile possit, dicens illud Pauli: 'vos enim in libertatem vocati estis fratres' (Gal. 5, 13); sed sacrae scripturae corruptor subicit quod sequitur: 'tantum ne libertatem in occasionem detis carnis, sed per charitatem spiritus servite invicem.'" As a matter of fact Luther does omit the concluding sentence in his treatise on the monastic vows (Weim. VIII, 613, but unconsciously adduces it at the close of his entire book (ibid. p. 669)—*a sentence of condemnation of his treatise and its ensuing consequences.*

hated by the people. The means to this end varied according to circumstances.

At times Luther depicted the monks as *gormands, guzzlers, rakes, libertines, and idlers*. The ancient fathers "neither ate nor drank the livelong day, slept little, and went about like men suffering pain and denying the body everything, as much as nature could tolerate. One does not find much of such fasting now, *especially among our ecclesiastical monks and priests*. For the Carthusians, who aim to lead the strictest life,¹⁰²¹ do not do it, although for the sake of appearances they carry out a part of it by going about in haircloth; nevertheless *they gorge their bellies full of the best food and drink*, and live without care in the softest manner possible."¹⁰²²

"I may freely say that *I never saw any right fasting under the Papacy*, such as was truly called fasting. For what kind of fasting is that to me when at noon they prepare a meal with delicious fish, seasoned in the best manner, more copious and lordly than two or three other repasts, and the strongest drinks added thereto, with an hour or three at table and one's paunch filled till it rumbles! Yet that was general and of little moment *even among the strictest monks*." Naturally bishops and abbots went to greater excesses. "My dear Papists have now all become good Lutherans, so that not one of them any longer thinks of fasting."¹⁰²³ "Did not the monks sell the rest of their sanctity, there would be few of them left and the *lazy greedy bellies would get thin*."¹⁰²⁴ "The mad saints fast one day on bread and water, and then the fourth part of a year daily gorge and guzzle themselves full and foolish. Some also fast by not eating evenings, but they sate themselves with drink."¹⁰²⁵ "It is all pure deception when one breaks off a meal for show, but still daily well tickles the body otherwise * * * The Carthusians and our filthy rabble (monks and others) in their

¹⁰²¹ Thus he also says on Gal. c. 5, t. III, 43, ed. Irmischer: "quorum ordo rigidissimus est."

¹⁰²² Erl. 43, 199.

¹⁰²³ Ibid. p. 195 sq.

¹⁰²⁴ Erl. 31, 300.

¹⁰²⁵ Erl. 7, 45.

hair shirts and grey frocks are to cause open eyes and mouths, so that it will be said: 'O what holy people they are! How bitter and fearful it must be for them to go so ill and rudely clad!' *And yet evermore they gorge and guzzle their paunches full!*"¹⁰²⁶ Luther bluntly calls the monks, nuns, and priests, "belly-servers," "greedy guts."¹⁰²⁷ "Nasty sows are they altogether."¹⁰²⁸ In the Tabletalk the language is even worse.¹⁰²⁹

On such occasions Luther is most fond of dealing with the *abuses* in the orders. Who denies them? Who has ever denied them? There was no one who denied them before Luther's time. They were openly acknowledged, but opposed at the same time—opposed by the orders themselves. It was sought to do away with them, but not in a manner to empty the tub of bath and baby at once. That abuses do not make the things themselves evil, and that the latter are not to be done away with or to be disturbed on account of the former, Luther himself had repeatedly declared.¹⁰³⁰ If there was any state of life in Luther's day to be suppressed on account of its prevalent degeneration, it would have been, not the religious state, but the marriage state, which, as we saw in Chapter XIII, was profaned by the many adulteries in consequence of Luther's exceedingly lax morality, or rather his annihilation of all morality. There is no state of life that makes a pious man of him who is a rascal.

If, on account of abuses and the practice of some few, it had been necessary to do away with the thing itself, then, in Luther's day, all vineyards should have been rooted up, all breweries—and Luther was not averse to them—should have been torn down, for, according to his own admission, the demon peculiar to Germany at that time was called "a good wine pipe," or "Guzzle."¹⁰³¹ Nevertheless Luther did not plead for so radical a remedy.

¹⁰²⁶ Erl. 43, 200.

¹⁰²⁷ Erl. 44, 381.

¹⁰²⁸ Weim. XII, 135.

¹⁰²⁹ Ed. Förstemann, III, 299, 302; Lösche, "Analecta Lutherana et Melanthoniana" (1892), p. 203, n. 314.

¹⁰³⁰ See above, p. 72 sq.

¹⁰³¹ See above, p. 314.

If ever one should have kept silent about abuses in the orders, it was the father of the "Evangelical Reformation," whose adherents were first recruited from among those very priests, secular and regular, *who were the supporters of the abuses in the secular and regular priesthood*. Once Luther's setting forth the abuses in the Church proceeded from the endeavors which he in common with many of his contemporaries made to fight against degeneration for a better condition. Now, since 1520, their setting forth was solely *a means of agitation* with him, in order to make the hated Papists the object of universal mockery and to divert eyes from the far worse corruption, the boundless immorality, and the unchristian life of his own house.

"Under the pretext of religion," writes Luther, "one may not fly from political and household life, as the monks do, who *therefore* withdraw into monasteries that they may serve no one,—a blind generation of men given over to a perverted sense; *therefore they are not concerned about either the first or the second table* (of the laws). But they also receive the reward that is due to their godlessness. Avoiding all economic and political troubles, *they go down in most terrible and abominable vices*, more so, indeed, than any worldlings, as they call them."¹⁰³² Such, after 1520, especially after his apostasy, is the key-note of his calumnies. They properly begin with his treatise against the monastic vows and do not cease on his part until his death. It gave him no concern that he heaped lie upon lie. Now if some one or another entered the monastery on the grounds indicated by Luther, did all do it? Did this correspond with the idea of the religious life? Did not Luther in a better day turn against those who charged the faults and sins of a few to all in the same state of life?¹⁰³³ It gave him no concern that he laid at the door of the religious something that was not included in his "system," namely, they did not fulfil the commandments of God. The contradiction is quite characteristic of Luther.

¹⁰³² Opp. exeg. lat., V. 172, for the year 1538-1539.

¹⁰³³ See above, p. 213.

Luther quite consciously set forth the "most terrible and the most abominable vices of the religious." To him and his, these were an excellent *means of agitation*, to incite all against the orders. Luther did this even in his treatise on the monastic vows. "Nowhere is chastity less observed," he writes there, "than by those who have vowed chastity. Almost everything is stained *vel immundis fluxibus vel perpetua ustione et flamma inquieta libidinis*."¹⁰³⁴ Twenty years later he repeats this. He calls the Catholic celibates "*genus hominum perditissimum libidinibus, scortationibus et adulteriis, qui dies noctesque tantum ludos suos venereos somniant ac imaginantur, quid ipsi facturi essent, si talis licentia (ut patriarchis) concederetur, ut singulis noctibus conjuges permutare possent, et cum eis ludere secundum flammam et ardorem carnis, sicut cum scortis suis ludent*."¹⁰³⁵—"a class of men most abandoned to libidinousness, whorishness, and adultery, who day and night only dream of their lustful diversions, and imagine what they would do, if such privilege were granted to them (as to the patriarchs), so that they could exchange consorts every night, and could sport with them according to the flames and ardor of the flesh, as they sport with their whores.") But how does this immaculate reformer know what the countless celibates represent to themselves, dream, and think at night? In 1521, he still held to the truth of St. Paul's dictum and even applied it to his own ignorance of the interior life of the religious: "For what man knoweth the things of a man, but the spirit of a man that is in him?"¹⁰³⁶ The father of the "Evangelical Reformation," therefore, could write down the above horrible words and charges only *insofar as he identified himself with all*.¹⁰³⁷ Spite of this he wrote again in 1521: "Beware lest you believe they live chastely, *of whom it is certain they live godlessly; fattened by other's goods, they live on securely in idleness, satiety, and superabundance,*" etc.¹⁰³⁸ Similar state-

¹⁰³⁴ Weim. VIII, 649.

¹⁰³⁵ Opp. exeg. lat., VII, 277. Cf. above, p. 319 sq.

¹⁰³⁶ I. Cor. 2, II. Cf. above, p. 75.

¹⁰³⁷ That this impure dreaming by day and by night was a Lutheran sin we learn farther on from a Lutheran table of sins.

¹⁰³⁸ Weim. VIII, 650 * * * "quos constat impie vivere."

ments we have already learned to know above and it is not necessary to multiply them.¹⁰³⁹ They recur in Luther's writings in every possible variation.

How do these foul-mouthed fulminations accord with his utterances on monastic justification by works, much acclaimed by Luther, and on the strict life of the religious about which we shall presently hear him speak? On the latter point he does not stand alone either. A witness not less suspected, the apostate Franciscan, Eberlin von Günzberg, who makes out St. Francis of Assisi to be a "great harmful fool," an "archknave," a "trickster of the people," a "murderer of souls," was nevertheless inclined to give the *majority* of his former confreres of the Franciscan Observantines most splendid testimony with regard to their chaste and worthy conduct and their strict mode of living. Without seeking to do so, he, as an eye-witness and on the grounds of his own experience, gives the lie to Luther's accusations above in their universality.¹⁰⁴⁰ His testimony is not weakened by the fact of

¹⁰³⁹ See p. 101, sq., 123.

¹⁰⁴⁰ "Wider die falschscheynende gaystlichen, etc.," in J. Eberlin v. Günzberg, "Sämtliche Schriften," by Enders, III, 45. Eberlin writes two years (1523) after Luther's charges: "They pursue a chaste way in words, works, and behavior—I speak of the greater part; if *one in a hundred* does otherwise, it is no wonder; if one oversteps herein, he is severely punished, as a warning to others. The rough gray habit they have, the hempen girdle, their being without shoes, trousers and jacket, without furs, without linen shirts, to go without bathing, sleep in their clothing and not upon feather beds but upon straw in the monastery, to fast half the year, daily and long to sing and read in choir, etc., *this shows all men that they have little or no heed of the need of the body.* Simplicity of clothing and of adornment, great obedience, to take no degrees in high schools, even though they may possibly be learned, to travel rarely and inexpensively, this shows they are desirous of neither honor nor show. That they have nothing of their own either in general or in particular, take no money, touch none, *do not force the people to give tribute or levy*, but live solely on alms, which the people willingly bestow upon them, *shows a contempt of all the riches of the world.* And so the world wonders at these people, who foster *no lust of the body with women*, in eating and drinking—they fast much and do not everywhere eat meat—in soft clothing, in long sleeping, etc. They are heedless of honor, of temporal good, whereas all men strive after these things. Presently the world judges that these people are more than men and observes besides how these people, rich in virtue, preach and hear confessions, deter others from vice, exhort them to virtue, move them to fear hell, and God's judgment and to desire the kingdom of heaven; how they bear the name of God and the word of God much on their tongue, so that it seems they are wholly well

his nevertheless representing his brethren as seducers of souls; for, with Luther, he condemns all "justification by works" and sees in it apostasy from Christ. And the people, as he says, looked upon them with favor. By their worthy conduct they succeeded in gaining the whole world to themselves. "The crowd," says Luther in agreement with this, "always holds life more than doctrine;" and "there is no better misleading a man than by such semblant life."¹⁰⁴¹

At times, however, the same Luther blustered against the monks as those who truly deemed themselves self-justified and *holy by their works*, putting themselves above the people by holding faith in Christ a common thing and inferior to their works. In this respect Luther went so far that one might have believed there were monks in Luther's day, who, almost without exception, kept vigil and mortified themselves day and night, shortened their life by rigorous fasting, prayed diligently even though thoughtlessly, and spent the livelong day doing nothing but good works for the sole purpose of propitiating the stern Judge. As often as Luther speaks of the Papists' justification by works—and that is times without number—one gets this impression. I adduce only a few of the many illustrations.

"Christ¹⁰⁴² did not come that he might ruin body and soul. He is everywhere fain to help. There is no reason, then, why a Carthusian should fast and pray himself to death. Labor is well imposed upon the body, that it may not remain idle but may exercise itself; but the exercise should still be such that the body keep well in doing it. But whoever does harm to his body, as has happened in the case of many in the *cloisters* of the Papacy, *who have ruined themselves by altogether too much praying, fasting, singing, keeping vigils, chastising themselves, reading, and ill sleeping*, so that they had to die before their time, he is a murderer of himself. Therefore beware of these things as of a great mortal sin. * * * God is no murderer like the devil who busies

instructed in Holy Writ; how they also carry out in works and the course of their life what they teach in words, etc."

¹⁰⁴¹ Erl. 34, 241; Weim. XIV, 465.

¹⁰⁴² Erl. 2, 464, of the year 1533.

himself trying to get those *holy-by-works to fast, pray, and wake themselves to death.*" He counts himself among those devout and just monks of his day, "who were in earnest in the world, who let life become bitter, and who tormented themselves."¹⁰⁴³ According to Luther, he who chastises himself day and night is quite the monk. "It is pitiable that the monk, who does nothing else day and night but chastise his body, brings nothing else to pass by his pains save to be cast into hell."¹⁰⁴⁴ "In the inimical cloister life and ecclesiastical state, there are fasting, celebrating festivals, sleeping on hard beds, keeping vigils, observing silence, wearing harsh clothing, being tonsured, kept locked in, and living without marriage, none of which was commanded by God."¹⁰⁴⁵ Thus we turn from the Divine will to our cursed will and invented works, "put gray frocks on, sleep in monasteries, let our pates be tonsured like fools, torture our bodies with fasting, and of the like false show we do much without God's commandment."¹⁰⁴⁶ "Before this time, in the Papacy, we mortified our bodies with fasting and corporal chastisements."¹⁰⁴⁷ And the monks did this, not a year or two, but twenty, thirty, and even forty years.¹⁰⁴⁸ It is particularly the Carthusians who are truly murderers, whose cloisters are dens of murder. Luther himself tells about one such murderer, whom he knew in Erfurt.¹⁰⁴⁹ Their abstinence killed many, who would have been saved from death by a broth, a piece of meat, and cleaner dress.¹⁰⁵⁰ "A Carthusian in the agony of death dared not eat a spoonful of chicken-soup, even if the doctor recommended it."¹⁰⁵¹ "He wears a hair shirt, keeps early hours, rises at night, chants five hours, fasts, and eats no meat."¹⁰⁵²

¹⁰⁴³ Erl. 48, 317.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Opp. exeg. lat. XVIII, 124: "Miserabile est quod monachus, qui noctu diuque aliud nihil agit quam ut affligat corpus, aliud hac diligentia non efficit, quam ut subiciatur gehennae."

¹⁰⁴⁵ Weim. XXIII, 593.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Weim. XX, 517.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Opp. exeg. lat. VII, 72.

¹⁰⁴⁸ In Gal. c. 3, ed. Irmischer, II, 55.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Erl. 25, 339. Cf. 7, 44.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Opp. exeg. lat. XI, 123.

¹⁰⁵¹ Erl. 19 (2 ed.), p. 420.

¹⁰⁵² Erl. 19 (1 ed.), p. 353, 354.

All these monthly outpourings, which could be multiplied by many more, served Luther's conclusion that this penitential life of the monks pertains to the devil, for by it the monks thought to receive forgiveness of their sins and to become just before God. "To fast every day and to eat no meat, to keep torturing my body—God will have regard for such strict spiritual life and will make me blessed," says Luther's Carthusian.¹⁰⁵³ "No Carthusian and barefooted monk, though he tortured and prayed himself to death, can say an Our Father that would be called good before God, or do a little good work. On the contrary, *the more he does and becomes anxious to do good works, the worse he succeeds.*"¹⁰⁵⁴ The monks generally, those "poorest of men, long chastised their bodies, according to the prescription of human ordinances, by vigils and fasting, and have no other gain than that they know not if their obedience is pleasing to God."¹⁰⁵⁵

From Luther's lips the people had already heard the calumny that the papistical doing of good works took place irrespective of Christ, that it aimed to effect salvation, attain to forgiveness of sin, and to merit heaven *without Christ*. Since therefore this doing of works was directed against the Saviour, Who anyhow had abrogated all law, there was no state of life that gave better occasion for Luther's blustering against Catholic holiness-by-works, as he called it, than the religious state with its laws. The more he piled up the "holy-by-works" in it, the more merry and urgent his blustering became. Consequently it did not abash him in the slightest degree *at such an opportunity* and for the purpose named, to depict *all*, or *most*, or *many* religious of his time who lived strictly according to their rule, as holy by works, and self-justified. On the contrary, that served him before the people for the conclusion: they *all*, because being deniers of Christ, belong to the devil. More than that, in order to condemn *all*, he made them *all* saints according to his own notion. The more universal he formulated the antecedent premise, the more universal, the more fearful and therefore the

¹⁰⁵³ Erl. 49, 45.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Erl. 43, 334.

¹⁰⁵⁵ In Gal. ed. Irmischer, II, 175 sq.

more cogent the consequence became. For him the holy one by works is precisely the monk that every one carries within himself, insofar as there is a question of good works.¹⁰⁵⁶

"The Carthusian wants to merit heaven with his gir-
dle."¹⁰⁵⁷ "All Benedictines, Carthusians, Barefooters, Preach-
ers, Augustinians, Carmelites, all monks and nuns are cer-
tainly lost and only the Christians are saved; St. John the
Baptist himself,¹⁰⁵⁸ who lived so strict a life in the wilder-
ness, cannot help those who are not Christians. It is the
name of Christ that He is the Redeemer, Who without merit
in us justifies and *condemns all our works* and presents us
with His. The Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans and
others lost this name, for they have, whereby they wish to be
saved, their rule and their vows." "With his strict life the
monk will be damned anyhow. Therefore, instead of his hair
shirt, he might better be wearing a silken coat, for his holy
devotion does not in any case do him any good."¹⁰⁶⁰ For this
reason the ancient "Lives of the Fathers" contain but "little
good." The work is nothing but "praise of the cloister and
is against *the article of justification*."¹⁰⁶¹ "The two things
cannot stand together, that I should remain a monk, and
nevertheless preach Christ. One must give way to the
other."¹⁰⁶² "*There can be no remaining together of Christ
and my work*: if the one stands, the other must go under
and be ruined."¹⁰⁶³ "We are called Christians because we
have Christ with all His merits, not because of our doing and
works, which may indeed make a holy Carthusian, Franciscan,
or an Augustinian monk, or an obedient man or a faster, but
cannot ever yield a Christian."¹⁰⁶⁴ "As little as Christ is not

¹⁰⁵⁶ Opp. exeg. lat. XVIII, 227: "Unusquisque nostrum gestat in sinu suo magnum monachum, hoc est, singuli vellemus tale opus, in quo possemus gloriari: ecce hoc feci, satisfeci hodie deo meo orando, benefaciendo, ero igitur animo magis otioso."

¹⁰⁵⁷ Erl. 19 (2 ed.), 418.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Erl. 10, 87.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Opp. exeg. lat., XXIII, 178.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Erl. 47, 315.

¹⁰⁶¹ "Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung," No. 467.

¹⁰⁶² Erl. 17, 141.

¹⁰⁶³ Erl. 14, 377.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 218 sq.

Christ, *a monk or a priest can just as little be a Christian*," he preached in 1522.¹⁰⁶⁵ Let it not be objected that chastity and continence are something good. By his Gal. 5, 20, (the *sects* also belouged to the works of the flesh), "Paul condemns all manners of living and all orders, *continency*, and the *seemingly honorable conduct and the holy life* of all Papists and of the sectarians," etc.¹⁰⁶⁶ No theologian in the Papacy, (it was asserted), understood that. Certainly not. For the Catholic theologian read from Gal. 5, 23, that Paul counts continency, chastity, and honorable conduct among the fruits of the spirit. He read in Gal. 5, 23, that those who are of Christ crucified their flesh together with their vices and concupiscences, whereas in Luther and Lutheranism he discovered just the contrary: violation of the vows for the sake of the satisfaction of carnal lust.

They preach against the true doctrine: "If you wish to be saved, enter this or that state of life or order, do this or that work. They thus draw people from faith to works, yet at the same time utter the words: 'Christ is the Lord,' at bottom, however, they deny Him, for they say not a word about His forgiving sins and redeeming from death and hell by grace alone, but speak in this wise: through this Order, by such a work must one do penance for sin, make satisfaction, and attain grace. Which is just as much as though you said: Christ did not do it, is not the Saviour; His passion and death can do no good. For, if your work is to do it, He cannot do it by His blood and death. One of the two things must always be futile."¹⁰⁶⁷ As many lies are here as there are sentences! With the Papists and monks, he writes again, their works alone were everything. "They trod the blood of Christ under foot, they deemed Him of the thieves, i.e., Christ is not enough with His blood, I will go a better

¹⁰⁶⁵ Erl. 12, 246.

¹⁰⁶⁶ In Gal., ed. Ermifcher, III, 47: "Certe nullus theologus in papatu intellexit, Paulum hoc loco domnare omnes cultus et religiones, *continentiam* et in spaciem *honestam conversationem et sanctam vitam* omnium papistarum et sectoriorum."

¹⁰⁶⁷ Erl. 14, 377. Cf. also 43, 75 sq. Opp. exeg. lat. XXIII, 44 sq. Justification was also attributed to the cowl. See above, p. 168 sq. and Opp. exeg. lat., loc. cit. p. 10; Erl. 25, 337 sq., etc.

way."¹⁰⁶⁸ Nobody said: 'if you have sinned, believe in Christ'; but we were simply thrown upon our works."¹⁰⁶⁹ "The religious do not even know that when they give their names to Francis or Dominic, they depart from God and violate their baptismal covenant, otherwise they would do penance."¹⁰⁷⁰ If in the end Francis and Dominic did not therefore hold to Christ and if they did not doubt their own holy life, "I would not willingly go to the heaven to which they went."¹⁰⁷¹ Getting into the same heaven in which Francis and Dominic are, or whether they and those good religious who, to their last breath, were true to God in the fulfilment of the duties of their order, got to heaven, ought not to have occasioned any anxiety to this "most iniquitous of bipeds," as the grave and famous jurist, U. Zasius, called Luther.¹⁰⁷² In *that heaven* there was no place for Luther and his apostate religious, if they, in their last hour, did not condemn their abominable errors and life.

The reader will realize the magnitude of the charges and calumnies vented against the religious by Luther above only in the next section, when he recognizes and realizes Luther's relation to the doctrine of good works, and that Luther intentionally passes over in silence the ground of all good works and of every possible deserving, namely, Jesus Christ, His blood, and His merits.

D. CALUMNY OF LUTHER IN RESPECT TO THE "MONASTIC FORM OF ABSOLUTION."

There is one thing connected with all the foregoing, namely, how Luther imposed upon the people, in a hair-raising manner, when he came forth with the *form of absolution* alleged to be used among the monks, merely to prove that the monks sought to be absolved from their sins on the ground of their own works. In his second commentary on Galatians,

¹⁰⁶⁸ Weim. XX, 670, 15.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Ibid. 670, 9.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Opp. exeg. lat., XXIV, 184 sq.

¹⁰⁷¹ Eri. 45, 356.

¹⁰⁷² "Omnium bipedum nequissimus," in J. A. Riegger, "U. Zasii Epistolae," Ulmae, 1774, p. 79. Cicero applies the expression to Regulus.

he gives one section the title: "*The form of monastic absolution. God spare thee, brother.*" Then he adduces this alleged form of absolution,¹⁰⁷³ which, however, is *not* a form of absolution, but a *wholly unessential appendage*, and, as I shall presently set forth, has nothing to do with absolution, but with satisfaction. *The one sole form of absolution* in use in the whole Church *was passed over in silence* by Luther.

In one of his sermons, 1540, he ascribes this form of absolution to the "barefooted shavelings"; "for their absolution runs, (as one may still transcribe it from their letters which, in their confraternity, they sold the people): 'May the merit of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Blessed Virgin, and of all the saints, the merit of this hard and severe Order, the humility of your confession, your sorrow of heart and all the good works you have done or will do, redound to the forgiveness of your sins and to life everlasting,' etc. This is nothing but idle, abominable blasphemy of Christ and a perversion of the right absolution; for, although they are mindful of His passion, they are not in earnest about it, do not hold it good and powerful enough *for the forgiveness of sin*, but must have in addition, and make equal to Christ's, the merit of Mary and of all the saints and most of all of their own Order and monkery."¹⁰⁷⁴

¹⁰⁷³ In Gal. I, 225 f.: "Formula absolutionis monasticae. Parcat tibi deus, frater. — Meritum passionis domini nostri Jesus Christi, et beatae Mariae semper virginis, et omnium sanctorum, meritum ordinis, gravamen religionis, humilitas confessionis, contritio cordis, bona opera, quae fecisti et facies pro amore domini nostri Jesu Christi, cedant tibi in remissionem peccatorum tuorum, in augmentum meriti et gratiae et in praemium vitae aeternae.' Hic audis quidem meritum Christi, sed si diligentius verba expenderis, intelliges Christum plane otiosum esse et ei detrahi gloriam et nomen iustificatoris et salvatoris, et tribui monasticis operibus. Num hoc non est nomen dei in vanum sumere? Num hoc non est Christum verbis fateri, vim autem eius abnegare et blasphemare? Ego in eodem luto haestavi, putabam Christum esse iudicem (esti ore fatebar eum passum et mortuum pro redemptione generis humani) placandum observatione regulae meae. Ideo cum orabam aut celebrabam missam, solitus eram semper adiacere in fine: Domine Jesu ad te venio, et oro, ut gravamina ordinis mei sint compensatio pro peccatis meis. Nunc vero gratias ago patri misericordiarum, qui me e tenebris vocavit ad lucem evangelii et donavit me uberrima cognitione Christi Jesu domini mei etc. * * * non habens meam iustitiam ex regula Augustini, sed eam, quae est per fidem Christi."

¹⁰⁷⁴ Erl. II, 361 sq.

Now how does the true absolution run? Luther continues: "If the absolution is to be right and potent, it must proceed from the mandate of Christ, running to this effect: '*I absolve you from your sins,*' not in my name nor in that of some saint nor on account of any human deserving, but in the name of Christ and in virtue of the command of Him who commanded me to say to you that your sins should be forgiven you," etc. *Christ Himself absolves* by the mouth of the priest.

But whence did Luther borrow the correct form of absolution, namely: "I absolve you from your sins," (ego absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis)? *From no other than the Church*, indirectly from his Order; for the essential form of absolution, *everywhere* the same and usual, ran, after the pronounced invocation (Misereatur and Indulgentiam): "*The Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, absolve thee by His gracious mercy, and in virtue of His authority I absolve thee from all thy sins,* (that thou mayest be absolved here and before the judgment seat of Christ, and mayest have everlasting life, and mayest live for ever and ever), *in the name of the Father,*" etc. Thus was it also in use among the secular clergy, and so did the theologians teach before him.¹⁰⁷⁵ It is impossible to point out a single ecclesiastical

¹⁰⁷⁵ In the "Agenda Moguntin.," so important for Germany and giving it its standard, there is, e.g., of the year 1513, fol. 27, the "Modus absolvendi, quem tenere debent curati circa confessos," as follows: "Misereatur tui omnipotens deus, dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, custodiat te ab omni malo, conservet te in omni bono, perducatur te in vitam eternam. Amen. Oremus: Indulgentiam et remissionem peccatorum tuorum tribuat tibi pius pater et misericors dominus. Amen. (Deinde imponat sibi penitentiam pro qualitate peccatorum et conditione persone salutarem; qua imposita et a confitente suscepta absolvat eum, primo ab excommunicatione minori, deinde a peccatis ita dicendo): *Dominus noster Jesus Christus per suam magnam misericordiam dignetur te absolvere et ego auctoritate ipsius qua ego fungor (sequitur forma, quam dicat cum intentione absolvendi) absolvo te a vinculo excommunicationis minoris, si ligaris, et absolvo te a peccatis tuis.* In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen." Hence, as so often, without any additions. Quite the same form is prescribed fol. 28^b, for the absolution of the sick or dying. In the *Praenotamenta*, the *forma*, the essential words of the absolution are given: "Ego absolvo te a peccatis in nomine Patris, etc." To say nothing of other rituals, the "monkish" doctors are all in accord with the above. St. Bonaventure says, 4 Sent., dist. 17, parte 2, dub. 5: "Sacerdos primo absolutionem dat per modum deprecativum, dicens: 'Indul-

form of absolution for absolving from sin in the confessional, in which mention is made of the works of one's self or of others. Everywhere we find only this: *Ego absolvo te a peccatis tuis*—I absolve thee, in the virtue of the authority of Jesus Christ, not on the ground of works.¹⁰⁷⁶ *Never and nowhere, in absolution, is there mention made of works, whether up to Luther's time or to our own day.* Gerson, for instance, knows no other form of absolution than *Ego absolvo te a peccatis tuis, etc.*¹⁰⁷⁷ The practical handbooks, like Nider's *Manuale Confessorum*,¹⁰⁷⁸ the Spanish Bishop Andrew de Escobar's *Modus Confitendi*,¹⁰⁷⁹ the discalced Angelus de Clavasio's *Summa Angelica*, most widespread of all in Luther's day¹⁰⁸⁰ and the *Summa Caietana*,¹⁰⁸¹ etc., know no other form of absolution. Even on the sick-bed or in the hour of death, though after a long life rounded out with good works and led in faithful fulfilment of the rule of the Order, the sick or

gentiam tribuat, etc.,' et post: 'Et ego absolvo te.' Nothing else is added! St. Thomas, 3 qu. 84, a. 3 (and like him the rest) knows no other form of absolution than: "Ego te absolvo," etc.; it is not enough merely to say: "Misereatur * * * Indulgentiam." * * * Ibid ad 1. He treats the subject extensively in Opusc. 22, "De forma absolutionis," where, in chapter 2, he cites at the same time the common view of the Parisian professors on the essential words of the form of absolution, viz. "Ego te absolvo." Eugene IV again declared the form of absolution (Concilia, ed. Coleti XVIII, 450).

¹⁰⁷⁶ See also the form of absolution in Martène, "De antiquis eccl. ritibus, lib. 1, c. VI, a. 6 (Antverpiæ 1763, t. I, p. 272): "et ego te absolvo auctoritate Domini nostri Jesu Christi et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et officii mihi commissi ab iis peccatis, quae confessus es et aliis oblitis."

¹⁰⁷⁷ De decem praeceptis, in Opp. omn. (Antverpiæ 1706), I. 447.

¹⁰⁷⁸ S. I. et a., 2^a pars, c. 9: "Est igitur forma absolutionis pro peccatis, presupposita intentione bona, sufficiens in omni casu ista: '*Dominus noster Jesus Christus te absolvat*, et ego te absolvo a peccatis tuis in nomine Patris'." The copy which I used is in the Dominican library of Vienna and was corrected as early as 1476 by Michael v. Brunn. Nider in his "Tractatus de morali lepra" (s. I et a.), c. 12, cites the same form of absolution.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Nurnberge 1513, Fol. after A liij: "auctoritate Dom. n. Jesu Ch. absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis mortalibus, criminalibus et venialibus mihi confessis. Absolvo etiam te ab omnibus aliis peccatis oblitis, confessis et non confessis, commissis et obmissis ac neglectis, quantum possum et debeo in virtute passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et in nomine Patris," etc.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Argentine 1502, fol. 49, under "Confessio," v: "Ego te absolvo."

¹⁰⁸¹ Written by Cardinal Cajetan in 1523, printed at Rome 1525. On absolution (see *Absolutio*) he says: "Consistit, ut in Concilio Florent. sub Eugenio IV, legitur, in his verbis: 'Ego te absolve.'"

dying religious, on the priest's absolving him before giving him the Viaticum, heard nothing of his good works. Absolution was given to him under a sole appeal to Jesus Christ. Such was the practice among the monks. The same prevailed among Luther's brethren, the Augustinian Hermits.¹⁰⁸² The latter had also a solemn, long *Formula absolutionis plenarie* for the dying, to impart at the same time a plenary indulgence; but neither in the absolution from excommunication, suspension, interdict, and from sins, nor in the form with a view to imparting the indulgence is there even a syllable of mention of good works, although, in respect to the indulgence, mention is made of the privileges thus granted to the Order by Popes Gregory XI, Martin V, and Eugene IV.¹⁰⁸³ As was remarked above, Luther himself retained the Catholic or monastic form of absolution: "As parson, *I by His (God's) command, absolve from all sins* all who are now present and hear God's word and with right sorrow for their

¹⁰⁸² With respect to the Benedictine monks, be it enough to refer to their breviary and the Bible in the diocese of Genua Ms. Urbin. lat., n° 597, fol. 853, — XIV century); to the Breviarium O. S. B. de novo in Monte Pannonie S. Martini ex rubrica patrum Mellicens. summa diligentia extractum (Venetiis * * * Ant. de Giuntis * * * expensis * * * Joannis Pap librarrii Budens. 1506), fol. 485^b. With respect to the Hermits, I turn to their breviary in Cod. Vat. lat., no. 3515, fol. 422, of the end of the XV century. The form everywhere runs: "Dominus Jesus Christus, qui dixit discipulis suis: 'quecunque ligaveritis super terram, erunt ligata et in celo, et quecunque solveritis super terram, erunt soluta et in celo,' de quorum numero quamvis indignos nos esse voluit: Ipse te absolvat per ministerium nostrum ab omnibus peccatis tuis, quecunque cogitatione, locutione, operatione, negligenter egisti, et a nexibus peccatorum absolutum perducere dignetur ad regna celorum, Qui cum patre et spiritu sancto vivit et regnat deus per omnia secula seculorum. Amen." Then the Viaticum was given. The "absolutio generalis in articulo mortis" of Pope Gregory XI is well known. It reads: "Dominus noster Jesus Christus per suam piissimam misericordiam et per meritum sue dignissime passionis te absolvat, et ego auctoritate dei * * * absolvo te ab omnibus peccatis tuis," etc. Urbin. l. c. fol. 857.

¹⁰⁸³ The form begins: "Auctoritate dei et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli et sancte Romane ecclesie, et auctoritate mihi concessa te absolvo a sententia excommunicationis," etc. The part concerning sin: "Et auctoritate sacro ordinis indulta et mihi commissa te absolvo ab omnibus peccatis tuis contritis, confessis et oblitis, quorum memoriam non habes et que pretextu istius indulgentie non commisisti." (Speaking incidentally, this clause is extremely interesting and to be held up to those who say that indulgences have but the more disposed people to commit sin.) Then follows the imparting of the plenary indulgence, which, however, does not belong here but elsewhere. See the above mentioned breviary of the Augustinian Hermits, fol. 434^b.

sins believe in our Lord Jesus Christ, *in the name of the Father,*" etc.¹⁰⁸⁴

But what is the case with regard to the "monastic form of absolution" mentioned by Luther? The father of the "Evangelical Reformation" slyly gave out, as the form of absolution, a wholly *unessential* appendage which has *nothing* to do with *absolution*. I say "slyly," for merely as an Augustinian Hermit, to say nothing of a "finished theologian," he must have known: 1, both that this appendage had not been introduced at all in many places and that it was not generally prescribed, but was used at the discretion of individual confessors; so true was this, that no fixed form of it was in existence; 2, that this appendage was not *monastic*, but came to be applied likewise by secular priests, *mutatis mutandis* of course; 3, and this is the chief point, that it was not used in absolution from sins, but with reference to satisfaction, complementing the penance enjoined upon the penitent, as even St. Thomas in his day and all the rest with him teach.¹⁰⁸⁵ In some regions this was quite expressly mentioned.¹⁰⁸⁶ With what words, then, shall the fraud and the

¹⁰⁸⁴ De Wette, VI, 245, for the year 1540. Even in the Little Catechism, he already had prescribed the form: "By the mandate of our Lord Jesus Christ, I forgive thee thy sins, in the name of the Father, etc." Erl. 21, 19.

¹⁰⁸⁵ He writes in Quol. III, q. 13, a1: (Utrum satisfactio universaliter iniuncta a sacerdote sit sacramentalis): "Sacerdos iniungat poenitenti aliquid, quod poenitens tolerabiliter ferat, ex cuius impletione assuefiat, ut maiora impleat, quae etiam sacerdos ibi iniungere non attentasset. Et haec, quae praeter iniunctionem expressam (poenitens) facit, accipiunt maiorem vim expiationis culpa praeteritae *ex illa generali iniunctione*, qua sacerdos dicit: 'Quidquid boni feceris, sit tibi in remissionem peccatorum.' Unde *laudabiliter consuevit hoc a multis sacerdotibus dici*, licet non habeat maiorem vim ad praebendum remedium contra culpam futuram. Et quantum ad hoc talis satisfactio est sacramentalis, inquantum virtute clavium est culpa commissae expiatiua." So does Nider also say: Manuale confessorum, l. c.: "Ultimo *potest* (confessor) addere sic: 'Meritum domini nostri Jesu Christi,' etc., quia ex ista additione, dicunt doctores, quod omnia in tali additione inclusa maiorem efficaciam habebunt satisfaciendi pro peccatis," etc. The Franciscan "Summa Angelica" is based on Thomas. Cajetan finds it becoming to use the appendage.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Thus, e. g. Andreas von Escobar, loc. cit., writes: "Ipsa passio domini nostri Jesu Christi, et merita omnium sanctorum, et passiones sanctorum martyrum * * * et opera misericordiae quae fecisti et facis * * * totum tibi confero *in satisfactionem* huius penitentiae tibi per me iniuncte et ad profectum et auxilium remissionis omnium peccatorum tuorum," etc.

falsification of the father of the "Evangelical Reformation" be branded? What he charged upon the Papists, in respect to the "monastic form of absolution," only falls back *upon himself*: "They do such, not of the Holy Ghost, but of their own spirit, the devil, who is the father and founder of such mendacious teaching."¹⁰⁸⁷

To make the Church and her monasticism the victim of contempt, no means was too evil for Luther. With his trumped up antecedent, there was the consequent in agreement, that the monks and Papists stood only upon their works. For the sake of this result he does not shrink from putting himself the monk down as the greatest ignoramus, when he says he then believed Christ a Judge, Who was to be propitiated by observance of the rule, for which reason it was his wont at the end of his prayers or after celebrating mass to add: "Lord Jesus, I beseech thee that the severities of my Order may be a compensation for and a countervail of my sins."¹⁰⁸⁸ But this subject is remitted to the next section, where we desire to set forth the doctrine on good works.

But what is to be said of the "old master" of Protestant Luther biographers, J. Köstlin, who takes his Father at his word and believes him when he writes: "Luther has preserved for us a formula of absolution in use among the monks!" After giving this form in a German translation, he adds the comment: "Thus expressly and emphatically was the forgiveness, which should be based upon the atonement by Christ, made dependent at once upon the worthiness and the works of the sinner begging to be forgiven."¹⁰⁸⁹ Indeed? Instead of working scientifically and without bias to control Luther's statements, Köstlin takes every one of his deceptions as pure truth! There was nothing too preposterous for the Protestant theologians to repeat after the father of the "Evangelical Reformation," when it is against the Catholic Church. No calumny can be crass enough but they accept it, repeat it, and with it nourish their "faithful."

¹⁰⁸⁷ Erl. 77, 362.

¹⁰⁸⁸ See above, p. 352, note Luther's conclusions from his deception in respect to the form of absolution.

¹⁰⁸⁹ "Martin Luther," 3 ed. I, 73; 5 ed. by Kawerau, I, 64.

E. THE BIG ROGUE CONDEMNS THE LITTLE ONE. LUTHER'S DETESTABLE DEVICES.

As we have seen, Luther at times attacked the life of religious and priests on that point in respect to which he and his rabble were themselves in the worst possible pass. He knew well that his wiving and that of the apostate priests and religious were no marriage either before the people or before the Divine law, but only a continued concubinage.¹⁰⁹⁰ He himself calls the temporal going over of such to their wiving "a little hour of shame," the years of honor following only afterwards.¹⁰⁹¹ But it was certainly no shame to enter upon *true* legitimate marriage. He knew how his followers lived and that, for the most part, they had gone over to him only for the sake of carnal liberty. He foresaw that at least "many" of the fallen-away monks would cause "a great stink."¹⁰⁹²

In truth, who were those who had apostatized from their orders to Luther? By those who were left, who knew them well by years of association with them, they were called the rabble, the chaff;¹⁰⁹³ they were knaves in the sense of whore-mongers, of whom the Dominican, Johann Mensing, gives judgment: "Alas, knaves are knaves, in whatever state of life, profession, or order they may be. And we hope that, where hitherto they have been in the Papacy, they will nearly all have escaped and run over to Luther. Would to God, Who perhaps will clean up His threshing-floor and separate the wheat from the chaff, that he (Luther) now had them all, who wish to do no good among us! For it is manifest that no one (not gulled out of simplicity) takes refuge in the Lutheran sect to become more pious and of better mind, but that he may live free and unpunished and without reserve do all that he pleases."¹⁰⁹⁴

¹⁰⁹⁰ See brief account in my "Luther in rationalistischer und christlicher Beleuchtung," p. 84.

¹⁰⁹¹ See above, p. 7.

¹⁰⁹² See above, p. 23.

¹⁰⁹³ See above, p. 10 and 169.

¹⁰⁹⁴ "Vormeldunge," etc., Fol. H 1j. In this respect the world always remains the same. He who has an eye to see will observe that it is precisely the same nowadays. There are proofs enough around us, in Berlin, too.

On this point, that the first religious to go over to Luther conducted themselves worse than formerly, there was only one voice.¹⁰⁹⁵ If Schwenckfeld describes them as a gang of mad, irrational fellows,¹⁰⁹⁶ who had been kept to the chain but were now let loose, Luther's own complaint, addressed to his friend, Mathesius, does not differ: "He was besieged by his own followers to urge a priests' tower at the Elector's, into which such wild and untamed folk could be clapped as into a prison. * * * All who had gone to the monasteries for the sake of good days and the care of their belly, had run away again for carnal liberty, and the minority of those he knew had left the monk of them behind in the cloister."¹⁰⁹⁷ Mathesius, the blind eulogist of Luther, had to bear witness to the truth by his admission that "many of our adherents give scandal by their shameless life and awkward teaching. For, delivered by the Gospel from the Pope's compulsion, they misused their Christian liberty, lived in immorality, set up brawl after brawl, did not study, gave themselves only to defaming and reviling, aspersed the authorities, and set upon only monks and nuns, which the common man gladly hears."¹⁰⁹⁸ That Luther was to blame for these conditions, that he was the one to give the tone in this profligate crowd, he suppressed.

That the apostates and himself became not a whit better than under the Papacy, the father of the "Evangelical Reformation," confessed forthwith in the beginning, one were almost obliged to say, (were it not Luther), naively. "The power of the Word," he wrote March 28, 1522, to his apostate confrere Lang, "is either still hidden or it is still too limited within us all, *at which I wonder greatly*. For we are still the same as before—hard, foolish, impatient, offenders, drunken, unbridled, quarrelsome. In brief that token and the excellent charity of Christians nowhere makes itself known, and the saying of St. Paul is verified: we have the Kingdom of

¹⁰⁹⁵ See above, p. 21.

¹⁰⁹⁶ See above, p. 22.

¹⁰⁹⁷ "Historien von des ehrw. in Gott seligen teuren Mannes Gottes Dr. Martin Luther," Nürnberg 1567, fol. 137. With this the saying of Luther quoted above, p. 23, from Enders III, 323, is in accord.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid. Fol. 136^b.

God in speech, not in power."¹⁰⁹⁹ In his own and all the others' excuse he falsifies the words of Scripture! St. Paul does not say: "We have the Kingdom of God in speech," but "the Kingdom of God is not in speech but in power."¹¹⁰⁰ These very words contain a condemnation of Luther and his fellows,¹¹⁰¹ who always had the word of God, the Gospel, on their lips, but contradicted it by their works.

It was easy to see, moreover, that, in the new society under Luther, conditions had to become worse than in and under the Papacy. The runaways from the cloisters and the secular priesthood, Luther's apostles, were just such as, in the Papacy, had brought discredit upon monastic life and the state of secular priests, especially on account of their unchaste life. Let us cite but one example, an example out of that congregation of the Order to which Luther himself belonged and which went into utter dissolution, so as, with the exception of a few of its members, to throw itself into his arms. The humanist, Johann Lang, who at first was prior of the Augustinian Hermits in Erfurt, then, from 1518, Luther's successor as District-vicar over eleven convents and consequently Visitor of the same, and who fell away to Luther in the beginning of 1522, said in a sermon of the year 1525: "If the Pope, the princes, the magistrates knew about monks and nuns only the tenth part of what I know, they would not rest from anxiety to free those that belonged to them from the cloisters."¹¹⁰² I observe incidentally that, by these words, this miserable wretch made himself guilty of a most shameful breach of confidence, which is not to be wondered at in those who violate their vows. "How do you know," answered his quondam confrere Usingen, who before

¹⁰⁹⁹ Enders, III, 323.

¹¹⁰⁰ 1 Cor. 4, 20. It is characteristic that Enders, with regard to Luther's adducing this passage, makes the comment (p. 324, note 5): "Of course ironical!" When the father of the Protestant Luther-researchers causes them any embarrassment, they excuse him by saying he spoke only in jest!

¹¹⁰¹ Particularly if the preceding verse 19 is included: "But I will come to you shortly * * * and will know, *not the speech of them that are puffed up*, but the power."

¹¹⁰² "Sermo in nuptiis Culsameri sacerdotis anno 1525, 2^a feria dominice qua legitur in ecclesia Evangelium: Nuptie facte sunt." This sermon is analyzed by Usingen in his work cited in the next note.

had helped him out of a pinch, "how do you know such things except because you were the shepherd and the visitor of Christ's sheep in our Order, whose frailty was manifested to you in good faith for the sake of betterment, but not for publicity and betrayal? As an evil shepherd, you, without incitation, speak of the sheep that were entrusted to you."¹¹⁰³ But that was precisely the character of Luther's apostles. To them no means was too evil to blacken the religious, or, like genuine Pharisees and according to the words of the earlier Luther, to pose as fragrant balsam.¹¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless Usingen uncovers the hypocrisy of Lang when he replies to his face: "But what think you would the Pope, princes and magistrates say, *if they knew what your brethren know of you?* They held their peace, however, as was becoming."¹¹⁰⁵

Still, Lang's breach of confidence is a revelation to us of the moral condition of his congregation, before they apostatized to Luther. This condition was confirmed by the chapter of the congregation at Grimma, June 8, 1522, under District-vicar Wenzel Link. One of its statutes runs: "Seeking our maintenance by the *sale* of masses, gathering alms by *imposture* and gossip, we set a higher value on our cheese than on our souls. *We live in drunkenness and idleness, without care of the Scriptures.*"¹¹⁰⁶ Luther writes in terms even worse how matters stood with regard to unchastity and drinking.¹¹⁰⁷ One thing is certain, that, just in Wittenberg, where Luther was the superior, *no monastic discipline prevailed.*¹¹⁰⁸ Now, did those subjects who apostatized to him from his Order become better afterwards? On the contrary, they were the first assaulters of altar and cloister at Luther's very headquarters, i. e., Wittenberg,¹¹⁰⁹ as is known to every-

¹¹⁰³ "Libellus, De falsis prophetis" * * * (Erphurdie 1525). Fol. K.

¹¹⁰⁴ See above, p. 214.

¹¹⁰⁵ "Libellus", loc. cit.

¹¹⁰⁶ In Reindell, "Doktor Wenzeslaus Link von Colditz," I, 282.

¹¹⁰⁷ As shown particularly in Lauterbach's "Tagebuch," p. 101; "Tischreden," III, 285 sqq., IV, 115; Cf. also Erl. 25, 133.

¹¹⁰⁸ See above, p. 35 sq.

¹¹⁰⁹ The first of Luther's religious associates in Wittenberg, who went over to him at the end of 1521, were veritable scoundrels. After their divinely marked one-eyed leader, Gabriel Zwilling, a wholly undisciplined religious (see above, p. 35), had in his sermons incited the people against the

body. We know the judgment passed upon them by the just cited chapter of the congregation at Grimma in 1522.¹¹¹⁰ We have also just heard the strictures laid upon them by Luther. For these firstlings of apostasy was meant the cry of indignation of the chapter held at Wittenberg in the very beginning of 1522, to the effect that a number used the word of God as a pretext for the harmful liberty of their carnal caprices.¹¹¹¹ This was confirmed by the Grimma chapter saying that many abused Christian liberty unto blasphemy of the name and Gospel of Christ.¹¹¹² But when the members of this chapter and the entire congregation likewise apostatized to Luther, they all became alike in conduct, the later ones as well as the earlier. The outcome was a concubine, whom they called their lawful wife.

In his letter of resignation to the Augustinian chapter of Wittenberg, Lang wrote that the priors of the monasteries were generally asses who did not know what faith was.¹¹¹³ But Lang himself had been prior at Erfurt and all those who

monasteries, particularly his own, he counseled that "when the monks were on the streets, one should pluck at and mock them, so that they will be caused to leave the monastery; and if, thus mocked, they are unwilling to leave, one should drive them out by force and so disrupt the buildings of the monasteries that one may not note if a fragment of a monastery (once) stood there." Thus complains the prior of the monastery to the Elector (Corp. Ref., I, 483 sq.). Thirteen of his religious had already apostatized. This "loose rabble," these "loose fellows" provoked and embittered the burghers and students against him and the other still faithful monks, "so that every hour we have to be in apprehension of peril to ourselves or to our monastery." The inmates of his convent and of that of the Franciscans realized that their fears were not in vain. Those loose knaves, with the one-eyed Zwilling at their head, were the very first ones to disturb divine service in order to hinder the masses, against which he had preached even in the monastery as an abomination. In the face of these street Arabs, the remark of Kolde ("Die deutsche Augustiner-Kongregation," p. 369) is most characteristic: "It may be viewed as a proof thereof that scruples of conscience and not fleshly inclination really urged (them) thereto, that it was the mass where they drove in the wedge!" I will assume that only Herr Kolde's simplicity was the inspiration of these words. But it was not simplicity when Luther praises his Wittenberg fellow-religious for being the first of all to do away with the "abuse of masses" (Weim. VIII, 411).

¹¹¹⁰ See above, p. 169.

¹¹¹¹ Reindell, loc. cit., p. 275.

¹¹¹² Ibid., p. 280.

¹¹¹³ Ibid., p. 273.

were "asses" fell away to Luther just as he himself did. There was an excellent understanding between them and Luther, and he as well as they gave proof of what spirit they are the children in the "new gospel." One of Lang's asses, Melchior Myritsch, was prior at Dresden. He became the Lutheran pastor in Magdeburg and on February 6, 1525, he took unto himself a wife. On February 10, Luther writes to Superintendent Amsdorf: "Greetings to the fat husband Melchior, to whom I wish an obedient wife, who seven times a day will lead him around the market-place, and who nightly will three times thoroughly deafen him with conjugal words, as he deserves."¹¹¹⁴ Luther's language is understood. We are acquainted with his profligacy. The passage quoted is not unworthy of what he wrote the same year to Spalatin, and is not reproducible in the vernacular.¹¹¹⁵ A subject in keeping with this was Myritsch, although not worse by a hair's breadth than the rest of his apostate confreres. In 1532, Johann Mensing writes in regard to him and his fellow apostate Jacob Propst, of Bremen, also celebrated by Luther: "Is it not a great blasphemy of God, when they ascribe their shameful carnal movements to God's grace and the Holy Ghost? And when they feel themselves inclined and moved to sin and shamelessness, they say the Holy Ghost urges them. Is not that fine talk for quite the whole world to be repeating after Melchior Myritsch of Magdeburg, Jacob Propst of Bremen, and others of their kind in Saxony? What a number of mothers came to find in their daughters and maid-servants, who heard such preaching, it is unnecessary to write."¹¹¹⁶ But the above blasphemy was after the mind of Luther, and, whatever order they belonged to, the most of the religious who apostatized to him¹¹¹⁷ kept it up in the same manner. Because it was *they* who did so, the scoundrel charged those who remained true to the Church with being

¹¹¹⁴ Enders, V, 124.

¹¹¹⁵ See above, p. 105.

¹¹¹⁶ "Vormeldunge der Unwahrheit Lutherscher clage," etc., Fol. K iij.

¹¹¹⁷ Cf. above, p. 115, notes.

"moved by the passions of swine"—"Pocorum passionibus exerceantur."¹¹¹⁸

As is evident, it was genuine good fortune for the Church to get rid of these unclean subjects and to have the atmosphere purified. But so much the more impure did it become within the domain of Lutheranism. For those unhappy apostates did not go over to Luther to do penance and in the future to bring themselves under subjection. On the contrary, it was just Luther's doctrine on the impossibility of resisting carnal lust that attracted them. Their longing centered on a free life and a wife! Those, especially the secular priests, who had already been living in immorality, (which Luther and his fellows had so often charged against them whilst they were still under the Papacy) went over to him, not to put away their concubines, but to be able to continue living with them with a conscience freed by Luther. Hence the great swarm of concubinaries who swelled Luther's society.¹¹¹⁹ They went over to Luther, as we heard Mensing

¹¹¹⁸ Opp. exeg. lat. V, 89. The same thing was done by Lang, who conducted himself like a knave. He praised the Lutherans with respect to marriage, and apparently with moral earnestness he preached, in 1525, that those who marry may not do so "explendae libidinis intuitu aut avaritiam sequendo, quibus ve annunciamus, nisi se emendaverint et resipuerint." Usingen replied to his apostate confrere, who since 1524 had been married to an old, barren, but very wealthy widow of a tanner named Mattern (Enders V, 258): "Si tibi libido non erat causa ducendi uxorem, cur non mansisti in coelibatu tuo, quem vovisti et jurasti? Si prolem quesivisti, cur vetulam et sterilem uxorem duxisti? Si etiam non es secutus avaritiam, cur opulentam accepisti? Recte ergo ve tibi annuncias, nisi resipueris et te emendaveris." De falsis prophetis, Fol. K iij. Cf. another passage in N. Paulus, "Usingen," p. 58.

¹¹¹⁹ Protestants who point with satisfaction to the concubinaries of the then Church, do not, nay dare not, see into this; neither did Tschackert see into it, treating of the sexual slips of priests in the "Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte," 1901, Bd. XXI, 330-379 (die Rechnungsbücher des erzbischöflich mainzischen Kommissars Bruns aus den Jahren 1519-1531). Were they non-partisan, they would draw other conclusions and recognize that, with all the correctness of their material investigation, they are only condemning their Lutherdom as the full measure of thitherto existing wickedness; for, the blacker they paint the Papacy of the time of Luther, the blacker does the "Evangelical Reformation" become. Who denies, e. g., the moral corruption of some cities at the close of the middle ages? If the lover of medieval scandal-chronicles were to pursue the history of the cities of the time of Lutherdom just as relentlessly as of the time of the Papacy, what a melancholy result would he not obtain? What a melancholy aspect

say, to live free and unpunished, and without reserve to do what they pleased, or as was written by Usingen, Luther's former professor, to whom Luther once had so commended the religious life: "All who wish to lead a dissolute life join the 'Evangelicals.'"¹¹²⁰

What greater encouragement, besides, could have been given to them than Luther's opinion, expressed as early as 1520, that the Christian could commit as many sins as he liked, could not lose his salvation, so long as he was not without faith,¹¹²¹ etc.? Was it not the right gospel and glad tidings to those godless souls, when they heard from the lips of the father of the "Evangelical Reformation" that sin does not separate from God? If "you acknowledge the Lamb, which beareth the sins of the world, sin cannot tear you from Him, even though you do whorishness a thousand times a day, or deal as many death-blows." "One must sin as long as we are in this existence. This life is not the dwelling place of justice."¹¹²² A complacent trust in the forgiveness of sin through Christ does everything! No wonder his former superior could write to him in the year 1522: "Your case is continually spoken of and extolled by those who frequent the whore-houses."¹¹²³

would only *Wittenberg* alone offer him, the place where the "Reformer" lived, taught, and wrought for several decades, and where he was the all-powerful? An impartial researcher would find certainly that heresy had only increased the old filth, not diminished it. Of course, if the lover of medieval scandal chronicles represents the violation of vows in Lutherdom as innocent, as a "need" of the individual, if he views concubinage as rightful marriage in the case of apostate priests and religious, if he either conceals or makes light of the wholesale adulteries (of Lutherdom) and understands how to bring forward an excuse for every act of immorality, in a word, if the lover of medieval scandal chronicles gives up every moral and non-partisan norm for the period under Lutherdom, why, then all becomes beautiful in it, and, to speak with Luther (Erl. 30, 57) "the heavens are full-hung with fiddles."

¹¹²⁰ See the reference in N. Paulus, "Barthol. von Usingen," p. 60, note 1.

¹¹²¹ Weim. VI, 529.

¹¹²² See above, p. 19 and Enders III, 208, this saying of Luther's of the year 1521.

¹¹²³ Luther himself in his reply refers this saying to Staupitz: "Quod tu scribis, mea jactari ab iis qui lupanaria colunt," etc. Enders III, 406.

Luther's following of apostate monks and priests resembled, to a hair, those godless wretches at the end of the fifteenth century, of whom the Erfurt Benedictine, Nicholas Von Siegen, writes that they said: "Now we will sin away boldly and freshly; it is easy getting absolved." These were called to account and were represented as blasphemers. The others, on the contrary, received from the father of the "Evangelical Reformation" the wholly unevangelical encouragement: "Be a sinner and sin stoutly, but more stoutly trust in Christ, the conqueror of sin."¹¹²⁵ In the face of such subjects and of such cheering exhortations, what sort of organization could arise, especially when they further heard that the moral law, as such, did not concern Christians,¹¹²⁶ that every man by nature, even in Christianity, is at heart at least, an adulterer?¹¹²⁷ Add to this that these subjects, Luther included, lived their lives without prayer, without fasting, without chastisement, "which holiness in its entirety even a dog and a sow can put into daily practice."¹¹²⁸

What sort of organization Luther got together out of his following of apostate priests and religious is manifest. To divert public attention from it, the "Reformer" directed the popular gaze upon the trespasses of the secular and regular clergy, and especially upon their "unclean celibacy," as it was called. Among his own he made a success of this, but at the same time he, beyond any other, verified the truth of his own dictum: "Thus it goes in the whole world that everywhere the beam passes judgment on a splinter, and *the big rogue condemns a little one*."¹¹²⁹ In books, in expositions of Holy Writ,¹¹³⁰ in pamphlets, but not less in sermons, there

¹¹²⁴ "Chronicon ecclesiasticum," ed. Wegele (1855), p. 479.

¹¹²⁵ Enders III, 200: "Esto peccator et pecca fortiter, sed fortius fide et gaude in Christo, qui victor est peccati, mortis, et mundi."

¹¹²⁶ See the next section.

¹¹²⁷ See above, p. 103, note 205.

¹¹²⁸ See above, p. 127.

¹¹²⁹ Erl. 43, 273, for the years 1520-1532.

¹¹³⁰ U. Zasius had already said: "I must first say that Luther with brazen shamelessness interprets the whole Scripture of the Old and New Testament, from the first book of the Bible to the end, against popes and priests, as if God, from the beginning of the world, had had no other busi-

were ever freshly renewed attacks set up on the moral decline of the secular and regular clergy. Shrewdly enough, as a rule, it was not immorality alone that was touched upon, but, in conjunction with it, other more or less true wrongdoings and abuses were alleged. Of the correctness of these charges the people were more speedily convinced and as a consequence, they were more easily led to give credence to what was preached on the bad, evil life of papistical celibates. In respect to the bishops and priests, whose conduct only too often was condemned by their state, the preachers naturally had more and speedier luck. The common citizen, for instance, was only too willing to hear that the clergy sought only his money, not his soul; he had too often had dealings with them. Luther knew this very well, and he wrote as early as 1522, that one could foresee how "there would be riot reached, and priests, monks and bishops, together with the whole ecclesiastical state, might be slain and expelled, unless they applied themselves to a sincere, noteworthy betterment. * * * For the commoner, in the movement and vexation of the injury suffered in his goods, body, and soul, too strongly tempted and burdened by them beyond measure and with the utmost perfidy, cannot and will not tolerate such things further; he has righteous reasons to let loose upon them with flails and clubs, as Karsthans threatens."¹¹³¹ The complaints of the priests in Eberlin von Günsburg are wholly in accord with Luther's words: "A priest absolutely dares not show his tonsure any longer, for the commoner is quite heated against the priesthood. In their case a mountain is made of a mole-hill, and the anger of God breaks over them. And all that do the priests an injury get to thinking they are thereby doing God a service." It is a wonder, it was said, the people do not stone them to death. "Before forty years pass, the very dogs will void their urine on us priests."¹¹³²

ness than to thunder against the priesthood. With what happy ravishment Luther forces all of this out of the Scriptures only he does not perceive who will not see." J. A. Riegger. "U. Zasil epp.," p. 198.

¹¹³¹ Weim. VIII, 676.

¹¹³² "Syben frumm aber trostlose Pfaffen Klagen ihre not," (1521) in J. Eberlin v. Günsburg's "Sämtliche Schriften," Enders, II, 73, 75. The con-

But in respect to the religious, too, about whom we are here chiefly concerned, the people finally grew wearied. In the churches, they often heard nothing but vilification and condemnation of members of the religious orders. "Whoever among the runaways could make out the worst case against the ecclesiastics, he was the most learned."¹¹³³ The apostate mendicants went nearly to the worst lengths in this respect. At the end of the fifteenth and in the beginning of the sixteenth century, their orders, relatively to earlier periods, had few writers. Now, all at once, authors cropped up like mushrooms out of the earth. To be able to write, it was formerly necessary for them to be scientifically competent. Now they needed but a vile soul and it was enough to rail, bluster, shout, vilify, and calumniate, in order to justify themselves and to conceal their own vices or put a favorable construction upon them. And they were writers of the kind Luther needed for the launching of the "Evangelical Reformation." The least suspected eye-witness and ear-witness, Bugenhagen, writes as early as 1525, in respect to their railing at priests and monks: "At the present time, too, there are

sequences wrought by vilification from the pulpit were shown in the case of the apostate monk Jost Höflich in Ulm, to which place he came about 1523. There being no pulpit open to him in the city, he preached his Friday sermons in a place outside. They always produced the result that the burghers clamorously reviled the priests, and demanded other preachers than those who were in the city churches, and were no lambs either. Thus willingly was reviling of the clergy heard. Cf. Weyermann, "Nachrichten von Gelehrten, Künstlern und andern merkwürdigen Personen aus Ulm," 1878, p. 324.

¹¹³³ The Benedictine abbot, Simon Blick, in "Verderbe und Schaden der Lande und Leuthen am gut, leybe, ehre unnd der Selen Seligkeit aus Lutherischen und seins Anhangs lehre," (Leipzig, 1524), Fol. D. They placed their chief arguments against the Papists in calumny and vilification, as Joh. Wersternius wrote; (*Adversus Lutheranae sectae Renatum quemdam De Purgatorio * * * disputatio longe elegantissima*, Coloniae, 1528, folio before E): "Tolle calumnias, et dēmpseris validiorem illius corporis partem. Ad has enī velut ad sacram quandam anchoram confugiunt, quoties argumentis cedere coguntur." The Benedictine abbot, Wolfgang Mayer, also says: (Tutor, cod. lat. Mon. 2886, fol. 31): "Tota die nihil est in ore vestro (Lutheranorum) vel in calamo, nisi sacerdotum et monachorum perdita vita et crimina, quos sine ulla commiseratione tartareis flammis devovetis. Haecine est vestra fraterna charitas, hoc sanctum, quod e suggesto clamatis, Evangelium, quo nobis apud imperitam plebem invidiam confatis, ut miseriore simus omnibus hominibus."

those, would-be Evangelical preachers, who make bold to attempt preaching, but you hear absolutely nothing from them except a great vehement railing at the monks, at the papistical priests, against Friday fasting, against useless divine services and adornment of the churches, against holy-water and other things of the kind, by which we have hitherto been misled; but you do not hear the Gospel from them. * * * Rather do they make their hearers despisers of all modesty and decency, who afterwards can say with blasphemy that such a thing is Evangelical."¹¹³⁴ But this miserable hypocrite and fallen priest, in the very same work in which the above words occur, is not a whit better (than those he criticised). On almost every page one meets abuse of the Pope, priests, monks, and the entire Church. He even goes so far as to enumerate the nicknames by which the monks were to be characterized.¹¹³⁵

Yet such had the course of things to be that the end might be attained. The people were too fond of vilifying tirades¹¹³⁶ not to be impressed by them, all the more so as not all charges were pure invention, and the preachers, that is the apostate monks and priests, came forward as hypocrites in sheep's clothing, after the ancient manner of heretics, of whom St. Bernard says they come in sheep's clothing to denude the sheep, for in truth they are wolves. "They wish to be looked upon as good, but not to be so; they do not wish to be looked

¹¹³⁴ "Von dem ehelichen Stande der Bischöffe und Diaken," Wittenberg 1525. Fol. Ejb.

¹¹³⁵ Ibid. K ij^b: "traditionarii" or "traditores, justitiiarii, cappati, rasi, uncti (shaven and besmeared), rosarii (rosary devotees), missarii, horarum canonicarum lectores, Romanenses viatores (Roman pilgrims); "but Christians of Christ they cannot be called, for Christians trust in Christ alone, but these in their works and statutes, in cowls and tonsures and in other human trumpery."

¹¹³⁶ Spalatin had already written to Justus Jonas, Nov. 9, 1521: "Cogito imo admiror, quoties recordor, quod mihi in Vanglonibus (Worms) dixit Buthius noster, hoc videlicet timere, *nihil magis probari in eruditione Lutherana a prophanis, quam quod sacros (sacrificulos) carpat et reprehendat.*" Corp. Ref., I, 482. Cf. also the Franciscan Findling in his writing to Luther (1521), Enders III, 48, and above, p. 359, the testimony of Mathesius, who, in the there adduced "Historien," fol. 145^b, speaks of people who "like to hear only such preachers who pour out evil and pointed abuse against the abbots, canons, and opponents."

upon as evil, but to be so."¹¹³⁷ The people believed the preachers the more willingly because the latter made the way to heaven so very easy, locating it in a mere trust in Christ whilst they represented the observance of the commandments of the Church as a great imposition.¹¹³⁸ Above all, the mendicant friars had to appear to the people to be humbugs, and as such as had hitherto been leading the public about by the nose.

Both in sermons and in pamphlets, and in common everyday life, Luther was depicted to the people as greater than all the Fathers, as the very Saint and Ambassador of God, as the one who first pulled the Bible out of the limbo of disuse, and with it stood forth against the Papists unconquered. What truth there might have been in this mattered the less to the people because the new preachers, who in Wittenberg had largely taken up Luther's own spirit into themselves, assumed a superior air in their pulpits, throwing out scriptural expressions against the burdensome fasts, against deprivation, against chastity, and representing the still more irksome confession, penance, and satisfaction as lies of the ancient Fathers, who were dotish in the highest degree. The redoubtable Werstemius, whom I first dug out of the dust of oblivion, gave a drastic description, in 1528, of the conduct of this new brood of preachers. Very many of them were ignorant, yet, with impudent self-consciousness and in the most depreciative way, often after a stay of only a day or two in Wittenberg, they at once spoke on every Catholic practice.¹¹³⁹

¹¹³⁷ "Sermo 66 in Cant." (Migne, Patr. lat., t. 183, p. 1094, n. 1).

¹¹³⁸ This is particularly complained of by Usingen in 1524, 1525. See the passages in Paulus, "Barthol. v. Usingen," p. 59 sq.

¹¹³⁹ Joannis Werstemii Dalemensis adversus Lutheranae sectae Renatum quemdam, etc. Disputatio, last folio before B: "Haud scio quid illic (Wittenbergae) spiritus habeant. Adeunt ex nostris plerique Wittenbergam, ipsis etiam suis idocli magis, immo fungos diceret et caudices. Sed adeo regrediuntur impense theologi, ut de re quavis audeant non disputare modo, sed et judicare citra ambiguitatem, etiamsi nisi diem alterum illic manserint, viderintque semel dumtaxat vel ex longinquo illa grossa et mirabilia capita Martinum Lutherum, Philippum Melanthonem, Bogenhagium Pomeranum et alios ejusdem farinae polihistorios. Si quaeras quid de *jejunio* censeant, hic evestigio tibi Paulinum illud abducunt: 'exercitatio corporis ad modicum utilis

Far more were *pamphlets* to furnish the people with a conviction of the detestableness of the religious. Hitherto they had known but few literary productions of the kind. Not that these had been lacking, but they were mostly in a language not intelligible to the people. Still, from 1520 on, the public was fairly flooded with pamphlets of from four pages, or even one page, to several sheets, containing in popular German, vilifications and abuse of the Church, of the Pope, and of the priesthood, as well as of all ecclesiastical arrangements, with frequently corresponding illustrations and caricatures. The colportage of these pamphlets was pushed everywhere, even into Belgium in French translations. Werstemius relates, in 1528, that, according to the testimony of a Lutheran, who was his informant, all Germany was full of such pamphlets and liked them so well that there were but few who did not possess cases filled with them. That Lutheran showed him a number of dialogues and tracts in Latin and German, with cuts, others in French, with which he was secretly on his way to Liege, Limburg, (Belgium) and Namur, so that in those places, too, the Lutheran gospel might eventually begin to be savory.¹¹⁴⁰ These tractlets were

est'; et illud Evangelii: 'Regnum Dei non est in cibo et potu.' Si mentionem facias de *carnium esu*, rursus Evangelium citant: 'Quidquid ingreditur per os, non coinquinat animam'; et ex Paulo: 'Omne quod in macello venditur, edite.' Si probas *castitatem*: 'melius est,' clamant, nubere quam uri.' Mitte traditiones humanas, vel audies statim illud Mal. 15: 'Irritum fecistis mandatum domini propter traditionem vestram'; aut illud Jere. 23: 'visionem cordis sui loquuntur et non de ore domini.' Quere quod volueris, semper habebunt quod indubitanter respondeant. Rursus audio qui mihi sic dicant: 'vides, Werstemi, quam nihil habeant sacrae literae, quod non sit perspicacissimum nostrae Germaniae? Vides, ut illic Theologia refluere? Quid tu mihi praedicas orthodoxos patres? Quid eorum jactas commentaria, tamquam ad Ecclesiam Christi pertinerint? An non illi stupidi, si conferantur cum nostris? Mendacia sunt quae docuerunt de *confessione*, de *poenitentia*, de *satisfactione*, de *purgatorio* et similibus nugis, homines erant, et humano, id est, mendaci loquebantur spiritu.' Hic, quum alias ego verecundius dicerem: 'fateor, homines erant patres,' subintulit quidam evestigio: 'atque ineptissimi.'"

¹¹⁴⁰ Joannis Werstemii Dalemensis adversus Lutheranae sectae Renatum, etc.; on the last folio before B, a Lutheran, after showing a tract ("Egressus est Lutherus trans flumen Rhenum"), the Latin original of which is reprinted in Clemen, "Beiträge zur Reformationsgesch.," III, 10), says to him: "Tallibus libellis tota scatet Germania, et nisi verer, ne quem offendam * * * indicarem tibi lepidissimas sannas in papam et episcopos, in monachos et

quite the echo of Luther's ideas. Composed as a rule by Luther's following of apostate monks and priests, genuine calumniators and persecutors of their earlier state of life as they were, hundreds of these pamphlets were dedicated to priests and religious, especially the mendicants. Abuses, of which the writers themselves had been the arch-supporters, were exaggerated beyond bounds, so that of the whole state of life, which for the time being was hackled through and through, not a single good thread was left remaining.

Frequently these pamphlets are drawn up in the form of a dialogue, one of the speakers being mostly a priest or a religious, the other a Lutheran, very often a simple peasant, laborer, or at least a layman. Quite judiciously the priest or the religious in these dialogues was made to play the role of a dolt, who knew no better than to give stupid answers to his opponent's distortions of Catholic doctrines, was unable to solve his objections, was constantly obliged to yield more and more to him, and finally to express his amazement at the solid biblical lore and superiority of a simple Lutheran laborer, who alleges that he learned his wisdom from Luther. Frequently the sensational climax is that the religious or the priest, too, acknowledges himself as one hitherto hoodwinked, and therefore he determines at the earliest opportunity to hang up his habit on the wall and to rush over to Luther, very likely to become just like this holy man of God, God-fearing, reserved, modest, chaste, meek, yielding, forgiving, and humble, that is, the opposite of all these. Other times the pamphlets were written in verse, very often, indeed, to fit the melodies of well-known songs and Church hymns,

omnem illam ecclesiasticam abominationem." He tells him further: "Tum adsunt mihi disputationes et apologiae sine numero, quibus omnibus adeo sibi adlubescit nostra Germania, ut perpaucos illic invenias, qui non et capsulas habeant plenas et scrinia. Ad haec, dum ego (Werstemius) compositio interim animo nihil commoverer, supplaudere visus sum tam nephando conatui, producit illico dialogos aliquot, tum latinos, tum etiam versos germanice, picturatos quidem et elegantulos, sed intantum alienos, ab Evangelio, ut ego nunquam viderim execrandiora ludibria. Laudavi tamen, et rogavi num quid haberet recentius. Quidni habeam? inquit; videsne haec gallica scripta, ut ubique suis interspersa figuris rident? Ad Leodicenses illa clanculum defero, ad Lymborgenses, ad Namurcenses, ut et ipsis quoque tandem inclplat dulcescere Lutheranum Evangelion."

so that they could forthwith be sung. Thus, for example, the song "of the False Frock" was to be sung to the tune of the "*Christe qui lux es et dies.*"¹¹⁴¹ But enough of this here, as I shall speak more at length on this pamphlet literature in the book on the origin of Lutheranism.

Above we quoted the saying of Oecolompad to Blarer: "From the very beginning the dirty Papists must properly be portrayed for the people, so that no one will any longer believe them."¹¹⁴² That was carried into effect. This same Blarer, in 1524, entitled one of his writings: "Their force is decried, their art we deride; their lying's belied, their honor's denied, God's good work will bide."¹¹⁴³ In 1525, Luther himself wrote to the Elector of Mainz: "The commoner is now so far informed that the ecclesiastical state amounts to nothing, as is well and overmuch proved by a variety of songs, sayings, and jests, since monks and priests are caricatured on all the walls; on all kinds of placards, even on playing cards; and wherever one sees or hears an ecclesiastical person, the same has become a disgust. * * * The ecclesiastical state cannot remain, much less come into honor again."¹¹⁴⁴ Two years or so later, he admits that so many writings had gone forth against the unchristian nature of monkery and the nunnish state "that our people are quite surfeited with such booklets and everywhere on the streets the children are sing-

¹¹⁴¹ I will here give only the first two stanzas of this song as specimens:

"O Kutt du viel schnödes Kleydt,
Ein grosser Schalk der dich antreyt,
Die Kutt die steckt voll arger List,
Als mancher Faden in ihr ist."

"O Kutt du thäst gleissen schon (schön),
Man sah dich gar für heilig an,
All Welt dich jetzt erkennen thut,
Hab Dank, Luther, Gott der ist gut."

¹¹⁴² See above, p. 329 sq.

¹¹⁴³ "Ir Gwalt ist veracht, ir Kunst wird verlacht, irs liegens nit gacht, gschwecht ist ir bracht. Recht ists wiess Got macht." See also Weller, "Repertorium typographicum," No. 2790 and 2791.

¹¹⁴⁴ De Wette, II, 674; Erl. 53, 309. Also Enders V, 186 sq. In the same letter Luther also writes that "*one cannot swim against the stream.*" The contempt for the ecclesiastical state proves that God wants to exterminate it," etc.

ing enough about it."¹¹⁴⁵ Another two years or so later, he writes: "Against monks with their cloaks and tonsures, one can now easily be on his guard, for they have been sufficiently well painted, so that every one knows them." The painters would have hit it off rightly "if they paint the devil in a monk's cloak and his devil's claws sticking out beneath."¹¹⁴⁶

From the beginning, Luther and his fellows had aimed to get the dregs, the refuse of the people, and the most daringly insolent as their associates in the defamation of the entire ecclesiastical state. As early as 1523, he writes: "It seems to me that the Papacy with its scabs has become a spectacle to the whole world with little honor, since its knavery, hitherto secretly and openly pursued, is sung by children and by scamps * * *; *they are also the object of the contempt and ridicule of the most despised and the most insignificant people.*"¹¹⁴⁷ A means of agitation for this purpose were such pictures as "the pope-ass" and "the monk-calf," and their interpretation by Melancthon and Luther in 1523, about which more will be said at the conclusion of this volume. Only the vilest being, a "scamp," can find pleasure in such vulgarities. And they give pleasure to this day.¹¹⁴⁸

Luther understood how to work up the rabble and he led his following by example. He knew the character and the vacillating temper of the people, and he confessed that they were always eager to see and hear something new, so that he was led to say: "I could with all confidence, if I wished, *very easily preach my people back again into the Papacy* and set up new pilgrimages and masses with such splendor and especial sanctity."¹¹⁴⁹ This at the same time is a capital avowal from unsuspected lips that, at bottom, the people after all were far more attached to the old doctrine than to Luther's.

¹¹⁴⁵ Erl. 65, 165 for the year 1528.

¹¹⁴⁶ Erl. 43, 323 for the year 1530-1532.

¹¹⁴⁷ Weim XI, 356.

¹¹⁴⁸ This is proved by the preface of the editor in the volume, just cited, of the Weimar edition, loc. cit.

¹¹⁴⁹ Erl. 43, 316, year 1530-1532.

F. LUTHER'S ROGUERY AND DEADLY HATRED OF THE MONASTERIES AND RELIGIOUS.

If at times Luther had his attention called by Catholics to his and his followers' life, he played the innocent and knew in his crafty way how to throw off the blame. "If it chances that a few are robbers of Church-goods, or live or speak *somewhat more freely*, it is so exaggerated that it comes to no end. Such are not disciples of the doctrine; they go hunting merely for the evil or the *apparently* faulty which they see in the confessors of the gospel."¹¹⁵⁰ O the hypocrite! And what was *his* course in respect to priests and religious? In 1524, when the evil fruits of his teaching among his followers lay evident before the whole world, he hypocritically declared: "I should have little to do with the Papists, *if they only taught right doctrine. Their evil life would do little harm.*"¹¹⁵¹ But why did he then attack their evil life?—to say nothing of his writing, a year or two later, in a wholly contradictory sense: (Among the Papists), "*there would have been no lack of right teaching*, seeing that, by the grace of God, the scriptures, gospel, sacrament, and pulpit remained in the Church, if only the bishops and priests had kept them up," etc.¹¹⁵² But in this case why did he attack the right doctrine?

As the only one not culpable, Luther saw hatred and maledictions, not on his part and that of his followers, but only in the Catholics. In this respect Melancthon but followed his master.¹¹⁵³ So also Luther's confrere, the apostate Wenzel Linck, who in 1524 accused the Catholic preachers

¹¹⁵⁰ Opp. exeg. lat., V, 37 sq. Similarly even in 1522, Weim., VIII, 681 sq. The Papists, he said, had a beam in their eye, but his followers only "ein Kleines stecklein"—a little sticklet. Cf. Erl. 43, 273.

¹¹⁵¹ De Witte II, 539; also Enders IV, 373 and Erl. 48, 93.

¹¹⁵² Erl. 43, 70.

¹¹⁵³ Thus he wrote from Augsburg, July 15, 1530, to Luther: "Aliquoties jam fui apud quosdam inimicos ex illo grege Ecciano, non possum dicere quantum odii Pharisaeici acerbitem deprehenderim. Nihil agunt, nihil meditantur, nisi ut concitent adversus nos principes et impia arma induant optimo Imperatori." Corp. Ref. II, 197. On July 27 to Erasmus: "Nunquam eram crediturus tantam ferociam, tantam saevitiam in hominem cadere posse, quantum in Eccio et quibusdam eius gregalibus deprehendo." Ibid. p. 232.

"of grievously reviling and abusing the religious who left their convents and the runaway monks, aye, and even the married priests, calling them faithless, forsworn, and vagabond knaves."¹¹⁵⁴ The climax is reached in Luther's hypocritical assertion in 1521: "I teach them, they abuse me; I entreat them, they mock me; I chide them, they get angry; I pray for them, they spurn my prayer; I forgive them their wrongdoing, they will not have it so; I am prepared to deliver myself for them, they curse me for it," etc.¹¹⁵⁵ In a word, Luther is the innocent little lamb, the ideal of meekness and humility! For the moment, in conformity with his present purpose, he forgets that the year before, namely, in 1520, he had admitted his violence and *biting sarcasm*, which were condemned on all sides.¹¹⁵⁶ But soon there will be a different story to tell.

In 1522, he writes: "You shall let your mouth be a mouth of the Spirit of Christ, and that is what we are doing who confidently *continue as we began*, in discourses and in writings, exposing to the people the knavery and trickery of the Pope and the Papists, until, uncovered bare in all the world, he shall be known and become an object of shame. * * * See now that you push and help push the holy Gospel. Teach, write, and preach how human law is nothing. Use your endeavor and give counsel that no one become a priest, monk, or nun, and that who is in it go out. Give no more money for bulls, candles, bells, tablets, churches, but say that a Christian life consists in faith and charity, (i. e., in the love of neighbor). Let us keep on doing this some two years, and you shall see, indeed, what is left of pope, bishop, cardinal, priest, monk, nun, bells, steeple, mass, vigils, habit, mantles, tonsures, rules, statutes, and all the swarming, squirming Papal regiment. All shall disappear like smoke. * * * Behold, *what effect it had this year alone*

¹¹⁵⁴ Reindell, "Wenzel Lincks Werke," I, 308.

¹¹⁵⁵ Weim. VIII, 213.

¹¹⁵⁶ Enders, II, 239: "I cannot deny *I am more violent than is becoming*; since my opponents know this, they ought not to excite the dog." Ibid., p. 463: "Almost all condemn in me my mordacity."

that we pushed and published this truth. *How short and small the cover has become for the Papists!*"¹¹⁵⁷

But what else does this same Luther write the *same* year? "Let each one see to it that he does not forget charity towards his enemy, that he prays for those who persecute and revile him, and desires no revenge, as Christ teaches (Matt. 17). For these unhappy people are already too much punished and we, alas, too much revenged. *It is time for us to put ourselves before God for them, to see if we may not avert the punishment and the judgment pressing upon them, as Christ did for us, since we also sinned in blindness,*" etc."¹¹⁵⁸ What hypocrisy!

Some months earlier he had expressed himself triumphantly against the Papacy: "It is already singing: 'Eli, Eli;' *it is hit*. Presently it shall be said: '*expiravit!*'—it has expired."¹¹⁵⁹ The *same* year, in keeping with this, he apostrophizes the Papists: "The more you storm and rage, the more proud we shall be against you with God's help, the more we shall despise your state of disfavor. * * * Be this my resolve: if I live, you shall not have any peace from me. If you kill me, you shall ten times less have peace, and I will be to you, as Osee, 13, 8: a bear in the way and a lion on the street."¹¹⁶⁰

It was only logical on the part of Luther eagerly to desire *the downfall of all the monasteries*, and, to bring that about, to lend his co-operation. At times, to be sure; he expressed his opinion that this would be accomplished without force of arms, by his single article on justification. If justification by faith alone is taught, he writes in 1527, "the Papacy with all its monasteries and cults will easily fall."¹¹⁶¹ Luther and his following fed on the lie that the Pope sets up, "without the word of God, new orders and new modes

¹¹⁵⁷ "Treue Vermahnung zu allen Christen," Weim. VIII, 682 sq.

¹¹⁵⁸ "Von beiderlei Gestalt des Sakraments," Erl. 28, 317.

¹¹⁵⁹ Weim. VIII, 684.

¹¹⁶⁰ "Wider den falsch genannten geistlichen Stand," Erl. 28, 143, 144. Also above, p. 221, note 623.

¹¹⁶¹ In ep. I. S. Joann. Cod. Palat. 1, 1825, fol. 173^b. He frequently repeats this; also similarly in his "Tischreden" in the "Mathesischen Sammlung," No. 459, for the year 1540.

of life, *ascribing to them the same as to Christ*, namely, that *by them eternal salvation may be obtained.*"¹¹⁶² "When I have reached the judgment that there is nothing that justifies before God, save the blood of Christ, I at once conclude: therefore are the statutes of the popes, the rules of the fathers a leading astray." This is reason enough, he opines, "to have all monasteries *razed* to the ground."¹¹⁶³ And so by force of arms after all? It was his wish. Still some years earlier (1522) he had written: "I have never yet let myself be moved to restrain those who threaten with hand and flail," for the reason "that I know that, by the hand and uprising of men, the Papacy and the ecclesiastical state will *not* be destroyed." That can be brought about only by the immediate intervention of God's anger.¹¹⁶⁴ Nevertheless only a few lines farther on he urges that "the secular authorities and the nobility should bring their regular power to bear upon the case as a matter of duty (i. e., to set upon the Papacy and the priesthood), each prince and lord in his country. For, *that which is done by regular power is not to be held as an uprising!*"¹¹⁶⁵ And so the secular authorities, i. e., the hand and power of men, are to destroy the Papal ecclesiastical state!

Such was Luther's fundamental view from the time of his apostasy until his death. "*All monasteries,*" he says in 1523, "and all cathedrals and similar abominations in the holy place are to be *wholly annihilated* or *abandoned*, since they persuade men into open dishonor of the blood of Christ and of the faith, into putting trust in their own works in seeking their salvation, which is nothing else but denying the Lord, Who purchased us, as Peter says."¹¹⁶⁶ In 1545 he wishes only

¹¹⁶² Cod. Pal. I., 1825, fol. 172.

¹¹⁶³ Weim. XX, 622; Cod. Pal. I., fol. 148: " * * * Monachi non contenti illa impietate et blasphemia sanguinis Christi, etiam aliis merita et opera sua vendebant. Quo quid dici potest horribilius? Haec igitur abominatio satis magna causa esset, cur omnia monasteria funditus everterentur."

¹¹⁶⁴ As he had already cried out, 1520, ("An den christl. Adel."): "Ah, Christ, my Lord, let thy last day arise, let it break and destroy the devil's nest in Rome." Weim VI, 453.

¹¹⁶⁵ Weim. VIII, 679 sq.

¹¹⁶⁶ Enders, IV, 224: " * * * penitus abolendas aut deserendas esse." Luther appeals to 2 Peter, 2, 1. But of course there is no mention there of good works, but only of those sects which deny Christ.

some monasteries to remain—as an object of shame. All the others are to be *razed* (evertantur).¹¹⁶⁷ “I would that all the pulpits in the world,” he preached several years earlier, “lay in fire with monasteries, foundations, churches, hermitages, and chapels, and that all were idle dust and ashes, because of the horrible misleading of poor souls.”¹¹⁶⁸ The great misleader of Germany, Luther, dares to write this! It is the same standpoint of culture occupied by the murderous incendiary, Sickingen, in the “Neuer Karsthans.”¹¹⁶⁹ Luther had shared it with him as early as 1521, when he preached that there were many churches but no divine preaching, their only use being to howl and blubber in them, and that with new ones, the old ones were suppressed. “*Hence it would be a good thing to break down all churches to the ground, and, of all the altars, to make one altar,*” etc.¹¹⁷⁰ The peasant uprising, soon succeeding, which owed its origin to Luther’s principle and preaching of “Christian liberty,” corresponded to the wishes of himself and Sickingen.

More important and wholly pertinent to the matter is what Luther writes in the same year, 1521, in his treatise on the monastic vows: “Because of this abomination alone, (the wounding of filial charity by the religious), *I would that all monasteries were blotted out*, done away with, and *uprooted*, as they should be too, (sicut et oportuit); if only God would exterminate them to the very root, as He did

¹¹⁶⁷ See above, p. 316, note 953.

¹¹⁶⁸ Erl. 19, 25.

¹¹⁶⁹ In the “Neuen Karsthans” (middle of 1521) Sickingen says: “If the clergy are to be reformed, it will be necessary, as in Bohemia, *to destroy the greatest part of the churches*; for, as long as they stand, there will always remain a stimulus to priestly avarice, and misbelief cannot be taken from the common people unless this superfluity is removed and *all the monastic orders are blotted out*. Schade, “Satiren und Pasquilla aus der Reformationszeit,” II, 37.

¹¹⁷⁰ Weim. IX, 410 sq. The cultured standpoint of Luther and of the incendiary Sickingen was shared by other “Evangelicals” too, as, e. g., the runaway Franciscan, Eberlin von Günzburg, who, a true forerunner of the Jacobins, demanded of the council of Ulm that they tear down all the churches to build a hospital or two and some houses, and in the place of that masterpiece of architecture, the minster, to erect a simple church. “Joh. Eberlin von Günzburg Sämtl. Schriften,” Enders, III, 21. Also Radlkofer, “Joh. Eberlin von Günzburg,” p. 98, 104.

Sodom and Gomorrah, with fire and sulphur, so that not even the memory of them might be left!"¹¹⁷¹

In 1529, he likewise urges that "we should *destroy* the Pope's idolatry and false divine service and abuses." "We must do with the Papacy what Moses did with the golden calf—annihilate it into dust. God is so hostile to the (Papal) divine service, that it is not His will that a single atom of it should be left over."¹¹⁷² Foundations and monasteries, writes Luther the next year, "should be smashed into smithereens."¹¹⁷³ In 1531, he wishes hell-fire upon the heads of Kaiser, King, Pope, and Papists, or that the Papacy and all its appurtenances may go into the abyss of hell.¹¹⁷⁴ In 1532: "Oh, how much have I yet to preach and to talk that the Pope with his triple crown and with the cardinals and bishops, priests and monks who follow him * * * may go down to the devil."¹¹⁷⁵ Two years later, however, it is the patient, innocent little lamb that comes to the fore again: "*I have truly neither wished nor done evil to the Papists, but I only sought to point them to Christ the truth.*"¹¹⁷⁶ And again a year later: "In truth we persecute no one, we oppress and kill no human being."¹¹⁷⁷ Did not Münzer treat the father of the "Evangelical Reformation" even leniently, when he exclaimed to him: "Any one who would not see your roguery, would likely swear by his halidom that you were a pious Martin."¹¹⁷⁸

What he said in general, 1540, "We shall accomplish nothing against the Turks unless we smite them with the *priests* at the right time, *and hurl them even unto death,*"¹¹⁷⁹ was leveled in particular against the religious. Luther forthwith took up every anecdote, every suspicion against them as facts, e.g., that they were the instigators of the incendiary

¹¹⁷¹ Weim. VIII, 624.

¹¹⁷² Weim. XXVIII, 762.

¹¹⁷³ Erl. 40, 303.

¹¹⁷⁴ Erl. 25, 76, 88.

¹¹⁷⁵ Ibid. 48, 336.

¹¹⁷⁶ Erl. 31, 389.

¹¹⁷⁷ In Gal., I, 82: "Nos certe neminem persequimur, neminem opprimimus aut occidimus." Only the Papists do that!

¹¹⁷⁸ In Enders, IV, 374, note 7.

¹¹⁷⁹ Luther's "Tischreden" in "Mathesischen Sammlung," No. 10.

fires of that time. He did this that he might vent his deadly hatred upon them in the reminder: "If the matter comes to light, there will be nothing left but in common to take arms against all monks and priests; and I will go along, too, for one should *strike the rascals dead* like mad dogs."¹¹⁸⁰ "If I had all the Franciscan monks together in one house, I would set the house on fire. For the kernel is gone from the monks, only the chaff is still at hand. *So into the fire with them!*"¹¹⁸¹ And what of that? The religious "are not worth being called human beings; they should not so much as be called swine."¹¹⁸²

From the circumstance that the religious were persecuted by bishops and secular priests, Luther, as monk, once took occasion to proclaim them the happier for thus standing nearer the cross; for that reason, (he said), it had not in two hundred years been better to become a monk than now.¹¹⁸³ Scarcely five or six years afterwards and in the sequent, *the same circumstance* causes his courage to rise to the point of persecuting and exterminating the religious. He believed he had no opposition to fear on the part of bishops and priests. On this subject he wrote, in 1530: "To the clergy in Augsburg: Since I attacked the monastic life and now that the monks have become fewer, I have not as yet heard any bishop or pastor shed tears on account of it, and know that never has there a greater service happened to the bishops and pastors than that they have thus been rid of the monks. I apprehend, indeed, there will hardly be anyone in Augsburg now to interest himself in the monks and to beg that they get back into their former state. Indeed the bishops will not tolerate it that such bedbugs and lice be set on their pelts again. They are glad that I loused their pelts so clean, although, to speak truth, it was the monks who had to govern the Church under the Pope, and the bishops did nothing but let themselves be called youngker. Now I have not put the monks down by an uprising, but by my doctrine, and it pleases the bishop well."¹¹⁸⁴

¹¹⁸⁰ Ibid., No. 276.

¹¹⁸¹ Ibid., No. 305.

¹¹⁸² Erl. 47, 37, about the same time.

¹¹⁸³ See above, p. 37 sq.

¹¹⁸⁴ Erl. 24, 336.

I said that the prospect mentioned caused Luther's courage to rise, not that it gave him courage. For what he did he would have carried out without that circumstance, too. Indeed he felt that he was called and was born to be the upheaver he was. "Thereunto am I born," he writes, "to war with rabbles and devils and to lie afeld; hence are my books much stormy and warlike. I must root up stumps and trunks, cut away thorns and hedges, and fill up the quagmires, and I am the gruff forester who must blaze and prepare the way."¹¹⁸⁵ We know now how he prepared it.

Once Luther wrote: "The Papacy is founded and set up on devilish lies."¹¹⁸⁶ But possibly some Protestant or another will at length begin to question if Luther's utterance does not much rather fit his own "Evangelical Reformation." Throughout this entire section we have seen Luther acting on the principle expressed by him as early as 1520: "*Everything is permitted* against the insidiousness and evil of popedom"—and this, as he says, "for the salvation of souls."¹¹⁸⁷ This principle found expression in his words of 1540: "What of it, if one *achieves a good stout lie* for something better and for the sake of the Christian Church?"¹¹⁸⁸ Lying was his confederate, in order to realize his aim, that is, as far as in him lay, to annihilate the Papacy with its best auxiliary forces, the orders. It gave him no scruple, therefore, to proclaim that lies of help and utility are not against God,¹¹⁸⁹ despite the fact that he, who ascribed lying to the Papacy, was obliged to admit that "it was the desire *of the monks* the truth should be told under all circumstances."¹¹⁹⁰

Quite in their own fashion did the lies in Luther's treatise on the monastic vows celebrate a triumph. It is significant

¹¹⁸⁵ Opp. var. arg. VII, 493, for the year 1529.

¹¹⁸⁶ Erl. 25, 216.

¹¹⁸⁷ Enders, II, 461, and above, p. 138.

¹¹⁸⁸ Above, p. 132.

¹¹⁸⁹ See above, p. 132. Luther elsewhere also often defended the permissibility of lies of utility. Further proofs follow in the course of this work.

¹¹⁹⁰ Weim. XXVII, 12, 33, year 1528: "Monachi in totum volunt dici veritatem."

of the moral condition of so many religious that they allowed themselves to be gulled by him. Yet he who knows their earlier and later life will not wonder! It is significant for the "Evangelical Church" that in it this wholly corrupt treatise, filled with sophisms, contradictions, lies, and calumnies, enjoys so much repute, and that its confession, the Augustana, is built up on this work, so far as its contents are concerned.

He who makes free and agile use of guile and lying, like Luther, verifying, as rarely another did, the proverb he quoted: "He who willingly lies, must also lie when he tells the truth";¹¹⁹¹ he to whom hardly a means is too evil to procure the admission among others of his propositions against the Church—is not such a one also capable, if it answers his purpose, of lying about his own earlier life? In this respect we have already caught him at untruths. How about it, if what the later Luther expresses about his earlier religious life were largely romance, fiction, especially that part which, among the Luther biographers and the rest of the Protestant theologians following them, forms the basis of Luther's life in its first unfolding? If the preceding researches have already prepared the answer, the following ones will make it possible, step by step, to be able to give a determinate reply to the weighty question just proposed.

¹¹⁹¹ Erl. 26, 3.

Second Section

THE STARTING POINT IN LUTHER'S DEVELOPMENT—HIS NEW GOSPEL.

The foregoing section was entitled, "By Way of Introduction." As a matter of fact, there is hardly anything that better enables us to recognize Luther's character, his tactics and methods in respect to the Church than the investigation of the religious state as conceived by him. But the section at the same time forms the best transition into the present one, not only because its very first chapter enters deeply into Luther's religious life, but especially for the reason that, in this section, we get to know the theoretical motive on account of which Luther had to reject the religious state with its vows and exercises. Luther's gospel with its fundamental thought, justification and forgiveness of sin by faith alone, led both theoretically and practically to the consequent proposition: therefore all the good works and everything we impose upon ourselves and do, are useless for salvation. Nay more, he who considers works as a necessary factor on the way of salvation exercises them "without the blood of Christ," consequently denies the Saviour and Redeemer, puts his own work in the place of Christ, and is "drowned" in a service of works. In consequence of this, Luther had to condemn, as justification by works and holiness by works, not only all Christian life in general, but above all its religious life. There is no life that possesses so many works and exercises as the religious state. And since a religious binds himself to this life by vow, the "Reformer" naturally came to hold the religious life as a seat of unbelief, a den of cut-throats, a life accursed. For, as he says, those who are in it do not live according to the rule of Christ, but according to statutes of men and by them wish to be justified. They had exalted and glorified the shabby cowl of a monk far above holy baptism. Hence to him the religious were pre-eminently the holy-

by-works ones, the genuine *Idolatrae*. They were the archetypes of Catholic "justification by works," and he therefore used, as a typical term for them, the expression "cowl and shaved pates." From his erroneous standpoint, all this was quite logical.

From this point of view, too, Luther had to reject the Catholic ideal of life, namely, the most perfect fulfilment possible of the commandment of the love of God and of neighbor, since, according to him, the fulfilment of the love of God pertains to a work of law, and consequently stands in opposition to his gospel. He declared the fulfilment of that law to be simply an impossibility for us, and thereby took from all good works, whether done in the cloister or out of it, their root and their crown; in other words, the religious state was thereby turned into a caricature.

Even if it is clear to every one that the consequences mentioned necessarily flow from Luther's notion of his gospel, as has just been precisely marked, we have nevertheless but made a beginning of the matter. For forthwith the question presents itself: how did Luther get that notion of his gospel? In other words, what is the starting point in Luther's development? The answer to this question is of itself coupled with the investigation of the beginnings of Luther's gospel and with this gospel itself, which must minutely be determined and discussed in all its parts.

The question just presented interests Protestant and Catholic Luther-researchers alike, but each, here in the beginning, go their separate ways in their discussions and conclusions. For the matter concerns Luther's preamble and premises to his "turn about," his "conversion." This turn was perceived by the Protestant Luther-legend, now become typical, (to have originated) in the horrors of monastic life, in other words, in the "props highly commended" to Luther, but which broke under his hands, so that the floor swayed under his feet. Luther, it is alleged, entered the cloister in order—in "genuinely Catholic fashion"—to dispose the stern Judge in his favor by heaped up *achievements*, to propitiate

Him, and to get a merciful God.¹¹⁹² He was allowed to employ all the means of traditional, practical piety in his strenuous striving after salvation, "all kinds of massive asceticism, all manners of contemplation, all gifts of the higher mysticism. He was more than painstaking in his observance of the rule of the Order, he fasted beyond measure, he chastised himself, was engrossed with endless meditations, and persevered in the narcosis of ecstasy until he believed himself among the angelic choirs. No '*works-possibility*' of the old Church for justification in perfection but was exhausted. But what Luther especially sought he did not find. Neither faintness from bodily flagellation nor occasional ecstatic union with a pantheistic, etherealized god decoyed him from the ever more mighty demand of his soul to possess a personal, enduring relation to God. It was the opposite that took place. The more all the means of the Church were exhausted, even those of the sacraments, particularly of penance, in which his confessors did not understand him, the more frightful was the lonesomeness, the God-forsakenness of his position. He was tending towards the abyss of despair and of insanity," etc.¹¹⁹³

These words express the principal content of that which, according to Protestant Luther-researchers, led Luther to his "about face" and to his break with the Church. Though some do not mention his "ecstasies," yet none forget the fearful mortifications and the self-torture he practised in order to propitiate the stern Judge, for, apart from this notion, they said, Luther had no other about God and Christ. Before entering upon our proper subject matter, we wish, in a special chapter, to investigate this capital point with reference to its truth. The intelligent reader will directly discover the connection with the preceding section. The testing and criticism of other elements contained in the Protestant Luther-legend above mentioned, will follow of itself in the course of our investigations.

¹¹⁹² Thus Harnack, "Dogmengesch." 3 ed., p. 737 sq.

¹¹⁹³ Lamprecht, "Deutsche Geshichte," V, 225.

CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARY INQUIRY INTO LUTHER'S IMMEDIATE SELF-CHASTISEMENTS BEFORE HIS "TURN ABOUT," IN ORDER TO PROPITIATE THE STERN JUDGE.

In his writings and sermons, Luther very often speaks of the grave, almost death-bringing chastisements to which he subjected himself in the monastery, in order to work out his salvation, to propitiate the stern Judge, and to merit heaven for himself. But it all was to no purpose; in spite of it, he always remained in unrest; worse than that, he finally got to despair, until God Himself saved him from it all by His light and His gospel. For the present, some of Luther's chief utterances on the point may follow for the sake of illustration.

"The world wants to take from the body either too much or nothing. We thought, by breaking with it, to merit so much *that we should equal the blood of Christ. That is what I, poor fool, believed.* I did not know then that God desired I should take care of my body and place no confidence in moderation. *I should have strangled myself with fasting, watching, and freezing.* In midwinter, I had a scanty mantle, felt quite frozen, so mad and foolish was I."¹¹⁹⁴ "Why did I endure the greatest austerities in the monastery? Why did I burden my body with fasts, vigils, and the cold? Because I strove thus to be certain by such works of attaining to the forgiveness of my sins."¹¹⁹⁵ "It was also thus that, by fasting, deprivation, weight of labors and of clothing, I almost brought death upon myself, so that my body was fearfully ruined and emaciated."¹¹⁹⁶ "Formerly, in the Papacy, we clamored for eternal blessedness, for the kingdom of God we hurt ourselves greatly, aye, we put our bodies sheer to death, not with swords or outer weapons, but with fastings and chastising of the body; there did we seek, knock at the door day and night. And I myself, had I not been saved by means of the comfort of Christ through the gospel,

¹¹⁹⁴ Erl. 19 (2 ed.), 419 sq., Dec. 2, 1537.

¹¹⁹⁵ Opp. exeg. lat., V, 267, for 1539.

¹¹⁹⁶ Ibid. XI, 123, for 1545.

could not have lived two years. Thus did I betorture myself and flee from the wrath of God; and there were not wanting tears and sighs either. But we accomplished nothing." "The while we were monks we did not accomplish anything by our chastisements; for we were unwilling to acknowledge our sins and our godless being; nay, more, we knew nothing of original sin and did not understand that unbelief was a sin."¹¹⁹⁷ "I could never get comfort of my baptism, but always thought: 'O when wilt thou once become pious and do enough to get a merciful God?' And by such thoughts I was driven to monkery, betortured myself and plagued myself exceedingly by fasting, freezing, and my austere life, and still accomplished nothing more by it than to lose my dear baptism, aye, to help deny it."¹¹⁹⁸

In a similar manner does Luther often come to speak about his severe self-chastisements and mortifications in the cloister, and we shall presently have occasion to hear more such utterances from his lips.¹¹⁹⁹ But it is remarkable that Luther *first becomes talkative on this point in the period from 1530 on*. Prior to that, he does indeed speak of the papistical and monastic mortifications and fasts. He also recalls his own futile *works* in the monastery, but in respect to *his own mortifications*, he not only does not express himself with great caution, but he makes no mention of them at all. What is the reason of this? Before we attempt to give the solution, we shall consider Luther's utterances on his earlier self-chastisements in the light of the strictness of *his Order*, of Church teaching, and of his own earlier conceptions.

A. LUTHER'S UTTERANCES ON HIS MONASTIC SELF-CHASTISINGS IN THE LIGHT OF THE AUSTERITY OF HIS ORDER.

Luther repeatedly writes: "I myself was a monk *for twenty years* and tortured myself by praying, fasting, watching, and freezing, so that with the frost alone I might have died, and hurt myself as I never again wish to do, even if

¹¹⁹⁷ Ibid. VII, 72 sq., after 1540.

¹¹⁹⁸ Erl. 16, 90, for 1535.

¹¹⁹⁹ See below, A and E.

I could,¹²⁰⁰ aye, "I had like to have lasted no great while, had I remained there."¹²⁰¹ But Luther allows one to haggle with him. At other times he expresses himself: "*Throughout almost fifteen years, when I was a monk, I was overworked by daily mass-reading, and weakened by fasting, watching, praying, and other extremely hard labors.*"¹²⁰² "I myself was a monk fifteen years * * * and betortured and plagued myself with fasting, freezing, and a rigorous life."¹²⁰³

How about these utterances? Luther entered the Order in 1505. In 1520, he fell away from the Church. That, as a monk, he betortured himself by praying, fasting, etc., for twenty years, is thus antecedently *excluded*. He could have kept it up for fifteen years at most. But there is no setting up that claim either. Although he was a monk for fifteen years, nevertheless, from at least 1515 and after, on account of his excessive occupations,¹²⁰⁴ he did not even have time for

¹²⁰⁰ Erl. 49, 27 (1539). Elsewhere Luther also speaks of his twenty years of mortified monastic life, as Erl. 48, 306: "The monks, the Pope, and all the clergy say: Christ alone will not do. They will not suffer Christ alone to be our consolation and our Savior, but it is necessary to add our works, to live in ecclesiastical states, and to be more perfect than other people; they pass the time in works and want to be holy people, and for all that they are all going to the devil. But as many as are the divine services among Jews, Turks, and Papists, *conducted with so great earnestness in the world* (just as it was no joke nor a disgrace to me in the Papacy), who believed that they must all be in vain? I was also an earnest monk, lived modestly and chastely; I would not have taken a copper without my prior's knowledge; I prayed diligently day and night. * * * Well then, who believed that it should be lost, that I should have to say: the *twenty* years in which I was in the monastery are passed and lost, I went into the monastery for the salvation and blessedness of my soul, and for the health of the body, and I thought I knew God the Father well indeed, and it was God's will that I should keep the rule and be obedient to the abbot; should that please God and was that to know the Father and the Father's will? But the Lord Jesus Christ here speaks the opposite and says: "If you do not know me, neither do you know the Father" (for the year 1530-1532. See also the next note.)

¹²⁰¹ Erl. 49, 300 (1537): "After I had been a devout monk *over twenty years*, and had had mass daily, and had so weakened myself by prayer and fasting that I could not have lasted much longer," etc.

¹²⁰² Opp. exeg. lat. XVIII, 226. Erl. 17, 139: "I also was a monk fifteen years."

¹²⁰³ Erl. 16, 90.

¹²⁰⁴ See above, p. 35.

his prescribed prayers, to say nothing of arbitrary fastings and mortifications. Moreover, as we have just heard himself say, he would not, in consequence of his self-chastisements, have lived two years, *had he not been delivered from them by the gospel*. But the light in St. Paul dawned upon Luther at least as early as the end of 1515. At that time, therefore, he was already freed from the self-chastisements.

For ten years at the most, therefore, did Luther in his monastery "betorture himself to death, had it lasted any longer,"¹²⁰⁵ by fasting, abstinence, roughness of labors and of clothing, by vigils, by freezing, etc. But what did Luther intend by these fearful mortifications? We already know. He wanted to become and to be certain of the forgiveness of his sins and to propitiate the stern Judge.¹²⁰⁶ "It was my earnest thought to attain to justification by my works."¹²⁰⁷ He and others in the monastery had let life "grow bitter, had worn themselves out in seeking and by plaguing themselves, and had desired to attain to what Christ is, in order that they might be blessed. What did they accomplish? Did they find Him?"¹²⁰⁸ But since when did Luther hold the view that the forgiveness of sins and all that is bound up therewith is bestowed by God, not on account of any works of ours whatever, but purely through grace, without merit on our part? Let Harnack give us the answer: "As far back as we can trace Luther's thought, that is, *to the first years of his academic activity in Wittenberg*, we find that, to him, God's grace is the forgiveness of sin and He bestows it *sine merito* (without merit)."¹²⁰⁹ Harnack is perfectly right. Even in Luther's marginal notes on the Sentences in the year 1510, dating from his second sojourn in Erfurt, and still more in his *Dictata* on the Psalter, delivered in Wittenberg 1513-1515, we find this view. Consequently from that time forward, Luther could no longer have had recourse to self-chastisement for the purpose of attaining forgiveness of his

¹²⁰⁵ Erl. 31, 273.

¹²⁰⁶ See above, p. 387 sq.

¹²⁰⁷ By those just named. Opp. exeg. lat. XVIII, 226.

¹²⁰⁸ Erl. 48, 317.

¹²⁰⁹ "Lehrbuch d. Dogmengesch.," 3 ed., III, 738, note 1.

sins. Moreover, in all those years, he *never* ascribes that purpose to such chastisements, but, as we shall see farther below, he assigns them their true end, which he took from Catholic doctrine.

Those years of self-castigation, therefore, shrink from twenty, fifteen, and ten, to a mere *five* altogether. But are the first five years, at least, of Luther's monastic life assured? Let us see, in the meantime first setting up the *austerity* of the Order for the sake of comparison.

There is one thing in his Order that assuredly did not cause him any pain, namely, his *habit*. He speaks, indeed, as we heard, of the *roughness of his clothing*. But how is that possible? The habit of the Hermits of St. Augustine was anything but austere. According to the regulations, it should be cheap and unostentatious,¹²¹⁰ but a *rough* habit was not prescribed. It was called rough by comparison with the clothing of seculars, and because woolen stuffs were worn next to the body instead of linen.¹²¹¹ But woolens could not have made Luther's life an affliction. The initial, unwonted discomfort of them is soon overcome, and he who once wears woolen clothing, as I know from experience, will not easily change to linen. For myself the latter would be a mortification. In this matter, the Hermits were rather lenient than severe. What Luther says on the austerity and harshness of his clothing is simply ridiculous, all the more so because, if in anything at all, herein certainly he could be no exception, and had to wear clothing of the same material as the rest of his brethren.

The case is the same in respect to the *cold* and frost, about which, as we have heard, Luther later repeatedly complains. From where did he order his cold and frosts for seven months of the year, namely, summer, the end of spring and the beginning of autumn? In the winter, according

¹²¹⁰ Constit. Staupitz., c. 24: "Fratres, exceptis femoralibus, iuxta carnem lineis non utantur, sed laneis tantum. Que tanto honestati nostre congruunt, quanto fuerint viliores." In like manner the general constitutions, e. g., those printed Venetiis, 1508, fol. 25.

¹²¹¹ Hence in Const., c. 15: "Asperitatem vestium."

to the constitutions, he could clothe himself more warmly, so as not to suffer from the cold.¹²¹² The statutes made equally good provision against the frosts at night in his place of rest.¹²¹³ There is no doubting that few of the laity of Erfurt were as well provided for in this respect as were the Hermits. Hausrath, indeed, writes: "Luther lay *uncovered* in his cold cell."¹²¹⁴ But where does Luther say this? Least of all in the passage quoted by Hausrath.¹²¹⁵ And if Luther had said and done so, what would it prove? In case that, at best, this mortification was on Luther's *own responsibility*, not on that of the Church or of the austerity of the Order, it would prove that he lacked discretion.

It is no wonder that, in the enumeration of the severities of the Order, the constitutions make no mention of the cold,¹²¹⁶ whilst they do not pretermit the nightly *vigils*. But what do these mean? The office in choir at night. Yet by what right could Luther complain about that, since it was in practice, not only in all the orders but even in cathedral chapters—an exercise which in some chapters was kept up even as late as the beginning of the eighteenth century? Or was the Hermit's choir service at night particularly severe? Not more so than anywhere else. It included matins and lauds, and, at times, the short matins and lauds of the *Office of the Blessed Virgin*. We religious in our convent

¹²¹² Constit. Staupitz., c. 24: "Sint preterea vestiariae in quolibet loco provide pelliceis et calceis nocturnalibus quantum cujuslibet conventus admiserit facultas, ne illis qui assidue divinis vacant desint necessaria, *precipue hyemali tempore*. Idcirco astringimus priores et procuratores ut illis tanto intendant diligentius, quo Ordinis honorem et divini cultus diligunt promotionem, neque enim fratres absque provisione corporis possunt perseverare in laudibus divinis." This statute was enacted precisely on account of the severe winter season in Germany, and has its basis in the general constitutions (c. 24). Had Luther been a *Franciscan* in Bonaventure's time, he would certainly have been able to complain of the cold. It is with justice that St. Bonaventure mentions the "afflictio frigoris et caloris." See above, p. 60, note 4.

¹²¹³ Ibid.

¹²¹⁴ "Neue Heidelberg. Jahrbücher," VI, p. 181. "Luther's Leben" (1904), I, 34.

¹²¹⁵ Erl. 49, 27, already cited by me, p. 389.

¹²¹⁶ See above, p. 66, note 90.

of Graz, (Austria), had it much severer, for, at the close of the office, there was still a half hour's meditation, so that our nightly vigil lasted, on an average, from midnight to half past one o'clock, summer and winter, too, except the last three nights of Holy Week. Did this work hardship on myself and others and betorture our bodies, so that we had almost died? So little was this the case that others and I regarded the midnight office as the most beautiful part of our Order's observance, for the reason that it meant the chanting of the Divine praises whilst others slept. It never entered our minds that ours was a case of death-bringing self-torture, or even of effecting the forgiveness of our sins. We were too sensible for that. That other alleged purpose (of such exercises) I first learned some decades of years later from Luther's writings.

The true, earlier Luther thought as we do. Expounding the verse of Psalm 118: "In the night I have remembered thy name, O Lord," he writes, 1514: "He who lives in the spirit, serves God day and night, for the inner man no more sleeps by night than by day, aye, even less, *particularly when, at the same time, the body keeps vigil; at night the spirit is more receptive of the heavenly than by day, as the experienced Fathers have taught us.* Therefore does the Church *salutarily* exercise herself at night in the praise of God,"¹²¹⁷ "for it is the custom in the Church to rise at midnight."¹²¹⁸ Luther even takes a decided stand for morning meditation, with which the customs of his Order were not concerned. To make it fruitful, he requires those who practice it not to give themselves up to distractions the evening before, more than that, that they make an evening meditation as a preparation.¹²¹⁹ And why all this? To merit the forgiveness of one's sins? Oh, no, but to be mindful of God.¹²²⁰ The forgive-

¹²¹⁷ Dictata super Psalt., Weim. IV, 334.

¹²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 335 on: Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi: "Nox * * * satis expresse ad litteram hic notat surgendi morem in Ecclesia in media nocte."

¹²¹⁹ Ibid., III, 362. Cf. IV, 474.

¹²²⁰ Ibid., p. 361: "ut ad minus memores simus Dei de sero et mane, ut sic principium et finis nobis ipse sit."

ness of sin is purely God's grace. God, says Luther some pages before, with St. Augustine,¹²²¹ does not await our merits but (He exercises) His goodness to forgive us our sins and to promise us everlasting life. And Luther himself adds: it is faith that justifies us.¹²²²

Besides, as is the case even to this day, the weak, (to say nothing at all of the sick), and those greatly taxed with labors, were exempted from choir service at night. *Arbitrary* vigils have always been forbidden from time immemorial. If Luther went to excess in this respect, *his* was the fault and he sinned against the virtue of discretion, as I shall presently set forth.

Much more importance attaches to what the later Luther relates concerning his rigorous fasting, which he never omits to mention, it being alleged to have almost brought the earlier Luther to death's door. But the fasts prescribed for the Augustinian Hermits of that time, so far as Germany was concerned, particularly the vicariate with the Erfurt convent, (in which Luther spent his first years), were *considerably* less strict than those ordained in the *general*, even then already mitigated, constitutions of the Order. The constitutions of the Hermits, in respect to fasting ordinances, were an admixture of the Franciscan rule and the Dominican statutes, the residue being an addition according to the Order's own judgment. The Franciscan rule was based on the fundamental provision that the community should observe a *strict* fast from the feast of All Saints, (Nov. 1), to Christmas, i.e., not only abstinence from meat, but also from eggs, cheese, and milk. At the evening collation, only a beverage with bread or fruits was allowed. The same regulation held for the time from Quinquagesima to Easter Sunday. From Christmas to Quinquagesima Sunday, dispensations were permitted, so that food could be prepared even with lard, and, as during the rest of the year, too, (excepting Fridays and certain fast-

¹²²¹ Enarr. in Psalm. 60, n. 9.

¹²²² III, 351: "quia fides iustificat nos."

days) eggs, cheese, and milk might be used even oftener than at one meal.¹²²³

The community of a convent of Hermits ought properly—and here the Dominican statutes were the basis of the rule—to abstain from the use of meat throughout the year. But even in the old constitutions, power was given to the convent authorities alternately to grant dispensations to the brethren in a place outside the refectory in such wise that at least a half of the community remained in the refectory and ate fasting fare. But such dispensations were not to be granted too frequently.¹²²⁴ Even this mitigation, however, still seemed too little. Accordingly, under the General, Thomas of Strasburg, a general chapter at Paris, in 1545, left it to the discretion of convent superiors to determine how many of the brethren should remain in the refectory, to satisfy the statutes. But no brother was permitted to be outside the refectory to eat meat oftener than three times a week. Lectors and others taxed with many duties were to eat with the community in the refectory at least three times a week. The general chapter then exhorted the convent superiors to en-

¹²²³ Constitut., ed. *Gabriel Venetus* (Venetiis 1508), cap. 22 with which the mss. are nearly in accord: "A festo Omnium Sanctorum usque ad Nativitatem Domini, nullo labore vel occasione (excepto infirmitatis articulo) fratres non nisi semel, in cibariis tantum quadragesimalibus, reficiantur. A festo autem nativitatis domini usque ad Quinquagesimam possit prior, si quandoque sue discretioni videbitur, cum suis fratribus in ieiunio dispensare. Frater vero, qui ieiunium a festo Omnium Sanctorum usque ad Nativitatem Domini presumpserit violare (quia postpositis Dei reverentia et timore, tam honestum et religiosum mandatum ordinis infringere non veretur), pro qualibet die qua ieiunium fregit, tribus diebus continuis infra duas hebdomadas a fractione ipsius ieiunii in pane tantum et aqua ieiunet in medio refectorii super nudam terram sedens. Priores quidem et visitatores et provinciales faciant dictam penitentiam ab omnibus delinquentibus inviolabiliter observari," etc.

¹²²⁴ *Ibid.*: "Fratrum extra locum nullo modo vel causa aliqua carnes manducant, nisi tam gravi et evidenti sint infirmitate detenti et gravati, quod de consilio medicinæ (sic) non possint sine periculo ab esu carnum abstinere. In loco vero ordinis prior in esu carnum dispensare possit cum debilibus, minutis et quotidianis laboribus occupatis; et si aliquando sue discretioni videatur cum aliqua parte fratrum sui conventus in esu carnum dispensandum, ita modeste et religiose cum eis alternative dispenset, quod nulli ex eis ex dispensatione huiusmodi oriatur materia murmurandi. Refectory namque saltem a medietate fratrum nulla hora reficiendi modo aliquo deseratur. Talis tamen dispensatio non sit crebra."

deavor to arrange in such manner in their convents "that they and the others, the weak as well as the strong, might all support the same regime."¹²²⁵

If these conventual prescriptions could not occasion any suffering to the young Luther, far less so could those constitutions to which he was actually subjected on his entrance into the monastery of Erfurt, namely, the constitutions of Staupitz of the year 1504. *In these, everything was mitigated and simplified.* It is true, we still hear the rule that the brethren shall fast from All Saints' to Christmas and from Quinquagesima to Easter. But the fast is not laid down, as in the general constitutions, to be kept with "*cibariis quadragesimalibus*"—Lenten fare—i.e., the fast is not to be the *strict* but the *simple* fast, with one full meal, milk and eggs also being allowed. This regulation was extended to the Fridays and other Church fast-days of the year. Outside these times, the community ate meat, except only on Wednesdays on which they had also to abstain from it.¹²²⁶ Staupitz concludes the exceedingly short chapter with an exhortation to the brethren not to forget during meals the text of the rule: "*Subdue your flesh* by fasting and abstinence from meat and drink, *as far as your health permits.*" The Staupitz constitutions were calculated for northern regions and were akin to the observance already existing in the Order there, as is evidenced by the regulation, for instance, on the fast of Good Friday.¹²²⁷

¹²²⁵ These "Additiones supra Constitutionibus" of the Paris chapter were appended by Gabriel Venetus to the edition of the old constitutions (fol. 40-44). On fol. 41, there is among other things the text added to Chap. 22: "Exhortantes priores et procuratores locorum ut ipsi studeant talem vitam facere in conventibus, ut eam ipsi aliique fratres, tam fortes quam debiles, valeant supportare." This admonition also appears in the text of the later constitutions, e.g., those of 1547 (Romae 1551), modified by new and considerable mitigations (fol. 14^b, c. 23).

¹²²⁶ Constit., 3. 22: "Fratres nostros a festo Omnium Sanctorum usque ad Domini Natalem et a dominica Quinquagesime usque ad dominicam Resurrectionis, singulis etiam sextis feriis anni, atque statutis ab ecclesia diebus, adjuncta vigilia S. Augustini jejunio astringimus. Et ne in locis Ordinis, (i.e., in houses of the Order) quartis feriis carnes vescant prohibemus."

¹²²⁷ "In parasceve autem conventus consuetudinibus suis laudabiliter hactenus practicatis relinquimus." In the general constitutions, the text simply says (as in the Dominican statutes): in pane et aqua tantum reficimur.

In *no* wise could the fasts of the Order have harmed the young Luther in his novitiate and clericate at Erfurt, or have shortened his life. From the concluding declaration of the chapter on fasting (which he otherwise also had opportunity of learning at the reading of the rule at least once a week) he learned besides that this mortification was not instituted for the forgiveness of sins but for the "subduing of the flesh," and that it was not permitted to practice it imprudently, but with discretion, "as far as health permits." Hugo of St. Victor's exposition of the rule,¹²²⁸ accepted as official in the *whole* order of Hermits, says expressly on this passage, that it commends the virtue of discretion, for without it all good is lost. He who unduly afflicts his flesh puts his fellow-citizen to death, it continues, and in *all* abstinence one is to aim at extinguishing one's *vices*, not the *flesh*.¹²²⁹

If, therefore, the fasts of the Order did not suffice Luther, as the young monk, so that he arbitrarily undertook others beyond measure and, at the same time, believed thereby to merit the forgiveness of his sins and to become justified, that was simply and solely *his* own fault. Or did the conception of his Order on this point contradict Catholic teaching, so that, according to the latter, self-chastisements generally, not fasting alone, in order to attain the end alleged to have been aimed at by Luther, might be practiced beyond measure, even to the injury of health and life? Are Catholic authorities down to Luther to be supposed to have had no idea of discretion and of the true purpose of self-chastisements? Was Luther misled by them into the crazy penitential exer-

¹²²⁸ For just this reason, the text of the rule at the head of the constitutions is immediately followed by the "Expositio Hugonis de S. Victore super Regulam b. Aug.," in the collections of the constitutions (e.g., ms. of Verdun, No. 41, editions of 1508 and 1551).

¹²²⁹ Ibid., amongst other things Hugo writes: "Ne caro possit praevalere, spirituales viri per virtutem spiritus eandem *concupiscentiam debent reprimere*, quia quando caro domatur, spiritus roboratur. Sed cum adjungitur: 'quantum valetudo permittit,' *virtus discretionis commendatur*; pereunt enim ipsa bona, nisi cum discretionem fiant. Tantum ergo debet quisquam carnem suam domare per abstinenciam, quantum valetudo permittit naturae. Qui *carnem suam supra modum affligit, civem suum occidit*. * * * In omni abstinencia hoc semper attendendum est, *ut vitia extinguantur, non caro*" (in *Migne*, Patr. lat., t. 176, p. 893). See also in the next subdivision, page 400, the corresponding passages from Gregory the Great and of Bernard.

cises about which, as we see, he was later continually speaking? The following subdivision offers a reply.

B. VIEWS OF CATHOLIC TEACHERS DOWN TO LUTHER'S TIME ON SELF-CHASTISEMENTS AND DISCRETION.

All Christian antiquity down to Luther's time bears witness *against* the conception that works of penance are performed for the purpose of blotting out sin, of finding God and the Savior, or, in a word, salvation, and that therefore they may and ought to be practiced beyond measure.

As on many other points, so in respect to the doctrine on self-discipline was Cassian a wise master for posterity in the religious life. We already know that he ascribes only a subordinate role to works of penance on the way of perfection, considering them only as means in its service.¹²³⁰ Even in the first of his famous *Conlationes*, which were read and quoted throughout the middle ages, he takes a stand against excess and disorder in fasts, vigils, and prayers as against deceptions of the evil enemy.¹²³¹ He particularly develops this in the second *conlatio* and also treats on the virtue of discretion. Many, he writes, have been deceived by indiscreet works of penance, e.g., fasting and watching. They neglected both the virtue of discretion, which in the Gospel is called the eye and the light of the body, and the golden mean of neither too much nor too little doctrine.¹²³² Cas-

¹²³⁰ See above, p. 148. Cf. also Cassian's "Conlatio" I, 2, 3: "Habet ergo et nostra professio scopon proprium ac finem suum, *pro quo* labores cunctos non solum infatigabiliter, verum etiam gratanter impendimus, ob quem nos ieiuniorum inedia non fatigat, vigiliarum lassitudo delectat, lectio ac meditatio scripturarum continuata non satiat, labor etiam incessabilis nuditasque et omnium privatio, horror quoque huius vastissimae solitudinis non deterret," etc.

¹²³¹ Conlatio I, 20: "diabolus cum paracharaximis nos conatur inludere * * * immoderatis incompetentibusque jejuniis seu vigiliis nimis vel orationibus inordinatis vel incongrua lectione decipiens ad noxium pertrahit finem."

¹²³² Conlatio II, 2, Abbot Anthony says: "Saepenumero acerrime jejuniis seu vigiliis incubantes ac mirifice in solitudine secedentes * * * ita vidimus repente deceptos, ut arreptum opus non potuerint congruo exitu terminare, summumque fervorem et conversationem laudabilem detestabili fine concluderint * * * Nec enim alia lapsus eorum causa deprehenditur, nisi quod minus a senioribus instituti nequaquam poterunt rationem discre-

sian declares himself rather for the less than for the "too much"; for, "greater havoc is wrought by a disordered abstinence than by an over-indulged satiety. By means of salutary compunction, one can rise from the latter to a measure of severity, *but not from the former.*"¹²³³ In his mortifications, each one is to look "to the capability of the powers both of his body and of his age."¹²³⁴

Even before Cassian, the stern St. Basil had given expression to the same principles, and he recommends *φρόνησις* i.e., (intelligence, discretion), without which even apparent good turns into ill, whether on account of being untimely or by reason of not keeping within the bounds of moderation.¹²³⁵ In this sense, the patriarch of the monks of the West, St. Benedict, calls discretion "the mother of the virtues, teaching in all things that due measure be observed."¹²³⁶

St. Jerome, who, as is known, was practiced in all mortifications, warmly opposed indiscreet fasting: "In tender years especially, I do not approve of too long and excessive fasting, fruit and oil in the food being forbidden. I have learned by experience that, when it is tired on the road, a donkey seeks the by-paths."¹²³⁷ These words themselves voice a universal principle, elsewhere also employed by St. Jerome to set forth the danger of overstrain in this field.¹²³⁸ It is contrary to the dignity of rational nature, he writes, to injure one's senses by fasting and vigils, or even by (indiscreet)

*tionis adipisci, quae praetermittens utramque nimietatem via regia monachum docet semper incedere, et nec dextra virtutum permittit extolli, i. e. fervoris excessu iustae continentiae modum inepta praesumptione transcendere, nec oblectatum remissione deflectere ad vitia sinistra concedit * * * Haec namque est discretio, quae oculus et lucerna corporis in Evangelio nuncupatur."*

¹²³³ Ibid., c. 17. Cf. c. 16.

¹²³⁴ Ibid., c. 22.

¹²³⁵ Constit. monast., c. 14. *Migne*, Patrol. gr., t. 31, p. 1377.

¹²³⁶ Regula, c. 64 in *Migne*, Patr. lat. t. 65, p. 882.

¹²³⁷ Ep. 107, ad Laetam, a. 10: "* * * Experimento didici, asellum in via, cum lassus fuerit, diverticula quaerere."

¹²³⁸ Ep. 125, ad Rusticum, c. 16: "Sunt qui humore cellarum, immoderatisque ieiuniis, taedio solitudinis, ac nimia lectione, dum diebus ac noctibus auribus suis personant, vertuntur in melancholiam, et Hippocratis magis fomentis, quam nostris monitis indigent." Similarly in c. 7 where he admonishes that fasting must be practiced within measure.

singing of the psalms, to fall a victim to dementia or melancholy.¹²³⁹ What is here said of the prescribed psalmody is enjoined by St. Peter Chrysologus in respect to the prescribed fasts, when he preaches: "Let fasting be done in a uniform manner, corresponding to the intention of its institution, *the subduing of the body and of the soul*. At least let him, who is not able to fast, not venture to introduce a new custom, but let him confess his frailty as the ground of the mitigation in his favor and seek to supply the deficiencies arising from his faulty fasting by giving alms. For the Lord will not condemn to the number of those who sigh, the one who, for his own salvation, relieves the sighs of the poor."¹²⁴⁰

The above mentioned purpose of the prescribed fasts belong to all works of penance, even such as are arbitrarily chosen, as we were taught by Hugo of St. Victor in the preceding subdivision. In that passage he but quotes, without mentioning it, the admonition of Gregory the Great: By abstinence *the lusts of the flesh are to be extinguished, but not the flesh itself*.¹²⁴¹

St. Bernard, that great master of the spiritual life, whom Luther at times ranks above all others, only draws on St. Benedict when he calls discretion the mother and directress of all the virtues, without which virtue becomes vice.¹²⁴² Moreover, just as there is nothing more unhappy than to mortify one's flesh by fasting and watching for the sake of the people, so is it also wrong, (even doing it for God), indiscreetly to discipline one's flesh too severely, so as afterwards

¹²³⁹ "Nonne rationalis homo dignitatem amittit, qui ieiunium vel vigiliis praeferat sensus integritati; ut propter Psalmorum atque officiorum decantationem amentiae vel tristitiae quis notam incurrat?" This saying was approved by St. Thomas in Ep. ad Rom. c. 12, lect. 1.

¹²⁴⁰ Sermo 166 (Migne, Patr. lat., t. 52, p. 636), on the forty days' fast.

¹²⁴¹ Moral. XX, c. 41, n. 78: "Per abstinentiam quippe carnis vitia sunt extinguenda, non caro." He repeats this XXX, c. 18, no. 63. In Ezech. I, homil. 7, no. 10 and passim.

¹²⁴² Sermo 3 in Circumcis.: (Migne, Patrol. lat., t. 183, p. 142, n. 11): "Necesse est lumine discretionis, quae mater virtutum est, et consummatio perfectionis." In Cant. Serm. 49, n. 5: "discretio omni virtuti ordinem ponit * * * Est ergo discretio non tam virtus quam quaedam moderatrix et auriga virtutum, ordinatrixque affectuum et morum doctrix. Tolle hanc, et virtus vitium erit."

to lose one's health. We must, he says, take our body and its capabilities of endurance into consideration, lest "whilst we seek to put the yoke upon the enemy, we kill our fellow-citizen. Preserve your body for the service of your Creator."¹²⁴³ It is the same thought that we met above in Hugo of St. Victor. The saint speaks sharply against the indiscreet zeal of the newcomers, who were not satisfied with the fasts and discipline of the Order, with the prescribed moderation in vigils, in clothing, and in food, deeming these all too easy, and who wanted to do more, preferring regulations of their own to those in general use. He fears that, although they began in the spirit, they would end in the flesh.¹²⁴⁴ Quite different is the case of those who prefer the general to the particular and their own. To them is referred the saying of the saint, so often repeated in the later middle ages: "In nearly all monastic communities, you can find men filled with consolation, flowing over with joy, replete with gentleness and cheerfulness, of a fervent spirit, to whom discipline seems precious, fasting agreeable, night-watching short, manual toil a delight, and, finally, all the strictures of this holy gathering refreshing."

In other monastic institutes as well, e.g., in the strict Carthusian Order, it was also a principle that one was to be contented with the general mortifications and vigils. It was only with the approval of the prior that more was allowed.¹²⁴⁵

William de St. Thierry does not vary a step from Bernard when he writes: "At times one must discipline, but not ruin the body. 'For bodily exercise is profitable to little, but godliness is profitable to all things.'" (I Tim., 4, 8.)¹²⁴⁷

St. Thomas Aquinas, expounding the scriptural passage just quoted, teaches that "the bodily exercise of fasting and

¹²⁴³ De diversis Sermo 40 (*Migne*, l. c. p. 651, n. 7).

¹²⁴⁴ In Cant. Sermo 19, n. 7 (*ibid.*, p. 866).

¹²⁴⁵ Sermo 5 De ascensione Domini, n. 7 (*ibid.*, p. 318).

¹²⁴⁶ Statuta antiqua, 2^a pars, c. 15, n. 25; Statuta Guigonis Carthus., c. 35: "Abstinentiae vero vel disciplinas vel vigillas seu quelibet alia religionis exercitia, que nostre institutionis non sunt, nulli nostrum nisi priore sciente et favente facere licet."

¹²⁴⁷ Ep. ad fratr. de Monte Dei, I, c. 11, n. 32 (*Migne*, t. 184, p. 328).

the like is not of its nature a good, but rather a punishment, (*poenalia*). For, had man not sinned, there would have been nothing of all this. Such exercises are remedial goods, (*bona medicinalia*). Just as rhubarb is good, because it relieves of bile, so also those exercises, *insofar as they check evil desires.*"¹²⁴⁸ It is partly for this reason that Christ did not fast as rigorously and practice as many mortifications as St. John the Baptist. "Jesus Christ gave us the example of perfection in all that, of itself, pertains to salvation; *but mortification in meat and drink does not pertain to salvation*, according to Romans 14, 17, where it is said: 'The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink.'¹²⁴⁹

It is here that one first understands the necessity of discretion and of moderation in mortifications and acts of self-discipline. "The good of man and his justice," writes the same master,¹²⁵⁰ "consists chiefly in interior acts, in faith, hope, and charity, not in *exterior* ones. The former are in the nature of an end, sought for its own sake. But exterior acts, by which the body is offered to God, have the nature of means to an end. In that which is sought as an end, there

¹²⁴⁸ In ep. 1 ad Tim., c. 4, lect. 2. Thomas makes the right comment on this: "Corporalis exercitatio ieiunii et huiusmodi ad modicum utilis est, *quia tantum ad morbum peccati carnalis, non spiritualis, quie aliquando propter abstinentioniam homo iracundiam, inanem gloriam et huiusmodi incurrit.*"

¹²⁴⁹ 3. p. qu. 40, a. 2 ad 1. Similarly Birgitta, Extravagantes, 6, 122.

¹²⁵⁰ In ep. ad Rom. c. 12, lect. 1: "Aliter se habet homo justus ad interiores actus, quibus Deo obsequitur, et ad exteriores; nam bonum hominis et iustitia eius principaliter in interioribus actibus consistit, quibus scil. homo credit, sperat et diligit, unde dicitur Luc. 17, 21: 'Regnum Dei intra vos est'; non autem principaliter consistit in exterioribus actibus. Rom. 14, 17: 'Non est regum Dei esca et potus.' Unde interiores actus se habent per modum finis, qui secundum se quaeritur; exteriores vero actus, ad quos Deo corpora exhibentur, se habent sicut ea quae sunt ad finem. In eo autem quod quaeritur tamquam finis, nulla mensura adhibetur, sed quanto maius fuerit, tanto melius se habet; *in eo autem quod quaeritur propter finem, adhibetur mensura secundum proportionem ad finem*, sicut medicus sanitatem facit quantum potest; medicinam autem non tantum dat quantum potest, sed quantum videt expedire ad sanitatem consequendam. Et similiter homo in fide, spe et in caritate nullam mensuram debet adhibere, sed quanto plus credit, sperat et diligit, tanto melius est, propter quod Deut. 6, 5: 'Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo.' Sed *in exterioribus actibus est adhibenda discretionis mensura per comparisonem ad caritatem.*" He then adduces the passage of St. Jerome, cited above, p. 399, note 1250.

is no measure employed. The more of it there is, the better. But in that which is sought on account of the end, one uses measure in proportion to the end. Man is not to observe measure in faith, hope, and charity; but *in his exterior acts, he must employ the measure of discretion with relation to charity.*"

From this principle, other sayings of St. Thomas on acts of self-discipline follow. "Mortification of the body by watching and fasting is not agreeable to God, except inasmuch as it is a virtue, and it is a virtue only inasmuch as it is performed *with discretion*, in such wise, namely, as *to curb concupiscence and not too much to burden nature.*"¹²⁵¹ "Right reason does not permit so much to be subtracted from one's food that nature cannot be kept from injury."¹²⁵² Referring to the "*Conlationes Patrum*" of Cassian, he teaches that not that order stands higher which possesses the most austerity, but the one which, with the greater discretion, gives such austerity its due relation to the end for which the order was instituted.¹²⁵³ In the orders, austerities are only an adjunct. Their purpose is to keep the individual members from vice, and to facilitate their progress in virtuous living;¹²⁵⁴ their purpose is to put a check on themselves, (*ad refrenandum seipsum*).¹²⁵⁵

In the preceding declarations, St. Thomas has set forth the doctrine of Catholic antiquity and of his own period

¹²⁵¹ 2. 2. qu. 88, a. 2 ad 3: "dicendum quod maceratio proprii corporis puta per vigillas et jejunia non est Deo accepta, nisi in quantum est opus virtutis quod quidem est, in quantum cum debita discretionem fit, ut scilicet *concupiscentia refrenetur et natura non nimis gravetur.*"

¹²⁵² Ibid. qu. 147, a. 1 ad 2: "Non ratio recta tantum de cibo subtrahit, ut natura conservari non possit." For this he cites St. Jerome: "De rapina holocaustum offert, qui vel ciborum nimia egestate, vel somni penuria corpus immoderate affligit." The passage is taken from "De consecrat., V. non mediocriter," c. 24. This canon, however, is traced back principally to the "Regula Monachorum," in *Migne*, Patr. lat., t. 30, p. 330 sq., where, in c. 13 (p. 353), the "ne quid nimis" in respect to fasting is likewise recommended.

¹²⁵³ 2. 2., qu. 188, a. 6 ad 3. See above, p. 196, note 554.

¹²⁵⁴ Contra retrahentes a religionis ingressu, c. 6: "Adduntur etiam in religionis statu multae observantiae, puta vigiliarum, jejuniorum et sequestrationis a saecularium vita, per quae homines magis a vitiis arcentur, et ad virtutis perfectionem facilius promoventur."

¹²⁵⁵ 1. 2. qu. 108, a. 4, ad 3.

on the purpose of works of penance and on the discretion to be used in employing them. On this point there is *not the slightest discrepancy* to be found between him and other authorities, which, as is known, cannot be said of them in respect to some matters. Nevertheless let us still consider some of the most important teachers down to the time of Luther.

An older contemporary of St. Thomas, David of Augsburg, the Franciscan, so much used in the middle ages, like the rest of the masters of the spiritual life, points all acts of self-discipline to their proper place in the religious life. He is against those religious who hold them to be the highest thing in monastic observance, whilst they neglect that which is the essential thing, spiritual progress in the virtues. Such religious always remain dry and bitter. They are generally stern in their condemnation of the rest.¹²⁵⁶ Like all who preceded him, David warns all newcomers against indiscreet chastising of the body, "*which ruins it, causes all the powers and senses to decay, deadens the spirit, and upsets all spiritual progress.*"¹²⁵⁷ Referring to Romans 12, 1 ("your reasonable service"), he adduces the gloss of Peter Lombard, i.e.: "with discretion, lest there be excess, but with temperance, chastise your bodies, not compelling them by failure of nature to be dissolved, but to die to their vices."¹²⁵⁸ He also cites the words of St. Gregory, as quoted above.¹²⁵⁹

All the authorities concur. St. Bonaventure follows in the same footsteps when he writes that monastic discipline in respect to silence, food, clothing, labor, vigils, etc., is not

¹²⁵⁶ *David de Augusta*, De exterioris et interioris hominis compositione (ed. Quaracchi 1899), p. 80: "* * * qui duram vitam in corporali exercitatione servant, affligentes corpora sua ieiuniis, vigiliis et aliis laboribus corporalibus, et putant hoc summum in Religionis observantia esse, et interioris dulcedinis ignari, de veris virtutum studiis, quae in spiritu et mente solent, parum curant. Hi, quia in se sicci sunt et aliis in iudicando severi solent esse, bene amari et amaricantes dici possunt."

¹²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

¹²⁵⁸ G. Migne, *Patr. l.*, t. 191, p. 1496: "Cum discretione, *ne quid nimis sit*, sed cum temperantia vestra corpora castigetis, ut non naustrae defectu cogantur, dissolvi, sed vitis mori."

¹²⁵⁹ *Ibid.* I recommend the further so reasonable exposition of David to the reader.

of such virtue, that "without it there would be no salvation."¹²⁶⁰ With regard particularly to the mortification of the body, it is not of itself pleasing to God, but only insofar as it bears with it the discipline of spiritual pain. And he sets up as a rule the express principle handed down to his time from Christian antiquity, that, in chastising the body, one should hold to the golden mean, not being too mild, lest the evil desires of the flesh live on, and not being too strict lest nature be overcome in ruin.¹²⁶¹

The Order of Augustinian Hermits, so far as this point was concerned, only adhered to the old tradition. This is particularly shown, apart from the statutes already discussed, in two works, the most widely spread and read in the Order, "*Augustini*" *Sermones ad Fratres in eremo*, and *Liber qui dicitur Vitae Fratrum compositus per Fr. Jordanum de Saxonia*. As is known, an Augustinian Hermit was the author of the Sermons, although Luther, as a young religious, contended against Wimpfeling that they came from Augustine.¹²⁶² These sermons repeatedly make mention of fasting, but each time the words of the rule are adduced: "Subdue your flesh by depriving yourselves of meat and drink, *as far as health permits*."¹²⁶³ But far more was Jordan's book esteemed and in use in the Order, as a standard, because of its practical utility. Referring to the same words of the rule, it reminds the brethren that, by the power of the spirit, spiritual men *should subdue the concupiscence of the flesh* by fasting and abstinence.¹²⁶⁴ He to whom the austerity of the Order seemed too mild, (as it actually was), could undertake especial acts of self-discipline for himself, *as far as the state of his health permitted*, and provided "that he did so with discretion (*cum*

¹²⁶⁰ De sex alis Seraphim, c. 2, n. 7 (Opp. ed. Quaracchi, VIII, 134).

¹²⁶¹ In Sentent. IV, dist. 15, parte 2^a, a. 2, qu. 2, ad 1 et 8. For this he cites the above used passage of William *de St. Thierry*. In his "Legenda S. Francisci," c. 5 (Opp. VIII, 518, n. 7), St. Bonaventure speaks, with St. Bernard, of discretion as the "auriga virtutum."

¹²⁶² Weim. IX, 12.

¹²⁶³ Sermones 23-25 in Opp. S. Augustini (Parisus 1685), t. 6, p. 327 sqq.

¹²⁶⁴ Vitae Fratrum (Romae 1587), l. 4, c. 9, p. 70: "Quia caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, spiritus vero adversus carnem, ne concupiscentia carnis possit praevalere, debent spirituales viri per virtutem spiritus carnis concupiscentiam reprimere. Quod quidem fit per ieiunium et abstinentiam."

discretione), with the permission of his superior (*de licentia superioris*), and without scandal to the brethren" (*sine fratrum scandalo*).¹²⁶⁵ "Where these three conditions are not present," he continues, "*the singularity in the brother is reprehensible*" (*reprehensibilis*).¹²⁶⁶ In this he appeals to the authority of the passages cited above from Bernard's *In Cant.* sermo 19. Jordan sharply impresses it upon superiors that they were not to drive the brethren to desperation by indiscreet severity.¹²⁶⁷

Now what is the teaching on this subject of the *German mystics* and other kindred masters? Henry Seuse, who was very severe with himself, nevertheless confesses that "bodily severity adds great favor to things, if the one who practices it acts with *moderation*," i.e., with discretion.¹²⁶⁸ "Employ as much severity against yourself as you can effect with your weak body, so that vice may die within you and you with the body may live a long time. We are not natured alike. What suits one man well does not suit another."¹²⁶⁹ In his teaching on this subject, Seuse rests wholly on Cassian and Bernard. "Speaking generally," he says, "it is much better to exercise discreet severity than indiscreet. But because it is difficult to find a middle way, it is more advisable *to keep a little under it than to venture too far beyond*. For it often happens that one inordinately deprives nature of too much, so that afterwards one must inordinately give back too much again."¹²⁷⁰

And what is taught by the theologian whom Luther preferred, Tauler? "Know that fasting and vigils are a great,

¹²⁶⁵ Ibid., c. 10, p. 72 sq. In c. 11, p. 76, this is developed lengthily. On the basis of *Conlat.* 2, 11, he at the same time writes there that the brethren should subject themselves to the "*judicium seniorum*." His development of the subject of discretion is almost entirely based on the "*Conlationes Patrum*."

¹²⁶⁶ Ibid., c. 12, p. 80.

¹²⁶⁷ Ibid., l. 2, p. 70: "*Cavere debent praelati, ne sua Indiscreta asperitate fratres in desperationem inducant.*"

¹²⁶⁸ "*Liber Epistolarum*" in "*Cod. theol.*" of the Stuttgart *Staatsbibliothek*, fol. 54^b. Cf. Denifle, "*Seuses Leben und Schriften*, I, 617: "*Bodily exercise (mortification) helps somewhat, if there is not too much of it.*"

¹²⁶⁹ Denifle, loc. cit., p. 157 sq.

¹²⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 158.

strong help to a godly life, *provided a man can stand them*; and where a man is sick, of an ailing head—in this country the people are usually afflicted with ailing heads—and when *he finds that he crushes his nature and is likely to ruin it, he ought to leave off fasting*. Even though he should be obliged by law to fast, let him get leave from his confessor. Should you not get leave for lack of opportunity, take leave from God and eat something, until you go to your confessor tomorrow and say: I was sick and ate, and then get leave for afterwards. *Holy Church never thought nor intended that anyone should ruin himself.*¹²⁷¹

And although he admonishes nuns, for instance, to be diligent in all the laws of the Holy Order, he finds it a matter of course that “an old, infirm sister should not fast or watch or do exterior works beyond her power.” Neither the Church nor the orders desire one to be ruined in health; on the contrary, “all of which you honestly and legitimately have need, be it clothing or furs, whatever you otherwise need, God and the Order freely grant you.”¹²⁷²

Even Gerson, likewise held in high esteem by Luther, though rebuked by him for the strong stand he took in favor of the strict life of the Carthusians,¹²⁷³ advises in respect to penitential acts as well as to other exercises: “*Ne quid nimis*,” avoid excess, let the golden mean be observed.¹²⁷⁴ Finally he inculcates upon all the virtue of discretion in their practice of abstinence. *Even the Fathers, he said, did this, inasmuch as they taught that indiscreet abstinence led to a worse outcome, harder to manage, than did an unchecked appetite*. This discretion is nowhere better observed than in humility and obedience, by which one abandons one’s own opinions and subjects himself to the counsel of those who are

¹²⁷¹ First sermon for the fourth Sunday after Trinity, after a copy of the fire-destroyed Strassburg ms. Cf. Frankfurt edition, II, 178 sq., with a poor text.

¹²⁷² Frankfurt edition, II, 207 sq., above corrected according to the “Cod. germ. Mon.,” 627, fol. 131.

¹²⁷³ Erl. 7, 44. See also above, p. 347.

¹²⁷⁴ “De non esu carnum apud Carthusienses,” Opp. II, 723. He also cites the Horatian lines (Sat. I, 1, 106): *Est modus in rebus, sunt certi denique fines, Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum*.

experienced. But such obedience, the mother of discretion—where is it more in its place than just among the religious?¹²⁷⁵ Immoderation in abstinence causes harm to the senses and to one's judgment.¹²⁷⁶ We have already heard all of this in the preceding pages from the lips of others.

That golden booklet, the Following of Christ, does not vary a hair's breadth from these rules of the spiritual masters. "Bodily exercises (i.e., acts of self-discipline) are to be practised with discretion and may not be taken up and carried out in like manner by all."¹²⁷⁷ "Some, lacking caution, have wrought their own undoing on account of the grace of devotion, because they wanted to do more than they could. They did not take account of the measure of their littleness, but of their heart's affection rather than of the judgment of their understanding. And because they undertook more than was pleasing to God, they therefore lost grace. Youths and those who are inexperienced in the way of God are easily deceived and crushed, if they do not let themselves be guided by the counsel of the discreet. If they follow their own sense rather than experienced leaders, their exit and end will be the more perilous."¹²⁷⁸

For the sake of brevity I must leave not a few pertinent writings of that time aside, e.g., the lesser ones of Thomas a Kempis. I would also have passed over in silence Gerhard von Zütphen, of the end of the fourteenth century, had not Luther early praised and esteemed him as a "sound theologian," (while identifying him, erroneously of course, with the famous Gerhard Groote).¹²⁷⁹ In his work "*De spiritualibus*

¹²⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 729: "Nolo putet me aliquis per dicta quaecunque praece-dentia secludere velle discretionis virtutem in abstinencia vel servanda vel assumenda. Scio itaque et sic Patres determinant, quod ad deterio-rem exitum et cui minus est remedii, trahit abstinencia indiscreta, quam edacitas immoderata," etc.

¹²⁷⁶ Ibid. " * * * ne sensus efficiantur hebetes ac stolidi per exces-sivam in jejuno aut fletu abundantiam, et ut non ex consequendi rationis ludicium evertatur," etc. Further pertinent discussions on the subject follow.

¹²⁷⁷ Imlt. I, 19.

¹²⁷⁸ Ibid. III, 7.

¹²⁷⁹ See above, p. 175, note 489, the quotation from Luther's commentary on Romans (for the year 1516). In his "Dictata" on the Psalter (Weim.

ascensionibus," which Luther just has in mind, Gerhard gives the remedies against gluttony (*gula*), and chiefly against concupiscence (*concupiscentia*): "this vice must be trodden under foot (*conculcanda*) by fasting, watching, reading, and frequent heartfelt contrition." If Gerhard shows himself in accord with Church tradition in this that he places the purpose of works of penance in the subduing of the flesh and of the concupiscence thereof, so also in this that he is for moderation. "The spiritual man ought to reach the condition in which he can abstain from the delectable and be contented with the necessary, both in quality and in quantity; as regards the former, that he seek not the delicate and the singular, as regards the latter, that he overstep not due measure. For, although *the capacity of the measure of men is various* (*quamvis varia est capacitas mensurae hominum*), yet there is in all but one aim of abstinence, namely, that no one, according to the measure of his capacity, be burdened with gluttony. Above all let *sobriety* (*sobrietas*) see to it, that *a like and moderate fast* be always observed," (*aequale moderatumque jejunium observetur*).¹²⁸⁰ Let this suffice here.

At the same time in which Gerhard von Zütphen was writing in Germany, the well-known Raymond Jordanis wrote in France under the name of *Idiota*. He investigates which is the straightest way to God, expressing himself in this wise: "He who makes pilgrimages, takes chastisements of the flesh upon himself, gives alms, is often assailed (*impetitur*) by the wind of vain honor, and believing himself going to penance, he falls into hell. Therefore, Lord Jesus Christ, Thou giver of charity, it is not *fasting, prayer, and almsgiving that are wholly* (*omnino*) *the straight way* of coming to Thee, but *Charity*, and Thy love is the straightest way without deviation," etc.¹²⁸¹ It is only charity alone, he writes, which pro-

III, 648), he correctly names him (about 1514) "Gerardus Zutphaniensis." There is more about him below in this section.

¹²⁸⁰ In the writing mentioned above, c. 56 (Bibl. max. Patrum, t. 26, p. 281). Regarding the end of mortifications, Gerhard also writes, c. 57: "cum per macerationem carnis et alia exercitia affectus mundatur et caro ita spiritui subiugatur, ut rarius tentetur et facili labore tentatio cedat," etc.

¹²⁸¹ *Contemplationes de amore divino*," c. 17 (op. Sommalii, Venetiis 1718, p. 337). See also Thomas, above, p. 402, note 1248.

fects man from all sides, whilst every other virtue has but one side in view, as, for instance, abstinence (*abstinentia*) is a protection only against gluttony (*gula*). And generally, to mention but these two virtues, "almsgiving and fasting would be of no value, if they were not guided and protected by charity."¹²⁸²

It is only an echo out of the time of Hugo of St. Victor, when, in Italy, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, we hear St. Laurence Giustiniani: "It is wholly necessary for each one to adhere to the art of discretion, insofar as not to bring death to the flesh but to the vices. For often, when we pursue the flesh as our enemy, we also strike a fellow-citizen, dear to us, dead"—an old principle which the saint amplifies with minute detail.¹²⁸³ This doctrine was the prevalent teaching everywhere in the Church, and we find it again in Spain in the second decade of the sixteenth century. In the tenth supplement for the first week of his Spiritual Exercises, St. Ignatius permits privation of food and sleep, or any other bodily mortification only insofar "as nature suffers no harm therefrom and no considerable weakness or infirmity follows." In like manner, earlier in France, the theologian Raulin, already known to us, so strict with himself, represents discretion in the doing of works of penance as a virtue necessary both to the private zeal of individuals¹²⁸⁴ and to the official duty of confessors, who have to impose penances upon penitents.¹²⁸⁵

¹²⁸² Ibid. c. 15 (p. 334). See also below, p. 414, note 1299.

¹²⁸³ De sobrietate, c. 3 (Opp. Basileae 1560, p. 90): "Sic prorsus necesse est, ut artem sobrietatis quisque teneat, quatenus non carnem, sed vitia occidat. Saepe enim, dum in illa hostem insequimur, etiam civem, quem diligimus, trucidamus." Reasonable sobrietas "ita corpus attenuat, ut mentem elevet et regat, ne res humilitatis gignat superbiam, et vitia de virtute nascentur. Nam incassum per abstinentiam corpus atteritur, si in ordinatis motibus dimissa mens vitiis dissipatur. Proinde per abstinentiam et sobrietatem vitia carnis extinguenda sunt, non caro."

¹²⁸⁴ Itinerarium Paradisi. De penitentia, sermo 31 (ed. Lugdun. 1518), fol. 71: "Aliquando motus vitiorum vult aliquis sine discretionem excutere per penitentiam nimiam, adeo quod bona nature et gratie perdit."

¹²⁸⁵ Ibid. sermo 28, fol. 65^b: "Oportet ministrum (Dei) omnia disponere super penitentem in numero, pondere et mensura. In eo enim debet esse discretio, que est omnium auriga virtutum in bello ex adverso omnium vitiorum. Ex quo necesse est, quod iudicium eius precedat discretio sicut

Certainly no recognized authority of the Church ever assigned to works of penance an absolute worth or an end, on account of which Luther is alleged to have so immoderately disciplined himself in the monastery. All condemned immoderation in penitential discipline and recommended discretion. But all the more insistently did they urge the interior life, which was often neglected by the unskilled for the sake of exterior exercises. We hear such admonitions from the lips of simple preachers, who otherwise could have no claim upon being reckoned among the great theologians and saints. "Unhappily it occurs much among spiritual people," one of them preaches at Nürnberg in the fourteenth century, "that they place their perfection only in exterior, praiseworthy actions, as in oral chanting and prayer, in fasting and kneeling, in little sleep and having a hard bed. *One ought with diligence to practice these things discreetly.* But one's greatest diligence ought to be, by such actions interiorly to prepare the heart for the King of all blessedness," etc.¹²⁸⁶ Here the preacher emphasizes only the interior life, by which everything exterior ought to be permeated.

More than a century later, Geiler von Kaisersberg preaches in Strasburg: "If you do not enter into yourself, to subdue yourself and to practice and make your own the virtues of charity, humility, patience, and others, you do no more than he who puts a shoestring on his foot without the shoe. This is wholly a mockery, for you labor in vain. The things subdue you, but you do not subdue yourself. Fasting subdues, watching subdues, to be hard-bedded subdues, to wear rough clothing subdues, silence subdues, to be tried subdues, anything and everything subdues, but you do not enter in,"¹²⁸⁷ namely, to subdue yourself and to attain to the

auriga bigam; alioquin non esset Deo neque hominibus acceptus." And sermo 31, fol. 71: "Sacerdos debet esse cautus et discretus in penitentiis iniungendis, ne se mensuret ad longas ulnas, *subditos* ad breves * * * Discretio in sacerdote summopere querenda est, est enim non tantum virtus, sed auriga virtutum."

¹²⁸⁶ "Sermo vom Closter-leben," which begins "Audi filia," fol. 109^b in the ms. cited above, p. 339, note 1018.

¹²⁸⁷ "Der Has im Pfeffer" (Strassburg, Knobloch, 1516), fol. D iij.

virtues mentioned. Consequently all penitential exercises, although they subdue, are of no avail to you.

All the more were the latter, according to the above cited utterance of the Nürnberg preacher, to be practiced *prudently*, that is, with discretion, with measure. This, in the middle ages, was so well known and settled a matter that, in Germany, the doctrine of "discretion," that is, the art of everywhere hitting the right measure, the happy mean, had taken possession of the popular consciousness of the time.¹²⁸⁸ To this fact the popular poetry of the country bears witness. It is but setting forth a principle of experience and, at the same time, giving a concise summing up of what we have so far heard from Catholic doctors before Luther on the necessity of discretion, when Thomasin of Zerclaere sings:

"Let measure be your studious care.

'Tis well to all concerns applied

'Tis ill to anything denied."¹²⁸⁹

Quite in the spirit of Holy Writ does the poet say:

"The wise confess and say aright,

Discretion goes ahead of might."¹²⁹⁰

As immoderation is the mother of all sin¹²⁹¹ so is measure the source of all virtue.¹²⁹² Who did not know the saying of Freidank:

"Discretion I am named,

As the crown of all virtues famed."¹²⁹³

¹²⁸⁸ See excerpts from the popular poetry of the middle ages on the necessity of discretion ("Bescheidenheit") in P. A. Weiss, "Apologie des Christentums," 3 ed., I, *Vortrag* 15, p. 611 sqq., 613 sqq.

¹²⁸⁹ "Der welsche Gast," 613-15 (edition of H. Rückert):

"Man sol die mæze wohl erschn

An allen Dingen, daz ist guot;

An mæze ist nicht wohl behuot."

¹²⁹⁰ Ibid. 8513 sq.

"Ein jeder welse Mann gesteht,

Dass Bescheidenheit vor Stärke geht."

¹²⁹¹ Ibid. 13802.

¹²⁹² Rinkenberk 7, in Hagen, "Minnesinger," I, 339.

¹²⁹³ "Ich bin genannt Bescheidenheit, Diu aller tugenden Krone treit." In his poem, "Bescheidenheit," I, 1. 2., Sebastian Brant even took occasion, 1508, to edit a new edition of this poem. It was recognized as a veritable mine of popular wisdom.

Discretion is a virtue placed between two vices,¹²⁹⁴ too much and too little. It was further recognized with the old masters of the spiritual and Christian life, that whilst immoderation is a sister of "inconstancy," "constancy and measure are the children of one virtue."¹²⁹⁵ Herein we find complete accord between Christian teaching and popular poesy. Why any wonder? It was the latter that called the Christian faith itself

"The Order of the right measure."¹²⁹⁶

Here we may end our discussion. Did all Christian antiquity to Luther's time insist on the virtue of discretion, it did so especially in the doing of works of penance. Excess in this case was more reproved than deficiency. In the latter, but still more in the former, there was manifest a lack of reason, with which the soul must keep watch over the body as the weaker part, equally careful neither to stifle it nor to suffer itself to be stifled by it. This conception arose forthwith from the proper, first purpose which the doctrine of the Church assigned to acts of self-discipline, namely, the subduing of the concupiscence of the flesh, of the tinder of sin, in such a manner nevertheless, that the flesh itself was not destroyed, to the injury, as a consequence, of the chief thing, i.e., the exercise of the spirit, piety. Since the tinder of sin, concupiscence, has remained to us as a sequel of original sin, as a punishment, the extinguishing of concupiscence and of carnal lust, by fasting and other chastisements, takes on the character, at the same time, of an atonement for the said sequel of original sin, provided, however, that this atonement is coupled with piety. For, according to the words of Hugo of St. Cher, the bodily exercise is only the shell, but godliness, piety, to which the mortification of the passions and of the interior man also belongs, is the kernel.¹²⁹⁷

¹²⁹⁴ Thomasin, 9993 sq.

¹²⁹⁵ The same, 12338 sq.

¹²⁹⁶ "Der Orden vom rechten Mass." Parzival 171, 13. See Weiss, loc. cit., p. 615.

¹²⁹⁷ "Comment. in ep. 1 ad Timoth., c. 4 (ed. Venet. 1703, t. 7, fol. 215). But long before Hugo's time, Cassian had laid down the doctrine on the subject in his "Institut." V, c. 10 (ed. Petschenig, p. 88 sq.): "Ad integrita-

To the whole of Christian antiquity with this conception of self-chastisement, the words of St. Paul in the Epistle to Timothy (4, 8), already cited, served as a beacon: "For bodily exercise is profitable to little, but godliness is profitable to all things." By these words, the Apostle does not reject the exterior exercise, he does not represent it as worthless and superfluous, but he means that, in comparison with the inner discipline of the spirit and the inner disposition of charity towards God, all exercise of the body is of but limited utility. On this there was developed in the Church down to Luther's day a wholly consentient tradition, especially from the time of Ambrosiaster. "Fasting and abstinence from foods," he writes, "are of little use, *unless piety accompanies them.*" "The latter merits God; the exercises of the body are only curbs (*frena*) of the flesh." If one possesses *only* these, he will one day suffer the infernal torments.¹²⁹⁸ All later commentaries resound these words to us, and by means of the Glosses and the *Collectanea* of Peter Lombard,¹²⁹⁹ the later theologians were constantly reminded of this conception, which was already public property. As we saw above, Thomas Aquinas only developed it scientifically.¹³⁰⁰ He and the rest of the doctors, along with gloss of Nicholas of Lyra,¹³⁰¹ transmitted the doctrine to posterity as far as Luther, and Luther before 1530 had accepted it.

tem mentis et corporis conservandam abstinencia ciborum sola non sufficit, nisi fuerint ceterae quoque virtutes animae coniugatae," etc.; c. 11: "Impossibile est extinguere ignem corporis incentiva, priusquam ceterorum quoque principalium vitiorum fomites radicitus excidantur." Mortification of the senses is only a subordinate means of mortifying the interior man. Cf. also c. 12.

¹²⁹⁸ Comment. in ep. 1 ad Timoth. 4, 8 (*Migne*, Patr. l., t. 17, p. 500).

¹²⁹⁹ In ep. cit. (*Migne*, l. c., t. 192, p. 348): "*Corp. exercitatio* — quasi dicat: ideo de pietate moneo, quia corporalis exercitatio, in qua te fatigas jejunando, vigilando, abstinendo, *quae sunt frena carnis* (so also Glossa interlin.), ad modicum est utilis, nisi huic addatur pietas. *Ad hoc enim tantum valet*, ut quaedam faciat vitari vitia, quibus vitatis careat poena illis debita, sed non omni. Pietas autem, quae operatur bona fratribus, valet ad promerendum Deum," etc.

¹³⁰⁰ See above, p. 402 sq.

¹³⁰¹ In ep. cit.: On *corporalis exercitatio*: in ieiuniis et vigiliis et huiusmodi; on *ad modicum utilis*; scilicet ad repressionem concupiscentiae carnis; on *Pietas autem*, etc.: cum bene disponat hominem ad deum et ad proximum.

C. LUTHER BEFORE 1530 ON SELF-CHASTISEMENT AND DISCRETION.

In 1519, Luther preached with relation to the subduing of the tinder of sin: "For that purpose were vigils, fasts, and chastisements of the body *introduced*. *They all aim*, and so does all the Scripture, to expiate and *heal* this most grave malady."¹³⁰² Thus Luther before 1530, like Thomas, likens fasting and the rest of the mortifications to a remedy for the healing of the deep corruption of lower nature, the tinder of sin. Both knew the prayer of the Church in which this thought is expressed.¹³⁰³ Even more plainly and with mention of discretion does Luther express himself in another version of the same sermon: "What the apostles ventured to lay down and to determine in certain laws, the Church did not treat otherwise than for the purpose of *mortifying the flesh*, but insofar only as the weak and infirm would not be oppressed and endangered by these burdens."¹³⁰⁴ Still he was then already opposed to regular fasting on appointed days.

In March, 1520, when his embitterment towards the Church had already so far progressed that, on the point of breaking with her, he no longer regarded her commands as such, he nevertheless admitted that fasting, watching, and labor "were *instituted* to extinguish and kill carnal lust and wantonness." And although he counsels the individual, "regardless of whether it is against the commandment of the Church or the law of his Order or state of life," to fast according to his own judgment, as far as his health permits and it seems serviceable to him, he nevertheless adds: "for no commandment of the Church and no law of an Order can carry on fasting, watching, and working and set them higher than inasmuch and insofar as they serve to *extinguish and*

¹³⁰² "Ad hoc *institutae* sunt vigiliae, ieiunia, corporum macerationes et id genus alia, quae omnia eo tendunt, immo universa scriptura hoc agit, ut expietur saneturque morbus hic gravissimus." Weim. IV, 626.

¹³⁰³ Feria V. post dom. Passionis: "Praesta quaesumus omnipotens Deus, ut dignitas conditionis humanae per immoderantiam sauciata, medicinalis parsimoniae studio reformetur."

¹³⁰⁴ Weim. IX, 434: "* * * Quod enim Apostoli praescribere et certis legibus prefinire ausi sunt, *ne Ecclesia aliter tentavit* (tractavit?), quam ad mortificandam carnem, et quatenus infirmi et imbecilles (ut pregnantes) etiam his oneribus non premantur, laborent ac periclitentur."

to kill the flesh and its lusts. When this aim is overshot, and fasting, foods, sleeping, and watching are carried on to a higher degree than flesh can tolerate or is necessary for mortification, thereby ruining nature or breaking one's head, let no one assume that he has done good works or that he can excuse himself on the grounds of the precepts of the Church or laws of an Order. He will be regarded as one who has abandoned himself and, as far as in him lies, has become a murderer of himself. *For the body is not given that its natural life or work may be killed, but only its wantonness alone* * * * *so that titillation may be warded off from the lewd Adam.*"¹³⁰⁵

Here we have from Luther's lips the substance of what Christian doctors taught, down to his day, on the purpose of mortifications, and of what we heard from them in the foregoing pages.

But the earlier Luther develops with the Church not only the right *purpose* in mortifications and teaches *discretion*, but he also stands for the relative *necessity*—does so especially *after* that epoch in which they are supposed to have been almost the death of him, and within the period and thereafter in which he was freed from them as injurious. "The visible good of the new man is all that is evil to sensuality and contrary to the old man—castigation of the old man and the exercising of good works; on the contrary, his visible evil is carnal license and neglect of the spirit."¹³⁰⁶ "Fasting is one of the mightiest weapons of the Christian; gormandism is one of the mightiest machines of the devil,"¹³⁰⁷ he writes in that same year, 1516. Two years later he expresses himself straightforwardly: "Our unrighteousness is constantly to be mortified by sighs, vigils, work, prayer, humiliation, and other parts of the Cross, and finally by

¹³⁰⁵ Weim. VI, 246, in the sermon "von den guten Werken."

¹³⁰⁶ In Ep. ad Rom., c. 12, fol. 256: "*Bonum* visibile *novi hominis* est omne quod *malum* est *sensualitati*, et contrarium veteri homini, ut sunt castigatio veteris hominis et bonorum operum exercitatio. Sicut et contra malum visibile est omne, quod bonum est veteri homini et amicum, ut sunt licentia carnis et negligentia spiritus." For the year 1516.

¹³⁰⁷ In Ep. ad Rom., c. 13, fol. 271: "Jejunium est unum de armis potentissimis christianorum; gula autem potentissima diaboli machina."

death."¹³⁰⁸ In his first commentary on Galatians, in 1519, which is already very acrimonious, and in which his doctrine on justification is especially set forth, Luther writes that charity is not idle, but diligently crucifies the flesh, and expands in order to purify the whole man.¹³⁰⁹ "From too frolicsome an ass," he preached about the same time, "one must withhold his food, lest he break his legs in a slippery place; he is to be wearied with work, until the titillation leaves him"¹³¹⁰—a thought which is not Luther's own, but was borrowed freely from St. Augustine.¹³¹¹ "Unbridled flesh is to be tamed," declares Luther in the same sermon, "by much fasting, that is, by reduced nourishment, by vigils, work, and averting the eyes from an agreeable object."¹³¹² "The gross, evil lust of the flesh we must kill and still by fasting, watching, and working," he preaches the following year.¹³¹³ At that time, when he had already actually renounced his obedience to Pope and Church, he was still so far concerned (about taming the flesh) that, despite his urgent admonitions not to mortify it but its wantonness, he laid down *one* exception: "unless such wantonness were so strong and great that it would not be possible sufficiently to resist it without ruin and injury to natural life."¹³¹⁴ And if he teaches that, when the wantonness of the flesh ceases, the reason for chastising falls away, he at the same time quite rightly gives warning against the rascally Adam who artfully seeks leave, and "alleges the undoing of his body or head as a pretext, just as some plump themselves in and say there is neither need nor commandment to fast and chastise one's self, that

¹³⁰⁸ Weim. I, 498.

¹³⁰⁹ Weim. II, 536.

¹³¹⁰ Weim. IV, 626.

¹³¹¹ Sermo de Cant. novo, n. 3: "Habes viam, ambula, sollicitus tamen doma jumentum tuum, carnem tuam, ipsi enim insidet anima tua. Quomodo, si in hac via mortali jumento insideres, quod te gestiando vellet praecipitare: nonne ut securus iter ageres, cibaria ferocienti subtraheres et fame domares, quod freno non posses? Caro nostra jumentum est; iter agimus in Jerusalem, plerumque nos rapit caro et de via conatur excludere: tale ergo jumentum cohibeamus jejuniis."

¹³¹² Weim. IX, 434.

¹³¹³ Weim. VI, 245.

¹³¹⁴ Ibid., p. 246.

they will eat this or that without dread, just as though they had a long time exercised themselves in fasting, whereas they had never even tried it."¹³¹⁵

Leaving aside all further quotations, I only mention that Luther, some months before his wiving, consequently from four to five years after his apostasy, still wrote against the "heavenly prophets:" "The third thing is now the judgment, the work of killing the old man, whereof Romans, 6, 6-7; it is here that works count, our suffering and torture, also those *when we mortify our flesh by our own compulsion and fasting, watching, working, etc., or by the persecution and opprobrium of others.*"¹³¹⁶

Therefore as late as 1530, and even thereafter,¹³¹⁷ Luther bears witness to the correctness of Catholic teaching on the relative necessity of acts of self-discipline. It is only gradually, too, that we hear him uttering his censure that under the Papacy works of penance had the purpose of finding God or Christ, of propitiating the stern Judge, or of attaining to forgiveness of sins. In any earlier period he knew no such conception on the part of the Church and the spiritual masters and theologians. Hugo of St. Cher, well known to him, speaks in the name of all, even of Luther himself, when he exclaims: "Can God be propitiated by the chastising of the outer man? No!"¹³¹⁸ When Luther entered the Order at Erfurt, that doctrine had been the common property of all Christendom for more than a thousand years. For that reason he took good care not to impute the contrary notion to the Church. But he raised another objection, the nearer he approached his apostasy—she had instituted set fast days. He accordingly admonished the faithful not to be governed by ecclesiastical obedience but by what seemed right to them.¹³¹⁹

¹³¹⁵ Ibid., p. 247.

¹³¹⁶ Erl. 29, 140.

¹³¹⁷ E. G., Erl. 1, 108 sq.; 19 (2 ed.), 420; Opp. exeg. XI, 124.

¹³¹⁸ Numquid placari potest Dominus in millibus arietum, i.e., macerando hominem exteriorem? Non, sed per istud quod sequitur: indicabo tibi, a homo, quid sit bonum," etc. In Ep. ad Rom. c. 3 (Opp. t. 7, fol. 26^b).

¹³¹⁹ Thus, e.g. in 1520, in sermon on good works, Weim, VI, 246: "Therefore do I permit each one to choose for himself the day, the food, the amount to be fasted, as he pleases, insofar as he does not let it rest there, but has a care of his flesh; as much as this same is lascivious and wanton,

This fell in with his own then attitude towards the Church and the Pope, who already was antichrist to Him. The *doctrine* on the *end* of works of penance and on *discretion*, however, was as little affected by that as by his getting into a passion against the "preachers," through whose fault "a few women who are pregnant still keep on fasting, to the detriment of their unborn children."¹³²⁰ Of course, if there were hedge-preachers who were at fault herein, and who no longer "showed forth the right use, measure, fruit, reason, and end" of fasting,¹³²¹ the Church was not to blame. Luther knew this and therefore did not hold her responsible.

Anything else—and *with that alone are we here concerned*—could least of all be brought forward by Luther as a complaint against his Order, mild as it was. He could not speak as though it had no consideration for the sick and the weak and neglected them. On this point we already know several universal principles in the rule, of whose discretion Luther, as is known, often makes so much. To be specific, however, there is hardly another Order that possesses regulations so sensible, or let us say so humane, or more correctly expressed, so Christian, on how the sick should be treated, as precisely that Order which Luther entered at Erfurt. The greatest indulgence and charity for them was made the prior's duty. He was bound to see to it that they were served as if it were God himself, and that there was no lack of anything needful.¹³²²

so much let him lay fasting, vigils, and labor upon it and not more, no matter what the Pope, the Church, bishop, confessor, or any one whosoever has commanded."

¹³²⁰ Ibid., p. 247.

¹³²¹ Ibid.

¹³²² The Rule of St. Augustine itself contains several counsels concerning the sick. In the constitutions, whether the old ones or those of Staupitz, the long thirteenth chapter treats of the sick (*Quanta et qualis cura habeatur circa infirmos*); it begins: "Circa fratres nostros infirmos tam novitios quam professos seu conversos caveat prior, ne sit negligens quoniam cura de eis ante omnia et super omnia est habenda, eo quod soli Deo serviatur in illis." Thereupon follow the duties prescribed. The bedridden were to be cared for day and night in all charity. The prior was to exercise care that nothing was wanting, that the sick should be given what the doctors prescribed and what they needed, etc.

If we now ponder the result to which the investigations laid down in these three subdivisions have led us, we are for the first time really and with renewed insistence assailed by the question: But what about those utterances of Luther's, cited at the beginning of this chapter, on his excessive, deathful works of penance in the Order, undertaken for the purpose of finding God and Christ, of propitiating the stern Judge, of receiving forgiveness of sins, until, after fruitless wrestling, God freed him from them by means of Christ's comfort in the new gospel, in 1515, and set him upon the right way?

D. THE LATER LUTHER IN CONTRADICTION WITH THE EARLIER, AND WITH THE DOCTRINE OF THE ORDER AND OF THE CHURCH.

There is no need of proof that all Protestant Luther-researchers, led by the leading-strings of Luther biographies, adduce the later utterances of Luther on his unbearable self-chastisements in the monastery to obtain the celestial consciousness of God's nearness and of God's adoption, as a tragic prelude to his final enlightenment through God. In the face of this fact, I put the question in the first edition of this volume, page 389, and, so far as I know, I am the first one to ask:

Would it not be the first task of a conscientious, methodically trained researcher to test Luther's utterances with reference to their correctness—to do so in manifold ways? What acts of self-discipline were prescribed by the usual constitutions of the orders in Luther's day? Does the severity of the Order correspond to Luther's assertions? Having to see that such was not the case, the Protestant theologians could for the time being have reached but the one possible conclusion: therefore Luther arbitrarily undertook works of penance that brought him to the brink of the grave. But then they would have come to a new investigation: Did works of penance in the Church really have the *purpose* which Luther assigned to them? Did she endow them with an independent value? By means of methodical and historical research, they would have found that the Church, her doctors, and especially Luther's Order, recommend works of penance

for the mortification, the stemming of concupiscence, but not to the mortal detriment of the flesh. Without great difficulty they would have come to the knowledge that, according to the unanimous teaching of pre-Lutheran theologians and masters of the spiritual life, the rank of a virtue is given to mortification only when it is practiced with discretion, therefore that indiscreet, excessive mortifications are to be avoided—nay, more, to be condemned. All these authorities point to the great harm of indiscretion and herein give counsel rather to do less than too much. What follows from this? That, if Luther, in his self-chastisements, pursued the purpose he assigned to them, if he practiced them to excess, *he must put the blame only on himself, not on the Church or on his Order*. But if he went to the length of believing that, by doing works of penance, he could attain to certainty of salvation, he was simply a booby.

And the Protestant theologians? They all, from Luther biographers and theologians like Harnack, Seeberg, etc., down to the most unlettered, accept Luther's utterances without any criticism whatever, just as they are presented. They count Luther's monastic works of penance among the supports which the Church cried up to him, but which broke under his hands.¹³²³ Harnack surely thought he said a clever thing when, with reference to the "heaped up achievements of Luther," he observed that the Reformer-to-be "took things more seriously than his associates."¹³²⁴ This was truly a most imprudent utterance. Luther demonstrated only his own indiscretion and his erroneous view—assuming that his utterances on his works of penance are true.

But are they true? In what period do they occur? Are they not in contradiction, one with another, and with the facts accompanying his monastic life? Is not everything he says on the horrors of his cloistered life fable, romance? Naturally an Evangelical theologian did not dare at all even so much as to think the like. But I will compel them at last and for once to show earnestness in respect to Luther and to apply a critical yardstick to him.

¹³²³ Harnack, "Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte," III, 738.

¹³²⁴ Ibid., p. 737, note 2.

Our investigation extends to Luther's utterances on the immoderation of his penitential exercises, on the purpose he had in view of doing them, and to the period in which those utterances were made. Thereby hangs the solution.

So far as the *immoderation* of the self-chastisements, alleged to have been undertaken by Luther, is concerned, it must now be clear to even the most narrow-minded Protestant that it was not imposed upon him by either his Order and its tradition or by the Church. On the contrary, both, Order and Church, expressed themselves with the utmost energy against indiscretion in bodily exercises of penance, so that they attached no value to the latter, just because they lacked discretion. With this position even the admissions of the earlier Luther stand in full accord. The proof of all this lies in the three preceding subdivisions, in the first of which we actually reached the conclusion that there can still be question of only the first *five years* of Luther's religious life.

Who then taught Luther, who permitted him to employ all the means of "massive asceticism," to "freeze to death, to exhaust himself by fasting and watching and the lacerating torture of his body?" Luther himself? It is hardly possible that the "greatest man of Germany," the "genius without a peer," who is ever born so and not first gradually developed, could have acted so foolishly—the more so as Luther took the habit only in his maturer age, when he was twenty-three. Besides he was already a master of philosophy, who, according to Melanchthon's words,¹³²⁵ "had drawn upon himself the admiration of the university on account of his conspicuously shining spirit." It is impossible that this celebrated man should have had to let himself be shamed by the pagan Aristotle, who nevertheless knew that the good and that virtue in general is not possible without *prudence* *φρόνησις* ¹³²⁶

Yet least of all, after his entrance into the monastery and during the next succeeding years, was Luther left to himself. After his reception to the habit, he was placed, by regulation of the constitutions, under the care of the novice-

¹³²⁵ See Köstlin-Kawerau, I, 44, "M. Luther, sein Leben und seine Schriften" (Berlin, 1903).

¹³²⁶ Eth. ad. Nicom. V, 13; X, 8.

master, *upon whom he depended in all things*,¹³²⁷ all the more so in respect to works of penance. Regarding the middle way to be kept in doing these works, St. Bernard in his time said: "Since it is a rare bird in our countries, let the virtue of *obedience*, dear brothers, take the place of discretion in you, so that you do not do less, or more, or otherwise than is commanded."¹³²⁸ Above we heard Gerson repeating this saying,¹³²⁹ and it became a fundamental principle in the monastic communities.

During his novitiate, therefore, Luther had also to obey his novice-master or, as he was likewise called, the preceptor. Did he perchance have the misfortune to get a young, imprudent, overwrought novice-master, one who set great store by over-measure in works of penance or by a service of works? On the contrary, Luther in that period of his life, in which he had some fault to find with almost everybody, says of his preceptor: "He was an excellent man and without doubt a true Christian under his damned monk's cowl."¹³³⁰ According to the Luther of that epoch in which he made this assertion, the true Christian was not at all favorable to a service of works, to say nothing of over-measure in doing them. Is this excellent, "fine old man," as he calls him another time,¹³³¹ to be supposed quietly looking on whilst a novice confided to his care wears himself to death with his self-chastisements? Yet he recognized Luther's talent and what advantages he could gain for the Order. He even gave him St. Athanasius to read during his novitiate.¹³³² Did not that same preceptor, as Luther another time relates, admirably understand how

¹³²⁷ This is treated in the 17 chapter of the old constitutions and those of Staupitz, of the year 1504. The very title draws attention to it: "Qualis debeat esse magister noviciorum, et de quibus ipsi novicii instruuntur." The chapter begins: "Prior preponat noviciis unum ex fratribus doctum, honestum, virum probatum ac nostri Ordinis praeceptum zelatorem."

¹³²⁸ In Circumcis. Dom., sermo 3, n. 11 (*Migne*, Patr. lat., t. 183, p. 142).

¹³²⁹ See above, p. 407.

¹³³⁰ For the year 1532 in De Wette, IV, 427: "Vir sane optimus et absque dubio sub damnato cucullo verus christianus."

¹³³¹ Thus Luther calls him in 1540. See Lauterbach, "Tagebuch auf das Jahr 1538," edited by Seidemmann, p. 197, note.

¹³³² The "Dialogi III" of Vigilius, Bishop of Tapsus. Enders IX, 253, note 1.

to console him in his temptations, so that he obtained peace?¹³³³

The novice remained under the preceptor as long as he was a cleric. Luther, therefore, was under the guidance of this prudent old man until 1507, that is, until he was ordained to the priesthood. From this time forward, however, i.e., in the third year of his sojourn at Erfurt, Luther was wholly under the authority of the prior. Did he perhaps withdraw himself from it and, without his prior's knowledge, chastise himself to death? But Luther says: "I would not have taken a penny without my prior's knowledge."¹³³⁴ I believe this on his word, although by it he set himself a trap. Through a series of years we find him externally practicing blind obedience in external things in the monastery, although, on his own assertion, as we shall see in the next chapter, he was interiorly strongly assailed by self-will. As far back as we can follow Luther's works, too, he speaks in them of the necessity of monastic blind obedience. We quote here only a few (pertinent) passages.

Explaining the second verse of psalm I, "his will is in the law of the Lord," he says: "There are some to this day who, by their puffed-up senses and perverse works, desire that the law of God be in their will, and not their will in the law of God. What pleases *them*, what *they* determine and set up, that they wish pleased God. There are now particularly many religious of this kind, who reserve judgment to themselves on the command of their superior. But that is not being *under* but *over* a superior. One sole ground for obeying should suffice a religious, namely, that he has promised obedience. He has not, with the serpent in paradise, to ask about the 'wherefore.' God does not want sacrifice, but obedience, *neither does He consider our great works*, for He can do much greater ones; *He demands only obedience*. Its value lies even in an insignificant, contemptible command, whereas disobedience is uncommonly malodorous even in a great, con-

¹³³³ Opp. exeg. lat. XIX, 100 (1530).

¹³³⁴ Erl. 48, 306. See above, p. 389, note 1200.

spicuous work."¹³³⁵ Luther repeats this the next year: "Whatever work we do, without relation to obedience it is spotted."¹³³⁶ "The self-willed seem to themselves to be the wisest (of mortals) and to possess the spirit of all the Scriptures, but, for the sake of God, the obedient are foolish and *precisely therein are they blessed.*"¹³³⁷ "Nothing blinds worse than self-will."¹³³⁸

These utterances of Luther's occur in just that period in which he could not sufficiently recommend the religious life to Usingen. *Here one fact confirms the other.* Luther's utterances of that period square with each other. Those of the later Luther concerning the earlier stand in contradiction with the utterances of the latter.

If now Protestants wanted to assume that Luther *wore himself out* in mortifications *out of obedience*, they would still have to admit that he was blessed in that and found peace therein. For the sake of God he became foolish. But can a reasonable person admit that a superior imposed mortifications upon the gifted youth that were to bring harm upon him for all his life? Such a superior would immediately be deposed.¹³³⁹ The superiors of that time, of the Dominican Order as well as of the Augustinian, were at fault rather on account of laxity than by over-strictness. Opportunity along that line was offered them by the prologue of their constitutions, in which it is said a prior in his convent has the power to dispense the brethren.¹³⁴⁰ This provision

¹³³⁵ "Dictata in Psalterium," Weim. III, 18 (1513). What is there extensively drawn out I have here given briefly in Luther's words.

¹³³⁶ Ibid. IV, 306: "Igitur quodcunque opus facimus, sine relatione ad obedientiam est maculatum."

¹³³⁷ Ibid. p. 211: "isti autem stulti sunt propter Deum, et in hoc ipso beati"—for the year 1514 or 1515.

¹³³⁸ Ibid., p. 136: "Nihil enim profundius excoecat quam proprius sensus."

¹³³⁹ Cf. quotation above, p. 406, from Jordan of Saxony.

¹³⁴⁰ Both the old and the Staupitz constitutions read: "In conventu tamen suo prior dispensandi cum fratribus habeat potestatem, cum sibi aliquando videbitur expedire, nisi in his casibus, in quibus dispensari expresse aliqua constitutio contradicit. Priores etiam utantur dispensationibus pro loco et tempore sicut alii fratres." These regulations are taken from the prologue of the Dominican constitutions. See "Archiv f. Literatur u. Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters," V. 534.

was made especially on account and to the advantage of study, which was not to be hindered, and in favor of spiritual activities on the outside.¹³⁴¹ If he judged it well to do so, the prior was thus authorized to dispense individual members of the community from the general austerity of the Order (as has been mentioned in respect to fasting).¹³⁴² And now is he to be supposed to have enjoined, over and above the general austerity of the Order, an excess of it upon the young, and as has been said, sickly, and even scrupulous student Luther, that he might certainly go to his ruin? Is it to be taken for granted that he even only permitted "the emaciated young brother with his melancholy look, who always came slinking along sad,"¹³⁴³ to betake himself away from the community, to fast himself to death, and often to taste not a bite for three days?¹³⁴⁴ No, if there was any excess, it originated with Luther himself—and in secret. But he did nothing except at the bidding of the prior, as we heard him say himself.

According to Luther biographers and researchers, Staupitz was Luther's spiritual director and adviser in matters of conscience in the first Erfurt period. But Staupitz furthered the studies of the young monk so far that, as Seckendorf informs us, he exempted him from the performance of menial duties.¹³⁴⁵ But what is a greater hindrance to study than excessive fasting, injudicious mortifications, and furious

¹³⁴¹ Hence in the prologue of the Dominican constitutions the clause: "in his praecipue que studium vel predicationem vel animarum fructum videbuntur impedire."

¹³⁴² See above, p. 395 sq.

¹³⁴³ Thus does Kolde describe him, "Martin Luther," I, 61. Of course Kolde saw him with his own eyes!

¹³⁴⁴ "Mart. Lutheri Colloquia," ed. Bindseil, III, 183.

¹³⁴⁵ "Commentarius hist. et apolog. de Lutheranismo," Francofurti, 1692, I, 21. Kolde, loc. cit., p. 366, comment on p. 61, considers this incorrect, "since we know from Luther's own lips that even as a priest, he still had to do with alms-seeking" (Tischr., ed. Förstemann, III, 146). But are there not menial duties within the monastery itself—sweeping the cells, the corridors, and other rooms, duties in the church, in the refectory, and in the kitchen, attendance upon the older fathers, especially the *magistri*, etc.? Alms-seeking was looked upon as far less than menial service, the more so because the brethren thus engaged had more liberty, had to assist the priests in the monasteries for the time being, and expected and received a better table than at home.

lashing away at the flesh? And he, who mitigated, or at least gave his approval to those who mitigated, the statutes in the older constitutions on the fasts of the Order, and, when the new enactments went into effect, reminded the brethren on his own account of the exhortation in the rule: "Subdue your flesh by abstinence from meat and drink, so far as your health permits," he who knew Luther's alleged propensity to melancholy and is supposed to have taken no end of pains to relieve him of it—is it to be assumed that he permitted his protege wholly to exhaust himself in works of penance, to weaken his head and senses, to fall a certain victim in even a greater degree to sadness and melancholy,¹³⁴⁶ and therefore to become wholly incapable not only of study but of every serious labor?

The true earlier, contemporary Luther himself knew nothing of all this. When should we have to meet him as the "emaciated brother," who so tortured himself to death that he had not much longer to live? If ever, it must have been towards the end of the *first five years*, (as was proved to us by our earlier investigations). But in 1507, he beheld in monastic life "an existence so beautifully reposeful and divine."¹³⁴⁷ On March 17, 1509, then studying in Wittenberg, he writes to his highly esteemed friend, Johann Braun, vicar in Eisenach: "If you desire to know how I am doing, *thanks be to God, I am doing well.*"¹³⁴⁸ In truth, he was doing so well that, hitherto only a lector of philosophy, he possessed the youthful courage to exchange that science, today rather than tomorrow, for theology, which he had as yet hardly studied, and to become earnestly buried in that new, difficult subject, which searches the kernel and the marrow of things.¹³⁴⁹ Is he supposed to speak and act in this wise, whose sense and understanding were weakened by excessive mortifications,

¹³⁴⁶ See also above, p. 399, note 1238.

¹³⁴⁷ G. Oergel, "Vom jungen Luther" (1809), p. 92; Hausrath, loc. cit., p. 22, 29.

¹³⁴⁸ Enders, I. 6: "Quod si statum meum nosse desideras, bene habeo Dei gratia."

¹³⁴⁹ Ibid: "violentum est stadium, maxime philosophiae, quam ego ab initio libentissime mutarim theologia, ea inquam theologia, quae nucleum nucis et medullam tritici et medullam ossium scrutatur."

who was nigh to death, and day and night, overmastered by "monastic horrors," was powerless to do anything but howl?¹³⁵⁰

Luther's later utterances on his earlier excessive self-chastisings in the monastery become even more suspicious when we keep in view the *purpose* which, on his own declaration, he set before himself in performing those acts. What that purpose was we already know from his assertions. But we also know that of *this* purpose of external mortifications—to find Christ, to propitiate Him as a just judge, and to attain to forgiveness of sins—neither Luther's Order nor the doctors of the Church nor the earlier Luther himself know anything. They all, on the contrary, ascribe only a relative necessity to works of penance, they declare their purpose to be the checking and the taming of concupiscence, the lusts of the flesh. Who then taught Luther, in the first five years of his religious life, the purpose of mortification, which purpose down to his day, was theoretically unknown—assuming that his utterances on the subject are based on truth? Only his unpardonable *lack of sense*, even though he may have imitated the practice of some of the brethren. These, in this case, were just as indiscreet as he was, or rather less so, because Luther, on his own admission, went to greater excess than all the others. The Church and the Order, therefore, have nothing to do with the case, and there is a lack of sense not less marked made evident when Protestant Luther-researchers attempt to represent those alleged works of penance, with the purpose mentioned, as supports or props, which the Church cried up to Luther in the course of his becoming a monk.

We just said, "assuming that Luther's utterances on the subject are based on truth." Were they true? As far back as we can follow Luther, he never ascribed to mortifications the purpose which he assigned to them far later. And as

¹³⁵⁰ Heed is to be taken lest a remark of Luther's of the year 1516 be referred to his bodily weakness and leanness. His remark reads: "Confiteor tibi quod vita mea indies appropinquat inferno, quia quotidie peior fio et miserior" (Enders, I, 76). He is speaking of his moral condition. If one were to do violence to the text and make it read about a physical aggravation, he would still have proved nothing. For increasing weakness there are other causes besides immoderate mortifications.

far back as we can follow him, Luther's utterances on his one-time inhuman penitential acts are proved, as was made evident to us, at least highly suspected. When does he actually speak of them *the first time*? *Only in 1530!*¹³⁵¹ Is it possible? From 1515 on, especially, to that period, he very often refers to his sad experience. What experience? To that which he had by reason of his extraordinary self-chastisings, of his immoderate fasts and vigils? One should think so when, after referring, in 1532, to his "fifteen years" of cloister-life with its fastings, vigils, prayers, and other exceedingly rigorous works, by which he had earnestly thought to attain to justice, he exclaims: "I did not believe it were possible that I could ever forget that life."¹³⁵² Yet on this subject, before that period, one does not hear the ghost of a word from him, whereas he does not forget repeatedly to speak of his despair and its cause (about which more later), of his experiences with regard to the love of God above all things, to contrition, to irresistible concupiscence, to proclivity to evil, to self-will and its consequent unrest, and so on. But on that which, according to his assertion, brought him to the brink of the grave, on his excessive self-chastisements, which were supposed to have left the profoundest impression upon him, he maintains a marvelous silence even in that period in which he stood for the purpose and for discretion. Is that fortuitous?

Besides, the opportunity often presented itself to him of telling about it, as for instance in the sermon on good works, in which he speaks among other things of those who discipline themselves to such a degree, who fast and keep vigil so unreasonably, that they thereby ruin their body and turn their heads to madness.¹³⁵³ An appeal to *his own* experience

¹³⁵¹ I pointed this out even in my first edition. There being a possibility, however, of my having missed some passage or another, I asked Dr. N. Paulus of Munich if he could show any utterances of Luther's on *his* former great *mortifications* before 1530. He was unable to cite any out of that time, and also observed at the same time that Fr. Grisar, who was giving his attention to just such passages, likewise knew nothing of such.

¹³⁵² Opp. exeg. lat., XVIII, 226: " * * * nec putabam possibile esse, ut unquam obliviscere eius vitæ." Luther then writes: "At *nunc* Del gratia oblitus sum. Memini quidem adhuc eius carnificinae," etc.

¹³⁵³ Weim. VI, 245. See above, p. 415 sq.

would greatly have strengthened the effect of his words. How often, too, before 1530, does he speak of self-righteousness under the Papacy, nay more, of his works by which he sought to be just and his own *redeemer*, and of how he treated with Christ as with a *judge*.¹³⁵⁴ But what lay nearest his purpose, of the forgetting of which he became aware only in 1532—if he spoke truth—he does not adduce. Before 1530, he does not reckon his self-chastisings among *his* justifying works whereas later he has his mouth so filled with them. How explain this? Where lies the solution?

F. SOLUTION OF THE QUESTION.

In 1533 Luther writes: "True it is, a devout monk was I, and kept my Order so strictly, that I may say: did ever a monk get to heaven through monkery, then should I get there too; all my fellow monks will bear me out in that; *for, had it kept up much longer, I should have tortured myself to death with vigils, prayers, reading and other work.*"¹³⁵⁵ That it was sought (by the religious) to be justified through their "monkery," had often been asserted by Luther before, as we saw in earlier chapters of the preceding section. Not less did we also hear his calumnies that the Church raised monkery above baptism, above the commandments and that by monkery there was apostasy from Christ. But now without further ado he identifies it with the monastic external exercises and works of penance, alleged to have the purpose of *by them getting into heaven*, so that, according to the ecclesiastical view, the harder one kept at them the more pious a monk he was and the more certain of heaven. Since Luther would have tortured himself to death, had his monkery lasted much longer, he, according to this notion, was naturally the devoutest of all among his cloister fellows and had the greatest claim on heaven. Therefore Luther *falsified* the ecclesiastical idea of monkery, for, in his earlier days, he knew very

¹³⁵⁴ Thus, e.g., in 1528: "Olim cum Christo agebam ut cum iudice, ego volebam meis operibus esse iustus et salvator." Weim. XXVII, 443. Above, p. 49.

¹³⁵⁵ Erl. 31, 273. The statement is found in the notorious "Kleinen Antwort auf Herzog Georgs nächstes Buch," already frequently cited.

well what the religious life is. Luther *falsified* the purpose of monastic, external exercises and works of penance, for he knew very well with what intention they were to be practiced. Luther *falsified* the discretion that was to govern the use of such penitential discipline, for he knew well that indiscretion herein had been condemned by all the Church doctors, by his own Order, and even by himself. Did not Luther therefore also falsely represent *his own earlier manner of life* and (mendaciously) ascribe to himself that excess of self-chastisings, about which he speaks in 1530 and thereafter? But with what intent could he have done this?

Only two years or so later, he writes: "*If ever there was anyone, it was certainly I, who, before the dawn of the gospel, thought devoutly of the statutes of the Pope and of the Fathers, and was earnestly zealous about them as holy and necessary to salvation. I also busied myself to the utmost to keep those statutes, inasmuch as I tortured my body with fasting, vigils, prayers and other exercises, more than all those who now are my bitterest enemies and persecute me, because I deny those (exercises) the honor of justifying us. For, in the observance of them, I was so diligent and superstitious that I put a greater burden upon my body than it could bear without injury to my health.*"¹³⁵⁶ Therefore, because he denies that monastic exercises and works of penance justify, i.e., therefore because he teaches as does the entire tradition of the Church—for that reason he is supposed to be persecuted by the Catholics? What is a man not capable of, who makes himself responsible for such intentional distortions?

But this does not yet suffice. Before this period, for instance in 1525, Luther had already identified *Catholic holiness* with *monastic holiness*, declaring that it consisted only in external works, in a strict, penitential life, in the illusion that thereby one was holy, though meantime one had his heart full of hatred, fear, and unbelief.¹³⁵⁷ It did not worry

¹³⁵⁶ In Gal., ed. Irmischer, I, 107.

¹³⁵⁷ Erl. 15, 413: "It has hitherto been the *greatest holiness* that one could conceive, to post into a monastery, put on a cowl, have the head tonsured, tie a rope about one's self, *fast much, pray much, wear a hair shirt,*

him that herein, too, the earlier monk again gives the lie to the later Luther.¹³⁵⁸ Ten years later he sketches the following portrait of a saint: "When I was a monk, I often desired with all my heart that it might fall to my lot to see the conduct and the life of a *saint*. I thought, however, that he ought to be such who had his dwelling in the desert, neither ate nor drank, but only nourished himself on roots and fresh water. This opinion of the singular saint I got out of the books, not only of the theologians (sophists) but also of the Fathers."¹³⁵⁹

Against such a caricature of the monastic saint, a Christian author all of a thousand years before Luther had protested: "Not the desert (*locus desertus*), nor the habit of sack-cloth, nor the food of pulse, fasting, and sleeping on the earth (*chameuniae*) make the monk. Under those coverings there is sometimes a very wordly heart concealed." This is manifested in various vices of such austere ones. "What is the reason thereof? Because they exercised their body more than their mind, whereas the Apostle taught: 'For bodily exercise is profitable to little, but godliness is profitable to all things.' I do not say this as if one were to dis-

sleep in *woolen clothes*, lead a *hard, strict life*, and, in a word, *assume to one's self a monkish holiness*; thus we went about in a glory of hypocritical works, so that we ourselves knew nothing else than that we were holy from head to heels, having regard only for the work and the body not the heart, since we were stuck full of hatred, full of fear, full of unfaith, were of a bad conscience and knew nothing at all of God. Then the world said: 'there is a holy man, there is a holy woman, has let herself be walled in (i.e., enclosed in a monastery), is on her knees day and night, and has recited so many rosaries. Oh, that is holiness, there dwells God, here is the Holy Ghost personally, this the world praises and makes much account of.' On this "monk-holiness" in the sense of praying, fasting, laboring, mortifying one's self, sleeping on a hard bed, etc., see also Luther's declaration of the year 1531, as given above, p. 127.

¹³⁵⁸ Thus, e.g., the earlier Luther writes in his "Dictata super Psalt.," Weim. III, 178: "Notandum, quod '*sanctus*' in scriptura significat, quem *theologi scolastici dicunt in gratia gratificante constitutum*. Sic Esaie 54 (53) * * * Misericordias David fideles,' quia (Deus) multos *sanctificavit*. Unde Apostolus (Rom. 1, 7) semper nomiat christianos sanctos." What the earlier Luther here characterizes with the Scholastics as the basis of all sanctity, the indwelling *gratia sanctificans*, the *sanctificatio* of the Saint, the later Luther for this point intentionally passes over.

¹³⁵⁹ In Gal. III, 33 sq. From his "Dictata" in the preceding note, we just heard the very opposite.

approve those who in such wise chastise their bodies and bring them under subjection, but because Satan, master in a thousand arts, plays his game with the imprudent, transforming himself into an angel of light, and, in consequence of those chastisings of the body, hurries them into a false conviction of holiness, and whilst inwardly they are sodden (*madeant*) with spiritual vices, they appear to be holy both to themselves and to others."¹³⁶⁰ What this old author says of such pharasaical saints, we above heard all Christian antiquity down to Luther's day say and protest against them. But Luther makes the saint just described, though rejected by the Church and her doctors, *the* ecclesiastical, monastic saint, to convey the idea that there is no other.

Now the later Luther makes the earlier one such a Catholic saint, (in truth, the caricature of one). That was the intent of his words cited above: "A devout monk was I, etc.," as well as of the words there immediately following. Luther presented himself to the people and to his adherents without ado in these words: "I was one of the best."¹³⁶¹ There is a like aim in other of his utterances: "When I was a monk, I observed chastity, obedience, and poverty. Free from the cares of this present life, *I was wholly given* to fasting, vigils, prayers, mass-reading, etc. Still, in the midst of this holiness and self-righteousness, I cherished continual mistrust, doubt, fear, hatred, and blasphemy of God, and my righteousness was nothing but a cesspool, in which the devil took his little fun. For the devil is very fond of such *saints* and considers them his very best pastime. They ruin their bodies and souls and rob themselves of all the blessings of the gifts of God,"¹³⁶² therefore are exactly like those order-saints, as we just heard him describe them. He counts himself among the "devout and upright monks, who took things seriously, who, like me, came to see life bitterly, and spent themselves with seeking and troubled themselves greatly and

¹³⁶⁰ Intr. Opp. *S. Cypriani*, ed. G. Hartel, pars 3^a, p. 242, n. 31, 32. With this ancient author is to be compared the mystic in the sermons of Tauler, Frankfurt edition, I, 90.

¹³⁶¹ Erl. 17, 140.

¹³⁶² In Gal. I, 109.

wanted to attain to what Christ is, that they might become blessed. What did they get out of it?"¹³⁶³

In this last question lies the pith of the matter, as is commonly said, and Luther's rascality. He represented himself as an erstwhile greatest of monkish saints, in order to be able to say: "Behold, I reached the highest possible sanctity in the Papistical Church, certainly no less than my cloister associates. And what did I accomplish by it?" Our inexperienced opponents, he writes, "do not believe that such was the experience and the suffering of myself and many others, who with the utmost diligence sought *peace of heart*, but which in such darkness it was *impossible* to find."¹³⁶⁴ By such self-chastisings we sought to get heaven and to find Christ. "Did we find Him? Christ says: 'You shall remain and die in your sins.' That is what we came to!"¹³⁶⁵ "Such saints are captives and slaves of the devil, therefore are they compelled to think, to speak, and to do what he wills, although outwardly they seem to surpass others in good works and strictness and holiness of life. Such were we under the Papacy, in truth nothing less than (at one time) Paul, dishonoring Christ and His gospel, *especially I. The holier we were*, the blinder we were and we adored the devil himself."¹³⁶⁶

This is quite logical. A monk, therefore a monkish saint, is a creature of the devil. "It is a proverb invented by the priests, and I think the devil himself has made a mockery of them by it. As the Lord God was making a priest, the devil looked on, wanted to imitate Him, and made the tonsure too large. A monk was the result. *Therefore are they creatures of the devil.* Of course that is spoken in ridicule and mockery, but still it is the *pure* truth. * * * Monks are always priests of the devil, for they keep up a vain devilish doctrine."¹³⁶⁷

¹³⁶³ Erl. 48, 317. See above, p. 390.

¹³⁶⁴ Gal. I, 107.

¹³⁶⁵ Erl. 48, 317. In the text we read "sie" instead of "wir," but in the context he counts himself with the rest.

¹³⁶⁶ Gal. I, 109 sq.

¹³⁶⁷ Erl. 43, 328, for the year 1532.

This comedy is succeeded by another, which Luther also first brought out in 1530. We have already heard how he expressed himself in 1540: "Had I not been saved from those chastisings by means of the comfort of Christ through His Gospel, I should not have been able to live two years, so did I torture myself and give myself anxiety and fly from the anger of God. But we did not accomplish anything."¹³⁶⁸ In connection with this, he relates, two pages farther on, diffusely for the first time, how he finally came to the Gospel and through it got peace and rest. He had formerly learned at school, as he says, that the anger of God, His retributive justice, is revealed in the Gospel. Thus had *all* doctors down to him expounded St. Paul's words, Romans 1, 17. What was the consequence of this? "As often as I read that saying, I always wished that God might never have revealed the Gospel. For who could love that God who gets angry, judges, and condemns"? At last, however, "by an illumination of the Holy Ghost, I attained to the joyous insight that that saying did not treat of God's retributive justice, but of the passive justice by which the merciful God *justifies us through faith*. Then it was that all Holy Writ, yea, heaven itself, was disclosed to me."¹³⁶⁹ "I felt myself wholly reborn," he writes five years later, "and to have entered through open doors into paradise. * * * In this wise that passage of St. Paul's truly became for me the gate of Paradise."¹³⁷⁰

Who would think it possible that, at the back of Luther's assertion, there lurked a big lie? And yet it is so. I but recently called attention to the fact that of *sixty* doctors of the Latin Church down to Luther's time, whose printed as well as manuscript commentaries I have thoroughly searched for that interpretation and conception of Romans 1, 17 and kindred passages (like Romans 3, 21-22: 10, 3.), imputed by Luther to *all* the doctors, *not one* understood God's justice to mean His retributive or punitive justice, His anger. (Of these sixty authorities, it is demonstrable that Luther knew

¹³⁶⁸ Opp. exeg. lat. VII, 72. Above, p. 388.

¹³⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 74.

¹³⁷⁰ Opp. var. arg., I, 22.

several, but not one who would not be included in the sixty.) They all understood God's justice to mean that justice by which we are justified, God's unmerited (or gratuitous) *justifying grace*, a true and real justification of man granted through faith (but of course not the dead faith which Luther means).¹³⁷¹

Does the reader recognize the connection between Luther's assertion, just discussed, and the preceding one on the immoderation and the purpose of his monastic chastisings, which assertions date back not only to 1540 say, but notionally even to 1532?¹³⁷² Both have one and the same object: the crying up of *his* gospel of justification by faith *alone*, as the one thing necessary, and, on the opposite hand, the proof that, in the Church, one sought to be justified without Christ only by one's own works. The greatest possible Papistical and monkish sanctity, practiced by Luther in the cloister to the wearing out of his body, that he might be justified and propitiate the stern Judge (otherwise he knew nothing about God and Christ), had only led him to the ruin of his body and soul, had only led him to hate God instead of finding Him, had solely led him to despair instead of to peace of heart. As with him, so was it with others, who, in order to find God and Christ, had also suffered life to become bitter to themselves. This is the burden of the first assertion. The second runs to this effect: only after he had recognized, by illumination of the Holy Ghost, that the "justice of God," in Romans

¹³⁷¹ See my work: "Luther in rationalistischer und christlicher Beleuchtung" (Mainz, 1904), p. 30 sqq. The interesting proof, illustrating many points, follows in the II. volume. I would give it here were it not necessary to postpone it partly on account of those who have the first edition and partly because it would here take up too much room.

¹³⁷² On account of Luther's utterances on his one-time immoderate penitential austerities, I have already proved this. With respect to the erroneous exposition of "justice" as "punitive justice," he writes as early as 1532: "Porro hoc vocabulum 'iustitiae' magno sudore mihi constitit. Sic enim fere *exponebant*, iustitiam esse veritatem, qua Deus pro merito damnat seu iudicat male meritos, et *opponebant* iustitiae misericordiam, qua salvantur credentes. Haec expositio periculosissima est, praeterquam quod vana est; *concitat enim occultum odium contra Deum et eius iustitiam. Quis enim eum potest amare, qui secundum iustitiam cum peccatoribus vult agere?* Quare memineritis, iustitiam Dei esse, qua iustificamur seu donum remissionis peccatorum." Enarr. in Ps. 51 (Opp. exeg. lat. XIX, 130), on 50, 16.

1, 17 and generally, does not imply a punitive God and Judge, according to the erroneous interpretation, once imbibed by him, of *all* the doctors down to him, but means justification by faith, then did light dawn upon him, then was he freed from his chastisings and the horrors of the cloister, and he felt himself newborn, and the gates of paradise were opened to him. Now he combines both assertions, exclaiming with regard to his newly discovered evangel: "At this present time we now see this great light quite clearly, and richly may we use it." But since this did not happen sufficiently according to his wish, he reminds his adherents of this unhappy life under the Papacy, before this light dawned upon him: "Above all shall you be moved by the *example of myself and others*, who lived in *death* and in *hell*, and did not so richly have the blessing, as you now."¹³⁷³ That is, combinedly, when we were monkish saints with our immoderate self-chastisements, (about which he spoke two pages back), we could not possibly find the peace of heart which you now enjoy in full measure in the light of my evangel.

How many "lies of utility" for the sake of his church did not Luther have to tell to reach this result, and to be able to speak of *experiences* in the sense which we disclosed in the two assertions just discussed! To have it believed that the Church, down to his day, knew only of a punitive Judge, it was enough for him merely to assert it, as he did even before 1530: he finally, against his better knowledge, had to have recourse to the lie that all the doctors prior to his time had known no other idea of God or Christ, or even of what was revealed in the Gospel, than that of a punitive Judge. In connection therewith he had to lend himself to a further lie, that he himself had avowed the same conception until, "by illumination of the Holy Ghost," the light had dawned in him on the passage from Romans 1, 17 and on the whole Sacred Scriptures, that is, until he had recognized that the "justice of God" did not mean retributive justice but gratuitous justification, in other words, until his turn about, or conversion, which, as we shall prove, took place in 1515. But long

¹³⁷³ Opp. exeg. lat. VII, 74.

before this epoch, indeed as *far back as we can follow him*, Luther understood and accepted the "justice of God" as meaning, not retributive or *punitive* justice, not a *punitory* judge, but the justifying grace of God, and Christ Himself as justice in the sense of grace.¹³⁷⁴ Nor did he ever, even in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, when expounding verse 17, chapter I, expend a single word on the subject, as we shall see later in this section. Neither did he then, in his wonted manner, boast that this knowledge became his alone or first, thus putting him in opposition to all the earlier doctors. It makes no difference in the present question that, even before 1515, he had already spoken of imputative justice, (about which more in the sequel); our concern here is solely the idea of the "justice of God," either in the sense of punitive justice or in the sense of justification.

We see that, from 1530 on, Luther handled this matter just as he did that of his monastic works of penance. Formerly, with all Christian antiquity, with his own Order, and with all the doctors, he assigned the right purpose to such works and insisted on discretion in their practice. Gradually he comes to speak of a churchly milieu in which recourse was had to self-chastisements to blot out sins, to propitiate the punitory Judge, and, in a word, to become justified. After

¹³⁷⁴ The full proof follows in the second volume. Nevertheless I mention here that, even five years before his "turn about," Luther thus understands "iustitia Dei." For, in his marginal notes on Sentences, 1, dist. 17, where Lombard on the basis of Augustin writes: "Deus dicitur *iustitia* Dei qua nos justificat, et Dominus *salus* qua nos salvat, et *fides* Christi qua nos fideles facit." Luther says in the same sense that God is not only love but also created love, similarly as "Christ is our faith, our justice, our grace, and our sanctification" (Weim. IX, 42 sq.; see also p. 90). Cf. 1 Cor. 1, 30. In his "Dictata super Psalt.," he nearly throughout interprets the "iustitia Dei" in the sense just adduced, thus as early as 1513 in the first psalm (Weim. III, 31) and countless times in the further course of the work (cf. e.g., III, 152, 166, 179: "*iustitiam*, sc. *iustitiam fidei*, qua *iustificatur anima*": 202, 226, 365, 462, 463, where even Romans 1, 17 is explained: "*iustitia* tropologice est *fides Christi*. Rom. 1: '*iustitia Dei revelatur in eo*;' similarly IV, 247: "*iustitia fidei*, que est ex fide." Rom. I. (Let this suffice for the present.) The matter is so plain, that even Köstlin, "Martin Luther," 5 ed., p. 105 must admit it. But he did not know that herein Luther was also in full accord with the earlier exponents, of whom I will adduce only the later Hugo of St. Cher, Thomas Aquinas, Turrecremata, Dionysius the Carthusian, Perez de Valentia, and Pelbartus.

1530, he represents himself as one who, to attain the purpose mentioned, had most intemperately pursued those exercises, to the detriment of his health. He afterwards poses as if he had never heard the contrary doctrine in the case held by the Church or his Order, nay, the boldness and cool impudence with which he presents his declarations could not but awaken in the reader or hearer the opinion that Luther must once positively have been convinced that, with his imprudent conduct, he had been acting entirely in the spirit of the Church.

About the same time, after 1530, he followed the same course, mendaciously setting forth the godless intention with which he had had *perforce* to take his vows, though earlier, e. g., 1521, he had still asserted at least that he did not know with what mind he had pronounced his vows.¹³⁷⁵ Thus also, after 1530, did he act with his lies about the "monastic form of absolution";¹³⁷⁶ about the Pope's having condemned marriage as an unchaste state,¹³⁷⁷ and about several other points. These, together with the question why he did all this after 1530, will be discussed in the second volume.

If we put everything together, we see, as a result amounting almost to certainty, that Luther's later utterances on his one-time immoderate self-chastisements and on the purpose he had had in performing them, belong to the intentional *lies of utility*, which, not even excepting big ones, he holds to be permissible and which he defends *for the weal of his "church" and of his doctrine*. This also accords with the result already obtained, that the researcher is embarrassed as to the period to which he is to assign those immoderate self-chastisements, since they do not fit into either Luther's sojourn at Erfurt or, far less, his stay in Wittenberg. If anyone is unwilling to acquiesce in my result, however, he is necessitated, everything else being left out of the question, to consider the "greatest German," the "genius without a peer" as an incredibly great ignoramus and fool, as I have already remarked. And with this latter alternative he would still not have solved in any manner the ever-enduring contradic-

¹³⁷⁵ Above, p. 259.

¹³⁷⁶ Above, p. 351 sqq.

¹³⁷⁷ Above, p. 264 sqq.

tion between Luther's wholly erroneous later utterances about the purpose of works of penance in the Church and his correct earlier pronouncements about it.

But there is one thing to be henceforth forevermore stricken out of every Luther legend, whether my result be accepted or not, and that is the twofold assertion, current to this day:

1. That the excessive works of penance, alleged to have been taken upon himself by Luther, the monk, were in the spirit of the Church and of his Order, and

2. That those works of penance were offered to the monk Luther by the Church and the Order, as means and supports by which he might propitiate the stern Judge, get a merciful God, blot out sins, and find God and heaven.

In lieu of these, the Luther biographers are bound either to refute my exposition, or to concede that the doubts of Luther's candor anent his later utterances on his earlier immoderate self-chastisements are exceedingly well founded.

But is at least that one thing true, that, in the period before the light of his evangel dawned upon him, Luther knew God or Christ only as a *stern, punitive judge*, not as a *merciful* God, and Father, and all this through the fault of the Church? Consequently was it not first through Luther the knowledge and confidence came, that "God is the being upon whom one can depend," "who in Christ calls out to the poor soul: '*salus tuus ego sum*'—'I am thy salvation'?"¹³⁷⁸ Is it further true that the Church bases reconciliation with God and our justification purely upon the work of man, human *achievements*, be they of whatever nature they may, and not upon the work of God or Christ, so that, in a conversion, everything turns on one's own justice, as all Protestant theologians and Luther-researchers assert to this day?

Before we proceed to set forth Luther's starting point in his development, there is still an investigation to be set up concerning the questions just asked. In this investigation, however, I adduce only those books which reveal the life and the view of the Church herself during the entire year, which

¹³⁷⁸ Harnack, "Lehrb. der Dogmengesch.," III (3 ed.), p. 729. "Wesen des Christentums," 4 ed., p. 169.

speak for her day after day to her faithful, especially those in the ecclesiastical state, namely, the missal and breviary, especially those of the Order of Hermits¹³⁷⁹ to which Luther had belonged. They fully suffice to give the lie to the later Luther and anew to prove him in clear contradiction with the earlier. The attained result at the same time also confirms the outcome set down in the preceding chapter.

CHAPTER II

PRELIMINARY INQUIRY INTO THE DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH IN HER PRAYERS ON A MERCIFUL GOD AND HIS GRACE, AS AGAINST OUR POWERLESSNESS.

Any one perusing the missal and breviary, whether of the Order of Hermits of Luther's time, which go back to those of the Roman Church, or of other orders, will find that, from the first Sunday of Advent down to the last after Pentecost, the Church calls the believer's attention almost without exception to the *merciful, gracious* God, in whom she encourages us on all sides to place our confidence and our trust. To one's astonishment, it will be discovered that hardly ever does the *angry* Judge come to the fore, and if the punitive justice of God is mentioned, there is never wanting the reference to mercy, by which justice is preceded.¹³⁸⁰ Yet, accord-

¹³⁷⁹ I cite the "Missale" of the Order of Hermits after the rare edition *Venetis* 1501; the breviary after Cod. Vat. lat. n. 3515 of the end of the XV century; the "Ordinarium" is given in the end of the edition of the "Constitutiones" (of 1508). Other references, which for the sake of brevity I give but sparingly, are each time indicated in particular.

¹³⁸⁰ There is a beautiful example offered in the mass for the last Sunday after Pentecost, i.e., the close of the ecclesiastical year. The Gospel sets forth the terrors of the last judgment (Matt. 25, 15-35). But from the very beginning of the mass, the Church wishes to preclude misunderstanding. The Introit begins: "The Lord saith: *I think towards you thoughts of peace and not of affliction*; you shall pray to me and I will hear you and will bring back your captivity out of all nations." Jeremias 29, 11 sq. is the source from which this was derived (*Missale* of the Augustinian Hermits, fol. 153). The Church takes the Epistle from Coloss. 1, 9-14, in which we are exhorted to trust in Christ, thanking God the Father, "Who hath delivered us from the power of darkness and hath translated us into the Kingdom of the Son of His love, in whom we have redemption through His blood, the remission of sins." There is a similar development of thought in the mass for the first Sunday of Advent.

ing to Luther's declarations, especially after his apostasy, one would have to believe that in every place and on every confine, we must see coming to meet us "the Judge on a rainbow," and that nowhere is there anything said about the gracious and merciful God, to whom one may turn with confidence and trust. *The precise contrary is the case.*

How great is the number of the prayers of the Church with the invocations: "Omnipotent and merciful God: Hear us, O salutary God: Hear us, O merciful God: Hear us, O omnipotent and merciful God": or in which the word "merciful" or "propitious" occurs! Only the conception of a gracious, merciful God, of whose willing favor and disposition to listen one is certain, but not the conception of a stern, punitive Judge, inspired the invocations of an untold number of Church prayers: "Give us, O Lord; Give us we pray thee, O Lord; Give, we pray; Bestow, O Lord, or We pray Thee, bestow; Hear, O Lord, our prayers," and others of a like turn: "Look down; Look down, O Lord, with favor: Look down favorably, O Lord"; or again the numerous prayers beginning: "Assist, O Lord; Permit, O Lord; Permit, O merciful God; Grant, Hear, O Lord: Be propitious, O Lord; Protector, or our Protector, Protect. May the Lord Protect: Receive, O Lord; Impart, O Lord; Look to; or the beginning of the doxology, which Luther recited several times a day: "Bestow, O most loving Father!"

In other cases, the allusion to God's mercy, when it is not present in the beginning of the invocation, occurs at the end or at the beginning of the second part of the Church prayer, as, for instance: "Let the ears of Thy mercy be open; May heavenly favor amplify. * * * Thy subject people; Thy people * * * propitiously look upon; O God

"Omnipotens et *misericors* Deus—Exaudi nos Deus *salutaris* noster—Exaudi nos *misericors* Deus—Exaudi nos omnipotens et *misericors* Deus; Da nobis Domine—Da nobis quaesumus Domine—Da quaesumus—Praesta Domine—Praesta quaesumus—Exaudi Domine preces nostras; Respice Domine—Respice Domine *propitius*—Respice *propitius* Domine; Adesto Domine—Annue Domine—Annue *misericors* Deus—Concede—Exaudi Domine—Propitiare Domine—Protector or protector noster—Protege, Protegat, Suscipe Domine—Tribue, Tuere Domine; Praesta Pater *piissime*; Pateant aures misericordiae tuae—Subjectum populum * * * propitiatio coelestis amplifcet—Populum tuum * * * propitius respice—Deus * * * miserere supplicibus tuis."

* * * have mercy on Thy suppliants." And how often, throughout the year, chiefly in the breviary prayers, the "miserere"—have mercy—is addressed to God or Christ, whether in the prayers, or in the versicles, or elsewhere! This attests, as the earlier Luther explains, too, that the mercy of God is presented to us in Christ.¹³⁸¹ Even the prayers to God, considered for Him alone, bear witness to the *merciful* God, as the Church herself so beautifully expresses it in one of her prayers: "Almighty, eternal God, Who art never supplicated without the hope of mercy, etc."¹³⁸²

After these general observations, however, let us pass right on to matters in detail, at the same time setting forth that the Catholic Church does not presume on human *achievements*, by which, as the later Luther calumniates, it was necessary to propitiate the angry, punitive Judge. (On the contrary), she just relies on the mercy, the grace of God, to which she turns with entire trust.

In his missal and breviary, Luther found the prayer so often recurring during the year: "Attend, O Lord, to our supplications, which we make on this solemnity of the saints, that we *who have no trust in our own justice*, etc."¹³⁸³ Throughout the whole year, he read that we of ourselves are destitute of all power,¹³⁸⁴ therefore confide not in our own

¹³⁸¹ In Luther's "Dictata super Psalterium," Weim. IV, 407: "*donec misereatur nostri, misericordiam, Christum filium mittendo. Miserere nostri, mitte Christum, qui est misericordia, domine, Deus pater, miserere nostri; in Christo enim misericordia Dei data est nobis, que hic petitur.*"

¹³⁸² "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, cui nunquam sine spe misericordiae supplicatur: propitiare," etc. Missa pro omnibus defunctis, Missala, fol. 231^b.

¹³⁸³ This prayer '(* * * "ut qui propriae institiæ fiduciam non habemus") had already appeared in the "Sacramentarium Leonianum" (p. 7, 25), and was found (as it is to-day) not only in the Roman breviary and missal, but also in those of the Order of Hermits (Missale, fol. 189; Breviarium, fol. 309). It is given in the *Commune Confessoris*, in a *Secreta plurimorum martyrum*, and on some feasts of the year. This prayer is based on Romans 10, 3: "For they not knowing the justice of God, and seeking to establish their own, have not submitted themselves to the justice of God."

¹³⁸⁴ Second Sunday of Lent: "Deus qui conspicias, omni nos virtute destitui." Missale of the Order of Hermits, fol. 31. Many of these prayers here to be cited are also found in the breviary. But I remark that the most of them are also to be found in the other missals and breviaries.

action,¹³⁸⁵ but place our support in the sole hope of heavenly grace;¹³⁸⁶ for, without Him Who is the strength of those who hope in Him, mortal infirmity can do nothing.¹³⁸⁷ To this infirmity we succumb,¹³⁸⁸ we are conscious of it and therefore have confidence in Thy power.¹³⁸⁹ As late as 1520,¹³⁹⁰ Luther refers to the prayer of the Church: "Lord, judge me not according to my action, I have done nothing pleasing before Thy countenance"; and to the fragment, "that we who cannot please Thee by our works, etc."¹³⁹¹ And on Pentecost the Church sings: "Without Thy divinity, there is nothing in man, there is nothing innocent."¹³⁹²

¹³⁸⁵ Sexagesima: "Deus qui conspicias, quia ex nulla nostra actione confidimus." Missale, fol. 19.

¹³⁸⁶ Fifth Sunday after Epiphany: "Familiam tuam * * * continua pietate custodi, ut quae in sola spe gratiae coelestis inintitur." Brev., fol. 79^b. Likewise "Oratio super populum" on the Saturday after the second Sunday of Lent. Missale, fol. 37^b. This prayer asks God in His goodness to take up the soul of the deceased "non habentem fiduciam nisi in misericordia tua." Brev. fol. 425.

¹³⁸⁷ First Sunday after Pentecost: "Deus in te sperantium fortitudo, adesto propitius invocationibus nostris, et quia sine te nihil potest mortalis infirmitas, praesta auxilium gratiae tuae." Missale, fol. 133. The Franciscan Stephen Bruleser, end of the XV century, adduces this prayer as a proof that the sinner cannot sufficiently prepare himself for sanctifying grace: "Sine aliqua gratia gratis data non potest homo peccator se sufficienter disponere ad gratiam gratum facientem, ut patet in ista collecta: 'Deus in te sperantium * * * et quia sine te nihil potest humana infirmitas.'" In II Sent., dist. 28, qu. 4, fol. 258 (Ed. Basilee 1507). Other similar prayers are also found, e.g., fourteenth Sunday after Pentecost: "quia sine te labitur humana mortalitas" (Missale, fol. 143); on the fifteenth Sunday: "Ecclesiam tuam, Domine, miseratio continuata mundet et muniat, et quia sine te non potest salva consistere," etc. (Ibid. fol. 143^b). Both prayers are also in Brev. fol. 175.

¹³⁸⁸ Feast of St. Callixtus (Oct. 14): "Deus qui nos conspicias ex nostra infirmitate deficere." Brev. fol. 381^b. Feast of St. Martin (Nov. 11): "Deus qui conspicias, quia ex nulla nostra virtute subsistimus." Brev. loc. cit.

¹³⁸⁹ "Oratio super populum" on Friday of the fourth week of Lent: "Da nobis quaesumus * * * ut, qui infirmitatis nostrae conscii de tua virtute confidimus." Missale, fol. 51. These prayers "super populum" are also in the Breviary for vespers.

¹³⁹⁰ Weim. V, 400.

¹³⁹¹ Office of the dead, eighth responsory, Brev. fol. 431^b (see above, p. 49); prayer for none in "Officium parvum B. V. M.," Brev. fol. 419.

¹³⁹² Sequentia for Pentecost (Missale, fol. 257):

"Sine tuo numine
Nihil est in homine,

Throughout the whole year, Luther read in his missal and in his breviary the message to all Christendom, that not only is God the Being upon Whom man may rely, but there simply is no other *hope*, no other *salvation* than God, *than* the Redeemer. As often as Luther sang the strophe in Passion-tide: "Hail, O Cross, *our only hope*,"¹³⁹³ he fell on his knees with the brethren in acknowledgment of it. Throughout all Lent, he was wont to sing: "Thou Who are the world's sole hope."¹³⁹⁴ On Good Friday, at the unveiling of the Cross, he sang: "Behold the wood of the Cross, on which the *salvation of the world* did hang. Come let us adore."¹³⁹⁵ On Holy Saturday, after the twelfth prophecy, he again heard the prayer: "Almighty, eternal God, *sole hope of the world*,"¹³⁹⁶ immediately after he had perceived the consoling words of the beautiful *Exultet*: "It is truly meet and just to praise Jesus Christ, Who for us paid the Eternal Father the debt of Adam, and with His precious blood blotted out the chirograph of the ancient sin."¹³⁹⁷ On Easter Sunday, he read

Nihil est innoxium."

Tauler also cites these verses, not in the edition of Basel (1521) nor in that of Frankfurt (1864), II, 32 sqq., but in the old Strassburg ms.

¹³⁹³ "O crux aue, spes unica," next to the last strophe of the hymn for vespers on Passion Sunday: "Vexilla regis," which is sung or recited until Good Friday. Brev. of the Order of Hermits, fol. 273. The *Ordinarium* of the Hermits directs in c. 6: "Flectant genua in ferialibus diebus, quando dicitur versus hymni: O crux aue spes unica." Edition: Venetiis 1508, fol. Giiij^b. St. Thomas (3 qu. 25, a. 4) cites the verse as authority for his statement: "in cruce Christi ponimus spem salutis." Hence, on the feast of the Finding of the Cross, Luther recited the salutation (Missale, fol. 256^b): "O crux lignum triumphale, mundi vera salus vale," and on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross: "Ave salus totius seculi arbor salutifera," fol. 261.

¹³⁹⁴ Hymn "Summi largitor praemii," for matins in Lent. Brev. fol. 272.

¹³⁹⁵ "Ecce lignum crucis, in quo salus mundi pependit. Venite adoremus." Missale, fol. 79. Cf. also "Praefatio de s. cruce," Missale, fol. 104.

¹³⁹⁶ "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, spes unica mundi." Missale, fol. 93.

¹³⁹⁷ Missale, fol. 83. The "Praeconium paschale," ascribed to St. Augustine is found in every missal. As is well known, the noble passage (Missale, fol. 84^b): "O felix culpa, quae talem ac tantum meruit habere Redemptorem!" also occurs there. This is found quite transformed in the widely spread sequence for Christmas, the "Eia, recolamus" of Notker Balbulus: "O culpa nimium beata, qua redempta est natura" (J. Kehrein, "Lat. Sequenzen des M. A.," p. 28). The note of Mathesius, "Historien v. Luther" (1566), fol. 5^b, to the effect that Luther had once sung the verse of the Christmas sequence: "O beata culpa, quae talem meruisti redemptorem," is therefore incorrect, and so also the note of A. Berger, "Martin Luther," I, 98:

the opening words of the Sequence: "In the early dawn, the day after the Sabbath, the Son of God rising, *our hope and our glory*."¹³⁹⁸ But that had been brought home to Luther's consciousness from the beginning of the ecclesiastical year, especially at Christmastide: "Thou *perennial hope* of all, Thou art come *the Salvation of the world*."¹³⁹⁹ Just before, he had heard the Apostle's words in the little chapter: "The goodness and kindness of God our Savior appeared, not by the works of justice which we have done, but according to His mercy he saved us." (Titus 3, 4-5.)¹⁴⁰⁰ Even in the very beginning of the Church year, he had read the *Introit* on the first page of the missal: "To Thee have I lifted up my soul, *in Thee I put my trust, let me not be ashamed*."¹⁴⁰¹ The Church knows that God is far rather inclined to show His mercy to those who trust in Him, than to be angry with them.¹⁴⁰² How often in the year Luther directed to God the words: "O God, Thou life of the living, Thou *hope* of the dying. *Thou salvation of all who hope in Thee*," "Thou art the *eternal salvation of all who believe in Thee*!"¹⁴⁰³ How often the words fell upon his hearing that Christ is the Savior

for the words cited belong, not to the Sequence, but to the "Exultet." Moreover, Notker's sequence is not indicated in the Hermits' "Missale" (fol. 254 sq.) whether for Christmas, or the Circumcision, or Epiphany, or any other day.

¹³⁹⁸ Missale, fol. 255^b:

"Mane prima sobbati
Surgens Dei filius,
Nostra spes et gloria."

¹³⁹⁹ Hymn used by the Augustinians in both the vespers and at matins:

"Tu spes perennis omnium * * *
Mundi salus adveneris." Brev., fol. 271.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., fol. 43.

¹⁴⁰¹ Introit for the first Sunday of Advent: "Ad te levavi animam meam, in te confido, non erubescam." Missale, fol. 1.

¹⁴⁰² Saturday before Passion Sunday: "Deus qui sperantibus in te misereri potius eligis, quam irasci." Missale, fol. 51^b.

¹⁴⁰³ Final prayer in "Missa pro defunctis": * * * "salus omnium in te sperantium," Missale, fol. 232 and in "Translat. S. Monicæ," fol. 237. "Missa pro infirmis," Missale, fol. 222: "* * * salus aeterna credentium." After the death of a brother, the prayer was recited: "Suavissime Domine Jesu Christe, beatorum requies et omnium in te sperantium salus incundissima." Second antiphon in the blessing of palms: "Hic est salus nostra * * * salve rex * * * qui venisti redimere nos." Missale, fol. 60.

of the world—(*Salvator mundi*)!¹⁴⁰⁴ In the *Introit* on the nineteenth Sunday after Pentecost, he also read: "I am the salvation of the people, thus saith the Lord; out of whatever need they cry to me, I will hear them, I will be their Lord forever;" and on the twenty-second Sunday: "If Thou, O Lord, wilt mark iniquities: Lord, who shall stand? For with Thee there is merciful forgiveness." Then immediately he heard the prayer: "O God, our refuge and our strength."

* * *¹⁴⁰⁵ From another prayer he learned that God Himself indulges our trust in the mercy to be hoped for and proper to Himself.¹⁴⁰⁶ The souls of the faithful repose in God's pity,¹⁴⁰⁷ and that this pity was without measure, without limits, was expressed in the secret in the mass said by Luther for the deceased brethren.¹⁴⁰⁸ The outcome is the same, if, in one prayer, the mercy of God is exalted as being as measureless as His majesty.¹⁴⁰⁹ For, after all, it is His omnipotence that God chiefly declares in pitying and showing forth His mercy.¹⁴¹⁰ Hence does the Church in her invoca-

¹⁴⁰⁴ Not perhaps merely in prayers handed down from antiquity, but also in never hymns composed even for feasts of the saints. Thus, e.g., the sequence for the feast of St. Nicholas de Tolentino (*Missale*, fol. 240) begins: "Tibi Christe redemptori, nostro vero salvatori, sit laus et gloria.

Tibi nostro pio duci, et totius mundi luci, plaudat omnis spiritus."

¹⁴⁰⁵ Both in the missal of the Hermits. The prayer: "Deus refugium nostrum et virtus," occurs also in the mass "In quacunque necessitate."

¹⁴⁰⁶ Wednesday of Passion Week, "Super populum": "quibus fiduciam sperandae pietatis indulges, consuetae misericordiae tribue benignus affectum." *Missale*, fol. 55. Likewise Monday after the second Sunday of Lent, *ibid.*, fol. 37^b; on the feast of St. Augustine, fol. 185^b, 253.

¹⁴⁰⁷ "Deus in cuius miseratione animae fidelium requiescunt." Pro in cimiterio sepultis. *Speciale*, etc., fol. 136. In *Missale*, fol. 231, without "in." In the Order of Hermits, this prayer, according to the "Ordinarium," c. 27, was to be recited as often as one went through the cemetery. Likewise do we find in this same "Ordinarium" of Luther's Order, c. 24, the statute: "In fine omnium horarum dicatur: 'Fidelium animae per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace.'" This was and is elsewhere the general custom.

¹⁴⁰⁸ *Missale*, fol. 231: "Deus, cuius misericordiae non est numerus." It also occurs in the "Missa pro commendatis," in the "*Speciale missarum sec. chororum Herbipolen*." (1509), fol. 135^b.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Deus, infinitae misericordiae et maiestatis immensae," etc. Cf. A. Franz, "Das Rituale von St. Florian aus dem 12 Jahrhundert" (1904), p. 115. The mercy of God is therefore ineffable: "Ineffabilem nobis * * * misericordiam tuam clementer ostende." *Brev.* fol. 434.

¹⁴¹⁰ On the tenth Sunday after Pentecost: "Deus qui omnipotentiam tuam parcendo maxime et miserando manifestas, multiplica super nos miseri-

tions so often combine the omnipotence of God with His mercy (*Omnipotens et misericors Deus*). Therefore did the Church call and does still call God the very "God of mercies"¹⁴¹¹ and recognizes Him as the "God of compassion," the "God of mildness," the "God of mercy."¹⁴¹² And how often Luther then with the Church invoked these mercies of God! Even in the oft-recited Litany of Saints, he had prayed: "Be merciful unto us, spare us, O Lord! Be merciful unto us, hear us, O Lord!" Luther, who only later assumes to know the gracious God, but who foists the angered Judge upon the Church, retained these words of the Church.¹⁴¹³ He formerly there still repeated the impetrative words: "That Thou spare us, O Lord, that Thou forgive us, we beseech Thee to hear us," etc.

In that epoch, the object of our diligence in the preceding chapter, in which, namely, we heard Luther, in contradiction with his earlier views and with the teaching of the Church, expressing himself on his one-time horrible works of penance and vain endeavors to propitiate the stern Judge, we also hear him, in keeping therewith, blustering against "the false theology," (the Papistical), according to which "God is angry with sinners who acknowledge their sins. For such a God is neither in heaven nor anywhere else, he is the idol of an evil heart. *Rather does the true God say: 'I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live.'*" (Ezech. 33, 11).¹⁴¹⁴ But, now, from whom did Luther learn to know this true God? Was it not from the Church, in whose breviary in every Lent from the time of his entrance into the Order, he had read the noble responsory: "I should have fallen into fear and confusion,

cordiam tuam," etc. Missale, fol. 140. Both Hugo of St. Cher (in Psalms, ed. Venetiis, 1703, fol. 289^b), St. Thomas (1. 2. qu. 113, a. 9) and Nicholas de Niise (Opus super Sent., Rothomagi 1506, tr. 5, pate 2^a, portio 3, qu. 1) refer to this prayer.

¹⁴¹¹ "Deus. indulgentiarum Domine," prayer "In Anniversario defunctorum," Missale, fol. 231^b.

¹⁴¹² Pro se sacerdote (Secreta): "Deus misericordiae, Deus pietatis, Deus indulgentiae, indulge quaeso et miserere mei." Missale, fol. 222^b.

¹⁴¹³ Erl. 56, 360.

¹⁴¹⁴ Enarr. in Ps. 51 (Opp. exeg. lat. XIX, 35).

did I not know Thy mercy, O Lord. Thou hast said: 'I desire not the death of the wicked, but rather that the wicked turn from his way and live'. In proof of this, the Canaanite woman and the publican are cited.¹⁴¹⁵ He also heard the true God speaking in another *responsory* on the first Sunday of Lent and in an *antiphon* for terce on all ferial days during the whole of Lent. And when he became a priest, he found the aforesaid words of the true God further used as the beginning of the Church prayer in the masses, "*Pro amico peccatore*," similarly "*Pro quacunque tribulatione*," "*Pro mortalitate et peste*"; also in the blessing of the ashes on Ash-Wednesday, on which occasion, as priest, he had prayed: "Almighty, eternal God, spare the repentant, be merciful to suppliants," whereas, as a cleric, he had chanted the verse: "Hear us, O Lord, for mild is Thy mercy; according to the fulness of Thy clemency, look down upon us, O Lord."¹⁴¹⁶

Luther also, when he was a priest, daily uttered the last sentiment in a manner much more fraught with meaning in the canon of the Mass: "To us sinners also, Thy servants, hoping in the multitude of Thy mercies (*de multitudine miserationum sperantibus*), vouchsafe to grant some part and fellowship with Thy holy apostles and martyrs." Is not this the *true* theology, according to which the sinner, acknowledging himself to be such, invokes, not the angered, but that true God, "whose attribute it is *always* to grant us pity and forbearance,"¹⁴¹⁷ "Who commands that He be prayed to by

¹⁴¹⁵ Responsory in matins, office of the Augustinian Hermits of Luther's time for the first week of Lent: "Tribularer, si nescirem misericordias tuas Domine; tu dixisti: *nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut magis convertatur et vivat*, qui Cananaeam et publicanum vocasti ad poenitentiam." That comforts the heart, hence the immediately following verse: "Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo, consolationes tue letificaverunt animam meam." Brev., fol. 96. Hugo of St. Cher in his time refers to this responsory, which occurred in *all* the breviaries of that period. Commenting on Ps. 84, 8 (*Ostende nobis Domine misericordiam tuam*), he says: "I. e. fac nos perfecte cognoscere magnum misericordiam tuam, ut *non* pro peccatis desperemus, sed in misericordia speremus * * * Unde cantat Ecclesia in Quadragesima: 'Tribularer, si nescirem,' etc. In Psalmos, Venetiis 1703, fol. 222^b."

¹⁴¹⁶ Missale, fol. 20^b sq.

¹⁴¹⁷ "Deus cui proprium est misereri semper et parcere." Missale, fol. 230 and 232, Brev., fol. 434.

sinner^s,¹⁴¹⁸ "Who repels *no one*,¹⁴¹⁹ even sinners included, since, as "the Giver of pardon and the Lover of human salvation,"¹⁴²⁰ in a word, as the merciful God, "He far more desires the betterment of every soul acknowledging its sins to Him than He seeks its perdition?"¹⁴²¹

As a young monk, Luther also learned from his breviary that the Church looks for the forgiveness of sins, not through our "*achievements*," but only through God's mercy and grace. In Lent he prayed: "If God refused to purify us from our sins, who could do this?" The Church means to say: "No one!" And precisely for that reason, because no one else can do it, she raises herself to God with the supplication: "Grant us remission, because Thou hast the power."¹⁴²² In conformity with this, Luther prayed with the Church at the burial of a brother-religious: "Enter not into judgment with Thy servant, O Lord, *for no man shall be justified in Thy sight*, unless *Thou* vouchsafe to grant him the remission of all his sins."¹⁴²³ It is God who justifies the sinner.¹⁴²⁴ To the erring, God shows the light of His truth, that they may be able to return upon the way of justice.¹⁴²⁵ Even the "*opera praeparatoria*"—preparatory works—of which Luther still

¹⁴¹⁸ "Deus, qui te praecipis a peccatoribus exorari." *Secreta in Missa pro seipso sacerdote*. Missale, fol. 222^b.

¹⁴¹⁹ Missa pro remiss. peccat.: "Deus qui nullum respiciis," etc. Missale, fol. 224.

¹⁴²⁰ "Deus veniae largitor et humanae salutis amator." Missale, fol. 231.

¹⁴²¹ Postcommunio in Missa pro confitente peccata sua: "Omnipotens et misericors Deus, qui omnem animam penitentem et confitentem tibi magis vis emendare quam perdere." Missale, fol. 228^b.

¹⁴²² In the hymn of matins for Lent (Brev. fol. 272):

"Nostra te conscientia
Grave offendisse monstrat,
Quam emundes, supplicamus,
Ab omnibus piaculis.
Si renuis, quis tribuet?

Indulge, quia potens es, etc.

¹⁴²³ "Non intres in iudicium cum servo tuo, Deus, quia nullus apud de iustificabitur homo, nisi per te omnium peccatorum ei tribuatur remissio." Brev. fol. 427^b.

¹⁴²⁴ In the Hermits' Missal, "Missa pro amico peccatore," fol. 224^b; "Deus qui iustificas implum, et non vis mortem peccatoris."

¹⁴²⁵ Prayer on the third Sunday after Easter: "Deus qui errantibus, ut in viam possint redire iustitiae, veritatis tuae lumen ostendis." Missale and Brev. The prayer already occurs in the "Sacrament. Leon.," p. 9.

speaks in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, i.e., all those good actions which precede justification, are not brought about without the grace of Christ, since without that grace we can do nothing at all *for our salvation*. "O God," prays the Church, "Thou protector of all hoping in Thee, without Whom nothing is valid, nothing holy, multiply Thy mercy upon us, so that, with Thee as our ruler, with Thee as our leader, we may pass through temporal good, not losing good eternal."¹⁴²⁶ This prayer of the Church so pleased Luther that, after he had already apostatized, he translated the first part of it, as far as "so that," and taking the second part of another Church collect, which, as a monk, he had likewise prayed out of his breviary and missal at least seven times each year, combined the two into one prayer.¹⁴²⁷ The prayer, from which he took this second part, ("that by thy inspiration") runs: "O God, from whom all good things do proceed, grant to us thy suppliants, that by Thy inspiration we may think those things that are right, and by Thy guiding do them, through Jesus Christ, our Lord."¹⁴²⁸

How often Luther read such thoughts in his missal and breviary! I shall here still further develop this Church theology and thereby at the same time make preparation for the next chapters.

Luther was taught that even only *to recognize* the good, or that which is to be done, is of the operation of grace, but

¹⁴²⁶ In the Hermits' Missal, as generally, for the third Sunday after Pentecost: "Protector in te sperantium Deus, sine quo nihil est validum, nihil sanctum: multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam, ut te rectore, te duce sic transeamus," etc. Brev. fol. 158b.

¹⁴²⁷ In this form it reads (Erl. 56, 347): "Almighty God, who art a protector of all who hope in Thee, without Whose grace none can do aught or amount to aught before Thee, let Thy mercy richly occur to us, that by Thy holy inspiration we may think what is right and by Thy operation also fulfil the same for the sake of Christ Thy Son, our Lord."

¹⁴²⁸ On the fifth Sunday after Easter: "Deus, a quo bona cuncta procedunt, largire supplicibus tuis, ut cogitemus te inspirante, quae recta sunt, et te gubernante eadem faciamus. Per dom, nostrum Jesum Christ," etc. Both in the Missale, fol. 122b, and in the Hermits' Brev. fol. 145b. Of the same import is the prayer in the "Sacramentarium Leonian," p. 130: "Deus qui bona cuncta et inchoas et perficis, da nobis, sicut de initiis tuae gratiae gloriamur, ita de perfectione gaudere."

all the more so, *to love* such good or *to accomplish* it.¹⁴²⁹ Even only *to beg* that grace depends upon the grace of God.¹⁴³⁰ No interpreting avails here. After he had enunciated many of his fundamental errors and had begun his warfare against the scholastics, Luther himself had referred to the Church on this point.¹⁴³¹ "Why," he apostrophizes those who believed they awakened good thoughts out of themselves, "Why does the Apostle pray: 'The Lord direct your hearts and bodies?'" This is not just what the Apostle¹⁴³² says, but it is the way the Church has it. Luther was familiar with it from the *Pretiosa*.¹⁴³³ He goes on: "Why does the Church pray: 'Let all our conversations go forth, our thoughts and works be directed to doing Thy justice?'" Luther prayed this prayer

¹⁴²⁹ Tuesday after the second Sunday of Lent: * * * "*ut quae te auctore facienda cognovimus, te operante impleamus.*" Brev. fol. 100. Wednesday after the first Sunday of Lent, "*super populum*": "*Mentes nostras * * * lumine tuae claritatis illustra, ut videre possimus quae agenda sunt, et quae recta sunt agere valeamus.*" Missale, fol. 28. On the thirteenth Sunday after Pentecost: "*ut mereamur assequi quod promittis, fac nos amare quod praecipis.*" Ibid. fol. 142.

¹⁴³⁰ Tuesday after the fourth Sunday of Lent, "*super populum*": "*quibus supplicandi praestas affectum, tribue defensionis auxilium.*" Missale, fol. 46^b. Ember Saturday of September: "** * * ut salutis aeternae remedia, quae te inspirante requirimus te largiente consequamur.*" Missale, fol. 147^b.

¹⁴³¹ "O Deus, quando ludibrio sumus hostibus nostris. Non ita facilis est bona intentio, nec in tua (bone Deus) o homo potestate constituta, sicut nocentissime vel docet vel discitur Scotus. Ea enim praesumptio est hodie perniciosissima, quod ex nobis formamus bonas intentiones, quasi sufficientes simus cogitare aliquid ex nobis, contra expressam sententiam Apostoli. Inde securi stertimus, freti (M. fretri) libero arbitrio, quod ad manum habentes, quando volumus, possumus pie intendere. Ut quid ergo Apostolus orat: 'Dominus autem dirigat corda et corpora vestra'? Et Ecclesia: Sed semper ad tuam iustitiam faciendam, nostra procedant eloquia, dirigantur cogitationes et opera? Hae sunt insidiae iniquorum, de quibus ps. 5: Interiora eorum insidiae; et proverb. 11: In insidiis suis capientur iniqui. Non sic impii, non sic. Sed opus est, ut prostratus in cubiculo tuo totis viribus Deum ores, ut etiam intentionem quam praesumpsisti, ipse tibi det, non in securitate a te et in te concepta vadas, sed a misericordia eius petita et expectata." Commentary on Epistle to the Romans, c. 14, fol. 277.

¹⁴³² The Apostle only says, II Thess. 3, 5: "and the Lord direct your hearts in the charity of God, and the patience of Christ." The Church inserted, after hearts, the words, "and bodies." See next note.

¹⁴³³ Brev. fol. 73^b: "Dominus autem dirigat corda et corpora vestra in caritate Dei et patientia Christi."

at prime.¹⁴³⁴ Not less justly could he have referred to the prayer which he had daily recited in the *Pretiosa*.¹⁴³⁵ The almost daily prayer in the Church: "O God, from whom holy desires, right counsels, and just works do proceed," etc.,¹⁴³⁶ he himself, already a heresiarch, translated as follows: "Lord God, heavenly Father, who makest holy courage, good counsel, and right works, give Thy servants peace, which the world cannot give, that our hearts may cling to Thy commandments and that, by Thy protection, we may live our time calmly and securely against enemies, through Jesus," etc.¹⁴³⁷ The Church knows that our hearts are *wavering* and in need of the help and leading of God.¹⁴³⁸

Our own forwardness, of course, would always like to be in the lead, and we shall yet see how Luther, on his own admission, suffered from the same and called the attention of others to its dangers. He is still faithful in doing the latter, in his commentary on Romans. Not in vain had he heard the Church in his day pray: "We pray Thee, O Lord, that the working of the heavenly gift take our souls and bodies in possession, that not our sense in us, but the same gift's effect may continually prevене."¹⁴³⁹ Therefore does she pray a week afterward: "We pray Thee, O Lord, *that Thy grace may ever prevent and follow us* and make us continually

¹⁴³⁴ Ibid., fol. 72b: "* * * Tua nos hodie salva virtute, ut in hac die ad nullum declinemus peccatum, *sed semper ad tuam iustitiam faciendam nostra procedant eloquia, dirigantur cogitationes et opera.*"

¹⁴³⁵ Ibid., fol. 73: "Dirigere et sanctificare, regere et gubernare dignare domine deus, rex celi et terre, hodie corda et corpora nostra, sensus, sermones et actus notros in lege tua et in operibus mandatorum tuorum, ut hic at in eternum te auxiliante salvi et liberi esse mereamur, salvator mundi, qui vivis et regnas in secula seculorum."

¹⁴³⁶ Ibid., fol. 434: "Deus a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia, et justa sunt opera," etc.

¹⁴³⁷ Erl. 56, 345.

¹⁴³⁸ Secret on the fifth Sunday after Epiphany and on the Wednesday after the first Sunday of Lent: "nutantia corda tu dirigas." Missale, fol. 18 and 28.

¹⁴³⁹ Closing prayer on the fifteenth Sunday after Pentecost. Missale, fol. 144: "ut non noster sensus in nobis, sed iugiter eius (doni coelestis operatio) praeveniat effectus."

intent upon good works."¹⁴⁴⁰ Every day Luther prayed, sometimes repeatedly: "We pray Thee, O Lord, prevent our actions by favoring, and by helping, further them, that all our prayer and doing may begin with Thee, and having been begun through Thee, may end, through Christ," etc.¹⁴⁴¹ In this the Church means that God is to anticipate our *will*.¹⁴⁴²

For it is our will, as Luther repeatedly states in his exposition of the Psalms and even more in his commenting on Romans, that resists the law of God. Therefore does the Church pray: "Graciously compel to Thee even our *rebellious wills*,"¹⁴⁴³ just as if God had to exercise force to draw our wills to Himself. "Arise, Christ, and help us,"¹⁴⁴⁴ as the Church implores from the very beginning of the Church year, the first Sunday of Advent: "Arouse our hearts to the preparation of the ways of thy only-begotten Son," "Raise up, we pray Thee O Lord, Thy power and come, and with great might hasten to our assistance."¹⁴⁴⁵ So also, for the last Sunday of the ecclesiastical year, there was no more apposite prayer found than: "Awaken, O Lord, the *will* of Thy faith-

¹⁴⁴⁰ Sixteenth Sunday after Pentecost, Missale, fol. 144. Similarly in the "Secreta" of the "Missa pro serenitate": "Praeveniat nos, quaesumus Domine, gratia tua semper et subsequatur." Ibid., fol. 225^b. Thus also as early as the IX century in the "Auctarium Solesmense, Series liturgica" 1, p. 156.

¹⁴⁴¹ Brev., fol. 434^b.

¹⁴⁴² As a matter of fact, e.g., Marsilius von Inghen thus cites the prayer: "Et supplicat ecclesia: 'voluntates nostras, quaesumus Domine, aspirando preveni,' quia sine speciali Dei preventionem nihil possumus boni." In II Sent., qu. 18, a. 4 (Argentine 1501, fol. 296). The Church prayer begins with "Actiones," not with "Voluntates."

¹⁴⁴³ "Secreta" on Saturday of the fourth week of Lent and on the fourth Sunday after Pentecost: "ad te nostras etiam rebelles compelle propitius voluntates." Missale, fol. 51^b and 137.

¹⁴⁴⁴ Thus every day did Luther recite the prayer at prime: "Exurge, Christe, adjuva nos, libera nos propter nomen tuum." Brev. fol. 25; 72^b.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Second Sunday of Advent: "Excita, Domine, corda nostra ad praeparandas Unigeniti tui vias." Missale, fol. 1^b. First Sunday of Advent: "Excita, quaesumus Domine, potentiam tuam et veni," and on the fourth Sunday the Church adds: "Et magna nobis virtute succurre, ut per auxilium gratiae tuae, quod nostra peccata praepediunt, indulgentia tuae propitiationis acceleret." Fol. 6^b. On Wednesday after the third Sunday of Advent: "Festina, ne tardaveris, et auxilium nobis supernae virtutis impende." Missale, fol. 3^b. Luther after his apostasy translated the first prayer almost word for word. Erl. 56, 326.

ful."¹⁴⁴⁶ For, to will that which God has commanded us, and to do it, only God is able to grant us.¹⁴⁴⁷ And this crooked will, even when, under preventing grace, it has begun, still stands in need of concomitant grace, not only to continue the work but also not to become self-complacent in it.¹⁴⁴⁸ Not once a year, but every day had Luther to pray in the early morning: "Direct our actions in Thy good pleasure," etc.¹⁴⁴⁹

According to the teaching of the Church, then, conversion has not its footing in the works of men but in the work of God. Even the essential thing in confession of sin, a contrite heart, is the work of God; otherwise why does the Church pray: "A sorrowing heart bestow"—*Et poenitens cor tribue?*¹⁴⁵⁰ On all ferial days, Luther read the little chapter at terce: "Heal me, O Lord, and I shall be healed; save me and I shall be saved," and immediately following came the versicle, "Heal my soul, for I have sinned."¹⁴⁵¹ And in every day's mass, Luther prayed at the altar-steps: "O God, if Thou turnest to us, Thou wilt quicken us, and Thy people will rejoice in Thee."¹⁴⁵² It is God who must give aversion from

¹⁴⁴⁶ "Eccita, quaesumus Domine, tuorum fidelium voluntates." Missale, fol. 152^b.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Prayer after the tenth prophecy on Holy Saturday: "Da nobis et velle et posse quae praecipis." Missale, fol. 91^b. Likewise in a prayer recited in the vesper procession on Easter Sunday.

¹⁴⁴⁸ First Sunday after Pentecost: "praesta auxilium gratiae tuae, ut in exequendis mandatis tuis et voluntate tibi et actione placeamus." Missale, fol. 133. Eighteenth Sunday after Pentecost: "Dirigat corda nostra, quaesumus Domine, tuae miserationis operatio, quia tibi sine te placere non possumus." Ibid., fol. 149. Twelfth Sunday after Pentecost: "* * * de cuius munere venit, ut tibi a fidelibus tuis digne et laudabiliter serviatur." Brev. fol. 174; Missale, fol. 141^b.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Sunday during the octave of Christmas: "dirige actus nostros in beneplacito tuo." Brev. fol. 55. It appears from the "Ordinarium," c. 36, fol. H iij, that this beautiful collect was recited every day after the holy Mass.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Verse in the hymn: "Jam Christe sol justitiae" for lauds in Lent. Brev. fol. 272^b. Luther still refers to it 1518, when he writes Weim. I, 321, 25: "Fac (Deus) poenitentem, quem jubet poenitere. Et sic cum b. Augustino ores: 'Da quod jubet et jube quod vis,' et cum Ecclesia: 'et cor poenitens tribue.'"

¹⁴⁵¹ Brev., fol. 76.

¹⁴⁵² "Deus tu conversus vivificabis nos; et plebs tua laetabitur in te." Missale, fol. 777. Luther beautifully interprets the verse in his exposition of the psalms, Weim. IV, 8: "Ergo mortui sumus ante conversionem tuam, et

sin and conversion to Himself. Hence the Church daily exclaims at the beginning of compline: "Convert us, O God, our salvation,"¹⁴⁵³ and she frequently repeats this petition.¹⁴⁵⁴ For this and other reasons she implores eleven times each day: "Incline unto my aid, O God, O Lord make haste to help me."¹⁴⁵⁵ By this initial verse of the sixty-ninth psalm, as Luther himself explains in 1514, the Church, *not trusting in her own power*, invokes the aid of God's hand.¹⁴⁵⁶

Precisely for the sake of this initial verse of the sixty-ninth psalm, which "the priests day and night so frequently have on their lips," Luther recommends the psalm for their general use. It was not to be murmured out coldly and superficially, but with all attention the priests were, by this prayer, to support the Church of God. "For, if the Church is supported, we shall also be saved, *she being our mother-hen, we her brood. It was not in vain that the Holy Ghost ordained the initial verse of this psalm to be the beginning of every (canonical) hour.*" Luther then proceeds to enumerate the fruits and effects of this verse, or rather prayer, against tyrants, heretics, the scandalous, in a word, against the enemies of the Church; against vices and past sins, "that they may not bring one to despair"; *against the onsets of the concupiscence of the flesh* and its works; against the allurements of the world and the promptings of the devil; "that they not get the upper hand over you, but rather that you may persevere in hope, faith, grace, and union with Christ. Speak: 'O Lord God, incline unto my aid.' For this prayer is

mors nostra est aversio tua, sed conversio tua fiat vita nostra. Quomodo enim anima potest vivere, a qua Deus aversus est, quia est vita animae, sicut anima corporis?"

¹⁴⁵³ "Converte nos Deus salutaris noster." Brev. fol. 69^b.

¹⁴⁵⁴ E. g. Monday after the first Sunday of Lent. Missale, fol. 25^b. On the last Sunday after Pentecost, "Secreta": "Omnium nostrum ad te corda converte." Ibid., fol. 153.

¹⁴⁵⁵ "Deus in adiutorium meum intende. Domine ad adjuvandum me festina." In the breviary before every part of ecclesiastical prayer, before every canonical hour, and besides three times in succession in the "Pretiosa." On the many days on the "Officium Marianum" was also recited, there were the further eight invocations added, so that on such days Luther had to recite this prayer not less than *nineteen* times.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Weim. III, 444.

shield, arrow, and a means of protection against every assault of fear, presumption, tepidity, (unfounded) security, etc., which especially dominate these days."¹⁴⁵⁷ Who would think that these golden words in defence of the Church were written by the selfsame man who later ceaselessly censures her—and the longer he does so, the worse—for having known nothing of God, of Christ, for having known Him as a stern, irate Judge, who was to be propitiated only by our achievements and mortifications, and so on? And yet it is the same, but he had become a changed man, such a one, indeed, who shrank from no means of calumniating the Church and of making her hated, so that thereby his own doctrine might be exalted!

The preceding pages express the conviction that our enemies are strong, indeed, but that God is stronger, and it is just from Him that the Church hopes for salvation.¹⁴⁵⁸ For this reason, at the end of the penitential psalms, so often recited with the Litany of all Saints in Luther's day, she implores God: "Be unto us, O Lord, a tower of fortitude, against our enemies,"¹⁴⁵⁹ the worst of whom are within us, as Luther above not unclearly confesses. In respect to them, too, the Church turns to the gracious God, beseeching Him, in the hymn of the ferial vespers on Fridays, to vouchsafe to repel from His servants whatever through uncleanness may be mingled with their customs and actions;¹⁴⁶⁰ or, as is prayed

¹⁴⁵⁷ Weim. III, 446 sq. I will cite here only the beginning of the Latin text: "Unde omnibus sacerdotibus commendandus est psalmus iste, cuius principium tam frequenter diu nocteque volunt, ut non tam frigide et perfunctorie ipsum demurmurent, sed tota intentione Ecclesiam Dei in ista oratione iuvent. Quoniam si Ecclesia adiuta fuerit, nos quoque salvi erimus, cum ipsa sit gallina nostra, nos pulli eius. Non enim frustra Spiritus S. sic ordinavit in omni hora pro principio hoc principium huius psalmi."

¹⁴⁵⁸ Prayer on Monday after the third Sunday of Lent: "Subveniat nobis Domine misericordia tua, ut * * * te mereamur protegente eripi, te liberante salvari." Brev. fol. 105. Cf. also the prayer on the first Sunday of Advent. Missale, fol. 1.

¹⁴⁵⁹ "Esto nobis, Domine, turris fortitudinis." Brev. fol. 433^b.

¹⁴⁶⁰ "Repelle a servis tuis,
Quidquid per immunditiam
Aut moribus se suggerit
Aut actibus se interserit." Brev. fol. 267^b.

in the hymn of the ferial vespers for Tuesdays, to vouchsafe to cleanse with the dew of His grace the wounds of the seared spirit, so that, with tears, i.e., of repentance, it may wash past deeds and destroy evil instincts.¹⁴⁶¹ The Church has confidence that God will assist, just because He sent His Son into the world for *our salvation*, that He might *humiliate* Himself to us and *recall* us to God.¹⁴⁶²

The Church hopes all *from God*, hopes for it *through the merits of Jesus Christ*, and in *virtue* of His passion. Hence she does not address a single prayer in the missal or breviary to any saint whatever, not even to the Mother of God, a fact that Luther still recognized in the year 1518.¹⁴⁶³ The Church hopes to receive everything in *virtue* of the merits of "Jesus Christ our Lord," a fact that Luther must have known from a statute of the Order.¹⁴⁶⁴ Never does the Church put the Mother of God or the saints in the place of God, *who gives*, or in the place of Christ, *through whom* and whose merits *we receive*. She puts them in our place, on our side, that they may *second our prayer*, make it more efficacious with God. In all this the Church gives expression to her belief that neither our achievements nor the saints, but only Jesus Christ is our savior; that we can do good, be heard and saved only in virtue of His merits, acquired for us in His life, passion, and death. Hence the Church prays that "we may

¹⁴⁶¹ "Mentis perustae vulnera
Munda virore gratiae,
Ut facta fletu diluat,
Motusque prava atterat." Brev. fol. 263.

¹⁴⁶² Prayer in the blessing of palms: "Deus, qui filium tuum * * * pro salute nostra in hunc mundum misisti, ut se humiliaret ad nos, et nos revocaret ad te" * * * Missale, fol. 60.

¹⁴⁶³ Weim. I, 420: "In omnium Sanctorum festis Ecclesia orationem dirigit non ad sanctos, sed ad deum cum nominibus sanctorum, eorum merita ex deo venisse protestata; deinde per eadem preces suas deo commendans."

¹⁴⁶⁴ The "Ordinarium" of Luther's Order (Venetiis 1508) contains the 28 chapter: "Qualiter orationes debeant terminari." In *all* prayers, it says, Jesus Christ must first be mentioned at the close; as a rule, thus: "per dominum nostrum Jesum Christum," etc. Only the (infrequent) "Orationes quae ad ipsam trinitatem diriguntur, sic concluduntur: "Qui vivis et regnas deus per omnia saecula saeculorum." Jesus Christ is herein included. But otherwise He is always expressly mentioned, naturally in different ways according to the invocation.

merit, *in the name of the beloved Son*, to abound in good works."¹⁴⁶⁵ Therefore, in the Litany of All Saints, familiar to the one-time Luther, does she lift her pleading to God, to the three persons of the Godhead, and to Jesus Christ: "*Have mercy on us*" or "*hear us*," but to the saints she says: "*Pray for us*." Therefore it is that she does not beg God to vouchsafe to save us on the ground of *our* achievements, of *our works of penance*, or of the *religious life*, etc., (as the later Luther charged against the Church), but, "through the mystery of Thy holy Incarnation, O Lord, deliver us; through Thy coming, birth, baptism and holy fasting, O Lord, deliver us; through Thy death and burial, O Lord, deliver us! etc."¹⁴⁶⁶ The later Luther was still aware of this, for these invocations were retained by him.¹⁴⁶⁷

We have already discussed how Luther, with the Church, called the Cross our *sole hope*, and Christ upon it the *Salvation* of the world. In keeping with this, he also, with the Church, prayed God to save His faithful through the *mystery of the Cross*.¹⁴⁶⁸ Hence we are not our own redeemer, as the later Luther makes the Church teach. To uncover this kind of assertions exhaustively as lies, I should here have to copy more than a half of the liturgical books of the Church. Here and there Luther proves himself to be the one I have continually depicted him. But I now mention only one thing—precisely in the confession of the Church, that on the Cross redemption, reconciliation with God, and forgiveness of our

¹⁴⁶⁵ Brev. fol. 55; Ordinarium, c. 36: "ut in nomine dilecti filii tui mereamur bonis operibus abundare." And in the sequence "O crux lignum" on the feast of the finding of the Holy Cross, Luther prayed (Missale, fol. 256^b):

Medicina christiana
Sansos salva, egros sana,
Quod non valet vis humana,
Fit in tuo nomine.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Per mysterium sanctae Incarnationis tuae, Libera nos Domine
* * * Per crucem et passionem tuam, Libera, etc. Per mortem et sepul-
tum tuam, Libera, etc. Per sanctam Resurrectionem tuam, Libera, etc.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Erl. 56, 360, 363.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Close of the hymn "Vexilla Regis" for Passiontide, Brev., fol. 273:
Quos per crucis mysterium
Salvas (Ms. salva), rege per saecula."

sins fell to our lot,¹⁴⁶⁹ do we find the reason that she everywhere presents the image of the Cross to the faithful, in and out of the churches, in books and on the walls, in dwellings and out on the fields, in the public squares, on the house-tops, and above the spires. The picture of the Crucified, together with Mary and John under the cross, is never wanting in any missal, not even the smallest, before the canon of the mass, for instance, in the missal for those travelling, such as Luther could have seen in his own Order,¹⁴⁷⁰ to say nothing of the larger mass-books. Wherever he might be, the priest was to remember that, in the mass, there was repeated in an unbloody manner that which had taken place on the Cross, that on which all his hope of here and hereafter is fixed.

For this reason the Church points out to priests at their ordination the effect of the redemption by Christ on the cross and of the same sacrifice in the holy mass, that they may experience that effect both in the mysteries of grace and in their behavior,¹⁴⁷¹ or, as she prays another time, that they may hold, in life, to that sacrament which they have made their own by faith.¹⁴⁷² In the risen Savior she still sees the wounds which He once received for the sake of our redemption, and by whose merits our sins are expiated to this day.¹⁴⁷³ At Easter-tide

¹⁴⁶⁹ Later, but still long *before* Luther's day, there were special masses said "De passione Domini, De quinque vulneribus, De lancea Domini," etc. In the mass "De passione Domini," the prayer reads: "Domine Jesu Christe fili dei vivi, qui de celo ad terram descendisti de sinu Patris, et in ligno crucis quinque vulnera et plagas sustinuisti, et sanguinem tuum pretiosum in remissionem peccatorum nostrorum fudisti * * *" Missale specialium missarum pro itinerantibus sec. rubricam Patavien. ecclesie, Vienne 1513, fol. 24. Speciale Missarum sec. chorum Herbipolen. (Basilee 1509), fol. 150^b. Cf. A. Franz, "Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter" (1902), p. 155 sqq.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Namely in the "Missale Itinerantium seu misse peculiare valde devote," printed in Germany, 1504, a small octavo of only 40 leaves, for the Order of Hermits. Thus also in the "Sacrificiale Itinerantium" (Oppenheim, Jac. Koebel, 1521); besides in the missal just cited of the diocese of Passau, etc.

¹⁴⁷¹ Postcommunio: "* * * ut tuæ redemptionis effectum et mysteriis capiamus et moribus" (Pontificale Rom.).

¹⁴⁷² "Ut sacramentum vivendo teneant, quod fide perceperunt." Prayer for Easter Tuesday, Missale, fol. 116, Brev., fol. 133.

¹⁴⁷³ Beautifully expressed in the "Missa de quinque vulneribus" (Speciale missarum sec. chorum Herbipolen., fol. 152): "Deus qui hodierna die sacratissimorum vulnerum tuorum solemniter celebramus, concede propitius,

she greets Him, with the wounds upon His body, as the most kind King and begs Him to take possession of our heart.¹⁴⁷⁴ She gives Him the outright name of "our Redemption, our Love and Desire."¹⁴⁷⁵

And now to come to a conclusion, the Church also logically makes the *attainment of eternal blessedness* dependent, not upon our achievements and merits, but upon the mercy of our Saviour. The earlier Luther knew this from many a Church prayer that might be ranged under this head: it entered the prayer he recited every day at mass, after the elevation;¹⁴⁷⁶ he heard it in the prayer, to mention but one, used at the blessing of the palms: "O God, whom to love is justice, increase in us the gifts of thine ineffable grace, and do thou who, through the death of Thy Son, hast made us hope for that which we believe, make us also through his resurrection, attain thither whither we tend."¹⁴⁷⁷ This was not a secret doctrine, but from olden times¹⁴⁷⁸ priests had the straight-

ut a peccatorum nostrorum vulneribus eorumdem pretiosorum stigmatum tuorum intervenientibus meritis expiati perpetue beatitudinis premia consequamur." Cf. Franz, loc. cit., p. 157 sq.

¹⁴⁷⁴ In the hymn for lauds in Paschal time, "Sermone blando angelus," in use in very many dioceses and orders (of U. Chevalier, "Repertorium hymnolog," II, n. 18831), and in the Order of Hermits with five preceding strophes (beginning "Aurora lucis"). After mention of the "vulnera in carne Christi fulgida," the last strophe begins (Brev. fol. 274):

"Rex Christe clementissime,
Tu corda nostra posside."

¹⁴⁷⁵ An uncommonly widely used hymn for vespers and matins on the feast of Christ's Ascension (Brev., fol. 274^b) which begins:

"Jesu nostra redemptio,
Amor et desiderium."

It was still more used than the one just mentioned (see Chevalier, I, 9582); J. Kehrein, "Kirchenlieder," p. 67, points out a German translation from as early a date as the XII century. In his work, "Kathol. Kirchenlieder, Hymnen, Psalmen," I, 524, another ancient translation is given.

¹⁴⁷⁶ "Intra quorum (apostolorum et martyrum) nos consortium *non aestimator meriti*, sed *veniae largitor* admitte." Missale, fol. 112.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Missale, fol. 60: "Deus quem diligere et amare iustitia est," etc.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Touching this see matter out of the epoch immediately before Luther's time, above, p. 49 sq. The proximate source for this is the "Admonitio morienti" of St. Anselm of Canterbury (Migne, Patr. lat. t. 158, 686 sq.), which, with the earlier similar productions and later amplifications alike, is treated in the excellent work of A. Franz, "Das Rituale von St. Florian," p. 196 sq. As in respect to other points, so in respect to the practice described above was Gerson's "Opus tripartitum, 3 pars: De scientia

out direction to receive from the dying their acknowledgment that they attain to heavenly glory, *not through their own merits*, but in virtue of the passion of our Lord Jesus Christ and through His merits; that Jesus Christ died for our salvation, and no one can be saved by his own merit or in any other manner except through the merit of Jesus Christ. If the one dying has this faith, let him thank God with all his heart and commend himself to Christ's passion, often thinking on the same.¹⁴⁷⁹ Let him draw thence the firm hope that God is the "most faithful promisor of everlasting goods and the most certain paymaster."¹⁴⁸⁰

In her liturgical prayers and hymns in Luther's time, the Church thus shows us the Lord God throughout as the merciful, gracious God, *not as the stern Judge*. Throughout the entire ecclesiastical year, she shows that the advent of Jesus Christ is really the advent of grace and mercy, that Jesus Himself is the *Joy of the World*, the immeasurable Clemency, who redeemed us from death with His blood.¹⁴⁸¹

mortis" (Opp. I, 447 sqq. ed. Antwerpiae 1706) of influence upon the *close* of the middle ages. From it, the passage belonging here was translated by Geiler v. Kaisersberg as follows: "In Thee, sweetest Jesus, is my sole hope. * * * Lord, I demand thy paradise, *not out of the worth of my deserving but in virtue of Thy most blessed passion*, by which Thou didst desire to redeem me, poor (wretch) that I am, and to purchase paradise for me at the price of Thy precious blood." (Wie man sich halten sol bei einem sterbenden Menschen," 1482. Published by Dacheux, 1878).

¹⁴⁷⁹ Sacerdotale ad consuetudinem S. Romanae ecclesiae, Venetiis 1537 (first impression), fol. 117 (Venetiis 1554, fol. 113^b): "Credis, non propriis meritis, sed passionis dom. nostri Jesu Christi virtute et merito ad gloriam pervenire? Credis quod dominus noster Jesus Christus pro nostra salute mortuus sit, ed quod ex propriis meritis vel alio modo nullus possit salvari, nisi in merito passionis eius? Redde ei gratias toto corde, quantum potes, et te ipsius passioni recommenda, et ipsam corde cogita, et ore quantum potes nomina." Similar sentiments are found in the numerous German booklets of preparation for death current at that time. Cf. Falk, "Die deutschen Sterbebüchlein von der ältesten Zeit des Buchdruckes bis zum J. 1520" (1890).

¹⁴⁸⁰ Sacerdotale; 1537, fol. 211; (1554) fol. 207^b: "Deus eternorum bonorum fidelissime promissor et certissime persolutor," etc.

¹⁴⁸¹ Read by Luther on the Sundays of Lent in the hymn for vespers, "Aures ad nostras" (Brev. fol. 207^b):

"Christe lux vera, bonitas et vita,
Gaudium mundi, pietas immensa,
Qui nos a morte roseo salvasti
Sanguine tuo."

As we shall see in the further course of this work, the Church doctors down to Luther's day taught nothing different. Luther himself, who later could not sufficiently reproach the Church and her theologians with having brought men and himself to despair, since they knew and taught God only as a stern, irate Judge, did not dare in his earlier days, when he had no need of such lies, to set up any such assertion. In his earlier days, his teaching on this point was the teaching of the Church.¹⁴⁸²

Protestant theologians have never to this day even thought of the sources used in this chapter. How else could Harnack ever have written down the words, cited above, p. 440, on the glad evangel which Luther gave to Christendom? And how little I have here adduced from my sources! But Luther knew them. He drew on them, and even interwove passages from them, here and there, with his text, just as he did, at times, passages from the Scriptures.¹⁴⁸³ In such liturgical phrases he recognizes "words of the Church," which are by no means to be considered vain.¹⁴⁸⁴ More than that, when he was already near his apostasy, he still appeals to those sources, (those quoted above being not the only ones),

¹⁴⁸² Thus he writes, 1513-1514, in his "Dictata": "*Lex vetus primum adventum Christi prophetavit, in quo Christus in iudicio benigno et salutari regnat, quia adventus gratie et benignitatis est. * * * Nova autem lex de futuro iudicio et iustitia prophetat, quia secundum adventum Christi prophetat, qui erit in iudicio severitatis et vindicta eterna, ut patet in multis auctoritatibus Joh. 5: 'potestatem dedit ei iudicium tuum facere'; 2 Tim. 4: 'Qui iudicaturus est vivos et mortuos'; Rom. 2: 'in revelatione iusti iudicii Dei.'*" Weim. III, 462.

¹⁴⁸³ Thus, e.g., he writes on Rom. 8, 14, in his "Kommentar zum Römerbrief," fol. 200^b: "*Spiritu Dei agi, i.e., libere, prompte, hilariter carnem, i.e., veterem hominem mortificare, i.e., omnia contemnere et abnegare, quae Deus non est, etiam seipsum, ac sic nec mortem, nec amica mortis genera poenarum saeva pavescere.*" The italicised words are from the hymn on the feast "unius virginis et martyris" (Brev. fol. 411^b). On Romans 10, fol. 234, Luther writes: "** * * soli Deo vivit, cui omnia vivunt etiam mortua.*" The italicised passage is not taken in this wording from Luke 20, 38, but from the "Invitatorium" of the office of All Souls (Brev. fol. 385^b: *Regem, cui omnia vivunt,* etc.) or from the "Oratio in sepultura": "*Deus cui omnia vivunt, et cui non pereunt moriendo corpora nostra, sed mutantur in melius*" (Ibid., fol. 429). And thus frequently. The examples given will suffice.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Weim. I, 558: "*nec vana esse verba ecclesiae credo.*" In 1514, he even attributed the arrangement of the liturgy to the Holy Ghost. See above, p. 456.

not then thinking of abandoning them. Besides, even as heresiarch, he not only, as is known, praised the ancient hymns of the Church, but he also translated into German, or retained in the Latin,¹⁴⁸⁵ a number of Church prayers, some of which I have given above.

As elsewhere so often, so here again does Luther express the verdict on his later calumnies, when he spoke as if the Church, prior to him and he with her, had known God only as a stern judge, whom man was obliged to propitiate by his own achievements. Apart from this, almost to the time of his apostasy, when he had long since found his gospel, Luther cited several of these liturgical prayers, *against* merit, against the notion that we or our achievements, of whatever kind they might be, were the cause of our salvation. When, at that time, he contends on this point against the Scholastics or the practice of some few, he allows the doctrine of the Church, expressed in her liturgy, to play no part whatever; he recognizes it as correct. Neither did he feel himself called on to assert that, in statements like, "Christ is the sole hope, He is the only salvation, not we," the Church left out the word "alone" after "we,"¹⁴⁸⁶ or that, as a matter of fact, she teaches that we, and our works also effect our *salvation*. That was said by the later Luther, when, in his hatred of, and warfare against, the Church, he unscrupulously assumes the blame for his immeasurable distortions of Catholic doctrine and for the

¹⁴⁸⁵ The "Oratio" of the "Missa pro tribulatis": "Deus qui contritorum non despicias gemitum" is twice brought out by Luther, once in German (Erl. 56, 352) and another time in Latin (p. 365); naturally he translates "in ecclesia tua sancta," "In Thy congregation." The "Oratio" for the IV Sunday after Epiphany: "Deus qui nos in tantis periculis constitutos" is found *ibid.*, p. 353 in German. p. 366 in Latin. The beautiful "Oratio": "Deus qui delinquentes perire non pateris," already found in the "Sacramentarium Leonian.," p. 109, occurs with a change of the concluding sentence, *ibid.*, 365. Luther's prayer on the passion of Christ, *ibid.*, p. 332, is put together from the "Oratio" for Wednesday of Holy Week: ("Deus qui pro nobis filium tuum crucis patibulum subire voluisti") and from the "Oratio" for Tuesday of the same week ("Da nobis ita dominicae passionis," etc.). Likewise Luther's prayer on the Sacrament of the Altar (p. 318), for Easter and Ascension (p. 320), and for Trinity (p. 335), are based on the corresponding prayers, to say nothing of the hymns, of the Catholic Church.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Thus W. Köhler, "Denifles Luther" in the magazine, "Die Christliche Welt," 1904, Nr. 9, p. 208. On this more may be seen in the course of this work.

gravest calumnies against Catholic antiquity. He did this when he held "*everything* to be permissible against the insidiousness and wickedness of Popedom, for the salvation of one's soul,"¹⁴⁸⁷ even lies of utility, which, particularly from this point of view, he allows and defends.

¹⁴⁸⁷ See above, p. 138.

