


HERE I STAND
A Life of
Martin Luther

Roland H. Bainton



HENDRICKSON
Classic 
Biography


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PUBLISHERS

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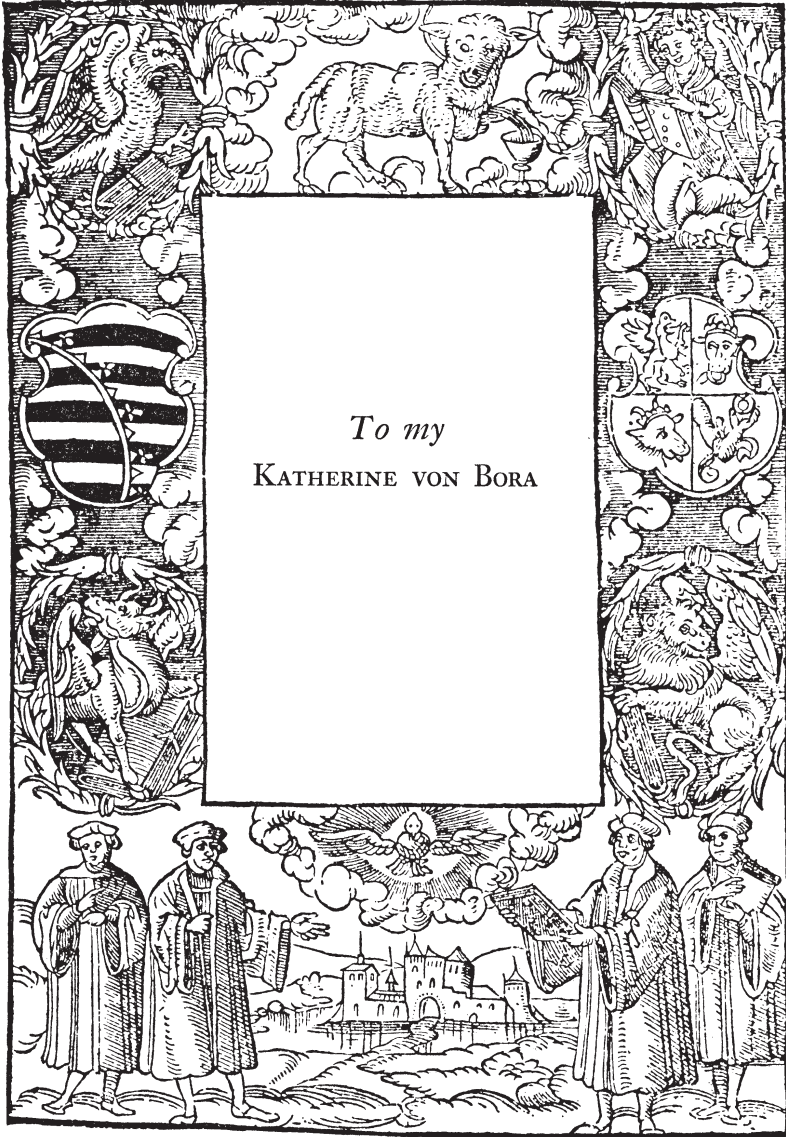
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CONTENTS

I. The Vow	1
At Home and School	
Religious Disquiet	
The Haven of the Cowl	
II. The Cloister	17
The Terror of the Holy	
The Way of Self-Help	
The Merits of the Saints	
The Trip to Rome	
III. The Gospel	33
The Failure of Confession	
The Mystic Ladder	
The Evangelical Experience	
IV. The Onslaught	50
The Indulgence for St. Peter's	
The Ninety-Five Theses	
V. The Son of Iniquity	67
The Dominican Assault	
The Case Transferred to Germany	
The Interviews with Cajetan	
Threatening Exile	
VI. The Saxon Hus	87
The Gauntlet of Eck	
The Leipzig Debate	
The Endorsement of Hus	

VII. The German Hercules	107
The Humanists: Erasmus Melanchthon and Dürer The Nationalists: Hutten and Sickingen	
VIII. The Wild Boar in the Vineyard	125
The Sacraments and the Theory of the Church Prosecution Resumed The Bull “Exsurge” The Bull Seeks Luther	
IX. The Appeal to Caesar	142
Publication of the Bull Against the Execrable Bull of Antichrist The Freedom of the Christian Man	
X. Here I Stand	160
A Hearing Promised and Recalled The Emperor Assumes Responsibility Invitation to Luther Renewed Luther Before the Diet The Edict of Worms	
XI. My Patmos	186
At the Wartburg The Reformation at Wittenberg: Monasticism The Mass The Outbreak of Violence	
XII. The Return of the Exile	202
Turmoil The Invitation to Come Back The Return to Wittenberg	
XIII. No Other Foundation	213
Nature, History, and Philosophy Christ the Sole Revealer The Word and the Sacraments The Menace to Morals The Ground of Goodness	

XIV. Rebuilding the Walls	232
The Callings	
Economics	
Politics	
Church and State	
XV. The Middle Way	248
Hostility of the Reformed Papacy	
Recoil of the Moderate Catholics: Erasmus	
Defection of the Puritans: Carlstadt	
The Revolutionary Saints: Müntzer	
Banishment of the Agitators	
XVI. Behemoth, Leviathan, and the Great Waters	268
Rivals: Zwingli and the Anabaptists	
Religion and Social Unrest	
Luther and the Peasants	
Müntzer Foments Rebellion	
The Debacle and the Effect on the Reformation	
XVII. The School for Character	291
Katherine von Bora	
Domesticity	
Children and Table Talk	
Views of Marriage	
Consolations of Home	
XVIII. The Church Territorial	312
Dissemination of the Reform	
Practical Church Problems	
The Godly Prince	
The Protest	
Protestant Alliance: The Marburg Colloquy	
The Augsburg Confession	
XIX. The Church Tutorial	335
The Bible Translation	
Doctrinal Problems in Translation	
Catechisms	
Liturgy	

Music	
Hymnbook	
XX. The Church Ministerial	359
Preaching	
Sermon on the Nativity	
Exposition of Jonah	
Prayer	
XXI. The Struggle for Faith	372
Luther's Persistent Struggle	
His Depressions	
The Way of Indirection	
Wrestling with the Angel	
The Rock of Scripture	
XXII. The Measure of the Man	387
The Bigamy of the Landgrave	
Attitude to the Anabaptists	
Attitude to the Jews	
The Papists and the Emperor	
The Measure of the Man	
Bibliography	403
References	413
Sources of Illustrations	425
Index	429

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Woodcuts of School Scenes of Luther's Day	3
A Student Wearing the Donkey Mask	5
Hans and Margareta Luther by Cranach	6
Fiends Tempting a Dying Man to Abandon Hope	9
Christ the Judge Sitting upon the Rainbow	12
View of the City of Erfurt	13
Sixteenth-Century Monks in a Choir	16
The Augustinian Cloister Luther Entered as a Monk	18
Celebrating the Mass in Luther's Time	20
Illustration from Luther's Bible of 1522	24
Monks of the Sixteenth Century	26–30
Wittenberg in 1627	34
Illustrated Title Page of Luther's Bible of 1541	43
Cranach's "Frederick the Wise Adoring the Virgin and Child"	52
A Holbein Cartoon Showing True and False Repentance	54–55
Portrait of Albert of Brandenburg	57
Cartoon Showing the Hawking of Indulgences	59
The Vendor and His Indulgences	61
The Castle Church at Wittenberg	62
Cartoon Showing Forgiveness of Christ Outweighing Indulgences from the Pope	64
Spalatin and the Crucified Christ	74
1556 Woodcut of Luther's Interview with Cajetan	78
The Pope as an Ass Playing Bagpipes	80
Reversible Cartoon of Cardinal and Fool	81
Portrait of Philip Melanchthon by Aldegrever	92
Portrait of John Eck	93
Fifteenth-Century Cartoon of Antichrist	96
Woodcut of the Leipzig Debate by a Contemporary	99

Luther and Hus Administer the Bread and Wine to the House of Saxony	104
Luther Depicted as the German Hercules by Holbein	108
Dürer's "Melancholia"	116
Luther and Hutten as Companions in Arms	118
Cartoon Showing Luther and Hutten Bowling Against the Pope	119
The Ebernburg	120
Title Page of the Bull Against Luther	136
Title Page of Luther's <i>Address to the German Nobility</i>	145
"The Passion of Christ and Antichrist"	147
Title Page of Hutten's <i>Protest Against the Burning of Luther's Books at Mainz</i>	151
Luther Burning the Papal Bull	158
Title Page of Hutten's <i>Satire on the Bull Against Luther</i>	161
The Diet of Worms and the Public Peace	165
Portrait of Aleander	167
Luther with a Dove Above His Head	168
Luther's First Hearing at Worms	177
Luther's Second Hearing at Worms	182
The Wartburg	188
Luther as Junker George at the Wartburg	189
Luther as the Evangelist Matthew Translating the Scriptures	192
Marriage of Bishops, Monks, and Nuns	195
A Cartoon Against the Image Breakers	204
Portrait of Frederick the Wise	209
Portrait of Luther	220
Title Page of Luther's Tract <i>On the Freedom of the Christian Man</i>	229
Rebuilding the Walls of Jerusalem	233
A Father of a Household at Work	235
From the Title Page of Luther's Tract <i>On Usury</i>	237
Frederick the Wise and Luther Kneeling Before the Crucified Christ	249
Portrait of Duke George	253
Portrait of Thomas Müntzer	263
Peasants Swearing Allegiance to the Bund	275
A Prophecy of Convulsion in 1524	276
Peasants Plundering a Cloister	280
Peasants About to Take Over a Cloister	281

Title Page of Luther's Tract <i>Against the Murderous and Thieving Hordes of Peasants</i>	284
Surrender of the Upper Swabian Peasants	286–87
Luther Instructs the Peasants	288
Luther in Armor Prepares to Put on the Peasants' Boot	289
A Peasant Taxes Luther as Double-Tongued	289
A Wedding Party in Front of the Church	294
Katherine and Martin in the Year of Their Marriage	296
The Luther Household at Table	300
Cartoon of 1529 Showing Luther as a Seven-Headed Monster	303
Christ Disarms the Pope	313
Luther and Lucifer in League	314
The Devil Delivers a Declaration of War to Luther	315
The Signatures at the Marburg Colloquy	330
Cranach's "Jacob Wrestling with the Angel"	338
Lemberger's "Jacob Wrestling with the Angel"	339
The Whore of Babylon in Three Editions of Luther's Bible	342–43
Four Cuts Illustrating the Catechism	348
Sample of Luther's Hymnbook	354
Songs Praising Luther and Melanchthon	356
Evangelical and Catholic Services Contrasted	360
Illustration of the Nativity from Luther's Bible	365
Martyrdom of Heinrich of Zuetphen	373
Devil and Death Harass a Soul in an Unfinished Cranach Drawing	378
Luther from the Copper Plate by Daniel Hopfer (1523)	380
"A Mighty Fortress" in Luther's Hand	385
"The Anabaptist Preacher" Adapted from the Title Page of Hosea in Luther's Bible	390
The Lower Magistrate: John Frederick, Elector of Saxony	396
Luther in the Year of His Death	399

CHRONOLOGY

1483	November 10	Birth of Martin Luther at Eisleben
1484	early summer	Family moved to Mansfeld
1497	about Easter	Luther goes to school at Magdeburg
1498		Luther goes to school at Eisenach
1501	May	Matriculation at Erfurt
1502	September 29	Bachelor of Arts
1505	January 7	Master of Arts
	July 2	Thunderstorm and vow
	July 17	Enters Augustinian cloister at Erfurt
1507	May 2	First mass
1508	winter	Teaches one semester at Wittenberg
1509	October	Return to Erfurt
1510	November	Journey to Rome
1511	early April	Return to Erfurt; transfer to Wittenberg
1512	October 19	Doctor of Theology
1513	August 16	Lectures on Psalms begin
1515	April	Lectures on Romans begin
1516	September 7	Lectures on Romans end
	October 27	Lectures on Galatians begin
1517	October 31	Posting the ninety-five theses
1518	April 26	Disputation at Heidelberg
	July	Prierias attacks Luther
	August 5	Maximilian writes to the pope
	August 7	The pope cites Luther to Rome
	August 8	Luther appeals to Frederick
	August 25	Melanchthon arrives
	August 31	Luther's reply to Prierias
	September 26	Luther starts for Augsburg
	October 12–14	Interview with Cajetan

	October 20–21	Flight from Augsburg
	October 30	Back in Wittenberg
	November 8	The bull <i>Cum Postquam</i>
	November 28	Luther appeals to a general council
	December 2	Ready to go into exile
	December 18	Frederick will not banish Luther
1519	January 4–6	Interview of Luther with Miltitz
	January 12	Death of Emperor Maximilian
	June 28	Election of Charles V
	July 4–14	Leipzig debate between Luther and Eck
1520	January	Hutten and Sickingen offer Luther help
	May	<i>Sermon on Good Works</i>
	June 11	Offer of protection from one hundred knights; <i>The Papacy at Rome</i>
	June 15	<i>Exsurge Domine</i> gives Luther sixty days to submit
	August	<i>Address to the German Nobility</i>
	October 6	<i>Babylonian Captivity</i>
	October 10	Luther receives the pope's bull
	November 4	Charles at Cologne promises a hearing
	November 12	Burning of Luther's books at Cologne
	November	<i>Against the Execrable Bull of Antichrist; On the Freedom of the Christian Man</i>
	November 28	Luther invited to Worms
	December 10	Burning by Luther of the pope's bull
	December 17	Invitation to Worms rescinded
1521	January 3	The bull <i>Decet Romanum Pontificum</i> against Luther is ready
	January 5	Frederick arrives at Worms
	January 27	The diet of Worms opens
	February 10	The bull against Luther reaches Aleander
	February 13	Aleander's three-hour speech; the bull is sent back
	February 14	Glapion's attempts at mediation
	February 17	Draft of an edict against Luther
	February 19	Intense opposition
	February 22	Decision to summon Luther
	March 2	Second draft of an edict

March 6	Invitation to Luther
March 8	Edict for sequestration of Luther's books ready
March 26	Edict issued
April 10	Glapion reports failure of mission to Hutten and Sickingen
April 16	Luther in Worms
April 17	First hearing
April 18	Second hearing
April 19	The emperor announces his decision
April 20	Diet requests a committee
April 23–24	Hearings before the committee
April 26	Luther leaves Worms
May 4	Luther arrives at the Wartburg
May 8	Edict of Worms ready
May 26	Edict of Worms actually issued
September 22	Melanchthon celebrates an evangelical Lord's Supper
November 12	Thirteen monks leave the Augustinian cloister
December 3–4	Tumult at Wittenberg; Luther's flying trip home and return
December	Commencement of the New Testament translation; work on the Sermon Postils
December 25	Carlstadt gives wine in the mass to laity
December 27	Zwickau prophets in Wittenberg
1522 January 6	Disbanding of the Augustinian Congregation at Wittenberg
February 26	Justus Jonas, minister of the Castle Church at Wittenberg, marries
March 1–6	Luther's return to Wittenberg
September–May, 1523	Sickingen's campaign against Trier
September	Luther's German New Testament published
September 14	Hadrian VI elected pope
1523 March 6	Edict of the Diet of Nürnberg deferring action

	March	<i>On Civil Government</i>
	Pentecost	<i>On the Order of Worship</i>
	July 1	Burning of the first martyrs of the Reformation at Brussels
	August 23	Death of Hutten
	September	Clement VII elected pope
1524		Hymnbook
	January–February	<i>To the Councilman . . . Christian Schools</i>
	April 18	Edict of the second diet of Nürnberg
	September	Erasmus, <i>On the Freedom of the Will</i>
1525	January	<i>Against the Heavenly Prophets</i>
	March	Twelve articles of the peasants
	April 19	<i>Admonition to Peace</i>
	May 5	Death of Frederick the Wise
	May 5	<i>Against the Robbing and Murdering Horde</i>
	May 15	Battle of Frankenhausen; capture of Müntzer
	May–June	Crushing of the peasants
	June 13	Luther's betrothal to Katherine von Bora
	July	<i>Open Letter Concerning the Hard Book Against the Peasants</i>
	before Christmas	<i>The German Mass</i>
	December	<i>On the Enslaved Will</i>
1526	June 25–August 27	Diet of Speyer defers action on the Edict of Worms <i>Exposition of Jonah</i>
1527	January	<i>Whether Soldiers Too May Be Saved</i>
	April	<i>Whether These Words: This Is My Body</i>
	summer	Sickness, intense depression Composition of "A Mighty Fortress"
1528	March 22	<i>Instruction for the Visitors</i>
	March 28	<i>Confession of the Lord's Supper</i>
1529	April 19	Protest at the Diet of Speyer
	October 1–4	Marburg Colloquy; German catechism
1530	April 16	Luther at the Coburg
	June 25	Presentation of the Augsburg Confession <i>Exposition of the Eighty-Second Psalm</i>

- (Death penalty for sedition and blasphemy)
- 1531 *Warning to His Beloved Germans*
- 1534 Publication of the complete German Bible
- 1536 Wittenberg Concord with the Swiss
Outbreak of Anabaptists at Münster
Melanchthon's memorandum on the death penalty for peaceful Anabaptists
- 1539 Bigamy of the Landgrave Philip
- 1543 January 4 *Against the Jews*
July Publication of the Genesis Commentary
(lectures delivered from 1535–1545)
- 1545 March 25 *Against the Papacy at Rome Founded by the Devil*
- 1546 February 18 Luther's death at Eisleben

Chapter One

THE VOW



IN A SULTRY DAY in July of the year 1505 a lonely traveler was trudging over a parched road on the outskirts of the Saxon village of Stotternheim. He was a young man, short but sturdy, and wore the dress of a university student. As he approached the village, the sky became overcast. Suddenly there was a shower, then a crashing storm. A bolt of lightning rived the gloom and knocked the man to the ground. Struggling to rise, he cried in terror, "St. Anne help me! I will become a monk."

The man who thus called upon a saint was later to repudiate the cult of the saints. He who vowed to become a monk was later to renounce monasticism. A loyal son of the Catholic Church, he was later to shatter the structure of medieval Catholicism. A devoted servant of the pope, he was later to identify the popes with Antichrist. For this young man was Martin Luther.

His demolition was the more devastating because it reinforced disintegrations already in progress. Nationalism was in process of breaking the political unities when the Reformation destroyed the religious. Yet this paradoxical figure revived the Christian consciousness of Europe. In his day, as Catholic historians all agree, the popes of the Renaissance were secularized, flippant, frivolous, sensual, magnificent, and unscrupulous. The intelligentsia did not revolt

against the Church because the Church was so much of their mind and mood as scarcely to warrant a revolt. Politics were emancipated from any concern for the faith to such a degree that the Most Christian King of France and His Holiness the Pope did not disdain a military alliance with the Sultan against the Holy Roman Emperor. Luther changed all this. Religion became again a dominant factor even in politics for another century and a half. Men cared enough for the faith to die for it and to kill for it. If there is any sense remaining of Christian civilization in the West, this man Luther in no small measure deserves the credit.

Very naturally he is a controversial figure. The multitudinous portrayals fall into certain broad types already delineated in his own generation. His followers hailed him as the prophet of the Lord and the deliverer of Germany. His opponents on the Catholic side called him the son of perdition and the demolisher of Christendom. The agrarian agitators branded him as the sycophant of the princes, and the radical sectaries compared him to Moses, who led the children of Israel out of Egypt and left them to perish in the wilderness. But such judgments belong to an epilogue rather than a prologue. The first endeavor must be to understand the man.

One will not move far in this direction unless one recognizes at the outset that Luther was above all else a man of religion. The great outward crises of his life which bedazzle the eyes of dramatic biographers were to Luther himself trivial in comparison with the inner upheavals of his questing after God. For that reason this study may appropriately begin with his first acute religious crisis in 1505 rather than with his birth in 1483. Childhood and youth will be drawn upon only to explain the entry into the monastery.

At Home and School

The vow requires interpretation because even at this early point in Luther's career judgments diverge. Those who deplore his subsequent repudiation of the vow explain his defection on the ground that he ought never to have taken it. Had he ever been a true monk, he would not have abandoned the cowl.



His critique of monasticism is made to recoil upon himself in that he is painted as a monk without vocation, and the vow is interpreted, not as a genuine call, but rather as the resolution of an inner conflict, an escape from maladjustment at home and at school.

A few sparse items of evidence are adduced in favor of this explanation. They are not of the highest reliability because they are all taken from the conversation of the older Luther as recorded, often inaccurately, by his students; and even if they are genuine, they cannot be accepted at face value because the Protestant Luther was no longer in a position to recall objectively the motives of his Catholic period. Really there is only one saying which connects the taking of the cowl with resentment against parental discipline. Luther is reported to have said, "My mother caned me for stealing a nut, until the blood came. Such strict discipline drove me to the monastery, although she meant it well." This saying is reinforced by two others: "My father once whipped me so that I ran away and felt ugly toward him until he was at pains to win me back." "[At school]



I was caned in a single morning fifteen times for nothing at all. I was required to decline and conjugate and hadn't learned my lesson."

Unquestionably the young were roughly handled in those days, and Luther may be correctly reported as having cited these instances in order to bespeak a more humane treatment, but there is no indication that such severity produced more than a flash of resentment. Luther was highly esteemed at home. His parents looked to him as a lad of brilliant parts who should become a jurist, make a prosperous marriage, and support them in their old age. When Luther became a Master of Arts, his father presented him with a copy of the *Corpus Juris* and addressed him no longer with the familiar *Du* but with the polite *Sie*. Luther always exhibited an extraordinary devotion to his father and was grievously disturbed over parental disapproval of his entry into the monastery. When his father died, Luther was too unnerved to work for several days. The attachment to the mother appears to have been less marked; but even of the thrashing he said that it was well intended, and he recalled affectionately a little ditty she used to sing:

If folk don't like you and me,
The fault with us is like to be.

The schools also were not tender, but neither were they brutal. The object was to impart a spoken knowledge of the Latin tongue. The boys did not resent this because Latin was useful—the language of the Church, of law, diplomacy, international relations, scholarship, and travel. The teaching was by drill punctuated with the rod. One scholar, called a *lupus* or wolf, was appointed to spy on the others and report lapses into German. The poorest scholar in the class every noon was given a donkey mask, hence called the *asinus*, which he wore until he caught another talking German. Demerits were accumulated and accounted for by birching at the end of the week. Thus one might have fifteen strokes on a single day.



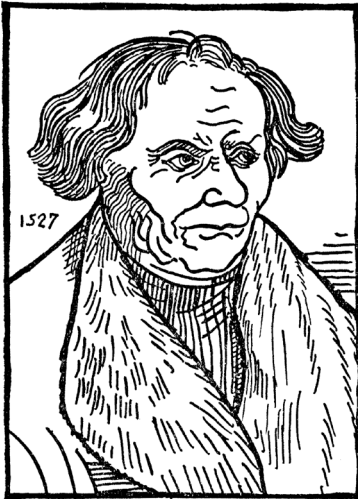
THE ASINUS

But, despite all the severities, the boys did learn Latin and loved it. Luther, far from being alienated, was devoted to his studies and became highly proficient. The teachers were no brutes. One of them, Trebonius, on entering the classroom always bared his head in the presence of so many future burgomasters, chancellors, doctors, and regents. Luther respected his teachers and was grieved when they did not approve of his subsequent course.

Nor was he prevailingly depressed, but ordinarily rollicking, fond of music, proficient on the lute, and enamored of the beauty of the German landscape. How fair in retrospect was Erfurt! The woods came down to the fringes of the village to be continued by orchards and vineyards, and then the fields which supplied the dye industry of Germany with plantings of indigo, blue-flowered flax, and yellow saffron; and nestling within the brilliant rows lay the walls, the gates, the steeples of many-spired Erfurt. Luther called her a new Bethlehem.

Religious Disquiet

Yet Luther was at times severely depressed, and the reason lay not in any personal frictions but in the malaise of existence intensified by religion. This man was no son of the Italian Renaissance, but a German born in remote Thuringia, where men of piety still reared churches with arches and spires straining after the illimitable. Luther was himself so much a gothic figure that his faith may be called the last great flowering of the religion of the Middle Ages. And he came from the most religiously conservative element of the population, the peasants. His father, Hans Luther, and his mother, Margareta, were sturdy, stocky, swarthy German *Bauern*. They were not indeed actually engaged in the tilling of the soil because as a son without inheritance Hans had moved from the farm to the mines. In the bowels of the earth he had prospered with the help of St. Anne, the patroness of miners, until he had come to be the owner of half a dozen foundries; yet he was not unduly affluent, and his wife had still to go to the forest and drag home the wood. The atmosphere



HANS LUTHER



MARGARETTA LUTHER

of the family was that of the peasantry: rugged, rough, at times coarse, credulous, and devout. Old Hans prayed at the bedside of his son, and Margareta was a woman of prayer.

Certain elements even of old German paganism were blended with Christian mythology in the beliefs of these untutored folk. For them the woods and winds and water were peopled by elves, gnomes, fairies, mermen and mermaids, sprites and witches. Sinister spirits would release storms, floods, and pestilence, and would seduce mankind to sin and melancholia. Luther's mother believed that they played such minor pranks as stealing eggs, milk, and butter; and Luther himself was never emancipated from such beliefs. "Many regions are inhabited," said he, "by devils. Prussia is full of them, and Lapland of witches. In my native country on the top of a high mountain called the Pubelsberg is a lake into which if a stone be thrown a tempest will arise over the whole region because the waters are the abode of captive demons."

The education in the schools brought no emancipation but rather reinforced the training of the home. In the elementary schools the children were instructed in sacred song. They learned by heart the *Sanctus*, the *Benedictus*, the *Agnus Dei*, and the *Confiteor*. They were trained to sing psalms and hymns. How Luther loved the *Magnificat*! They attended masses and vespers, and took part in the colorful processions of the holy days. Each town in which Luther went to school was full of churches and monasteries. Everywhere it was the same: steeples, spires, cloisters, priests, monks of the various orders, collections of relics, ringing of bells, proclaiming of indulgences, religious processions, cures at shrines. Daily at Mansfeld the sick were stationed beside a convent in the hope of cure at the tolling of the vesper bell. Luther remembered seeing a devil actually depart from one possessed.

The University of Erfurt brought no change. The institution at that time had not yet been invaded by Renaissance influences. The

classics in the curriculum, such as Vergil, had always been favorites in the Middle Ages. Aristotelian physics was regarded as an exercise in thinking God's thoughts after him, and the natural explanations of earthquakes and thunderstorms did not preclude occasional direct divine causation. The studies all impinged on theology, and the Master's degree for which Luther was preparing for the law could have equipped him equally for the cloth. The entire training of home, school, and university was designed to instill fear of God and reverence for the Church.

In all this there is nothing whatever to set Luther off from his contemporaries, let alone to explain why later on he should have revolted against so much of medieval religion. There is just one respect in which Luther appears to have been different from other youths of his time, namely, in that he was extraordinarily sensitive and subject to recurrent periods of exaltation and depression of spirit. This oscillation of mood plagued him throughout his life. He testified that it began in his youth and that the depressions had been acute in the six months prior to his entry into the monastery. One cannot dismiss these states as occasioned merely by adolescence, since he was then twenty-one and similar experiences continued throughout his adult years. Neither can one blithely write off the case as an example of manic depression, since the patient exhibited a prodigious and continuous capacity for work of a high order.

The explanation lies rather in the tensions which medieval religion deliberately induced, playing alternately upon fear and hope. Hell was stoked, not because men lived in perpetual dread, but precisely because they did not, and in order to instill enough fear to drive them to the sacraments of the Church. If they were petrified with terror, purgatory was introduced by way of mitigation as an intermediate place where those not bad enough for hell nor good

enough for heaven might make further expiation. If this alleviation inspired complacency, the temperature was advanced on purgatory, and then the pressure was again relaxed through indulgences.

Even more disconcerting than the fluctuation of the temperature of the afterlife was the oscillation between wrath and mercy on the part of the members of the divine hierarchy. God was portrayed now as the Father, now as the wielder of the thunder. He might be softened by the intercession of his kindlier Son, who again was delineated as an implacable judge unless mollified by his mother, who, being a woman, was not above cheating alike God and the Devil on behalf of her suppliants; and if she were remote, one could enlist her mother, St. Anne.

How these themes were presented is graphically illustrated in the most popular handbooks in the very age of the Renaissance. The theme was death; and the best sellers gave instructions, not on how to pay the income tax, but on how to escape hell. Manuals entitled *On the Art of Dying* depicted in lurid woodcuts the departing spirit surrounded by fiends who tempted him to commit the irrevocable sin of abandoning hope in God's mercy. To convince



FIENDS TEMPTING A DYING
MAN TO ABANDON HOPE

him that he was already beyond pardon he was confronted by the woman with whom he had committed adultery or the beggar he had failed to feed. A companion woodcut then gave encouragement by presenting the figures of forgiven sinners: Peter with his cock, Mary

Magdalene with her cruse, the penitent thief, and Saul the persecutor, with the concluding brief caption, "Never despair."

If this conclusion ministered to complacency, other presentations invoked dread. A book strikingly illustrative of the prevailing mood is a history of the world published by Hartmann Schedel in Nürnberg in 1493. The massive folios, after recounting the history of mankind from Adam to the humanist Conrad Celtes, conclude with a meditation on the brevity of human existence accompanied by a woodcut of the dance of death. The final scene displays the day of judgment. A full-page woodcut portrays Christ the Judge sitting upon a rainbow. A lily extends from his right ear, signifying the redeemed, who below are being ushered by angels into paradise. From his left ear protrudes a sword, symbolizing the doom of the damned, whom the devils drag by the hair from the tombs and cast into the flames of hell. How strange, comments a modern editor, that a chronicle published in the year 1493 should end with the judgment day instead of the discovery of America! Dr. Schedel had finished his manuscript in June. Columbus had returned the previous March. The news presumably had not yet reached Nürnberg. By so narrow a margin Dr. Schedel missed this amazing scoop. "What an extraordinary value surviving copies of the Chronicle would have today if it had recorded the great event!"

So writes the modern editor. But old Dr. Schedel, had he known, might not have considered the finding of a new world worthy of record. He could scarcely have failed to know of the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope in 1488. Yet he never mentioned it. The reason is that he did not think of history as the record of humanity expanding upon earth and craving as the highest good more earth in which to expand. He thought of history as the sum of countless pilgrimages through a vale of tears to the heavenly Jerusalem. Every one of those now dead would some day rise and stand with

the innumerable host of the departed before the judgment seat to hear the words, "Well done," or, "Depart from me into everlasting fire." The Christ upon the rainbow with the lily and the sword was a most familiar figure in the illustrated books of the period. Luther had seen pictures such as these and testified that he was utterly terror-stricken at the sight of Christ the Judge.

The Haven of the Cowl

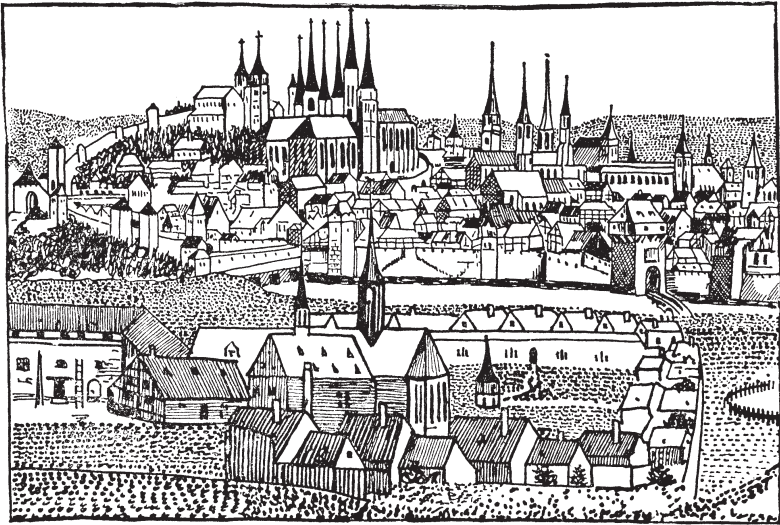
Like everyone else in the Middle Ages he knew what to do about his plight. The Church taught that no sensible person would wait until his deathbed to make an act of contrition and plead for grace. From beginning to end the only secure course was to lay hold of every help the Church had to offer: sacraments, pilgrimages, indulgences, the intercession of the saints. Yet foolish was the man who relied solely on the good offices of the heavenly intercessors if he had done nothing to insure their favor!

And what better could he do than take the cowl? Men believed the end of the world already had been postponed for the sake of the Cistercian monks. Christ had just "bidden the angel blow trumpet for the Last Judgment, when the Mother of Mercy fell at the feet of her Son and besought Him to spare awhile, 'at least for my friends of the Cistercian Order, that they may prepare themselves.'" The very devils complained of St. Benedict as a robber who had stolen souls out of their hands. He who died in the cowl would receive preferential treatment in heaven because of his habit. Once a Cistercian in a high fever cast off his frock and so died. Arriving at the gate of Paradise he was denied entry by St. Benedict because of the lack of uniform. He could only walk around the walls and peep in through the windows to see how the brethren fared, until one of them interceded for him, and St. Benedict granted a reprieve to earth



CHRIST THE JUDGE SITTING UPON THE RAINBOW

for the missing garment. All this was of course popular piety. However much such crude notions might be deprecated by reputable theologians, this was what the common man believed, and Luther was a common man. Yet even St. Thomas Aquinas himself declared the taking of the cowl to be second baptism, restoring the sinner to the state of innocence which he enjoyed when first baptized. The opinion was popular that if the monk should sin thereafter, he was peculiarly privileged because in his case repentance would bring restoration to the state of innocence. Monasticism was the way par excellence to heaven.



ERFURT

Luther knew all this. Any lad with eyes in his head understood what monasticism was all about. Living examples were to be seen on the streets of Erfurt. Here were young Carthusians, mere lads, already aged by their austerities. At Magdeburg, Luther looked upon the emaciated Prince William of Anhalt, who had forsaken the halls of the nobility to become a begging friar and walk the streets carrying the sack of the mendicant. Like any other brother he did the

manual work of the cloister. "With my own eyes I saw him," said Luther. "I was fourteen years old at Magdeburg. I saw him carrying the sack like a donkey. He had so worn himself down by fasting and vigil that he looked like a death's-head, mere bone and skin. No one could look upon him without feeling ashamed of his own life."

Luther knew perfectly well why youths should make themselves old and nobles should make themselves abased. This life is only a brief period of training for the life to come, where the saved will enjoy an eternity of bliss and the damned will suffer everlasting torment. With their eyes they will behold the despair which can never experience the mercy of extinction. With their ears they will hear the moans of the damned. They will inhale sulphurous fumes and writhe in incandescent but unconsuming flame. All this will last forever and forever and forever.

These were the ideas on which Luther had been nurtured. There was nothing peculiar in his beliefs or his responses save their intensity. His depression over the prospect of death was acute but by no means singular. The man who was later to revolt against monasticism became a monk for exactly the same reason as thousands of others, namely, in order to save his soul. The immediate occasion of his resolve to enter the cloister was the unexpected encounter with death on that sultry July day in 1505. He was then twenty-one and a student at the University of Erfurt. As he returned to school after a visit with his parents, sudden lightning struck him to earth. In that single flash he saw the denouement of the drama of existence. There was God the all-terrible, Christ the inexorable, and all the leering fiends springing from their lurking places in pond and wood that with sardonic cachinnations they might seize his shock of curly hair and bolt him into hell. It was no wonder that he cried out to his father's saint, patroness of miners, "St. Anne help me! I will become a monk."

Luther himself repeatedly averred that he believed himself to have been summoned by a call from heaven to which he could not be disobedient. Whether or not he could have been absolved from his vow, he conceived himself to be bound by it. Against his own inclination, under divine constraint, he took the cowl. Two weeks were required to arrange his affairs and to decide what monastery to enter. He chose a strict one, the reformed congregation of the Augustinians. After a farewell party with a few friends he presented himself at the monastery gates. News was then sent to his father, who was highly enraged. This was the son, educated in stringency, who should have supported his parents in their old age. The father was utterly unreconciled until he saw in the deaths of two other sons a chastisement for his rebellion.

Luther presented himself as a novice. From no direct evidence but from the liturgy of the Augustinians we are able to reconstruct the scene of his reception. As the prior stood upon the steps of the altar, the candidate prostrated himself. The prior asked, "What seekest thou?" The answer came, "God's grace and thy mercy." Then the prior raised him up and inquired whether he was married, a bondsman, or afflicted with secret disease. The answer being negative, the prior described the rigors of the life to be undertaken: the renunciation of self-will, the scant diet, rough clothing, vigils by night and labors by day, mortification of the flesh, the reproach of poverty, the shame of begging, and the distastefulness of cloistered existence. Was he ready to take upon himself these burdens? "Yes, with God's help," was the answer, "and in so far as human frailty allows." Then he was admitted to a year of probation. As the choir chanted, the head was tonsured. Civilian clothes were exchanged for the habit of the novice. The initiate bowed the knee. "Bless thou thy servant," intoned the prior. "Hear, O Lord, our heartfelt pleas and deign to confer thy blessing on this thy servant, whom in thy

holy name we have clad in the habit of a monk, that he may continue with thy help faithful in thy Church and merit eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.” During the singing of the closing hymn Luther prostrated himself with arms extended in the form of a cross. He was then received into the convent by the brethren with the kiss of peace and again admonished by the prior with the words, “Not he that hath begun but he that endureth to the end shall be saved.”

The meaning of Luther’s entry into the monastery is simply this, that the great revolt against the medieval Church arose from a desperate attempt to follow the way by her prescribed. Just as Abraham overcame human sacrifice only through his willingness to lift the sacrificial knife against Isaac, just as Paul was emancipated from Jewish legalism only because as a Hebrew of the Hebrews he had sought to fulfill all righteousness, so Luther rebelled out of a more than ordinary devotion. To the monastery he went like others, and even more than others, in order to make his peace with God



SIXTEENTH-CENTURY MONKS IN A CHOIR