

Durham E-Theses

*A theological commentary on Martin Luther's sermon
'von der betrachtung des heiligen leidens christi' of
1519*

Jennifer Elizabeth Mary Johnson

How to cite:

Johnson, Jennifer Elizabeth Mary (1982) A theological commentary on Martin Luther's sermon 'von der betrachtung des heiligen leidens christi' of 1519. Masters thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/7900/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

ABSTRACT

J.E.M. Johnson: "A Theological Commentary on Martin Luther's sermon 'Von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi' of 1519"

In two brief chapters this thesis, which is perhaps more of an essay than a conventional research paper, re-presents the leading ideas of a popular sermon by Luther from a time of great importance in the life of the reformer, when the Reformation was an aspect of Catholicism, acting both as a corrective to, and a dependent of, religious fear (of the wrath of God). The leading motif of the thesis is a theology of saving Despair.

In chapter one, with particular reference to St. Bernard and the treatise De Captivitate Babylonica, the image of Christ Crucified is developed first as an icon of the just anger of the Father, which, operating sacramentally as the "opus alienum Dei", prompts Despair and Faith in the contemplator on the Cross. Second, the Cross is interpreted as revealing the effect of the incarnation, in a non-soteriological context, as a crisis of natural anger within God - an inner-trinitarian "opus alienum" of the Father towards the Son.

In chapter two, with particular reference to the tract Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen / de libertate christiana, Christ Crucified is understood as "exemplum" for works of Righteousness, which follow as an automatic consequence of Justification, and for works of Self-Righteousness, which form a prelude and precondition for Justification. The Church is seen as committed to political action on behalf of a utopian Kingdom of God on earth, an ideal which operates as the Law for modern man.

For the reader's convenience, an edited text of the Sermon with an early English translation (by William Gace) is appended.

Jennifer Elizabeth Mary Johnson

A THEOLOGICAL COMMENTARY
ON MARTIN LUTHER'S SERMON
'VON DER BETRACHTUNG DES HEILIGEN
LEIDENS CHRISTI' OF 1519

A thesis submitted for the degree
of Master of Theology
in the University of Durham
October, 1982

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author.
No quotation from it should be published without
his prior written consent and information derived
from it should be acknowledged.



- 3. JAN. 1984

CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Abbreviations; Form of References; Acknowledgements	v
INTRODUCTION	1
Chapter I: DOGMATICS	5
Chapter II: IMPLICATIONS	29
CONCLUSION	50
Appendix: The Text "Von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi"	53
Select Bibliography	75

None of the material contained in this thesis has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this University of Durham or any other university.

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without her prior written consent, and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASF	Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae
Clemen	O. Clemen's edition of Luther's works
CTM	Concordia Theological Monthly
FGLP	Forschungen zur Geschichte und Lehre des Protestantismus
HThR	Harvard Theological Review
JR	Journal of Religion
LQ	Lutheran Quarterly
PL	Patrologia Latina
SBO	Sancti Bernardi Opera
SVRG	Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte
WA	Weimar edition of Luther's works
WA Br	Weimar edition of Luther's letters

FORM OF REFERENCES

Quotations from the Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi are given according to the 'B' text (see Appendix) with page and line references to the standard Weimar edition of Luther. All other quotations from Luther are given according to the Weimar text, and the quotations from St. Bernard according to the Complete Works edited by J. Leclercq and others. Throughout this thesis the orthographical distinction between *f* and *g* has been ignored, as have accent markings in Greek. Biblical references and quotations from the Scriptures in English follow the Revised Standard Version; quotations in Greek are taken from the third United Bible Societies edition of the Greek New Testament, ed. K. Aland et al.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Revd. D.S. March, a fellow Oxford Modern Linguist, for permission to quote from his doctoral thesis Martin Luther as Preacher...

My thanks are also due to members of the faculties of divinity in the University of Durham and the Eberhard-Karls-Universität, Tübingen, who showed me much kindness.

INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 1519 Luther enjoyed what was intended as a purely temporary release from the pressure of ecclesiastical proceedings against him for heresy, a reprieve as unexpected as it was welcome: the old Holy Roman Emperor, Maximilian I, had died, and the Holy See, anxious to prevent the succession of Charles V, suddenly found that it needed the political support of Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, and Luther's prince. Since not even the Roman Curia could cultivate Frederick and burn his famous preacher at the same time, Luther was, for a little while, free to devote himself to pastoral theology. For a little while: there soon came the great disputation at Leipzig; and at the time Luther had every expectation of being burned to a cinder by the end of the year, as soon as the international political crisis had resolved itself.

In fact Luther died safely in bed, twenty-seven years later. By the time proceedings against him were resumed, at the turn of the year 1519/20, it had been too late: the Reformation had taken a hold on the minds of too many influential men in the Empire, including Frederick, for the old methods of suppression of heresy to work. ^a Not the least important factor in the success of the Reformation at this stage was the stream of popular religious writings which flowed from the pen of Luther while he was living, apparently, on borrowed time. Increasingly sure of his reformation

-
- a) It is an ironic postscript to the activities of Vatican politicians in 1519 that Charles was elected in spite of them; and that by 1546 not only was the outward unity of the western Church broken, perhaps beyond repair, but the Holy Roman Empire, which had seemed so important, was now dead on its feet, having turned out to be nothing but a liability to Charles and a spur to hopelessly grand political ambitions.



theology^a and of himself,^b Luther wrote some of his most attractive theology: devotional tracts free of the savage polemic, uncontrolled wit, and inconsistency, which mar so many of the later works (including the "Reformationsschriften" of the following year) - tracts which combine material drawn from the author's experience of the religious life with a Reformation passion for the souls of men. Indeed Ein Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi is marked chiefly by its propaganda for the practice of the contemplation of the Cross (in itself a technique of the religious life as well as a popular lay devotion) and its urgent concern to make the saving link between the Cross of Christ and the cross of the people of God, including perhaps the preacher's own, anticipated cross.^c

These qualities of first rate pastoral theology have led some scholars to attempt to separate Luther the popular teacher of the Christian faith from Luther the professional theologian, or to make a pietistic Revival out of the early Reformation: "Luther's message was a call for a deepened spirituality, for truly internal religion in contrast to mere external observance. To be sure, there were theological ramifications (or presuppositions) involved, but one should not confuse the peripheral with the essential..... If so defined, the reform movement in Germany during the early 1520s loses some of its uniqueness and can be placed in the larger setting of "evangelical reform" of the Late Middle Ages, associated with such names as Erasmus and Lefèvre."^d We are not here concerned with establishing the theological uniqueness of either Luther or the Lutheran Reformation, but with exploring the possibilities inherent in one micro-sample of Luther's thought, in a style quite different from that of the historian or that of the 'Luther renaissance' scholar. This study does, however, both pre-suppose the theological seriousness of the early

-
- a) For the definition and dating of Luther's "Turmerlebnis" and/or "reformatorische Wende", variously placed between 1509 and 1518, see Rupp 1953, pp. 121-137; Oberman; B. Lohse (ed.), *Der Durchbruch der reformatorischen Erkenntnis bei Luther*, Darmstadt, 1968 (Wege der Forschung 123); O. Bayer *Promissio. Geschichte der reformatorischen Wende in Luthers Theologie*, Göttingen, 1970 (reprint forthcoming); Brecht, pp. 215-230.
 - b) See P.J. Reiter, *Martin Luthers Umwelt, Charakter und Psychose* Vol. 2, Copenhagen, 1941, pp. 143-153.
 - c) Cf. Bond, p. 79; March, p 228; Lienhard, pp. 76f.
 - d) Hillerbrand, pp. 36-37.

Reformation, and contribute, in passing, to a refutation of Hillerbrand's views on this point. Indirectly it may also shed light on two other factors important in ecclesiastical history, emphasised by the scant specialist research into Luther's preaching, but not as yet covered by adequate monographs: the high quality of the intellectual fare offered by the reformers to the layman, who felt himself taken seriously by clerics for the first time in many centuries, and realised his importance in the life of the Church;^a and, in particular, the intellectual appeal of Luther's preaching, as our Sermon is not only a treatise, but also one of the very few sermons prepared for publication by Luther himself.^b

Thus this study is not based on a microsample chosen at random, but on an example of some of Luther's most influential writing from a time when his Reformation theology had become quite firmly established in his own mind. Furthermore, although this study must pre-suppose the serious theological intent of the work under consideration, nevertheless it may contribute to our understanding of a crucial period in Church history, if the Sermon should prove to be an adequate basis for theological discussion and we therefore conclude that Luther's original text does in fact have a substantial theological content. But, however interesting the applications may be, the main intent of this study is pure theology - the theological discussion in itself and for itself. The concern is to use Luther for our time, following the advice of one of his earliest English translators: "I wyll not say this author in all poynts to stand by ryght and absolutely,



- a) See Nembach, p.87.
- b) Naturally it differs considerably in form and style from the main corpus of Luther's sermons as they are preserved: it is a literary text, not a transcription or re-working of a sermon as actually delivered; it is not based on a single biblical text (over 90% of his sermons were: see Nembach, who cites Ebeling, pp. 39-40); and it uses not the traditional divisions of a late medieval sermon, but numbered points. (For varying interpretations of the latter see H. Bornkamm, *Luther. Gestalt und Wirkung. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Gütersloh, 1975 (SVRG 188), pp. 49-50; March, pp. 89-90. For a summary of late medieval sermon-form, see Kiessling, pp. 29-30).

4

but what humane wryter hath there euer bene but some defaute he hathe left
behynd hym ... In euery thyng the best is to be taken." ^a

- a) From the preface, John Foxe, *A Frutfull || sermon of the moost
Euan= || gelicall wryter M. Luther/|| made of the Angelles || upō the.
xviii. chapt. || of Mathew tran= || slated out of || laten || into Englyshe,*
Hugh Syngleton, London, ?1548.

CHAPTER I

Dogmatics

"Dogmatics" may seem a strange word to use in relation to Martin Luther, since it has been a convention of Luther criticism, especially Catholic criticism of Luther from the partisan strafing of O'Hare onwards, to question Luther's talent and ability as a systematic thinker and writer.^a It has indeed to be admitted that a systematisation of Luther is a translation of his ideas from the form of pastoral and occasional theology, and that such a process of dogmatisation does slightly flatter Luther. It might even be argued that such treatment destroys two of the most distinctive and attractive hallmarks of the reformer's style of theology, namely the continual development of his ideas and terminology even after 1518, and the almost exclusive concentration on writing in response to outside needs as they occurred, whether in the course of university duty or the governorship of the reformation in Europe or more traditional cure of souls on the parish level.

Nevertheless this study is a systematisation of a small text of Luther's, an exploration of the possibilities raised by Luther's treatment of a single motif, Christ Crucified. It is undertaken in the belief that only dogmatisation of Luther's ideas can ensure that they continue to be a potential influence on Christian action. A particular form of words cannot encapsulate an idea secure for every succeeding generation, unless it is kept in a context of systematic thought. A formula such as Justification by Faith Alone, for example, can become petrified as a meaningless slogan or battle-cry; it can be understood as antinomian - unless continually refreshed by further study.^b In spite of the difficulties and dangers, then, of systematisation - and particular difficulties do arise when the attempt is made to extend by logic some of the uses of Luther's terminology^c - this thesis does undertake to give a small portion of a dogmatics after Luther and to investigate some of the implications arising, without being false to the transformational quality of Luther's work or to his style of drawing on Scripture for his language and for 'proof'-texts.

-
- a) See R. Stauffer, *Die Entdeckung Luthers in Katholizismus ...*, Zurich, 1968, pp. 60, 63 and 102.
 - b) See chapter two below, pp. 29 f.
 - c) See below, pp. 13 f, 17 f.

The basic structure of Luther's thought on Christ's passion is quite clear, not only from the Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi, but also from other discourses on the same and related themes, notably the 1516 Sermo in die S. Thomae^a the Duo Sermones de passione Christi (1518), Ein klein Unterricht, was man in den Evangeliiis suchen und gewarten soll (1522)^b and Die dritte Disputation gegen die Antinomer (1538).^c The basic structure is a double distinction, first between Christ as "exemplum" and Christ as "sacramentum":

"Nam passio Christi, ut sanctus pater Augustinus dicit, non solum nobis exemplum est, ut sequamur eius vestigia et in nobis membra terrena crucifigamus, sed etiam est sacramentum et mysterium."^d

And secondly, within the sacramental Christ, between Christ Crucified (the "praedicator legis" and old Adam, who completes the "opus alienum Dei") and Christ Rising (the "praedicator evangelii" and second Adam, who fulfils the "opus proprium Dei").^e

Asendorf (p. 17) sees in the double view of Christ, as crucified and rising again, reason to doubt the value of the phrase "theologia crucis" to designate Luther's theology as a whole. Here, however, the term "theologia crucis" is accepted unreservedly as an appropriate designation of Luther's theology as primarily soteriological, rather than as centred on a theory of knowledge of God which may be applied as a methodological principle to soteriology in the style of a von Loewenich.^f The term "theologia crucis"

a) See WA I 112.38f.

b) See WA X i I 11.1f.

c) See WA XXXIX i 534.12/29f.

d) WA I 339.17f., Duo sermones.

e) Cf. Heintze, p. 219; and Lienhard, pp. 78f., who makes a straight three-fold distinction "Christus als Vorbild"/"Die Erkenntnis der Sünde"/"Das Kreuz, das Heil des Menschen und die Liebe Gottes". Coates, pp. 255f., on the other hand, sees in Luther's sermons a three-fold distinction between the offices of Christ as prophet, priest and king.

f) Cf. Hendry, pp. 92f., 117.

is also retained - despite the relative infrequency of its use in Luther and the plethora of meanings attributed to it by scholarship^a - because it emphasises the importance of the "opus alienum Dei" in the scheme of salvation put forward by Luther, that man's journey within God (for he is never outside) to the heart of God begins at the divine wrath.

To be more precise, "salvation" begins at the contemplation of the Father's wrath, the righteous anger of the "gott ... dem Christus mit seyner lieb gegen dir gehorsam ist". (WA II 140.37f.) Already Luther's diction, which equates "gott" with the First Person of the Trinity, shows that the interest is, in the first instance, not in God dying on the Cross, if indeed God does die on the Cross, but on the son of man dying at God's hands. The first effect and function of the Cross is the shock to the onlooker or meditator: "Das erschrecken soll da her kūmen / dz du sihest /den gestrengē zorn un̄ unwanckelbarn ernst gottis / uber die sund und sundere / das er auch / seynē eynigē allerliebste /sun hat nit wollen die sunder los geben / er thette dā fur sie eyn solche schwere pup". (WA II 137.12f.) At this stage consideration of the Son's divinity also suffering brings not comfort and relief, but only an intensification of the shock: "wā du recht tieff bedenckst / dz gottis sun / die ewige weisheit des vatters / selbst leydet / ꝑo wirstu woll erschrecken / und yhe mehr / yhe teiffer." (WA II 137.19f.) The Cross works as the icon of the anger of the Father, and the Son is here the (eternal) victim of the Father's wrath, so that the First and Second Persons of the Trinity appear as "personae" in the original, classical sense of the word, "role, character".

Indeed the contemplator of the Cross must proceed from seeing the Crucified as man, "als eynen unschuldigen menschen" (WA II 136.22), to seeing the tortured figure on the Cross as Divinity itself, "ꝑo eyn groꝑe unmeslich person" (WA II 137.18), enduring its own condemnation of Sin and suffering at the hands of man. At this point the meditator on the dominical passion sees Christ suffering not so much for his sins as of them: the accusation of the Cross is directed against the onlooker, "du seyest der / der Christū also marteret dan deyn sund habens gewiꝑlich than". (WA II 137.22f.) A striking image from Luther emphasises the point that God did not only present himself as angered by Sin, in the cruel death

a) See v. Loewenich, note 2, pp. 11f.; Vercruysse, pp. 524f.

of one Jesus now long since dead and risen, but concentrated in that man's death the actual injury done to himself by all the sins of men both before and since - a point at which it is tempting to think of Christ suffering not repeatedly, but continually since the foundation of the world (Heb. 9.24f.) The nails and crown of thorns, the instruments of the passion, are man's sins: "wan du die negel Christi sihst / ... / glaub sicher das deynn werck / seynd / sichstu seyn dörenn kron / glaub es seyn deyn böß gedancken &c." (WA II 137.28f.) Christ vindicated after suffering the effect of Sin and suffering for the sinner^a, therefore, bears no mark of Sin and his own, resurrection, body is scarred, but not wounded: "sihest itzt keyne wunden / keyne schmerzen an yhm / das ist / keyner sunde antzeygung." (WA II 140.21f.) Luther does not exercise the option of considering the people of God on earth as Christ's 'other' body, in which his suffering is perpetuated.

Since the contemplator of the Cross is performing this exercise of meditation in order to achieve "erschrecken" (although the full measure of achievement is not in his power - see WA II 139.2f.), he cannot linger on another popular idea in Christian tradition, the comforting thought that Christ has borne the full measure of the sorrows of the world. There is nothing exclusive, absolute or unique about Christ's suffering here. The Cross, as far as the meditator is concerned, is only an example, a foretaste of what could be done to a man. It is not exemplary suffering: "wa Christus eyn dorne sticht da solten dich billich / mehr dan hunderttausent dornē stechen / ia ewiglich solten sie dich also / unnd vill erger stechen / ..." (WA II 137.30f.) The contemplator is invited to concentrate on a vision of hell afforded, by the Cross, by implication and suggestion rather than direct statement or description: "also ... geschehn wirt / denē / die Christ' leyden / an yhn laßen verloren werden / dan dißer ernster spiegel / Christus / wirt nit liegen / noch schimpfen / was er antzeygt". (WA II 137.33f.)

The Cross performs its "rechtes natürlich edels werck" (WA II 139.16) when it completes the "opus alienum Dei". On looking into the mirror of Christ Crucified man sees not God (who is hidden behind anger), but himself. From

a) See below, p.24.

contemplation of the Cross man gains not so much knowledge of God by positing a benevolent will behind the punishment of man - "in Christo crucifixo est vera Theologia et cognitio Dei"^a - as a self-knowledge "coram Deo" and "coram se ipso": "fast d'nutz des leydens Christi / gar daran gelegen ist / das der mēsch zu seyns selb erkentnis kūme / und fur yhm selbs erschrecke uñ zur schlagen werde." (WA II 138.15f.)^b Christ Crucified, as the mirror of imperfection, is not himself the object of contemplation, but only the means to self-contemplation:

"*Nolite flere super me, sed super vos ipsas flete...* Vester ille dolor ... magis est flendus quam dolor meus. Propter scelus enim vestrum percussus sum. Haec nobis de cruce tua clamas, o benigne Jesu, et si non verbis, tamen ipsa re ... Fecisti ... de corpore tuo speculum animae meae."^c

The crucifixion of Christ is a prime example of the evil man can do - "verissimum speculum ..., quid sit mundus, et multa alia"^d - but the shortcomings of others are not the concern of the true meditator (WA II 136.3f.). This is not the only point at which the "theologia crucis" seems to be restricted to the private sphere of each individual.^e It is also a point at which the distinction between the two sacramental Christs may be breached, as the Resurrection underlines the inadequacy of man. St. Peter's Pentecost sermon preaches both the Gospel and the Law at the all-important verse, which Luther does not cite in his Sermon:

γινώσκετω πᾶς οἶκος Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι καὶ κυρίον καὶ Χριστόν
ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός, τούτου τον Ἰησοῦν ὃν ὑμεῖς ἐσταύρωσατε.

(Acts 2.36) Both Christ Crucified and Christ Rising may shock and terrify the sinner.

-
- a) WA I 362.18f., Disputatio Heidelbergae habita, 1518.
- b) Cf. WA I 112.26f.: "alienum ... opus Dei est facere peccatores, iniustos, mendaces, tristes, stultos, perditos, ... ut fiant id in oculis suis quod sunt in oculis Dei." Sermo in Die S. Thomae.
- c) PL 184, c. 744. Pseudo-Bernard, Meditatio in passionem et resurrectionem domini, III.6. Cf. WA I 339.16, 343.5: "Homini non est necessarium, ut Christum in ipsius passionem deploret, sed magis seipsum in Christo ... Ergo infallibile hic teneas speculum tui ipsius in mente." Duo Sermones de passione Christi.
- d) WA I 344.34f., op. cit.
- e) See below, pp. 33, 34 .

In the earlier works of Luther this terror is described as a sharing on the part of the sinner in the judgement of God on himself: "Iustus enim in principio est accusator sui."^a This is, of course, a logical impossibility, unless this particular grace, of "accusatio sui", is safeguarded from the otherwise all-pervasive effect of Original Sin, which renders man "incuruatum in se adeo, vt non tantum corporalia, Sed et spiritualia bona sibi inflectat et se in omnibus querat."^b

"Erschrecken" was also earlier given, in the kind of loose, pious language that has perhaps led to the delay in recognising the "theologia crucis" as a product of Luther the reformer rather than of Luther the zealous friar, as a "resignatio ad infernum": "qui non cum Christo moritur, ad inferos descendit, nunquam etiam cum eo resurgit et ascendet. ... Si ergo triduo in inferno fueris: signum est, quod tecum Christus et tu cum Christo sis."^c As a synonym of "accusatio sui" in the lectures on Romans the "resignatio ad infernum" is very much more than just a mere mystical feeling of God's absence, but as such it is a pre-disposition for grace rather than a symptom of the arrival of grace (Justification and Sanctification) itself.^d

The "erschrecken" of which the Sermon of 1519 speaks is by contrast quite precisely thought out, although cautiously and circumspectly expressed, as is appropriate in a popular work. The "erschrecken" is a "desperatio" born of the "tentatio"/"Anfechtung" of the Cross, which functions as Law and Sin, "quod ostendit et reum facit ac egrum, immo damnatum probat":^e "Also richtet dieße bedenckung des leydens Christi eben das auß, das das gesetzs thut".^f The meditator on the Cross is convinced of

-
- a) Prov. 18.17; WA III 29.16, Dictata super Psalterium, 1513/16. See Rupp, 1953, p. 118, for speculation that it was Staupitz who first drew Luther's attention to this verse.
 - b) WA LVI 356.5f., lectures on Romans, 1515/16.
 - c) WA III 431.8f., 433.3f., Dictata super Psalterium.
 - d) Cf. Rupp, 1953, pp. 188f.; Prenter, p. 28.
 - e) WA LVI 426.6f., lectures on Romans.
 - f) WA IX 652.3f., Sermo de passione domini, 1521.

sin and tormented in conscience - a torture, of which the image of Christ Crucified is both tropological symbol and effectual sign: "dan das eygene natürlich werck des leydens Christi ist / das es yhm den menschen gleychformig mache / das wie Christus / am leyb un̄ seel iamerlich yn un̄ern sunden gemartert wirt / müssen wir auch yhm nach also gemartert werden ym gewissen von un̄ern sunden." (WA II 138.19f.)^a

There can be no question of any man escaping the consequences of the Cross, nor of this suffering being a privilege of a supposed spiritual élite. All must suffer: "auß meyner marter lernet was yhr vordienet / unnd wie es auch gehn soll / ... / dem Bild un̄ leyden Christi mustu gleych formig werden / es geschehe yn dem leben adder yn der hellen / ... " (WA II 138.7f., 19f.) There is, however, no certainty that all will reach a "desperatio" which leads to salvation. Luther is very careful to distinguish between saving Despair and what Gace calls "meere desperation", "lauter vortzweyffeln" (WA II 139.36)^b. Indeed the word "despair" does not appear in the Sermon for saving "erschrecken". For this thesis it has to be supplied from Poliander's recension: "das ist das groste, das dw eynn morder Christi bist. Wan dw das fulest, must du gantzs erschrocken werden unnd schir vorzweiffelen."^c

It is this reluctance to name saving Despair for what it is that makes Luther's language on "erschrecken" cautious and circumspect. (The use in public of the terminology of Despair could be even more dangerous than feeding the tag "Iustus ... est accusator sui" to a penitent suffering from scruples!) The language of torment and death not only betrays a fascination with the brutality of God towards man^d. (The Sermon is no straightforward treatise of consolation: more than one-third of its length is dedicated to the evocation and intensification of "erschrecken".) But the diction also stands in sharp contrast to the more gentle tones of the more familiar expressions of "desolatio" in the popular preaching of Luther, his Christmas sermon of 1520, for example: "Christus wirt dir nymmer süß werden, du seist dir dan vorhin selber bitter."^e

a) See Vogelsang, p.69.

b) Cf. WA I 344.25, quoted below, p. 18 .

c) WA IX 653.18f., Sermo de passione domini.

d) Cf. D. Sölle repr. in M. Welker (ed.), *Diskussion über Jürgen Moltmanns Buch "Der gekreuzigte Gott"*, Munich, 1979, p. 115.

e) WA VII 192.12f., Sermon von der Geburt Christi, gepredigt am Christtag früh.

In later writing Luther preferred the word "humiliatio" (to replace the ambiguous term "humilitas"), that is, "humiliation by the Lord"; and in fact Poliander's recension gives the formulation "demuth und erkenntniß".^a

This Despair is saving, because, playing on man's self-interest, "das yhm nu angst wirt, wie er dem gebott gnug thue, Seyntemal das gebot muß erfullet seyn, oder er muß vordampt seyn,"^b it forces him to look for salvation elsewhere, apart from himself, that is, in Christ: "Wilchs ꝑo du recht glaubst, wie du schuldig bist, so mustu an dir selber vortzweyffeln".^c With Luther's insistence on monergetic salvation, the surrender of all hope in one's own goodness (God-likeness) is an essential pre-condition for grace: "So ist er recht gedemütigt und zu nicht worden ynn seynen augen, findet nichts yn yhm, damit er müß frum werden. Dan ꝑo kumpt das ander wort, Die gottlich vorheyschung und zusagung ..."^d Translated into the classical language of Justificaton by Faith Alone, Despair is the necessary prelude to Faith by which the soul is united to Christ:

"Vides ergo, quid sit per fidem Christi iustificari, nempe per legem cognita iniquitate et infirmitate tua desperare de te, de viribus tuis, de scientia, de lege, de operibus, prorsus de omnibus, et cum tremore ac fiducia in humilitate solius Christi dexteram seu manum mediatoris ..."^e

Faith itself cannot atone: that is the work of Christ; and the crude terminology of ransoming men from the anger of an offended Deity (WA II 137.12f.) operates as part of the Law, promulgating the primitive half-truth of an angry God, where a more sophisticated story of the Cross could obfuscate the Law or act as a premature revelation of the Gospel. Faith is thus a uniting of the soul to Christ by an appeal to him as saviour contrary to his appearance as entirely impotent.

-
- a) WA IX 653.29, Sermo de passione domini. See Rupp 1953, p. 168, on Luther's move from "accusatio sui" to "fides"; v. Loewenich, pp. 87f., also offers the term "abnegatio sui".
- b) WA VII 24.6f., Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen; parallel WA VII 52.37f.
- c) WA VII 22.28f., op. cit. Cf. Rupp 1953, pp. 143f., on "ecstasis".
- d) WA VII 24.8f., op. cit.; parallel WA VII 53.1f.
- e) WA II 526.20f., In epistolam Pauli ad Galatas commentarius, 1519.

The Cross, because it produces Despair in the onlooker, thus acts in the same way as the Law, as a blessing in disguise. Faith must assume the loving intention of the crucifying God and the power of the crucified God, that is, once the Law has done its work, turn away from the pure contemplation of the Cross if saving Despair is not to disintegrate into despair of God, "ad deum contra deum confugere".^a In other words, Faith must see (assume) the benevolence of God (WA II 141.3f.) by regarding the Cross in the light of the Resurrection (WA II 139.32f.), on this occasion reading the vindication of Christ as a sign of God's true (and therefore good) intention^b for his people (1 Cor. 15.17f., 1 Thess. 4.14). Christ's raising himself from the dead is also the demonstration of the power and purpose behind the (partly apparent) weakness of the Cross.

Because it produces Faith from Despair the Easter Cross may also be described as sacramental, following the definition of "sacramentum" which predominates in the De Captivitate Babylonica: "omnia [!] sacramenta ad fidem alendam sunt instituta".^c Indeed at the end of this treatise, after Luther has reduced the number of sacraments to two, comes the cautious comment, "Sunt praeterea nonnulla alia, quae inter sacramenta videantur censeri posse, nempe omnia illa, quibus facta est promissio divina, qualia sunt Oratio, Verbum, Crux."^d

The continuation of this line of argument after Luther, however, involves difficulties of logic in a strict language of Justification by Faith. The concept of the Gospel or grace as "Promissa dei"^e leads Luther

-
- a) WA V 204.26f., Operationes in Psalmos, 1519/21. Cf. Holl, p.71: "Das Unglück soll als eine Wohltat, als ein Segen, als etwas den Menschen Förderndes begriffen werden. Im Licht dieser Forderung ershien das "Kreuz" ... als eine Art von "Anfechtung". Es stand auch diesmal wieder "Gott wider Gott": der Gott, der sich in der Zufügung des Unglücks als den zornigen, dem Menschen feindlichen gibt, wider den gnädigen Gott, an den man glauben soll."
- b) Cf. above p. 9 .
- c) WA VI 529.36, De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae Praeludium, 1520. The text also offers the conventional definition, "sacramenta esse efficatia signa gratiae," WA VI 531.35.
- d) WA VI 571.35f., op. cit.
- e) WA VII 53.3f., de libertate christiana.

to conceive of faith as "credere promittenti"^a and a necessary adjunct to a sacrament: "sacramenta servant credentes promissioni divinae."^b (See WA II 136.28f.) Thus the Sermon introduces "faith" as a pre-condition for the work of the Easter Cross: "durch seyn aufferstehn / macht er unß gerecht / unnd loß von allen sunden / so wir anders / dasselb gleuben." (WA II 140.24f.) Although neither the De Captivitate Babylonica nor the Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi distinguishes or specifies either the will or understanding or love as the agent of "faith" which believes, or believes in, the divine promise, the main objection to this line of argument is another formal one. Luther draws conclusions on the nature and function of sacraments from the structure of salvation:

"Ubi enim est verbum promittentis dei, ibi necessaria est fides acceptantis hominis, ut clarum sit initium salutis nostrae esse fidem, quae pendeat in verbo promittentis dei, qui citra omne nostrum studium gratuita et immerita misericordia nos praevenit et offert promissionis suae verbum."^c

Quite apart from the fact that the dynamic of man's salvation begins not in God, but in man, without this in any way prejudicing the statement that the divine mercy is in no way merited,^d the difficulties centre on the concept "promissio", as may be seen from a simple syllogism on the verb "promitto":

Salus nostra est promissa.
 Promissimum aliud non requirit quam fidem.
 Ergo salus nostra aliud non requirit quam fidem.

The ambiguity in the middle term becomes quite apparent when the propositions are freely translated into another language:

"Salvation is a free gift of God.
 A promise, to be effective, requires nothing but trust from the recipient."

a) WA VII 54.12, op. cit.
 b) WA VI 550.19f., De Captivitate Babylonica.
 c) WA VI 514.13f., op. cit.
 d) See below, p.37.

If salvation is freely given ("gratuita et immerita misericordia donata") it needs no grace on the part of the recipient - and it certainly does not need to be believed in! The use of the term "fides" in this context obscures the quality of freedom in salvation, that Justification is given unmerited and Sanctification follows automatically on Justification. If, to circumvent this difficulty, this "faith" is declared to be itself a free, unmerited gift of grace (another "donum"), then "fides" becomes a superfluous entity in the argument, being subsumed under the same grace which effects the "promissio". By application of Occam's razor the concept "fides acceptantis hominis" is best excised from the argument on the sacramental Cross and the "gratia promittentis dei" expounded as supplying both the Word and the power to accept and receive it profitably.^a In which case, the word "promissio" may be made redundant as an unprofitable term and partly replaced by the more mundane "donum". Meanwhile "sacramentum" remains a useful term for the Easter Cross because the sight of it does not only signal, but also effect salvation, in that it reduces the meditator to Despair and may raise him to saving Faith (not the "fides acceptantis hominis" rejected above, but Grace). Christ Crucified and Risen is indeed an effectual sign of grace: "Sacramentum est, quod nostram mortem spiritualem sua morte corporali significat, immo et occidit et suscitatur."^b But the word "sacramentum" of the Cross must be used with caution in the context of Luther's other writings because of the difficulties that arise with the associated use of the term "faith".

It is clear that there is little call for making conscious belief in the Gospel a pre-condition for Justification. On the other hand, the term "fides acceptantis hominis" does come into its own as a preservative of Faith when the attention of the meditator on the Cross has been turned from Christ Crucified to Christ Rising: "Dan wirffestu deyn sunde von dir auff Christum / wan du festiglich gleubst / das seyne wunden und leyden / seyn deyn sunde / das er sie trage und bezale". (WA II 140.6f.) Behind the figure of Christ as "accusator", suffering the righteous anger of the

-
- a) See Is. 55.11, which Luther takes^e up in his ecclesiology: WA XI 408.13f., Das eyn Christliche versamlung odder gemeyne recht und macht habe, alle lere tzu urteylen ..., 1523; WA L 629.31, Von den Konziliis und Kirchen, 1539.
- b) WA I 337.14f., Duo sermones de passione Christi. See E. Iserloh, *Reformata Reformanda ...*, Vol. 1, Münster, 1965 pp. 247f.; cited Liénhard, p. 80.

Father, "faith" assumes the goodness of God and the continuity of will between the Son and the Father. This is to understand the Gospel as a theory, any theory, which explains the Cross in terms of salvation. Faith as "wissenschaftt oder merckung" believes it; faith as trust lives on the basis of that Hope.^a This "faith" is a trust in the Church's interpretation of the Cross: "In these [Esaias, S. Peter and S. Paule] and such like authorities thou must repose thy hope with all boldnes."^b So "faith" preserves Hope from lapsing into "lauter vortzweyffeln"; but this should be distinguished from that saving Faith which so unites the Justified man with Christ, that they become one flesh.

Justifying Faith is entirely the grace of God and in his gift, beyond any free choice of man. (WA II 140.28f.) This particular instance of free will (or lack of it) raises the particular problem in Luther studies of pre-destination, whether God can have fore-ordained eternal perdition for a portion of mankind. One way out of the dilemma would be to draw the line dividing what may be saved and that which is pre-destined to decay not between individuals (as opposed to races or religious groupings of men), but through each individual, to use old-fashioned language, between body and soul. On the other hand, the full-blooded language of Luther's concept of the unfree will can be retained as an essential part of a theology of monergetic salvation: "Ita dicit [Christus] ad suos: Ich wil dich todten and widder lebendig machen und mit dyr spielen, du solt meyn spielvögele seyn."^c The surrender of free will at Despair to leave the "opus proprium Dei" entirely in the hands of God, as the "opus alienum Dei" is his work alone, is indeed the only way to safeguard Grace from the destructive effect of Original Sin.^d All men are pre-destined to suffer the "opus alienum Dei", even if only at death; but the "opus proprium Dei" might be considered as not universal, in which case God is not wholly good. Yet the contemplation of this possibility itself produces Despair:

-
- a) WA VII 215.1f., Eine kurze Form der zeh'n Gebote, eine kurze Form des Glaubens, eine kurze Form des Vaterunsers, 1520.
 - b) Gace's translation of WA II 140.11f. (p. 72).
 - c) WA XVII i 80.26f., Predigten über die Passionsgeschichte, 1525. Cf. WA IV 656.32f.: "Also spilet Gott mit uns, und wir seint seine liben kindlen, ehr tentzelt mitt uns und steupett uns." De sacerdotum dignitate sermo, 1514/20.
 - d) See below, pp. 34f., for man's contribution to salvation.

"Scilicet hoc offendit quam maxime sensum illum communem seu rationem naturalem, quod Deus mera voluntate sua homines deserat, induret, damnet, quasi delectetur peccatis et cruciatibus miserorum tantis et aeternis ... Hoc iniquum, hoc crudele, hoc intolerabile visum est de Deo sentire, quo offensi sunt etiam tot et tanti viri tot saeculis. Et quis non offenderetur? Ego ipse non semel offensus sum usque ad profundum et abyssum desperationis, ut optarem nunquam esse me creatum hominem, antequam scirem, ^a quam salutaris illa esset desperatio et quam gratiae propinqua.

This consideration of pre-destination is the ultimate preaching of the Law, the sharpest thought of an angry God, who allows no possibility of escape from punishment except via his grace, on which man must wait. Pre-destination is the guarantee of salvation for all men, if the thought of this infinitely angry God sets in motion the machinery of salvation. Which means that Luther's early distinction between "ira severitatis" and "ira misericordiae" in God^b can be wholly abandoned and the hypothesis welcomed, that the "opus proprium Dei" is to be effective universally since God is constitutionally incapable of not balancing out, and more than balancing out, all the anger that arises in his nature.

It also becomes clear that for Luther the Cross and the wounds of Christ are not of immediate comfort to the soul terrified of the judgement of God. On the contrary: as the "opus alienum Dei" the wounds of Christ are in the first instance to compound the terror; only then do the holy wounds come into their own as "proof" of the love of God. The language of the Sermon itself makes a fleeting distinction between consideration of the instruments of the Passion and consideration of the wounds of the Crucified. The meditator on the Cross may, and indeed must, turn from regarding the instruments of the Passion as his sins (WA II 137.28f.) to regarding as his sins the wounds of Christ, "das seyne wunden und leyden /seyne deyn sunde /das er sie trage unñ bezale". (WA II 140.7f.) Poliander's recension, however, knows no such distinction between the Cross as Law and the Crucified as Gospel. In this later version of the Sermon, which on this point seems to be logically more self-consistent, Christ's wounds themselves are stated to be a source of terror to the onlooker: "Sein wunden, sein zcittern, sein geischlenn unnd sein Creutz seint allein unper sünde unnd boeße begird, die habens alle angerichtet ..." ^c

- a) WA XVIII 719.4f., De servo arbitrio, 1525.
- b) See L. Pinomaa, *Der Zorn Gottes in der Theologie Luthers*, Helsinki, 1938 (AASF Ser. B, Vol. 41), pp. 73f.
- c) WA IX 652.12f., Sermo de passione domini.

The form of argument from Poliander makes clear a vital distinction between Luther's contemplation of the Cross and the comfort drawn directly from thinking on Christ's sufferings by, among many others, St. Bernard. Luther with his doctrine of saving Despair could never write as directly and confidently as St. Bernard, "turbabitur conscientia, sed non perturbabitur, quoniam vulnerum Domini recordabor"^a, or again, "Quid enim tam efficax ad curanda conscientiae vulnera, ..., quam Christi vulnerum sedula meditatio?"^b At best Luther can quote such an opinion distanced as the thought of another: "Non perturbabor, inquit B. Augustinus, propter peccata mea, quia vulnerum Domini recordabor. Vae illis, qui desperant et tantum pretium deficere in se putant ..."^c Luther did not find in St. Bernard a doctrine of saving Despair from terror caused by the wounds of Christ.

This is not to say that St. Bernard did not have a doctrine of grace following on humiliation by self-knowledge. He certainly did, a very clearly and forthrightly expressed one, although it is less radical than Luther's: "Nisi enim super humilitatis stabile fundamentum, spirituale aedificium stare minime potest. Porro ad se humiliandam anima nihil invenire vivacius seu accomodatius potest, quam si se in veritate inveniret ... Convertetur ad lacrimas, convertetur ad planctus et gemitus, convertetur ad Dominum, et in humilitate clamabit: SANA ANIMAM MEAM, QUIA PECCAVI TIBI. Porro conversa ad Dominum recipiet consolationem, quia Pater est misericordiarum, et Deus totius consolationis".^d But Luther radicalises by insisting absolutely on salvation via self-knowledge and by using the Cross both as the oil of comfort and healing and as the wine of sorrow for sin. In St. Bernard both wine and oil may be poured on to the wounds of sin;^e but in Luther the insistence on humiliation is absolute and has more point because of his absolute insistence on monergetic salvation, which depends on the prior reduction of a man to despair in himself.

-
- a) Sermo super Cantica Canticorum LXI, II.3, SBO II 150.11f.
 - b) Sermo super Cantica LXII, IV.7, SBO II 159.24f. Cf. Bond, p. 33.
 - c) WA I 344.24f., Duo Sermones de passione Christi.
 - d) SBO II 7.4f., Sermo super Cantica XXXVI, IV.5. See v. Loewenich, pp. 154f., on "humilitas" as "Selbsterkenntnis" in Bernard.
 - e) SBO II 46.3f., Sermo super Cantica XLIV, II.3.

Luther therefore rejects any reliance on, and possibly any use at all, of penance to 'make good' a sin. (WA II 140.1f.) For, above all, there must be no attempt to avoid the experience of Despair.^a In his own life Luther may have had his attention turned to the wounds of Christ to soothe his tender conscience;^b but in his theology his solution was not to side-step depression/scruples, but to explore it further, to go through it to a trust in God's purpose behind the appearance of Judge, and to make despair the chief cornerstone of his systematised thought. Thus Luther would reject even the restrained language of St. Bernard on the value and use of personal penance: "Peccatum est vulnus animae. Paenitentiam habere de peccato, dolor est vulneris. Agere paenitentiam medicamentum est doloris. Remissio peccatorum, sanitas est vulneris".^c For Luther "paenitentiam habere" is the beginning and end of man's action in salvation;^d "agere paenitentiam" has almost no place except as an exercise of self-discipline;^e and the term "remissio peccatorum" has almost no favour. For remission of sins the early Luther talks of an exchange of Sin and Righteousness between sinner and the bridegroom Christ ("der fröhliche wechsel") and the later Luther prefers to continue speaking of the imputation of Righteousness to the sinner ("reputacio dei"). The latter term emphasises that Sin remains even in the justified sinner, just as it remains after baptism until after death: "Sancti, dum sunt Iusti, sunt peccatores; Iusti, quia credunt in Christum, cuius Iustitia eos tegit et eis imputatur, peccatores autem, quia non implent legem, non sunt sine concupiscentia." ^f

Since the justified sinner is still subject to the Law and still unable to fulfil its absolute requirement, the process of terror and Despair leading to Faith is potentially at work throughout a man's life.
The Law

-
- a) See below, pp. 35f.
 - b) See Brecht, pp. 82-85.
 - c) SBO VI ii 67.19f., Sententiae, III.6.
 - d) See below, pp. 36f.
 - e) See below, p. 33.
 - f) WA LVI 347.9f., lectures on Romans. Cf. 275.26f., op. cit.: "Ista Vita est Vita curationis a peccato, non sine peccato finita curatione et adepta sanitate. Ecclesia Stabulum est et infirmaria egrotantium et sanandorum. Caelum vero est palatium sanorum et Iustorum."

remains as a thorn in the flesh, so that the justified sinner may continue to look to God for its fulfilment and not become complacent. Proceeding from Good Friday to Easter (WA II 139.33f.) is not a temporal succession in the life of a man under Justification, "sub cura medici";^a it is a theological description of the internal logic of his continued existence as "simul iustus et peccator" in belief and unbelief. Neither is it, for Luther, necessarily a progress in man towards holiness. St. Bernard, who was concerned with the purity of motives in man's love for God^b was quite sure of a continuous growth and development in the goodness of man "sub cura medici", as can be seen from the argument on the four degrees of love from his best known treatise:

"quia carnales sumus et de carnis concupiscentia nascimur, necesse est cupiditas vel amor noster a carne incipiat, quae si recto ordine dirigitur, quibusdam suis gradibus, spiritu tandem consummabitur, quia NON PRIUS QUOD SPIRITUALE, SED QUOD ANIMALE, DEINDE QUOD SPIRITUALE ..." ^c

No such confidence in the effectiveness of the divine cure on the soul of man during his life-time can be found in Luther, despite his doctrine of Sanctification^d and despite scattered references to the Christian life as progress, on Paul to the Romans, for example: "loquitur iis, qui iam inciperunt esse Christiani. Quorum vita non est in quiescere, sed in moveri de bono in melius".^e Luther has none of St. Bernard's quiet acceptance of the inadequacies of serving God "amore concupiscentiæ" or "auß furcht der peyn" (WA II 141.9) in the knowledge that love will be purified as it grows. And neither Luther nor St. Bernard concedes the possibility of "growth into a righteousness of one's own on the ground of which man stands 'coram Deo'".^f

-
- a) WA LVI 347.12, op. cit.
- b) "Non enim sine praemio diligitur Deus, etsi absque praemii sit intuitu diligendus. Vacua namque vera caritas esse non potest, nec tamen mercenaria est: quippe NON QUAERIT QUAE SUA SUNT. Affectus est, non contractus ... Sponte afficit, et spontaneum facit. Verus amor seipso contentus est. Habet praemium, sed id quod amatur. ... praemium non requirit, sed meretur." SBO III 133.21f., Tractatus de diligendo deo, VII.17.
- c) SBO III 152.18f., op. cit., XV.39.
- d) See below, pp. 30f.
- e) WA LVI 441.14f.
- f) Rupp, 1953, p. 183; cf. p. 225.

Neither is there any growth into Righteousness "coram se ipso", if the sinner is not to lose his Justification by Faith, which during his life-time can exist only in a context of saving Despair. It may therefore be misleading to describe, after Luther, the Christian's life as "fieri" not "esse": "He is a Christian only in the sense that ... he is becoming a Christian." ^a

The preliminary to Justification, "erschrecken", forms the main subject-matter of the Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi. But in Justification itself, too, there are logical difficulties. On the one hand, Christ is the old Adam, man as he is, that is, man as he is not meant to be:

"Ecce similis Christus hominibus, id est peccatoribus et infirmis, nec alium habitum nec aliam formam prae se fert quam hominis et servi, dum nos non despicit in forma dei, sed formam nostram gerit, portans peccata nostra in corpore suo." ^b

As the old Adam Christ can only die. On the other hand, Christ is also the new Adam, man re-created and restored to his proper existence. It is this Christ who destroys the old Adam within himself and is not capable of dying: "þo müssen die sund ynn yhm vorschlundenn und erseufft werden, Denn sein unüberrwindlich gerechtigkeit ist allenn sunden zustarck" / "peccatum ..., mors et infernus eum absorbere non possent, necessario in ipso absorpta sunt stupendo duello. Nam iustitia sua omnium peccatis superior, vita sua omni morte potentior, salus sua omni inferno invictior." ^c On the one hand Christ dies at the hand of the Father, or his Father (WA II 137.17; 139.18). On the other hand, Christ delivers himself over to death: "Christus est filius dei qui charitate mera tradidit se pro me redimendo." ^d

Christ as the second Adam, as Gospel of Grace, convinces the believer of the conformity of will between Father and Son within God. Here the Resurrection does bring comfort as evidence for the correctness of the assumption of a benevolent will behind the action of the Cross: "ansehe /

-
- a) W. Pauck, *The Heritage of the Reformation*, Boston 1950, p. 49.
- b) WA II 603.17f., commentary on Galatians, 1519.
- c) WA VII 25.38f./55.14f., *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen* / *Tractatus de libertate christiana*, 1520.
- d) WA XL i 297.7f.; parallel 1.32f., *In epistolam S. Pauli ad Galatas Commentarius*, 1535.

seyen fruntlich hertz / wie voller lieb das gegen dir ist / die yhn da zu zwingt / das er deyn gewissen / und deyn sund so schwerlich tregt. ... Darnach weyter steyg durch Christus hertz / zu gottis hertz / uñ sehe das Christus die liebe / dir nit hette mocht ertzeygen / wan es gott nit hett gewolt / ..." (WA II 140.32f.)^a From the conformity of Christ to his Father's will Faith concludes the benevolence of God's will for man and his essential goodness: "Das heist dan gott recht erkennet / wan mā yhn ... bey der gute und liebe ergreyfft". (WA II 141.3f.) That is, Faith assumes the presence of Grace, "dz gottlich gutt vatter hertz" (WA II 140.38f.), hidden by the Law:

"Das heisst recht Gott schawen, nicht mit leiblichen augen ..., sondern mit dem glawben, der sein veterlich freundlich hertz sihet, darin kein zorn noch ungnade ist. Denn wer jn fur zornig ansihet, der sihet jn nicht recht, sondern nur ein furhang und decke, ja ein finster wolcke fur sein angesicht gezogen."^b

Faith, when it believes statements about the Cross and Resurrection, is thus entirely non-empirical. Indeed it believes quite the opposite of experience, that God is good, by logic, once the basic assumption is made that Christ and his Father are one (Jn. 10.30). Under the shadow of the Cross before Easter this is indeed hard to credit, and so, before Easter, Faith believes in things not seen (Heb. 11.1),^c indeed the opposite of what is seen, and assumes the contrariety of the Cross.^d After Easter, Faith believes in the "deus absconditus" by trusting in authorities which preach the Resurrection and perceives dimly the "deus revelatus" in the "opus alienum" (1 Cor. 13.12).

Already Luther's soteriology does not seem necessarily incarnational or christological. The Cross plays its part in Justification by taking

-
- a) Cf. WA XXXII 328.31f.: "Wenn du einen rechten glawben hast, das Christus dein heiland sey &c. so sihestu flugs, das du einen gnedigen Gott habst, Denn der glawe leitet dich hinauff und thut dir Gottes hertz und willen auff," Wochenpredigten über Matth. 5-7, 1530/32. Also WA XVII i 71.9f./28f., Predigten über die Passionsgeschichte, 1525.
 - b) WA XXXII 328.34f., Wochenpredigten über Matth. 5-7.
 - c) See v. Loewenich, pp. 86f.
 - d) See Hendry, pp. 123f.

away sins, in that it reveals them. On this level, of the "opus alienum Dei", there is no absolutely compelling reason why the Cross of Christ should be necessary. The cross of the people of God could just as well reveal the anger of God. On the level of the "opus proprium Dei", Despair and Faith could be prompted by the sufferings of a people, and Faith could assume the ultimate purpose of God behind the punishment (and would remain only an assumption unsupported by any "evidence"). That this is a viable proposition can be seen in the theology of Despair contained, for example, in the cluster of meanings round the word group $\text{לַיָּשׁוּעַ (Sept. \tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma) \text{וְיִצְחָק}}$ and parallels. A linguistic equation of "humble"/"humbled, humiliated"/"poor" with "pious; pleasing to God" without further ado sets up a language of the Cross, that is a theology of Despair.^a Or the Church herself may be a sacrament of salvation, for if the Father makes a spectacle out of the Son to shock and terrify man into repentance, his people too suffer persecution and humiliation, and the apostolic mission may be to act as a $\text{\Theta\epsilon\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\nu... \tau\omega \kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma}$ (1 Cor. 4.9). The whole archaic vocabulary of atonement (appeasement - see WA II 137.14f.) and redemption (ransoming - see WA II 140.7f.) could be dropped in favour of a language which describes all suffering as the "opus alienum Dei".

If, however, the radical language of Luther is retained and the assumption made that Christ Crucified, God incarnate, is the supreme or a unique or the only icon of Despair, the question naturally arises - for us, but not for Luther - as to what, if any, is the necessary connection between this icon and the suffering of any particular individual, say, Jesus crucified. And whether God is not half-distanced from the Cross as the second Adam appears to win victory entirely at the expense of the first Adam. The first question can only be answered in terms of the second. If God is not to be identified with suffering and Sin as such (which would be grounds for a cult of suffering) and yet to be seen as intimately involved in human suffering (as he must be if he is to be actually or potentially $\text{\pi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha \acute{\epsilon}\nu \pi\alpha\varsigma\iota\nu}$ - 1 Cor. 15.28; see Ps. 139 (138).11f.), then he must be seen to suffer in a particular individual, and this Christ must be seen to suffer at the expense of his Godhood.

a) See Luther's notes on the translation of $\text{\tau\alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma}$ (Lk. 1.48), WA VII 560.16f., Das Magnificat verdeutscht und ausgelegt, 1521.

For the division of Christ into Sin and Grace is not between his divine and human natures: God acts in both Law and Gospel. And for Christ to suffer at the expense of his Godhead the centre of his suffering must be located in his human consciousness. Christ suffers outside the Godhead ($\epsilon\acute{\xi}\omega\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\eta\varsigma$ - Heb. 13.12 extended to apply to Christ's divinity), but no less as God, for as man he is no less the Son of the Father than as in his divine nature. (To deny this would be to deny the unity of his total personality as both natures work absolutely in parallel). When Christ as Son of God is separated from his Father by Sin, so that he is denied the vision of his Father (WA II 139.18), Christ as son of man, too, is stripped of his Godhead and thus also experiences dereliction. In both cases, the inner-trinitarian and the internal christological dynamic, the dereliction is purely experiential (though no less real for existing only in the mind of the one who feels himself abandoned). It is not real from the point of view of the Son of God still loving man, and God the Father still loving the Son: if it were, God really would have no part in the suffering on the Cross, but would be suffering completely alone, apart from man.

The Cross itself changes nothing in the inner-trinitarian relations of God: it merely reveals the effect of the incarnation, which had put a barrier of Sin between the Father and the Son.^a The Cross does, however, change the structure of the incarnate Son, by splitting his human and divine natures (the effect of Sin), destroying the first Adam (which will restore the vision of the Father to the Son, so that vindication in the Spirit will follow automatically and the Resurrection is inevitable) and exposing the second Adam to the pain of experiencing abandonment by the Divine. Thus the dereliction of the Cross is experienced by Christ the second Adam and "die ewige weisheit des vatters" (WA II 137.20) as exile from the assurance of understanding the "opus proprium Dei"; and the Cross appears as the disintegration of Christ.

The pain experienced by Christ in this dereliction is not, as stated above,^b the fullness of human suffering. Ultimate dereliction (hell) can never be experienced. For hell is the loss even of the faculty to know the

a) The incarnation itself does alter, or rather, complete the structure of God, and so is considerably more than just a revelation or veiling (or both) or merely (or principally) an action to save man. See below, pp. 25f, 38f.

b) p. 8

love of God or to desire that love and ever closer knowledge of him; and this faculty remains quite intact in the Crucified as the second Adam and Son of God remain true to their own nature to desire the friendship and fellowship of the Father. (So both Mt. 27.46 and Jn. 19.28 are cast in the form of prayer.) Neither the second Adam nor God the Son is the slave of Sin on the Cross as the first Adam may be, whether the total human personality is aware of his responsibility and failure to love God (Mk. 9.24; Rom. 7.14f.) or is in complete ignorance of the opinion that man is designed to love God. In the latter case man does not experience dereliction at all because he is quite unaware of it. The Law therefore precedes the Gospel not only to teach him to look for salvation from God alone, but also - and first of all - to teach him to look for salvation at all, that is, to teach him to create his own dereliction by experiencing it (Rom. 3.20).

To return to the question of the necessity of Christ's Cross: the answer seems to be that it might not be necessary for man's salvation.^a But the Cross reveals a crisis within God himself, which immediately reduces the story of man's redemption to its proper place in proportion to the history of the divine dynamic within and for the Trinity. This also enables, perhaps even requires the theologian to tell a story of God which does not make of the Divine one who exists primarily in order to help man: "nur der leidende Gott kann helfen" (D. Bonhoeffer). Such a figure more closely resembles a figment of the primitive, self-indulgent imagination than the product of a serious account of the creator of a universe infinitely greater than "us" on a small and very frail, blue planet "earth" poised towards the edge of one, not that significant, cloud of stars among - perhaps - very many. Sixteenth century man could not know as much as the educated man in the late twentieth century about the relative importance of the earth in comparison with the physical universe, although he measured the importance of his existence against the scale of a supposed tripartite transcendental universe (heaven-earth-hell) populated partly by many orders of beings far superior to himself, and was well aware of the possibility of an impending apocalypse. Luther was no exception in sharing these views, and in addition the scale of his theological vision is equal to that of the Book of Job. God stands absolute over and against a creation, in which even the energy which crucifies the Father's Son is his (Acts 17.28). To such a creator the state and fate of mankind is of little consequence:

a) But see below, pp.38f.

"If you have sinned, what do you accomplish against him?
And if your transgressions are multiplied, what do you do to him?"

If you are righteous, what do you give to him;
or what does he receive from your hand?

Your wickedness concerns a man like yourself,
and your righteousness a son of man." (Job 35.6-8)

The status of each individual man or woman before God is here of almost no importance. Sin is collective and in any case summed up in the Cross: thus St. Peter's Pentecost sermon is addressed to the Jewish crowd regardless of whether some bare more guilt or less, "da er zu yhn allen yn gemeyn sprach / yhr habt yhn gecreutziget" (WA II 137.25f.); and Luther extends the accusation to all his readers/listeners (WA II 137.22f.), saints and sinners, perhaps most of all to Self-Justifying "saints".

On the Cross Christ is made subject to man who is made so frail that he can do no other than evil and yet in so doing performs not his own work but an inner-trinitarian "opus alienum Dei". The Crucified is stripped -by his Father - of his Godhead which would give him sure and certain insight into the purpose of the pain (in which case it would no longer act totally as an "opus alienum"). On the Cross Christ can see no further beyond the wood and iron, blood and sweat than to the comparative innocence of his torturers and executioners, the needs of his now abandoned and scattered people, and the apparent absence of his Father. If it were not so, he would not be suffering the Cross, because - to borrow a monastic cliché and give it a meaning not originally intended by Luther - "Tam cito ... crux cessat esse crux, quam cito laetus dixeris: crux benedicta, inter ligna nullum tale." ^a So the Second Person of the Trinity is reduced 'in personam ecclesiae', that is, to blindness (Ps. 74 (73).9f.); and as the Father causes the "opus alienum" within the Trinity, so the Holy Spirit completes the "opus proprium Dei" within God, as the spirit of obedience and love holding Father and Son together in conformity of will, and as the spirit of vindication fulfilling the "opus alienum" by restoring the uninterrupted communion between Father and Son.

a) WA Br I 147.35f.

The "personae" of the trinity are thus seen to be more than just roles.^a The *κρῖσις* within God, from the point of view of man suffering the evil of the world, is God's judgement on himself; from the divine point of view it is a division, a split between his constituent parts, or rather, since the Trinity without the incarnation is emphatically not to be defined in terms of parts, a self-division into separated persons. The incarnation is thus an essential step in the process of God becoming, that is, constituting himself as a God of love towards himself. The fall of man and his need for outside aid form the occasion, but not the cause of the divine action in human history, for the prime motivating factor is God's self-sufficient promotion of himself.^b (Although this is never - ultimately - at the expense of anything created if it may, at whatever the cost, even the Cross, be saved from eternal dissolution - Rom. 5.6f) By this account of the Crucifying and Crucified God, then, any theory must be rejected as inadequate that presents God as either principally or exclusively suffering man's freedom out of love for man: here God is seen as using man's inevitable Sin as part of the economy of his own life.

This understanding of the Cross as a "vestigium trinitatis" emphasises the reality of the Father's anger, that it is not merely not a figment of a troubled conscience, but also that it is not just the divine reaction against Sin. It is an essential component of the divine dynamic of becoming. But to derive this "knowledge" of God and his natural (as opposed to righteous) anger, from the Cross is to view God not primarily as an "obiectum amabile", and it has been argued that Luther does derive his theology from the God of the Gospel.^c In any case Luther does bid his reader, once he is "seyner sund gewar ... und gantz erschreckt yhn yhm selber" (WA II 139.34f.), to turn all thought away from "gott ... bey der gewalt adder weysheit (die erschrecklich seynd)" (WA II 141.4f.). And since Luther's concentration is on soteriology rather than speculation on the inner life of the Trinity, it would perhaps be more true to him to maintain a primitive doctrine of a God for us than to develop a more sophisticated theory of a self-sufficient Divine for a man come of age.

a) Cf. above, p.7.

b) Contrast J. Moltmann, *Trinität und Reich Gottes. Zur Gotteslehre*, Munich, 1980, p. 131.

c) See Mueller, pp. 1f.

On the other hand, some development of the divine motivation is needed to shape an answer to the question of man's response to the Cross: this unfinished business will be carried over to chapter two, where Christ is considered as "exemplum" and a few implications drawn from the small section of 'Lutheran' dogmatics suggested by the Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi. It is indeed time to move on to chapter two, despite the incompleteness of the argument on the action of God on man by the Cross. The "opus alienum Dei" has been given full enough treatment, but the "opus proprium Dei" remains sketchy - because Luther leaves it so. The "opus proprium" towards man is first an infusion of Grace on Despair, labelled - not very helpfully - "Faith". The label is unhelpful because it arouses associations of "faith" as the "fides acceptantis hominis", which is not a saving quality. Second, the "opus proprium" is a conforming of the Justified man to the image of Christ in his resurrection as in his crucifixion. Neither part of this action requires any contribution from man, except his non-participation. In this passive imitation of Christ, the "exemplum" is strictly a "donum", and the emphasis is on man's concentration on the icon of wrath, Christ Crucified as "sacramentum".

CHAPTER II

Implications

We turn now to two inter-related questions of the consequences in our lives of Justification by Faith Alone: Christ as "exemplum"; and man's contribution to his own salvation, "dan biß her haben wir es [das leyden Christi] bedacht / als eyn sacrament / dz yn unß wirckt / und wir leyden / Nu bedencken wir es / das wir auch wircken." (WA II 141.11f.). The concern is, then, with works of imitation rather than with suffering imposed on man by God either as punishment for sin^a or as the "opus alienum dei".^b The concentration is no longer on Christ as the passive victim of the Father's wrath, but on the self-chosen and self-imposed cross of Christ (WA II 140.33f) as the object of the Christian's imitation of Christ. And the Cross is seen not so much as worthy of imitation - as an "exemplum" in the sense of a contemporary technical term of rhetoric, "dictum vel factum alicuius autenticae personae dignum imitatione" (John à Garlandia) - but as an action which must be imitated. The compulsion, or necessity, is on two levels, before and after Justification;^c but both involve Luther in a very strict doctrine of works, despite his reputation as a theologian who utterly disparaged good works and removed any basis for them from his systematic thought.

Both forms of "imitation piety"^d are quite distinct from the doctrine of the believer's being conformed to a Christ also passively suffering (WA II 138.7f., 19f., 35f.). Only to conformity does Luther ascribe any part in the economy of Justification; thus works of imitation, or of

-
- a) WA I 182.16f, Die sieben Bußpsalmen, 1517.
 - b) See v. Loewenich, p.137.
 - c) "before" and "after" refer to logical, not to temporal priority.
 - d) The phrase comes from Carlson, pp. 137f, who maintains that "Luther places conformity to Christ over against this idea."

Righteousness, do not make a man just, but a just man must perform them.^a The compulsion is his own nature, which is transformed by the indwelling Divine and therefore spontaneously produces good works out of love.^b To be more precise, the earlier Luther gives at least three main theories of "theosis" (although, of course, he never used that precise term)^c, which are more far-reaching than that of the "commercio idiomatum". The first is of the indwelling of the Second Person of the Trinity: "dum Christus in nobis habitat per fidem, iam movet nos ad opera per illam fidem operum suorum".^d The second is of man's re-generation or re-creation, as in baptism, but as a continual process throughout life: "dipes bedencken [des leydens Christi] wandelt den menschen wesentlich / und gar nah wie die tauffe / widderüb new gepiret." (WA II 139.14f.; see also WA II 141.6f. Neither is qualified "as it were", as in Gace's translation.)^e The third theory is of a sharing in the life of the risen Christ: "per resurrectionem eius transimus in vitam et resurrectionem eius."^f The point of all three hypotheses is that the Christian is endowed by Faith and the "fröliche Wechsel" not only with the imputed virtues of Christ, but also with his power to perform the same good works and more (Jn. 14.12): "A Christo vero non modo exemplum petes, sed simul virtutem ipsam, hoc est Christus non solum speciem imitande virtutis exhibet, sed ipsam quoque virtutem transfundit in homines."^g

-
- a) WA VII 32.5f./61.26f., Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen / Tractatus de libertate christiana, 1520. Cf. St. Bernard: "nec filii sunt sine lege, nisi forte aliquis aliter sentiat propter hoc quod scriptum est : IUSTIS NON EST LEX POSITA. Sed sciendum quod alia est lex promulgata a spiritu servitutis in timore, alia a spiritu libertatis data in suavitate." SBO III 151.10f., Tractatus de diligendo deo XIV 37.
- b) See Rupp 1953, pp. 231f.; Carlson, p. 141; Williams, pp. 152, 156.
- c) Luther wrote of the "spiritualis hominis, qui fit per fidem in Christo". WA II 147.8f., Sermo de duplici iustitia, 1519.
- d) WA I 364.30f., Disputatio Heidelbergae habita, 1518.
- e) Cf. WA VI 130.26: "Haec est Ecclesia sanctorum, nova creatura dei", Tessaradecas consolatoria pro laborantibus et oneratis, 1520.
- f) WA XVII i 339.6f., Predigt am Sonntage vor Jacobi, 1525.
- g) WA IX 439.31f., Sermo in Diem Natalem Domini, 1519.

Works of Righteousness do not justify, but Justification renews a man, so that he is able to perform works. (Tit. 3.5) Hence the overwhelming experience of the Early Church of the power to free oneself from sin:

Ἐγείρε, ὁ καθευδων,
καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,
καὶ ἐπιφάνει σοὶ ὁ Χριστός.

(Eph. 5.14. Cf. Jas. 4.7f.)

And thus Luther insists that the Justified man can and will serve God of his free will and do works which are pleasing in themselves, quite apart from the merely forensic imputation of Righteousness: "qui in fide et spiritu est, ipse ex corde et libertate et hilaritate deo servit et vias eius ambulat."^a

Works of Righteousness performed after Justification are good, because they are performed in a spirit of freedom, "auß liebe / nit auß furcht der peyn". (WA II 141.9) Indeed it is only the man set free from the perverting effect of Original Sin^b and from the necessity of justifying himself, who can perform works which are not vitiated and made worthless by self-interest: "Denn wilchs werck nit dah^bnauß gericht ist, dem andernn zu dienen oder seynen willen zu leydenn, ^cso fern er nit zwing, wider gott zu thun, ^cso ists nit ein gut Christlich werck". And so Luther may, without necessarily contradicting himself, write in one and the same work (the lectures on Romans) of "Externa et aliena Iustitia"^d and of Justification by conformity of a man's will to Christ's:

-
- a) WA III 649.2f., Dictata super Psalterium, 1513/16.
b) WA LVI 356.5f., Lectures on Romans, 1515/16.
c) WA VII 37.18f., Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen. Cf the Latin recension: "quodcunque opus non huc solum dirigitur, ut fiat vel ad castigandum corpus vel ad obsequium proximi..., non est bonum nec Christianum." WA VII 68.17f.
d) WA LVI 158.13

"qui vere Deum diligunt amore filiali et amicitie, qui non est ex natura, Sed spiritu sancto solum, ... sese offerunt in omnem Voluntatem Dei, etiam ad infernum et mortem eternaliter, si Deus ita Vellet tantum, vt sua Voluntas plene fiat; adeo nihil querunt, que sua sunt. ... Sic est impossibile, vt extra Deum maneat, qui in voluntatem Dei sese penitus proiecit. Quia Vult, quod vult Deus; Ergo placet Deo. Si placet, ergo est dilectus; Si dilectus, ergo Saluus."^a

Luther may indeed be said to support a theology of Justification by works of Righteousness, insofar as the Christian's renewal in the Spirit is taken seriously:

"Denn solcher Christus ist nichts und nirgent, der für solche sunder gestorben sey, die nicht nach der vergebung der sunden von den sunden lassen und ein neues leben führen. ... So doch Christus ... darumb Christus ist..., das uns der Heilige Geist sol zu neuen menschen machen aus dem alten Adam, das wir der sunden tod und der gerechtigkeit leben ... hie auff erden ansahen und zunehmen und dort volbringen."^b

It is purely self-deception to suppose that a Christian's new life should not, cannot or will not express itself in works pleasing to God on the grounds that works done before Justification have the nature of sin or that Faith alone Justifies, although both these latter two statements may be true in their somewhat limited application.^c

Thus we may qualify one of Luther's 1519 statements on Christ's function as "exemplum": "Ich kan nicht mer, dan das ich vorn an gehe. Wo ich hin farhe, ferhest dw auch."^d For even as "exemplum" Christ acts not only as paragon (the second sense of "spiegel" in medieval usage),^e but also sacramentally, effecting the life in a Christian, which his own suffering signifies. Unfortunately at this point Luther is not very specific.

-
- a) WA LVI 391.7f.
 - b) WA L 599.21f., Von den Konziliis und Kirchen, 1539. Cf. Lk. 8.15.
 - c) Cf. Sormunen, who refers also to R. Bring, pp. 94f.: "Aus diesem Grund [daß Luther die Schöpfungsordnungen auch damit begründet, daß der Christ in deren Rahmen seine Liebesegesinnung verwirkliche] wage ich mit Runestam der Meinung zu sein, dass wir die Ethik der Nachfolge Christi wieder zu beleben haben, diese Ethik die den Evangelischen so lange unbequem gewesen ist, da es uns in ein neues Gesetzesjoch zu spannen, uns anstelle der evangelischen Freiheit mühselige Übung und geheime Verdienstlehre zu bringen schien."
 - d) WA IX 656.21f., Sermo de passione domini, 1521.
 - e) Cf. the double meaning of Middle Latin "spegulum".

His own complaint against Antinomian opponents in later years, "feine Oster prediger, aber schendliche Pfingst prediger,"^a could, in spite of the championship of Prenter, be turned against him. Luther largely restricts himself to two themes of Righteousness: service; and patience in adversity. The first takes up the motif of selflessness from the process of Despair, as the Justified man is so taken out of himself that he automatically seeks the advantage of others in the Church and in society as a whole: "odit se et diligit proximum, non quaerit quae sua sunt sed quae alterius ..."^b The second forms the basis for the argument on Works in the Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi, so that an element of passivity remains even here, in man's activity towards Sanctification.^c The ideal is of harmlessness within society, as Christ Crucified is the "spiegel" not of the good man does, but of the evil he endures.

Personal mortification has, in this context, despite the recommendation of the Tractatus de libertate christiana,^d value only as a self-disciplinary measure. Although the early Luther was at pains to stress its value and essential place in the Christian life: "Hie muß man fleysch und blueth auch zwingen."^e Much more important to Luther is the endurance of suffering which cannot be self-chosen, and the solidarity of the individual with his community: "Er [der vatter] will den hauffen horen, nit mich, noch dich, ader einen auszleufftigen abgesondereten phariseenn."^f Personal contentment is not allowed to obscure concern for the sufferings of others, both in the Church and society (the two were almost synonymous in sixteenth century Germany): "hie muß dir leyden seyn alle uneere Christi yn seynem heyligen wort, alle elend der Christenheit, alle unrecht leyden der unschuldigen ... hie mustu weren, thun, bitten, und ꝑo du nit mehr kanst, hertzlich mit leyden haben".^g

-
- a) WA L 599.25, Von den Konziliis und Kirchen.
 - b) WA II 147.13f., Sermo de duplici iustitia.
 - c) Cf. v. Loewenich, p. 151, on the strains of quietism in the *Dietata super Psalterium*.
 - d) WA VII 68.18, quoted above, p.31. See also WA VII 30.11f./59.37f., op. cit.
 - e) WA IX 655.30, Sermo de passione domini. See Wilson, pp. 28f.
 - f) WA II 114.28f., Auslegung deutsch des Vaterunsers für die einfältigen Laien, 1519.
 - g) WA II 745.27f., Ein Sermon von dem hochwürdigen Sakrament des heiligen wahren Leichnams Christi ..., 1519.

Nevertheless the emphasis in the Sermon, and in Luther's works as a whole, is on the quietism rather than on the passion for social justice: "Sich also widder alle laster und untugent / kan man yn Christo stercke / unnd lobsall finden". (WA II 141,30f.) The socio-political dangers of this doctrine of works of imitation taken in isolation are obvious: it could quite easily be turned into an instrument of oppression as it apparently sanctions the traditional stoicism of so many of the world's disadvantaged. Whether this particular brand of quietism has ever in fact been used by oppressors in moral subjugation or by oppressed in political suicide, is not relevant. It is enough that the ideal of harmlessness is a potential weapon, and it must be countered by the language of activism. For the kingdom of God does not belong to the oppressed and persecuted as such, but it consists on earth of those persecuted for their part in attempting to build it (Mt. 5-10). It is not simply the poor who are blessed by the Lord: *μακαριοι οι πεινωτες και διψωτες την δικαιοσυνην*. (Mt. 5.6)

To do justice to the ideals of activism the Kingdom of God must be taken out of its eschatological context and put into the context of man's contribution to salvation before Justification. Imitation of, and belief in, Christ are both in the gift of God; but despite Lutheran Orthodoxy's denial of any part to man in his own salvation, it is possible to formulate a role for man in this drama.

Explicitly, the Sermon gives man a relatively conventional part to play. Prayer, for Luther, is not so much God's gift to man or the action of the Holy Spirit in man (Rom. 8.26), but the stony-hearted man's contribution to salvation (WA II 139.1f.; 140.27f.) without which, apparently, God cannot or will not act to save: "Dan gottis stercke und trost wirt niemand gegeben, er erbitte es dan mit gantzem grund des hertzen. Niemand bittet aber grundlich der noch nit grundlich erschrocken und vorlappen ist".^a Prayer is also everyman's cry out of the deep, again a pre-condition of Justification, as the whole operation of the Law is directed towards eliciting from man that call of Despair.

a) WA I 160.21f., Die sieben Bußpsalmen.

Implicitly, by the logic of saving Despair, the Sermon ascribes a part to man's works of attempted Self-Righteousness in the economy of salvation. Works of Self-Righteousness are in fact as equally the consequence of Luther's dogmatics as works of imitation; and these hidden implications of Luther's teaching are actually more interesting - and perhaps more important - than the explicit statements on prayer. Christ is made by his Father not only the mirror of our imperfection. He is also the model of imperfection, of the human attempt at Righteousness, that is, of Sin:

ΤΟΝ ΜΗ ΓΥΝΟΝΤΑ ἁΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ὙΠΕΡ ἡΜΩΝ ἁΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ἘΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ.

(2 Cor. 5.21.^a Although, of course, Luther in 1519 was not following the now standard reading of ἁΜΑΡΤΙΑΝ ἘΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ by *lectio difficilior*. See WA II 140.10f.) Certainly:

Opera facere est Deo veritatem negare.

Deo veritatem negare est peccare.

Ergo opera facere est peccare.

And:

De se desperare est Deo veritatem tribuere.

Deo veritatem tribuere est salvari.

Ergo de se desperare est salvari.^b

But these two statements, although true in themselves, do not present the whole truth. These extreme expressions allow the doctrines of synergetic and monergetic salvation to appear mutually exclusive. They might indeed be mutually exclusive if the term "Deo veritatem tribuere" ("das man gott die warheyt und frumkeit gebe")^c were expounded simply as faith in the sense

-
- a) Which neither implies that Christ may be convicted of Sin (see Mt. 19.17) or sins (Jn. 8.46), nor that man should cultivate sins (cf. Rom. 6).
- b) The vocabulary for these home-made syllogisms is taken from the *Tractatus de libertate christiana*. They are given in Middle Latin as any translation of Luther's technical terms is necessarily imperfect and imprecise.
- c) WA VII 25.21f., Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen.

of belief in the Divine promise of redemption (*credere promittenti*)^a. If, however, a stricter view of monergetic Justification is taken and "*Deo veritatem tribuere*" interpreted as Faith, which relies on the "*commercio idiomatum*" of union with Christ for salvation, then a theory of synergetic salvation may be combined with the doctrine of Justification by Faith Alone. The Divine "*warheytt und frumkeit*" may be read as the Justice or Righteousness of God, by which he justifies man, and "*Deo veritatem negare*" understood as man's attempt to justify himself by works (as well as the superstitious and self-indulgent use of the Cross, "*das yhre darynnen suchen*" WA II 136.16; "*auß yhren [eygene] vormügen /... / gantz menschlich unnd unfruchtparlich da mit umbgehen*" WA II 139.9f.). Faith, which guarantees monergetic Justification, does not appear except where a man is reduced to saving Despair. The Faith is entirely the work of God. The Despair is not. For each man must experience his own failure to Justify himself and come to his own conviction that his works will not prevail and thus to his own personal reliance on God alone: "*dan was hilfft dichs / dz gott / gott ist / wan er dier nit eyn gott ist?*" (WA II 137.6).^b The Christian progresses from one Sin ("*se ipsum glorificare*") by experience through another ("*de se desperare*") to Righteousness ("*Deo veritatem tribuere*").^c

Works of Self-Righteousness, the '*opus alienum hominis*', do not themselves make a man a citizen of the heavenly kingdom, but only his adoption into Christ: "*regnum Christi non consistit in operibus, ... Iusticia est cognicio Christi*".^d Christ must be known as Saviour: "*Quid est Christus? est persona portans omnium nostrum peccata*".^e But the Gospel

-
- a) WA VII 54.12, de libertate christiana. Quoted above, p.14.
- b) Cf. WA IX 659.4, Sermo in die resurrectionis Domini, 1521; WA XXX i 132.31f., Deutsch Catechismus, 1529.
- c) But this doctrine of Faith from experience should be distinguished from v. Loewenich's "*Glaube als Erfahrung*", pp. 104f., which is a discussion of works of Righteousness. On the other hand, this emphasis on the experience of Sin could be seen as the realisation of the theoretical "*magnificare peccatum*", Hendry, p. 87. Cf. also D. Bonhoeffer's protest against "*billige Gnade*", *Nachfolge*, Munich, 1937.
- d) WA XXXI ii 439.10f., In Esaiam prophetam .. enarraciones, 1527/30.
- e) WA XXXI ii 439.20f., op. cit.

as the word about this office of Christ is not enough: it needs to fall on ground prepared for it, on ears that will understand. (Mt. 13.23) No-one can understand Christ as Saviour who has not experienced the reality of his need for monergetic salvation, that is, experienced his works of Self-Righteousness, including his labour on behalf of the kingdom of God on earth, as the Law. It is true that the Law exists only to demonstrate man's impotence, "das der mensch drynnen sehe sein unvormügen zu dem gutten und lerne an yhm selbs vortzweyffeln".^a But still the attempt must be made to fulfil the Law (Mt. 5.17), and so the opposing syllogisms of monergetic Justification may be replaced or qualified by one, more cautiously phrased, summary of Salvation via Works of Self-Righteousness:

Nullus de se desperat, nisi opera faciat.

Nullus potest salvari, nisi de se desperet.

Ergo nullus potest salvari, nisi opera faciat.

This is not to deny the reality and inimical quality of Sin, but to emphasise that the Christian life begins at a cross, a Cross of Sin which God has made his own. Of course the Cross is as much punishment for, as remedy against, Sin (Is. 53.5), but there is no direct way for fallen man from Sin to Righteousness.^b (Gen. 3.24) The Cross is an invitation to Sin (Lk. 14.28), and baptism into Christ Crucified the completion of Sin (Rom. 6.4), so that the saving cry of Despair follows (Ps. 69 (68).1f.). If Christ Crucified himself completes the measure of man's Sin (Mt. 5.17 again),^c and has become a source of Sin and terror ("wie sie auß Christo geflossen" WA II 139.37) before he can act as the source of comfort and Grace (Jn. 7.38), it is no less incumbent on man to persevere in his own efforts to be righteous and to consider his failure: "also singt die Kirche. Ich will fleyssig daran gedenckē uñ ꝑo wirt yhn mir vorschmachtē meyn seell". (WA II 138.13f. See Lam. 3.20) And if Job asks, "How can a man be just before God?" (Job 9.2), the answer is that he may not justify himself by snatching at or presuming on Righteousness: that is the sin of Job (ch. 32.1-2), which merely compounds the Sin of Adam.

-
- a) WA VII 23.34f., Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen; cf. parallel WA VII 52.28f.
- b) Cf. v. Loewenich, pp. 87, 137 et al., who sees in the cross the "kurzer Weg" or the "sicherste Weg zu Gott".
- c) Cf. WA II 526.32: "Est itaque lex posita, ut peccatum augeat." Commentary on Galatians, 1519.

And so the Sermon is remarkably restrained in its criticism of contemporary Catholic practice. Luther's original text has, for example, none of the stern criticism of the Mass, which it has acquired in its English form. Gace writes of "all superstitious Masses", where Luther adds a careful qualification to his comment on "alle messen": "Nit das die messen nit gutt seyn / sundern das sie an solche bedencken unnd ubung nichts helffen". (WA II 141.33f.)^a The Eucharist, as well as being a representation of the Justifying dominical sacrifice of the Cross (WA II 137.3f.), may also act in itself as a work of attempted Self-Righteousness ("eyn leylich unfruchtpar werck" WA II 137.5) and thus as the Law.

Furthermore, it is not only the fact of Original Sin, which forces man to take an indirect road to Righteousness. It is in the nature of creation itself that it should fall; indeed creation is fore-ordained and intended to fall. Adam is meant to Sin, so that he can become a genuine partner in a relationship of love to God, because wholly other than God - just as the Second Person of the Trinity is allied to Sin and is therefore all the more the object of his Father's love and the scene of the Holy Spirit's activity of reconciliation (Mt. 3.16-17 and parallels). Thus the Church sings with confidence what is apparently blasphemy:

"O certe necessarium Adae peccatum".^b

The question naturally raises itself as to why salvation should be effected by an operation at once so complicated and so costly to God. The answer seems to lie in the will of God to perfect a relationship of love within himself (a process of continual generation in the Godhead) and a relationship directed towards an external object of love. In his eleventh sermon on the Song of Songs (III.7) St. Bernard proposed the beginnings of an answer as to why God the Almighty should limit himself to such a bizarre and painful way to saving as the Incarnation, Cross and Resurrection:

a) Cf. WA II 136.30, where Clemen's note on "wie" as "dass sie" (although this is a possibility in Early New High German) does not seem to be an accurate exposition of Luther's meaning.

b) Quoted with suspicion, J. Moltmann, *Trinität und Reich Gottes. Zur Gotteslehre*, Munich, 1980, p. 129.

"Quis digne penset quanta fuerit humilitatis, mansuetudinis, dignationis, Dominum maiestatis carne indui, multari morte, turpari cruce? Sed dicit aliquis: "Non valuit opus suum reparare Creator absque ista difficultate?" Valuit, sed maluit cum iniuria sui, ne pessimum atque odiosissimum vitium ingratitude occasionem ultra reperiret in homine. Sane multum fatigationis assumpsit, quo multae dilectionis hominem debitorem teneret, commoneretque gratiarum actionis difficultas redemptionis, quem minus esse devotum fecerat conditionis facilitas".^a

If the Cross of Christ compels man to love God, then man's cross of Sin compels God to love man. Not by holiness and not only by virtue of his priesthood in Christ, but in his need man is "gottis mechtig, denn gott thut was er bittet und wil".^b The disgrace of Sin by works has itself a claim on the love of God, because he cannot deny himself (2 Tim. 2.13). Certainly any language of God's "repenting" in his acts of Grace to offset the Law is here entirely inappropriate. From the beginning love forms the "unwanckelbarn ernst gottis" (WA II 137.13). (See 1 Jn. 4.) The divine compulsion, which works so contrary to human expectation and worldly reason,^c is the nature of God: "seyne fruntlich hertz /wie voller lieb das gegen dir ist / die yhn da zu zwingt / das er deyn gewissen / und deyn sund so schwerlich tregt". (WA II 140.32f.)

The divine compulsion cannot, then, be compared to human loss of freedom, which is compulsion or choice to act contrary to one's nature. The divine compulsion also in no way compromises the sovereignty of God as its dynamic arises from within the trinitarian structure of God himself. By it man is drawn into a circle of love, which has as its chief object (from the point of view of the Father) not man, but the Son of Man. And indeed in loving man Christ himself is primarily obeying the Father (WA II 140.36f.) and fulfilling his role as obedient son.^d In other words, as stated above,^e Luther does not provide us with a God to help us, but one who in helping himself, or rather, in just being and eternally becoming himself, creates man, allows him to fall, and raises him to unimaginable

a) SBO I 58.25f.

b) WA VII 28.15f., Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen.

c) WA IX 654.36f., Sermo de passione domini. See also v. Loewenich, p. 85

d) WA II 147.20f., Sermo de duplici iustitia.

e) p. 25.

and utterly undeserved heights. Thus the Grace of God, from man's point of view, seems capricious and wayward, not only because preceded and obscured by the Law, but also because it cannot be 'turned on' at will by any particular work of Self-Righteousness: "dan es wil frey sein / und ungefangen". (WA II 139.22f.) Grace, and even Despair in its fulness, may be prompted by man's need, but they remain in the free gift of God, and it is God who sets the pace in salvation, and may circumvent the conscious spirituality of an individual: "und der weyße nach / gott oft das blat umwend /dz die nit das leyden bedencken / die es bedēckē ..." (WA II 139.28f.).

The consequence for man from a theology of saving Despair, and his contribution to salvation, is hope. Not that sure and certain Hope which rests secure in the saving Righteousness of Christ, but the hope of attempted Self-Righteousness. It is a hope which, seeing that love is the fulfilment of the Law (Gal. 6.2), is not content with passive endurance of socio-political and economic injustice, but seeks repeatedly to build the kingdom of God on earth, only to fail repeatedly.^a The abject failure of all of man's efforts to provide for lasting peace and justice in society should not, therefore, lead to political quietism, cynicism or despair, not even to Luther's own doctrine of the state as a necessary evil to be endured.

This hope is not specifically or exclusively Christian. Nor can it be directly equated with the call to hope, the direct vocation to share the life of God, of which Moltmann writes,^b as it is a call to Despair via a misplaced hope. Because this hope is, in political terms, always doomed to frustration, because those who hope to see the kingdom of God on earth suffer at the sight of injustice flourishing, and because those who work for the kingdom of God are opposed by those who are content with the world as it is, or with their place in it, this hope is the cross of mankind. The Cross is thus a political *κρανδαλον*^c and *μωρια* (cf. 1 Cor. 1) because it invites men to take up works of Self-Righteousness which inevitably call

a) For an opposite view on Luther's attitude towards evil, see Rupp 1953, p. 302.

b) As summarised in *Gotteserfahrungen. Hoffnung-Angst-Mystik*, Munich, 1979.

c) Cf. Luther on the Gospel in Church politics, WA XVIII 626.22f., *De Servo Arbitrio*, 1525.

down persecution. Suffering is, then, a special characteristic of discipleship of Christ,^a and the kingdom of God on earth appears as an unattainable ideal, a fata morgana, which, like the Cross of its herald, acts as the Law.

If the Kingdom works as an ideal, as an inspiration to action, it is perhaps not necessary to define it in closer, socio-political terms. Certainly Luther's writings provide scant help in doing so and the theologian of saving Despair might well with impunity retain the idea of the Kingdom on earth as a symbol, potentially *παισι...παισι* (1 Cor. 9.22). It is the specialist political thinker in every age who must see that all things to all men does not degenerate into nothing to anyone. Nevertheless certain enduring general principles of activism on behalf of the Kingdom may be discerned. For example, the idealism of the Kingdom must mean that in political action mass suffering for the sake of some future utopia must be avoided, and a realistic view taken of the likelihood of violent political change producing real, tangible results. The fact that hope is common to all men secures the principle of the inviolability of every individual's life and means that political action must transcend differences between sections of mankind according to race, creed, class, age, sex and so on, insofar as the line dividing justice from injustice does not, in any particular situation, run along these divisions. Luther himself was most careful in earlier years to condemn group discrimination and to commend the victims of one particular sixteenth century class discrimination:

"das niemandt die Juden vorachte, sondern nehme sie an ... Wie nu Christus allen gemeyn worden ist, den Juden und heyden, wiewol auß anderley und anderley ursach, Also sollen wyr auch untereinander gemeyn werden, eyn iglicher sich des andern annehmen, seyn burde tragen und geprechlickeytt dulden, on alle unterscheydt euperlicher person, namenß, standts, und was das seyn mag." ^b

-
- a) Cf. WA I 214.1f., Die sieben Bußpsalmen; v. Loewenich, p. 141; and P. Meinhold, *Zeit- und Kirchenkritik beim jungen Luther*, Wiesbaden, 1977, pp. 23f.
 - b) WA X i II 89.8f., Adventspostille, 1522. This explicit plea on behalf of the Jews offsets the vicious cruelty of the 1543 anti-Semitic tracts. In 1519 Luther's tolerance is implicit: any decide that could be laid against the doors of the synagogue is in fact equally the crime of every Christian, and is already punished by divine vengeance. (WA II 138.29f.)

Having distinguished between works of Righteousness, leading to sanctification, and works of Self-Righteousness, which lead to saving Despair, it becomes quite clear that the theologian of the Cross must advocate a doctrine of works in the strongest possible terms: "Dan Christus leyden muß nit mit Worten und scheyn / sondern mit dem leben und warhafftig gehandelt werden." (WA II 141.37f.). Insofar as works bring down suffering on the practitioner both in sanctification and in the preparatory moves towards Justification^a this passive 'mortificatio' is both symptom and pre-condition of Faith.^b The theology of saving Despair reverses conventional worldly judgements on the value of suffering and death: "Do hebt sich der freuntlich wechsel an, auffgesetzt von Goth in Adam. ... Dorth sprach er: wilstw leben, þo sundig nicht. Hie sagt er: wilstw nicht sundigen, so leb nicht."^c And the theologian of the Cross cannot simply read the beatitudes as a programmatic account of the progress of the individual soul towards God: from saving Despair (Mt. 5.3-5) through Hope (verse 6) to works of Righteousness (vv. 7-9), which inevitably bring down both persecution (v. 10) and salvation (vv. 11-12). He also sees these same verses as guides to social action, to works of Self-Righteousness and works of Righteousness. Poverty in spirit, for example, becomes stewardship and distribution of all the individual's resources and talents: "Darumb muß alles, was wir haben, stehen im dienst, wo es nicht im dienst steet, so stehetz im raub."^d Mourning is for the many injustices and failings of our society,^e and so on.

It must, however, be admitted that the political implications of his teaching are not Luther's strong point. In the absence of any clear theory of society and government, he largely restricts himself to general pronouncements on the necessity for social order and social justice, and - with regard to Christ as "exemplum" - pious statements on charity: "also wie du sihest, das er bettet, fastet, den leutten hilfft und liebe

-
- a) See v. Loewenich, pp. 139f.
 - b) Cf. v. Loewenich, p. 141.
 - c) WA IX 656.4f., Sermo de passione domini. Cf. WA I 613.23f.: "Theologus crucis ... poenas, cruces, mortem docet esse thesaurum omnium preciosissimum et reliquias sacratissimas", Resolutiones ... disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute, 1518.
 - d) WA XII 470.40f., 8. Sermon auf den Palmtag, 1523.
 - e) WA II 745.27f., quoted above, p. 33.

ertzeyget, ꝑo solltu auch thun dyr und deynem nehisten."^a It is possible to extract a justificaton and argument for social morality out of Luther's insistence on works (whether of Righteousness or Self-Righteousness), but not a specific programme or goal for political action.^b Luther's theology in this respect concentrates on describing the dynamics by which man becomes a *φουσει πολιτικον ζωνον* who will spontaneously act as Christ towards his neighbour and in his life represent the life and name of Christ.^c In so doing each Christian sets an example for others to follow, as well as himself being conformed to Christ as "exemplum": "in hoc imitatur exemplum Christi et conformis fit imagini eius. Nam et hoc ipsum Christus requirit, ut sicut ipse omnia fecit pro nobis, non quaerens quae sua sunt ..., ita vult, ut et nos idem exemplum ad proximos exhibeamus."^d

Indeed it could be argued that because works of charity follow automatically on Justification (Mk. 4.26f.) without the believer himself being able to direct either his Justification or his sanctification (Jn. 3.8),^e it would be quite wrong to define the Justified man's works of Righteousness or to perform them consciously (Mt. 6.3-4). The hidden quality of the individual Christian's life was one which Luther strongly emphasised.^f

-
- a) WA X i I 11.5f., Ein klein Unterricht, was man in den Evangeliiis suchen und gewarten soll, 1522.
 - b) Cf. Bond, pp. 43-44, who attributes a weakness in Luther's thought on social morality to a failure to take seriously a Pauline concept of the Christian body. Whether or not St. Paul did regard the image of the body as a model for society, Bond's assessment is slightly overstated as Luther did in fact have very strong, if relatively undefined, views on the Christian as a social being.
 - c) See Gace's translation of WA II 141.35f. (p. 73); WA VII 35.32f./66.1f., Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen / de libertate christiana; Rupp 1953, p. 315, on the Church as a solidarity of people who have become truly and fully humankind "coram Deo"; and Carlson, pp. 145f., who adds that a caring society can be made up only of men set free, from the need to Justify themselves by works, to act according to each other's needs.
 - d) WA II 147.19f., Sermo de duplici iustitia.
 - e) But see WA VII 66.3, de libertate christiana, which appears to contradict or at least to qualify this.
 - f) Although the Church itself, he maintained, is visible in the sense that its constituting Word also acts as sacramental sign: "gleych wie man an dem heerpanier erkennet als bey eym gewissen tzeychen, was fur eyn herr und heer tzu felde ligt, also erkennet man auch gewiꝑ an dem Euangelio, wo Christus und seyn heere ligt." WA XI 408.10f., Das eyn Christliche versamlung odder gemeyne recht und macht habe, alle lere tzu urteylen ..., Grund und ursach aus der schrift, 1523.

In the Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi the insistence is on the passivity of the man undergoing Justification: "Die weyll dan solch werck nit ynn unßer hand ist." (WA II 139.19) The result is that a man may be totally unaware of being in a state of saving Despair: "Bey ihenen ist das leyden Chri heymlich und warhafftig / Bey dießen scheynparlich / und betrieglich." (WA II 139.27f.) Nor is he necessarily aware of the action of Faith within him, because that too is a divine gift, bestowed "zu weylen offentlich / zu weylen heymlich". (WA II 140.29).^a Elsewhere, and perhaps more consistently, Luther declares that a man under Justification and sanctification is always unaware of his own true state: "das ... all seyn [Christus] volck ynnewendig und vorborgen ist: aüch vor yhn selber".^b

Luther was even less forthcoming on the subject of choosing works of Self-Righteousness, for the main portion of his personal theological labours was directed towards discrediting Works, to turning men's attention away from their own efforts to be righteous. An explicit theology of Justification by Faith Alone may flourish against a background of popular trust in Works, but in a post-Reformation context a change of emphasis is needed. For that change of emphasis and for appropriate works of Self-Righteousness one need look no further than to the self-emptying which Luther himself attempted and the three principles of Poverty, Chastity and Obedience. For all three can be, and indeed should be, steady reminders that salvation must be sought from without and not within man. The counsel of perfection (Mt. 19.21 and parallels) is an intensification, a sharpening of the Law, for the rich young man has to learn that his 'perfection' in the eyes of the old Law and in his own eyes (verse 20) is still imperfect "coram Deo" (v. 23). In these terms, in the late twentieth century when the practice is no longer regarded as buying heavenly credit, even a pilgrimage could be defended as a legitimate work of Self-Righteousness, despite Luther's condemnation in 1519: "Und leyd' weyt eyngerissen ist / solche falsche zuvorsicht der gnugthuung und walfarten." (WA 140.4f.)

a) See above, p.40.

b) WA IX 196.16f., Luthers Handschrift der Auslegung des 109. (110.) Psalms, 1518.

For Luther's objection, and that of any theologian of Despair, is to the false security^a and false confidence (the two words are interchangeable here) which arise from the misguided use of any work, even from the Cross itself. Hence the urgent concern of Luther in the Sermon to lead his public in the right way of contemplating the Cross of Christ and their own cross.^b The passion of the Lord does not only give rise to crudely and obviously superstitious practices, but it also engenders a false spiritual confidence, a presumption on God's benevolence as if it were a reprieve from the cross - from tribulation, distress, persecution, famine, nakedness, peril or sword (Rom. 8.35): "dā sie das yhre darynnen suchen / darūb tragen sie sich mit bildeleyn un̄ bŭchleyn / brieffen un̄ creutzen / auch ettlich ꝑo ferne faren / das sie sich / vor wasser / eyßen / fewr, unnd allerley ferlickeit zu sichern / vormeynen / un̄ also Christ' leyden / eyn unleyden / yn yhn wircken soll". (WA II 136.16f.) Comfort in the fruits of the Lord's passion - "Christus ... abstulit omnem terrorem gladii, mortis"^c - is qualified by the experience of the "opus alienum dei":^d "ich wil dich todten et vivificare iterum."

Luther's recommendation, in general terms, is for a life of continuing repentance and penitence, a continual experience of disappointment and Despair in works of penitence, so that true repentance may follow: "Contritō vera non est ex nobis, sed ex gratia dei: ideo desperandum de nobis et ad misericordiam eius confugiendum ... Contritio incipit in poenitente, sed non cessat per totam vitam usque ad mortem ..."^e Therefore specific objections may be made to any penitential practice, which actually directs attention away from repentance and Despair. In Luther's day it was the unscrupulous sale of indulgences which called forth

-
- a) Cf. Gace's translation of the (?) pseudo-Bernardine quotation, WA II 138.3f. (p. 69).
 - b) See March, p. 228.
 - c) WA XVII i 80.11f., Predigten über die Passionsgeschichte, 1525; parallel lines 25f.
 - d) WA XVII i 80.12, op. cit.; parallel 1.26f. Cf. Rupp 1953, p.107, on the wrath of God as reversal of Rom. 8.31.
 - d) WA I 322, Sermo de poenitentia, 1518.

condemnation: "Valeant itaque omnes illi prophetae, qui dicunt populo Christi, 'pax pax', et non est pax."^a In Luther's development this is another case where conventional pious language of the religious life has been made more precise, strengthened and incorporated into a systematic theology of the Cross. For earlier he wrote in quite general and serene terms on a matter of business within his order, "Non ... ille pacem habet, quem nemo perturbat, imo haec est pax mundi, sed ille, quem omnes et omnia perturbant, et haec omnia cum gaudio quietus sustinet. Tu dicis cum Israel: Pax, pax, et non est pax, dic potius mit Christo: Crux, crux, et non est crux."^b

The vitiating practices in contemporary Christianity are not, of course, those of the sixteenth century, but they can be no less enervating and no less superstitious. Among Anglican congregations almost magical properties are ascribed in practice to the General Confession and Prayer of Humble Access at the Eucharist. The Alternative Service Book (1980) may confidently describe them as "prayers of penitence", but they seem to be more often used to induce feelings of worthiness before God, and their effect is frequently to discourage more serious consideration of the wrath of God revealed in the Cross. And on a more general level 'spirituality' can be cultivated for its own sake and thus mis-used. "Spirituality" is one of the most overworked words in the contemporary Christian vocabulary. At its best it refers to the glory of the Justified Christian bearing fruit (Jn. 15.5); at worst it means the attempt to experience the security of salvation (see Luther on the experiential side of religion, WA II 139.28f.) or the sheer enjoyment of a supposed Divine without anger (which is also a digression from the Cross - see WA II 136.24f.) or the power to perform great works by-passing the will of the Father, who is neither a dynamo nor a tool for his servants, but a Person who may withhold his grace (Acts 8.19).

An ecclesiology based on a distinction between works of Self-Righteousness and deeds of Righteousness sees the Church in a double light, first as a pre-condition and then as the product of Justification. The

a) WA I 628.18f., Resolutiones ... disputationum de indulgentiarum virtute. Unchanged from the *Disputatio* of 1517 (WA I 238.14f. Cf. Jer. 6.14; Ezek. 13.10, 16).

b) WA Br I 47.31f. (23/6/1516)

first Church is a school of Self-Justification, which continually experiences failure (Song 5.6) and is thus open to the Word. So for Luther the Church is an essential part of call for the man to be Justified: "Die Christlich kirche behellt nu alle wort gottis ynn yhrem hertzen unnd bewigt dieselben ... Darumb wer Christum finden soll, der muß die kirchen am ersten finden." ^a On the other hand, the modern theologian of works of Despair need not follow Luther into a doctrine of intolerance against non-Christians: "Ich glaub, das niemand kan selig werden, der nit ynn dißer gemeyne erffunden wirt, eyntrechtlich mit yhr haltend, in eynem glauben, wort, sacramenten, hoffnung und lieb ..." ^b The essential pre-condition of Despair is hope, which is neither specifically Christian ^c nor necessarily above the level of consciousness in the individual man to be Justified. ^d But the Church as product of Justification, sanctified and made a eucharistic community (Song 7.12) automatically performing good works "auß liebe", is not only the consequence of the first Church by the action of the Holy Spirit. Possession of the Spirit on accepting the Word also leads back to experiencing the need for Christ by works again, and builds the second Church as a community which can act as the first Church to newcomers in a "perpetuum mobile" situation: "wo man nicht von Christo predigt, da ist kein heiliger geist, welcher die Christliche kyrche machet, beruffet und zusammen bringet, ausser welcher niemand zu dem Herrn Christo komen kan." ^e At least, the concept of a "perpetuum mobile" Church on earth forestalls any possibility of the alternating priority of Word and Spirit being understood as a conflation of Second and Third Persons of the Trinity into a relationship closer than that of perichoresis or even into identification as two roles played on alternate nights by the Spirit of God. The result is that the Church is weakened by practices contrary to the spirit of Despair when it is forgotten that the people of God are continually being invited to return to a particular point in the Church's cycle of growth, the Advent penitence of the first Church, or the first stage in the contemplation of the Cross.

-
- a) WA X i I 140.7f., Das Euangelium ynn der frue Christmeß, 1522.
 - b) WA VII 219.6f., Eine kurze Form der zehn Gebote, eine kurze Form des Glaubens, eine kurze Form des Vaterunsers, 1520.
 - c) See above, p.40.
 - d) See above, p.40.
 - e) WA XXX i 189.1f., Deudsch Catechismus.

It is thus no accident that Luther begins and ends his treatise on the right contemplation of Christ's Passion with remarks on Church practice and the Christian's attitude towards his own cross. Sentimentality draws down Luther's angry citation of Lk. 23.27f. and Rev. 1.7 quite regularly in the writings of 1518/19.^a On the other hand, remoteness from the passion of Christ is equally criticised: "Der art seynd die mitten / yn der passion / weyt auß reychen". (WA II 136.24f.) Luther's critique of irrelevant artistic representations of the passion has led some scholars to conclude that he was therefore opposed to passion plays.^b This is, however, to read too much into a passing comment on the over-sentimental strain of religious art in an age inclined altogether to over-sentimentality in passiontide exercises. Quite apart from the question of whether the Mass itself is drama - an issue which has aroused considerable passions among literary critics - or whether the religious drama of the Middle Ages was a direct development from the liturgy of the Church,^c passion plays themselves could be instituted "sonderlich/umb des leydens Christi willen / zu bedencken" (WA II 137.3f.). Their purpose may be not only didactic, to represent a story from Scripture with doctrinal comment in a form more palatable than a sermon: there is no doctrinal reason why, in the sixteenth century, the theatre should not also preach the Law by presenting to those with no imagination the cruelty of the Cross and of mankind. Nevertheless, the medieval religious drama was virtually obliterated in Lutheran areas of Europe as the feast of Corpus Christi was suppressed, and Melanchthon produced a clear denunciation of passion plays.^d

The practical, historical implications of Luther's preaching the Cross are not, however, the main concern here. With one exception: the question still remains of Luther the preacher on the Cross - what did his contemporaries see in him? Obviously they were not responding to a presentation of Justification via Works. It could be argued that they were chiefly moved by the evangelical message of Justification by Grace Alone

-
- a) Cf. WA II 136.23f., 138.4f., 138.9f.; WA I 337.1f., 338.18f., 339.35f., 343.8f., Duo sermones de passione Christi, 1518.
 - b) See T.I. Bacon, *Martin Luther and the Drama*, Amsterdam, 1976 (Amsterdamer Publikationen zur Sprache und Literatur 25), pp. 42f.
 - c) See O.B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages*, Baltimore, 1965.
 - d) See Bacon, op. cit, pp. 44f., 53f.

with its quality of liberation from passiontide exercises: "nit das leyden Christi mehr an zusehen (dan dzhatt nu seyn werck gethan ...)" (WA II 140.31f.) No doubt the aesthetic and rhetorical quality of the Sermon added to its popularity. The prose style, beautiful in its simplicity (see WA II 137.6, for example, or II 141.11f.), the gentleness of its criticism of others (WA II 136.8f., 19f., 27f.) and the unforced repetitions (WA II 136.13f./139.11f.; 137.28f.; 139.27f.; 141.14f.), adds lustre to the work's intellectual appeal; the colloquialisms (many of the doublets fall into this category, as does the proverbial WA II 138.8f.) and the sparing use of technical terms (see WA II 136.31f.) give the Sermon the common touch.

However, the hypothesis may be advanced that the main sixteenth-century appeal of the Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi was in the particular use Luther made of religious fear. Not accustomed to feeding his congregation with spiritual milk, Luther both induced and used existing fears as the experience of a God both justly and by nature displeased, that is, he applied his own, personal religious experience to the general need of the time. His Law-Gospel dichotomy was developed against a background of late medieval Catholicism, so that the Reformation appears as an aspect of Catholicism, both healing, but also living off the characteristic spiritual complaint of the time. But this Permanent Reformation entails a certain passivity towards actual reform of the Church, and as soon as Luther radicalised his practice by accepting Carlstadt's changes in Church life, the Reformation entered a new stage and the balance of Self-Righteousness and fear against Grace and consolation, on which the Sermon depends for so much of its effect and usefulness, was disturbed. The Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi is thus understood to be a characteristic product of the first phase of the Reformation, which in a post-Reformation era needs to be interpreted with an even stronger emphasis on the Law if its contrast of Gospel against Law is not to seem as an invitation to do without Works altogether.

CONCLUSION

We have sketched primarily the merest outlines of a language of God and man in their relationship to one another, following the scattered clues and openings offered by Martin Luther's Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi. The details have been filled in where this is appropriate in a theological work and only where the material has not been entirely adequately covered by Luther scholarship of the past. The language thus developed is a theology of saving Despair, based not on a comprehensive systematics but on a single image, that of Christ Crucified as an icon of the Father's righteous anger, and a single interpretation of that image, that of a Church devoted to good works of Righteousness (Hope) and of Self-Righteousness (hope), committed to a hopeless, undefined political struggle. (It is this single line of interpretation that distinguishes the image of Christ Crucified in a theology from an image used by a creative literary writer, who leaves the reader or listener free to use the material in his imagination in whichever way he pleases. On the other hand, the image of the kingdom of God on earth is left - within certain limits - to the public to interpret; and the initial image suggests another, that of Christ Crucified as a sign of the natural anger of the Father. At the risk of being unfaithful to the spirit of Luther, and at the risk of playing Virginia Woolf among the persons of the Trinity, this image can be extended to a hypothesis of God's becoming himself by an inter-trinitarian "opus alienum" and "opus proprium Dei".) The concentration is on the Despair because this is a key stage in salvation to which the language of "humilitas/humiliatio" or even "resignatio ad infernum" fails to do justice. The emphasis is that each man to be Justified must experience dereliction and the need for monergetic salvation (which is not the same as prevenient Grace).

The theology of saving Despair is not in any way empirical, but entirely experiential in that it centres on man's experience of the Law and its effect on him. On the other hand, Luther sets the influence of both Law and Gospel partly below the level of consciousness of the man being Justified and by so doing universalises his theology from being just pastoral counselling to souls afflicted by the experience of the penance system of the medieval Catholic Church. And by any standards the fare offered by Luther to his public is not conventional counselling of comfort,

but the exaltation of depression into a key position in an analysis of the dynamics of salvation. Thus it can also be said that Luther uses the terms of experiencing God in the "opus alienum Dei" just as images in an analysis of salvation: he does not require of everyone to be saved and neither does he advocate any concentration on the individual experiencing a feeling of proceeding from supposed innocence through the Law to the Gospel.

This theology of Despair is a mythological language because we can speak only in symbols of that which we do not yet know. It is mythological not only because the terms it uses are those of analytical logic rather than of realistic description of temporal succession of emotions of hope, despair and trust in a soul, but also because it has no pretensions to being able to say more than is possible or to suggest more than is really possible by an incorporation of theology into anthropology. On the other hand, this language of God may, in one sense, be taken more literally than the language of, say, a Ground-of-Being tradition because the question "Estne Deus?" is still a reasonable one to ask of a Trinity living in self-sufficiency. The assumption is that God is the wholly Other, that is, the highest possible object of man's love, an "obiectum amabile et admirabile". We do not know him: we experience him; and we experience him initially not as an "obiectum amabile" but as a brutal and beautiful "creator absconditus" (Job 1.21). Logic may construct the image of a God behind the terror and destruction of existence; but faith must assume, hope, trust that such a Divine exists at all, that his "opus proprium" is contrary to the anger man experiences, and that we can ever know him more closely (1 Cor. 13.2; 1 Jn. 3.2).

The language is archaic because it finds a use for terms of a fall in creation, which have found disfavour in recent, post-Darwinian Christian tradition. The world and creation are not here understood as "im Werdenden", but as continually falling away from God and becoming the instrument of Sin, which itself destroys Sin and enables Christ to perform salvation as a salvage operation on man (another relatively recently discredited metaphor). The theology of Despair is, however, also firmly modern in outlook in that the Divine is understood as self-sufficient - although still engaged with man, of no immediate advantage to him. Moreover, for the individual theologian of Despair there always remains the possibility that he is living on the basis of an illusion, that God does not exist, or that the "opus proprium" does not exist, or that pre-

destination is not universal and that it does not include him. And if he is living in illusion then his is a sorry case indeed because the hope of attempted Self-Righteousness impels him incessantly to work for the kingdom of God on earth, to suffer, and, at last, like every other man, to feel the approach of the ultimate sign of the divine anger, his own death (1 Cor. 15.19). Archaic this language may be, but it does match the experience of the people of God and their need for a language that speaks of God approaching man in suffering and leading him to further distress.

Finally it may be objected that this theology of Despair lets a Justification by works (of Righteousness and Self-Righteousness) into salvation by the back door. This is not quite true. The re-emphasis on works performed as a result of Sanctification is to take seriously the supposed reality of salvation. And by stressing the necessity of works of Self-Righteousness in preparation for Despair in preparation for Grace, I am - quite consciously - letting in Works by the front door.

JEMJ

Wokingham, Berks.

Holy Cross Day, 14.9.1982.

APPENDIX

The Text "Von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi"

The work dates from Lent 1519: it was conceived around March 13th. (WA Br I 359.26f), and may well have been in print by April 5th. (WA Br I 367.9f), Luther and his publisher, J. Grunenberg, having worked with characteristic speed. Ein Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi was an immediate success, going through twenty-two separate German editions in three years, and being translated into Latin (for Grunenberg, but not by Luther himself), Dutch and Danish. By 1546 it had been issued in pamphlet form in over thirty editions in Europe, and found its way as devotional tract and model sermon into several contemporary collections of Luther's works. As an actual sermon, it also appears in Poliander's collection, dated to Good Friday, March 29th. 1521 (reprinted WA IX 649-656).

There are four Grunenberg editions of our German text extant (labelled A, B, T and V respectively by Knaake), all of them in quarto, and all of them, of course, published at Wittenberg:

- A (? the second edition) 1519
- B (? the first edition) 1519
- T (based on B) 1520
- V (a reprint of T) 1521

The Latin text was published in the same format at Wittenberg in 1521. Unfortunately, although we can date the first edition with some precision, it is not entirely certain which (A or B) is the first edition. Knaake, for the Weimar edition of Luther's complete works, elected for A on the strength of a copy of A, held by the state library in Munich and inscribed in Luther's own hand to "P Magistro Venceslao ...", i.e. W. Link (WA II 135); Clemen, for the so-called 'Bonn edition' of Luther's selected works, preferred B on the basis of an observation first made by A. v. Dommer in relation to copies held by the city library in Hamburg, that the title-page woodcut shows more signs of wear in A than in B (Clemen I 154). The first edition is not necessarily the best (particularly not if it was rushed into print ready for Passiontide 1519!); nevertheless B is here both assumed to be the first edition and, for that reason, used as the basis for the

appended German text. The textual emendations have been kept to a minimum, and the sixteenth-century orthography retained (except for the distinction between f and ſ). The apparatus - also kept to a minimum for the sake of clarity - gives the principal variant readings from A and T on the basis of WA, together with any supporting evidence from the contemporary Latin translation; the page and line references to the Weimar edition; the biblical references; and translations of the more obscure Early New High German words not adequately covered by the English translation. The many minor variants and printing errors are not given.

The parallel English text is taken from SPECIAL AND CHOSEN SERMONS OF D. MARTIN LVTHER ... Englished by W.G., i.e. William Gace. There are two early editions of this, both printed by Thomas Vautroullier of London, the first (A: 4^o) in 1578, the second (B: 8^o) in 1581. The text given here is that of A: Gace's translation and marginal glosses; together with the very few (minor) variants from B (apart from the many differences in spelling) and the page references to A. Whether it is directly from a German or via a Latin recension (the evidence is not clear), the translation is by sixteenth-century standards remarkably close and accurate, and the glosses scrupulously fair to the meaning of the original: Gace has, as his preface claims, done his work "not finely, yet faithfully", and "used a plaine kynde of stile (yet such as sufficiently expresseth the meaning of the author) and not studied for curious wordes and eloquēt phrases." Gace seems to have been something of a specialist in painful translations of theological authors - between 1577 and 1581 he published five books of them altogether.^a But, in this case at least, his "affectionate regard and reverent respect for Luther's sermons" and his "painstaking assiduity"^b have yielded us a very useful text, and one which remains, apparently, the only English translation available of the Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi.

a) We know almost nothing else about him, except that he studied at Clare Hall, Cambridge 1568-1572/73. (Details in C.H. and T. Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, , Vol 2, Cambridge, 1861, p. 22)

b) March, p.8

(Ein Sermon von der Betrachtung des heiligen Leidens Christi)

(WA II 136) ¶ ³ Czum ersten / Bedencken ettlich das leyden Christi
⁴ also / das sie uber die Juden tzornig werden / singen
⁵ un̄ schelten uber den armen Judas / unnd lassen es also
⁶ gnug seyn / gleych wie sie gewont / andere leuth zu clagen
⁷ unnd yhre widdersacher vordamen un̄ ⁸ vorsprechen / dz
⁹ mocht woll nit Christus leyden / sondern Judas un̄ der
¹⁰ J^ude boßheit bedacht heyßen.
 ¶ ¹¹ Czü andern / haben ettlich angetzeygte mancherley
¹² nutz und frucht / so auß Christ' leyden betrachtung
¹³ k^umen / darzu geht yrre eyn spruch S. Albert zu geschriben
 /das es

3. T adds 'IHESVS' above the text proper

5. 'es' omitted by B, T and Clemen

8. 'vorsprechen' - 'calumniate' (Lat: 'criminari')

A Sermon of D. Martin Lvther of the Meditation of Christ His Passion

(67) First, some doe so thinke upon ye ^a passion of Christ,
 that they are incensed with anger against the Jewes,
 and doe inueigh against wretched Judas in songes and
 reprochfull wordes: and thus they are content, and thinke
 this to be sufficient, euen as they are wont in lamenting
 (68) the case of other, to take pity on them, and to accuse
 and condemne their aduersaries. But that can not be
 called a remembring of the passion of Christ, but rather
 of Judas and Judas his wickednes.

Secondly, some haue noted in their mindes diuerse commodities
 and frutes proceeding of the meditation of Christes
 passion, that saying which is ascribed to Albertus being
 commonly in their

a) 'the'. B

besser sey / Christus leyden eyn mall oben hyn ¹⁴ über
dacht. Dan ob man eyn gantz iar fastet / alle tag eyn
Psalter bettet &c. ¹⁵ Dem folgen sie / blind da hyn / uñ
geratten eben / widder die rechte frucht des ¹⁶ leydens
Christi / dā sie das yhre darynnen suchen / darūb tragen
sie sich ¹⁷ mit bildeleyn uñ bŭchleyn / brieffen uñ creutzen
/ auch ettlich ¹⁸ so ferne faren / das sie sich / vor wasser
/ eyßen / fewr, unnd allerley ferlickeit zu sicheren
/ vormeynen / uñ also ¹⁹ Christ' leyden / eyn unleyden
/ yn yhn wircken soll / widd' ²⁰ seyn art und natur.

18. 'vormeyden'. BT (Lat.: 'existiment')

remembrance, that it is better to thinke upon the passion
of Christ superficially or once, then if one should
fast the space of a whole yeare, and daily in praying
goe ouer the whole Psalter, &c. That they follow hitherto,
being blind and iustly stumbling, contrary to the true
frute of the Lordes passion. Moreouer they seeke their
owne things therein, and therefore they bringe with
them images, bookes, letters and crosses. Some also
goe so farre, that they thinke they shall make them
selues safe from waters, terrors, fire, and from all
daunger, as though the Lordes suffering should be without
suffering in them, contrary to the quality and nature
thereof.

Thirdly, some haue compassion of Christ, lamenting &
weeping for him as being an innocent man, like unto
the women which followed Christ from Jerusalem, who
were reprehended and admonished of him, that they should
weepe for them selues & for their children.

Lk. 23.27f

(WA II 137)

¶ Czū dritten / haben sie eyn mit leyden mit Christo
 / yhn zu clagen / un̄²² zu beweynen / als eynen unschuldigen
 menschen / glych wie die weyber / die Christo vō Jerusalem²³
 nach folgten / und von yhm gestrafft wurden. Sie solten²⁴
 sich selb beweynen und yhre kinder. Der art seynd die
 mitten / yn der²⁵ passion / weyt auß reypen / un̄ von dem
 abschied Christi zu Bethanien / und von der Jūckfrawē²⁶
 Marien schmerzen / viel eyntragen / und kūmen auch
 nit weyter / da kūpt es / das man die passion so vill²⁷
 stund vortzeugt / weyß²⁸ gott / ab es mehr zū schlaffen
 ader tzū wachen erdacht ist. In dieße rothe²⁹ gehören
 auch die /die erlernet / wie grope fruchte / die heylige
 messe habe / un̄ yhrer eynfeltigkeit nach / achtenn sie
 es / gnug wie sie die messe hören / da hyn³¹ man unß furet
 / durch ettlicher / lerer / spruch / das die messe /opere
 operati / nō¹ opere operātis / von yhr selber /auch an
 unßer vordienst un̄ wirde / angenehem² sey / gerad als
 were dz gnug. So doch die messe nit umb yhr selbs wirdickeit³
 / sondern unß zu wirdigen ist eyn gesetzt / sonderlich
 / umb des leydens⁴ Christi willen / zu bedencken / dan
 wo das nit geschicht / so macht man auß⁵ der messe eyn
 leylich unfruchtpar werck / es sey an yhm selb wie
 gut es mag /⁶dan was hilfft dichs / dz gott / gott ist
 / wan er dier nit eyn gott ist? Was ists⁷ nutz /das
 essen und trincken an yhm selb / gesund un̄ gut ist /wan
 es dir nit gesund ist? Und zu bezorgē⁸ ist dz mā es
 mit vielē messen nit besser macht / wā mā nit die rechte⁹
 frucht darinnē sucht.

23. 'gestrafft' - 'reproved and corrected' (Lat.: reprehense
 and admonitē')

25. 'auß reypen' - 'digress' (Lat.: 'digrediūtur')

29. 'er lernet'. AB. 'er lernt' T. (Lat.: 'docent')

Fourthly some so call to mind the passion of the Lord,
 and so consider Christ, that inwardly they are sore
 afraid, yea their reason also or understanding is turned
 into

¹⁰ ¶ Czü vierden / Die bedencken das leyden Christi recht
¹¹ die yhn also ansehen / das sie hertzlich dafur erschreckē
¹² / un̄ yhr gewissen gleych sincket / yn eyn vortzagen
 /Das erschrecken soll da her kūmen / dz du sihest /den
¹³ gestrengē zorn un̄ unwanckelbarn ernst gottis / uber
 die sund und sundere / das er auch /¹⁴ seynē eynigē allerliebste
 /sun hat nit wollen die sunder los geben / er thette
¹⁵ dā fur sie eyn solche schwere puß / als er spricht durch
 Is. 53.5. Umb d'¹⁶ sund willen / meyns volcks /hab ich
 yhn geschlagen / Wz wil dē¹⁷ sundern begeben wā das liebste
 kindt also geschlagē wirt? Es muß eyn unsprechlicher¹⁸
 untreglicher ernst da seyn / dem so eyn große unmeslich
 person entgegē¹⁹ geht / un̄ da fur leydet un̄ stirbt / un̄
 wā du recht tieff bedenckst /dz gottis²⁰ sun / die ewige
 weißheit des vatters / selbst leydet / so wirstu woll
²¹ erschrecken / und yhe mehr / yhe tieffer.

How the
 passion of
 Christ ought
 to terrifie
 vs.

a certaine astoniednes or bashfulnes. Which feare notwith-
 standing ought to procede from hence especially, in
 that we should be put in mind thereby of the wrath and
 immutable seueritie of God prepared for sinnes & sinners,
 forasmuch as he would not graunt to his onely begotten
 and beloued sonne that sinners should be absolued and
 pardoned, unles he did make so great a satisfaction
 for them, as he speaketh by Esay chap. 53: *For the
 transgression of my people haue I smitten him.*

What shall come unto the sinner, when a sonne so exceedingly
 beloued is smitten? It must needes be that there is
 an unspeakable and a most serious and earnest matter,
 where so great and excellent a person doth descend to
 doe good unto him, & suffereth and dyeth for him.

(69)

Fiftly, reuolue deepely in thy mind, and dout not a
 whit, that thou art he which so tormented Christ, forasmuch
 as thy sinnes were most certainly the cause thereof.

(Acts 2.23) ¶²² Czū funfften / das du dir tieff eyn bildest / und
gar nicht zweyffelst / du seyest der / der Christū al²³so
marteret dan deyn sund habens gewi²⁴ßlich than / al²⁴so
schlug un̄ erschreckt sanct Peter Act. 2. Die Juden
/ gleych wie eyn²⁵ dōnerschlag / da er zu yhn allen yn
gemeyn sprach / yhr habt yhn²⁶ gecreutziget / das dreytausent
/ den selbenn tag erschreckt / unnd tzappelnd /
Acts 2.37 zu den Apostolen sprachen / o lieben bruder / was soln
wir nu thun? &c. Drumb²⁸ wan du die negel Christi sihst
/ durch seyn hend dringē / glaub sicher das deynn²⁹ werck
/ seynd / sichstu seyn dōrenn kron / glaub / es seyn
deyn bö²⁹ß gedancken &c.

Thus S. Peter in the second of the Actes, did strike
& terrifie the Jewes as it were with a certain lightning,
when as he sayd unto^a them generally: *whom you haue crucified,*
so that the very same day three thowsand mē were greatly
terrified, and being pricked in their hartes sayd unto
the Apostles: *Men and brethren, what shall we doe?*
Wherefore when thou considerest that his handes were
pearsed with nayles, thinke that it was thy worke:
when thou remembreth his crowne of thornes, perswade
thy selfe that it was thy wicked cogitations, which
caused it, &c.

Sixtly, thinke with thy selfe, that whereas one thorne
pricked Christ, thou oughtest worthely to be pricked
with an hundred thowsand thornes, & that without intermission,
yea & much more grieuously: and that whereas one nayle
pearsed the hands and feete of Christ, thou oughtest
to be grieued and molested with many moe and farre more
sharpe nailes continuallie, euen as it shall come at
the last unto those, in whome the passion of Christ
hath not been effectuall but frustrat. For Christ who
is the truth it selfe will lye to no man, will delude
no man, and that which he attempteth must needes be
a matter of exceeding great importance and wonderfull
high.

a) 'to'. B.

Q|³⁰ Czū sechsten nu sich / wa Christus eyn dorne sticht
 da solten dich billich / mehr dan hunderttaussent³¹ dornē
 stechen / ia ewiglich solten sie dich also³² / unnd vill
 erger stechen / Wa Christo eynd nagell / seyn hend adder
 fūß / durch martert³³ / soltestu ewige solch un̄ noch erger
 negell erleyden / also³⁴ dan auch geschehn wirt / denē
 / die Christ³⁵ leyden / an yhn laßen verloren werden
 / dan dißer ernster spiegel / Christus / wirt nit liegen
 / noch schimpfen / was er antzeygt / muß³⁶ also seyn uber-
 schwencklich.

(WA II 138)

Q|³⁷ Czū siebenden / eynd solchen erschrecken nam sanct
 Bernhard. dar auß³⁸ / da er sprach. Ich meynet / ich
 were sicher / wiste nichts / von dem ewigen urteyll
¹ das ym hymell uber mich gangen war / biß das ich sach
 / das der eynige² gottis sun / sich meyn

35. 'schimpfen' - 'jest'

36. 'uberschwencklich' - 'true in every respect; over-
whelming'

Seventhly, such feare Bernard hath conceiued hereof
 when he sayd: I did play abroad in the streete, and
 in the Kings priuie chamber sentence of death was giuen
 upon me. The Kings onely begotten sonne hearing this,
 layd of his diademe & came forth, clothed in sackcloth,
 his head sprinkeled with ashes, & bare foote, weeping
 and crying out that his seruaunt was condemned to death.
 I beholding him sodenly comming forth, am amased at
 the straungenes thereof, I aske and harken after the
 cause. What shall I doe? shall I play still and delude
 his teares? Alas (sayth he) it is no time now to play,
 it is no time to be secure, when so weighty a matter
 is in hande. So he bad the women that they should not
 weepe for him, but for them selues and for their children,
 and he adioyneth the cause: *For if they doe these
 thinges to a greene tree, what shal be done to the drie?*
 as if he sayd: learne what ye obtaine by my passion,
 and howsoever thinges fall out, yet this is true and
 knowne among you, that the whelpe is sometime smitten,

Lk. 23.28 erbarmet / erfurtrit / unnd yn das selb urteyll / sich
³fur mich ergibt. A we / es ist myr nit mer zu spielen
/ und sicher zu seyn / wann ein ⁴solcher ernst da hynden
ist. Also gepott er den weybernn. Weynet nit uber
⁵mich / sondern uber euch selb und uber ewer kinder.
Lk. 23.31 Und sagt ursach / dan thut mā ⁶also / dem grunen holtz
was will mit dem durren geschehn? Alß sollt er ⁷sagen
/ auß meynner marter lernet was yhr vordienet / unnd
wie es auch gehn ⁸soll / dan hie ist es war / das eyn
kleyne brecklin geschlagen wirt / dem gro⁹ßen hundt zum
Rev. 1-7^a schrecken. Also hatt der Prophet auch gesagt / Es sollen
sich selb ¹⁰uber yhn clagen all geschlecht der erden /spricht
nit / sie sollen yhn clagen / ¹¹sondern sich selb uber
yhm clagen. Also erschrocken auch die Act. 2. Wie
Acts 2.37 ¹²oben gesagt / Das sie zu den Apostolen sagten / O bruder /
was sollen wir thun

7. 'leret'. ABT; Clemen. 'auch' ABT. Amended 'euch'
WA, Clem (Lat.: 'quid vos mereamini discite, at(que)
vtcun(que) res cadent').
a) Omitted WA. Clemen: Ps. 24 (23). 6

(70)

that the bandogge or mastiue may be terrified. So also
the Prophet hath spoken: *All kindreds of the earth shall
waile before him.* He sayd not, they shall bewaile him,
but *they shall waile before him.* Moreouer they were
sore afraid, of whom it is before spoken, so that they
sayde unto the Apostles Act. 2: *Men and brethren, what
shall we doe?*
Eightly, that this affection may be wrought in us, the
Lords passion is very diligently to be considered of
and meditated upon, forasmuch as the most certaine profite
thereof doth much consist herein, that a man may come
to the knowledge of him selfe, and tremble and be troubled
before him selfe: whereunto he that doth not come,
hath not yet attained unto the due profite of the Lordes

By considera
tion of
Christs pas-
sion we
ought to come
to the know-
ledge of our
selues

Lam. 3.20^a

¹³Item also singt die Kirche. Ich will fleysig daran
gedenckē un̄ so wirt ¹⁴yhn mir vorschmachtē meyn seell.
¹⁵¶ Czum achten / yn dießem punct muß man sich gar woll
uben / dan fast ¹⁶d' nutz des leydens Christi / gar daran
gelegen ist / das der mēsch zu seyns selb ¹⁷erkentnis
kūme / und fur yhm selbs erschrecke un̄ zur schlagen
werde. Und ¹⁸wo der mensch nit do hyn kōmet / ist yhm
das leyden Christi noch nit recht nutz worden / dan
das eygene naturlich werck des leydens Christi ist / das
²⁰es yhm den menschen gleychformig mache / das wie Christus
/ am leyb un̄ seel ²¹iamerlich yn unßern sunden gemartert
wirt / müssen wir auch yhm nach also ²²gemartert werden
ym gewissen von unßern sunden. Es geht auch hie nit
zu / mit ²³vielen worten / sondern mit tieffen

a) Omitted WA. Clemen: Ezek. 16.63.

A *Similitude*

passion. For the passion of Christ hath this proper
and naturall vertue, to make a man like unto him, that
even as he was grievously tormented both in body and
mind for our sinnes: so we also to imitat him must
be afflicted in the knowledge of our sinnes. Howbeit
the matter is not here done in many words, but in depe
cogitation and earnest weping of sinnes. Take a similitude:
as thou hast great cause to feare and tremble, if, when
some malefactor is condemned, for that he hath killed
the sonne of the King or Prince, thou in the meane season,
singing and playing securely as being innocent, art
terrible apprehended and conuicted, that thou didest
suborne the homicide: So thou oughtest to become much
more fearefull when thou doest reuolue in thy minde
the passion of Christ. For albeit the wicked Jewes
be nowe iudged of God and dispersed, yet were they Ministers
of thy transgressions, & thou for ^aa certainty art he,
which with thy sinnes hast crucified and slayne the
sonne of God, as it hath bene sayd.

a) 'of'. B.

gedanckē / uñ groß²⁴ achtung der sonden / Nym eyn gleychnis
 / wā eyn ubeltheter wurde gerichtet / darüb das er eynes
²⁵ fursten odder künigs kynd erwurget hette / und du sicher
 werst / singest uñ²⁶ spieltest / als werst du gantz unschuldig
 / biß²⁷ das mā dich schrecklich angriffe / und dich uber
 wunde / du hettest den ubeltheter dar zu vor mogt / Sich
 hie wurd²⁸ dir / die welt zu enge werden / sōnderlich
 wan das gewissen dir auch abfiele.²⁹ Also vill engster
 soll dir werden / wann³⁰ du Christ⁹ leyden bedenckest
 / Dan die ubeltheter / die Juden / wie sie nu gott gerichtet
 und vortrieben hatt seynd sie doch deyner³¹ sunde

30. 'gerichtet haben und'. BT; Clemen (Lat.: 'Iudēi
a deo sint iudicati at(que) dispersi')

What we must
 do that our
 meditation
 upon Christes
 passion may
 be frutefull

Ninethly, he that feeleth him selfe so hardned and dull,
 that the passion of Christ doth not terrifie him, neither
 bring him unto the knowledge of him selfe, is in an
 ill and lamentable case: for Christes passion is not
 effectuell in him. But nowe it is a hard thing for
 thee to be occupied in these thinges, and earnestly
 bent to the meditation of them: wherefore thou shalt
 pray God that he will mollifie thy hart, and giue thee
 grace profitably to meditate upon the passion of Christ,
 because it can not in any wise be, that the passion
 of Christ should be inwardly and rightly thought upon
 and considered of us, unless God inspire it into our
 hartes. Yea, neither this meditation nor any other
 doctrine is therefore let forth unto thee, that thou
 shouldst boldly rushe upon it of thy selfe to fulfill
 it, but that thou shouldest first ask and desire the
 grace of God, that thou mayest fulfill it, not by thine
 own strength, but by Gods grace. For hereof it commeth,
 that they of whom it is before spoken, do not meditate
 on the passion of Christ aright, because they desire
 not the^a helpe of God thereunto,^b but rather trusting
 unto their

(71)

a) Omitted by A.

b) 'hereunto'. B.

diener gewest / unnd du bist warhafftig / der durch
seyn ³²sunde gott seynen sun erwurget und gecreutziget
hatt /wie gesagt ist.

¶ ³³Czū neunden / wer sich ³⁴so hart und dorre enpfindt
das yn Christus leyden nit also erschreckt / unnd yn
seyn erkenntnis furet / der soll sich ³⁵furchtē / dan do
wirt nit anders aus / dem Bild ³⁶un̄ leyden Christi mustu
gleych formig werden / es geschehe yn dem leben adder
yn der hellen /tzū wenigsten / mustu ³⁷am sterben un̄ ym
fegfewr yn das erschrecken fallen / und zitteren / beben
/ un̄ ³⁸alles fulen / wz Christus am Creutz leydet. Nu
ist es ¹grausam ym todt pett zu warten / Drüb soltu gott
bitten / das er deyn hertz erweiche / und ²laße dich
fruchtparlich Christus leydenⁿ bedencken / dann es

(WA II 139)

36. 'weingsten'. AB; Clemen

owne strength, and following their own inuention, meditate upon it altogether after the fashion of men, and after a sclender and unfrutefull maner.

Tenthly, if one should through ye ^agrace of God meditate rightly upon the passion of Christ, by the space of one day, or of one hower, yea or the space of a quarter of an hower, we would faithfully pronounce of him, that he hath done better, then if he had pined him selfe with fasting the space of a whole yeare, or had runne ouer the Psalter every day. For this maner of meditation doth as it were chaunge a man and almost regenerate him a new like unto baptisme. Then in deede the Lordes passion doth his naturall, due and noble office, it killeth the old Adam, it driueth away all pleasure, ioy and confidence, which may be had of creatures, euen as Christ was forsaken of all, yea euen of his father.

a) 'the'. B.

auch nit muglich ist / das Christus leyden von unß selber
 müg bedacht werden grundlich / gott senck es dan yn
 unßer hertz. Auch noch diße betrachtüg / noch keyn
 andere lere dir drüb geben wirt / das du solt frisch
 vō dir selb drauffallē / dasselb zu volnbrengen / sondern
 zuuor gottis gnaden suchen und begeren / dz du es durch
 7 seyn gnad / unnd nit durch dich selb volnbrengst / dan
 daher ist es kōmen / das die / die oben angezeygt seynd
 / Christ; leyden nit recht handeln / dan sie gott nit
 drüb anruffen / sondern auß yhren eygene vormügen / eygene
 10 weyße darzu erfunden / gantz menschlich unnd
 unfruchtparlich da mit umbgehen.

7. 'es' omitted BT; Clemen

8. 'das die / oben'. BT; Clemen

*We must not
 despeire or
 cease,
 though at
 the first
 we obtayne
 not that we
 pray for.*

Eleuenthly, seeing that such a thing is not in our owne
 power, it commeth to passe that we doe oftentimes aske
 it, and yet do not by and by obtaine it, notwithstanding
 we must not therefore despeire or cease. For that is
 sometimes given for which we haue not prayed, and that
 sometimes is not graunted for which we haue prayed,
 euen as it is the pleasure of God, and as he knoweth
 to be best for us, for God will haue this gift to be
 free & without constraint.

Twelfthly, when as a man thus knowing his sinne doth
 wholly tremble in him selfe, he must especially endeouour,
 that sinnes doe not still remaine in his conscience,
 otherwise meere desperation wil come thereupon, but
 he must shake them of and cast them upon Christ, and
 so unburden his conscience. Therefore see againe and
 againe that thou doe not that which peruerse men do,
 which within the secrets of their hart do vexe & disquiet
 them selues because of their sinnes, and striue with

11
 ¶ Czū zehenden¹² / Wer also gottis leyde¹¹ / eyn tag / eyn
 stund / ia eyn viertel stund bedecht / von dem selben¹³
 wollen wir frey sagen / das es beßer sey / dan ob er
 eyn gantz iar fastet / alle tag eyn psalter bettet / ia¹⁴
 das er hundert messen höret / dan dißes bedencken wandelt¹⁵
 den menschen weßentlich / und gar nah wie die tauffe¹⁶
 /widderüb new gepiret. Hie wircket das leyden Christi¹⁶
 seyn rechtes natürlich edels werck / erwurget den alten¹⁷
 Adā / vortreybt alle lust / freud und zuvorsicht / die¹⁸
 man haben mag von creaturen gleych wie Christus von¹⁸
 allen / auch von got vorlaßen war.

19
 ¶ Czū eylfften / Die weyll dan solch werck nit ynn unßer¹⁹
 hand ist / so geschicht es / das wir es zu weylen bitten²⁰
 / und erlangen es doch nit / zu der stund / den noch²¹
 soll man nit vortzagen odder ablassen / zu weylen kupt²²
 es das wir nit drub bitten / wie gott dan weyß un will²³
 dan es wil frey sein / und ungefangen / Da wirt dan²⁴
 der mēsch betrubt yhn seynem gewissen / un misfelt yhm
 selb ubel / yhn seynem leben / Unnd mag woll seyn / das²⁵
 er nit weyß / das Christus leyden / yn yhm solchs wirckt²⁶
 / daran er villeycht nit gedenckt / gleych wie die andern

them, that by good workes or satisfactions, by farre
 going on pilgrimage, or else by pardons they may become
 safe, and may be made free from sinnes, which can not
 be. And (alas) such a false confidence in satisfactions
 and pardons hath preuailed very farre.

(72)
 What it is
 to cast our
 sinns vpon
 Christ

Moreouer, then^a thou doest cast thy sinnes from thee
 uppon Christ, when thou firmly beleuest that he suffered
 & was wounded for thy sinnes, and that he hath payd
 the ful ransom and satisfaction for the, as Esaias sayth

a) 'when'. B.

27

/ fast an Christus leyden gedencken / un̄ doch nit yhn
 yhr selbs erkenntnis drauß k̄men. Bey ihenen ist das
 leyden Ch̄ri²⁸ heymlich und warhafftig / Bey dießen scheynparlich
 / und betrieglich / und der weyße²⁹ nach / gott oft das
 blat umwend / dz die nit das leyden bedencken / die
³⁰es bedēckē und die messe hören / die sie nit hören / und
 die nit horen die³¹ sie horen.

³²¶ Zum zwelfften̄ / bis her / seyn wyr yn der marter
 wochen gewēßen / und den karfreytag recht begangen.
 Nu kummen wir zu dem Ostertag / und aufferstehung Christi.
 Wan d' mensch also / seyner sund gewar wordē und gantz
³⁵erschreckt yhn yhm selber ist / muß man acht haben / das
 die sund nit also³⁶ / yhm gewissen bleyben es wurde gewiße
 eyn lauter vortzweyffeln draus. Sundern gleych wie³⁷
 sie auß Christo geflossen / und erkand wordē seynd / so
 muß³⁸ man sie widder auff yhn schutten und dz gewissen
 ledig machen. Darüb /¹ sihe yhe zu / das du nit thuest
 / wie die vorkereten menschen / die sich mit yhren² sunden
 ym hertzen beyssen und fressen / und streben darnach
 / das sie durch gutte³ werck / adder gnugthuūg / hyn
 und her lauffen / odder auch ablas / sich erauß⁴ erbeyten
 / und der sund loße werden mügen / das unmöglich ist.
 Und leyd'⁵ weyt eyngerissen ist / solche falsche zuvorsicht
 der gnugthuung und walfarten.

(WA II 140)

chap. 53 *The Lord hath thrown vpon him all our sinnes.*

1 Pet. 2.24 And S. Peter sayth: *who his own selfe bare our sinnes in his*
 2 Cor. 5.21 *body on the tree. S. Paule sayth: He hath made him to be*
sinne for vs, which knewe no sinne, that we should be made
the righteousnes of God in him. In these and such like
authorities thou must repose thy hope with all boldnes,
and that so much the more, as thy conscience doth more
griuously vexe and trouble thee. But if thou shalt
not doe this, but presumest that thou shalt be quiet
by thy contrition and satisfaction, then thou shalt
neuer come unto quietnes, but at the last shalt fall
euen into desperation. For our sinnes kept and medled

Is. 53.6 ⁶ ¶ Czū dreytzehenden / Dan wirffestu deyn sunde von dir
 1 Pt. 2.24 ⁷ auff Christum / wan du festiglich gleubst / das seyne
 wunden und leyden / seyn deyne sunde / das ⁸ er sie trage
 2 Cor. 5.21 ⁹ un̄ bezale / wie Isa: 53 sagt. Gott hat un̄er aller sund
 auff yhn gelegt / und San. Petrus. Er hatt un̄er sund
¹⁰ yhnn seynem corper getragen / auff dem holtz des Creutzs.
¹¹ S. Paul̄. Gott hatt yhn gemacht / zu eynem sunder / fur
¹² un̄ß auff das wir durch yhn / rechtfertig wurden. Auff
¹³ diße und der gleychen spruch / mustu mit gantzem wag
¹⁴ /dich vorlassen / ~~So~~ vill mehr / ~~So~~ herter dich deyn
¹⁵ gewissen̄ martert / Dan wo du dz nit thuest / sondern
¹⁶ / durch deyne rewe unnd gnugthuung / dich vormissest
¹⁷ / zu stillen / ~~So~~ ¹⁵ wirstu nymmer mehr zu ruge k̄men / unnd
¹⁸ must zu letzt doch vortzweyfelden / Dan un̄er sund / wan
¹⁹ wir sie yhn un̄erm gewissen handeln / und bey uns lassen
²⁰ bleyben / yhn un̄erm hertzē ansehē / ~~So~~ seynd sie un̄ß
²¹ viel zu starck unnd lebenn ewiglich / Aber wen wir sehn
²² / daß sie auff Christo ligen / unnd er sie uberwindet
²³ durch seyn aufferstund / un̄ wir das kecklich gleuben
²⁰ / ~~So~~ seynd sie todt un̄ zunichte worden / dan auff Christo
²¹ mochten sie nit bleyben / sie seynd durch seyn aufferstehend
²² vorschlungen̄ und sihest itzt keyne wunden / keyne schmerzen
²³ an yhm / das ist / keyner sunde anzeygung. Also spricht
 Rom. 4.25 ²³ S. Paul̄ Das Christus gestorben ist / umb un̄er sund /

^a
 with within our conscience, and sette before the eyes
 of our hart, are farre stronger than we, and do liue
 immortally. But when as we see them layd upon Christ,
 and to be victoriously conquered of him by his resurrection,
 and doe confidently beleue this, then they are dead
 and brought unto nothing. And yet being layd upon Christ,
 they must not remayne so: for they are swallowed uppe
 in the triumphe of his resurrection. Soe sayeth Sainct
 Paule: *Christ was deliuered to death for our sinnes,*
and is risen agayne for our iustification, that is,
 he hath taken upon him our sinnes in his passion,

a) Omitted by B

24
 un̄ auffestanden umb un̄er gerechtickeit / das ist / yn
 25
 seynem leyde macht er un̄er sund bekant und erwurget
 sie also / aber durch seyn auffestehn / macht er un̄
 gerecht / unnd loß 26 von allen sunden / so wir anders
 / dasselb gleuben.

27
 ¶ Czu viertzehenden / Wan du nu nit magst gleuben so
 28
 soltu wie vorhyn gesagt / gott drub bitten / da dißer
 29
 punct ist auch alleyn yn gottis hand frey un̄ wirt auch
 gleych geben / zu weylen offentlich / zu weylen heymlich
 30
 / wie von dem punct des leydens gesagt ist. Magst / dich
 31
 aber dar zu reysen. Zu ersten / nit das leyden Christi
 32
 mehr an zusehen (dan dzhatt nu seyn werck gethan und
 dich erschreckt) sundern durch hyn dringen / und ansehe
 33
 seyn fruntlich hertz/ wie voller lieb das gegen dir
 34
 ist / die yhn da zu zwingt / das er deyn gewissen / und
 deyn sund so schwerlich tregt. Also wirt dir das hertz
 35
 gegen yhm susse / und die zuvorsicht des glaubens gstercket.

and hath thereby payed the raunsome for them, but by his resurrection he iustifieth us, and maketh us free from all sinne, if so be that we doe beleue this.

What we must doe when we can not attaine vnto this faith, to beleue that Christ died for our sinns and rose again for our iustification

If thou canst not attaine unto this faith, thou must as it is a little before sayd, resort unto God by prayer, forasmuch as this gift is in the hand of God only, who bestoweth it when & upon whom it pleaseth him. Thou maist also stirre uppe thy selfe hereunto: first, not now considering the passion of Christ outwardly (for that hath nowe fulfilled his function and hath terrified thee) but rather by pearsing inwardly and contemplating his most louing hart, with how great loue towards thee it is replenished, which brought him hereunto, that he did beare thy conscience together with thy sinnes with so great and painefull difficultie. So thy hart shall waxe sweete towards him, and the strength & boldnes of thy faith shall be increased. Then hauing entred

(WA II 141) Darnach weyter steyg durch Christus hertz / zu gottis
 hertz / un̄ sehe das Christus die liebe / ³⁷ dir nit hette
 mocht ertzeygen / wan es gott nit hett gewolt / yn ewiger
 liebe haben / ³⁸ dem Christus mit seyner lieb gegen dir
 gehorsam ist / da wirstu finden / dz ¹ gottlich gutt vatter
 (Jn. 6.44) hertz / und wie Christ⁹ sagt / also durch Christū zū
 vatter gezogē / da wirstu dan vorsteen den spruch Christi
 Jn. 3.16 / Also hatt gott die welt ³ geliebt / das er seynen eynigen
 sun ubir geben hatt &c. Das heist dan ⁴ gott recht erkennt
 / wan mā yhn nit bey der gewalt adder weyßheit (die
 erschrecklich seynd) sundern bey der gute und liebe
 ergreyfft / da kan d'glaub ⁶ und zuvorsicht dan besteen
 / unnd ist der mensch also warhaftig / new yn gott
⁷ geporen.

¶ ⁸ Czū funfzehenden / Wan also deyn hertz yn Chro bestetiget
 ist / und ⁹ nu den sunden feynd worden / bist auß liebe
 / nit auß furcht der peyn / so soll ¹⁰ hynfurter das leyden
 Christi auch eyn exempell seyn deynes gantzen / lebēs
 und ¹¹ nu auff eyn ander weyß dasselb bedencken / dan biß
 her haben wir es bedacht / als ¹² eyn sacrament / dz yn
 unß wirckt / und wir leyden / Nu bedencken wir es ¹³ das
 wir auch wircken / nemlich also.

(73)

Iohn. 3.16^b

unto the hart of Christ, ascend higher euen unto the
 hart of God, and consider that the loue of Christ could
 not haue bene shewed unto thee, except the will of God
 by his eternall loue had so appointed, whereunto Christ
 by his loue toward thee did obey. There thou shalt
 find a diuine hart, a good hart, a fatherly hart, and
 (as Christ sayth) thou shalt be drawne unto ye ^a father
 by Christ. There thou shalt understand this saying
 of Christ: *So God loued the world that gaue his onely
 begotten Sonne, that whosoever beleueth in him, should
 not perish, but haue euerlasting life. For this is
 to know God*

a) 'the' B

b) Displaced in B to next paragraph

¹⁴
Szo dich eynn weetag odder kranchheit beschweret / dencke
wie geringe das ¹⁵sey gegen der dornenn kronen un̄ negell
Christi.

¹⁶
Szo du must thun adder lassenn was dir widdert / dencke
wie Christus ¹⁷gepunden und gefangen / hyn unnd her gefurt
wirt.

¹⁸
Ficht dich die hoffert an / sich wie deyn herr vorspottet
und mit den ¹⁹schechern voracht wirt.

²⁰
Stost dich unkeusheit und lust an / gedenck wie bitterlich
Christus ²¹zartes fleysch zur geysself / durch stoche
und durch schlagen wirt.

²²
Ficht dich haß ²³und neyt an / ader rachesuchst / denck
wie Christus mit vielen threnen und ruffen / fur dich
und alle seyne feynd gepeten hatt / der woll billicher
²⁴gerochen hette.

14. 'weetag' - 'physical pain, suffering'

aright, when he is understood of us, not under the name
of power or wisdom (which is a terrour unto us) but
under the name of goodnes & ^aloue. Then faith & confidence
may stand constantly, & man him selfe is as it were
regenerate a new in God.

When thy hart is thus established in Christ, so that
thou art now become an enemy of sinne, and that by loue
and not through feare of punishment, then afterward
the passion of Christ ought to be an example unto thee
in thy whole life, and is now to be considered of in
thy mind after a farre other manner than before. For
hitherto we haue considered it as an outward thing which
should worke in us, but now we will wey it so, that

a) 'of' B

<p>Gal. 5.24</p> <p>(WA II 142)</p> <p>Heb. 12.3</p>	<p>²⁵Szo dich trubsäl adder wa²⁶perley widderwertickeyt leyplich adder geystlich bekūmert sterck deyn hertz unnd sprich. Ey worumb solt ich dan nit auch eyn kleyn betrubnis²⁷ leyden / ²⁸So meyn herr ym garten blut vor angst und betrubnis schwitzt / Eyn fauler schendlicher knecht were das /d'auff dem bett²⁹ liegen wolt. / wan seyn herr yn todts nōten streytten mu³⁰ß. Sich also widder alle laster und untugent / kan man yn Christo stercke / unnd lobsall finden.³¹ Und das ist recht Christus leyden bedacht /das seynd die frucht³² seynes leydens / un̄ wer also sich darynnen ubet / d' thut besser dan das er alle passiō³³ hōret adder alle messe le³⁴ße. Nit das die messen nit gutt seyn /sundern das sie an solche bedencken unnd ubung nichts helffen. ³⁵Das heyssen auch rechte Christen / die Christus leben und namen also yn yhr leben zyhen / wie S. Paul³⁶ sagt. Die do Christo zu gehōren / die habē³⁷ yhr fleysch mit allen̄ seynen begirden̄ gecreutziget mit Christo / Dan Christus leyden mu³⁸ß nit mit Worten und scheyn / sondern mit dem leben und warhafftig gehandelt werden. So vormanet un¹ß sant Pael. Gedenckt an den / d'eyn solchen² widderstreyt</p>
<p><i>In the meditation of Christes passion we may finde remedy against grieffe, pride, lust, anger, enuy, sorrow, trouble, &c.</i></p>	<p>something is to be done of us also. For examples sake: when grieffe or infirmity doth molest thee, thinke howe light these are being compared to the crowne of thornes and the nayles of Christ. When thou must either do or leaue of that which is grieuous unto thee to do or leaue of, thinke how Christ was taken and bound, and led up & downe. When pride tempteth thee, consider with thy self how thy Lord was mocked, and reputed among theeues. When lust & pleasure pricke thee, thinke with how great sharpenes the tender flesh of Christ was torne with whippes, and pearsed through. When anger, enuye, desire of reuenge moue thee, thinke with how great teares and cryes Christ did praye euen for his enemies, toward whom he might more iustly haue shewed him selfe sharpe and rigorous. When sadnes or any aduersitie whatsoever either corporall or spirituall troubleth thee, strengthen thy hart, & say: well, why should not I also suffer</p>

1 Pt. 4.1 von dē bößen mēschē erlyden hatt / auff das yhr³ gesterckt
 und nit mat werdet in ewerm gemüte. Und sanct Petrus.
 Wie⁴ Christ9 yn seynem corper gelydē hatt / So solt yhr
 euch mit solchē bedancken⁵ rusten un̄ stercken. Aber
 diße betrachtung ist auß der weyße kūmen / und⁶ seltzam

(74) a little sorrowfulnes, when as my Lorde did sweat blood
 in the garden for anguish & heavines. Surely he were
 a sluggish and an ignominious seruaunt, who, his maister
 lying at the poynt of death, would be held from him
 with a soft and easie bed.

(74) Lo, thus a man may find strength & remedie in Christ
 against all crimes and offences. This is truely in
 deede to meditate upon the passion of Christ: these
 are the frutes of the Lordes passion, in which he that
 doth after this sort exercise himselfe, doth surely
 without comparison better then if he heard all passions
 or all superstitious Masses. Such also are called true
 Christians, which doe so represent the life and name
 Gal. 5.24 of Christ in their life, as S. Paule sayth: *They that
 are Christes, haue crucified the flesh with the affections
 and lustes with Christ.* For the passion of Christ
 is not to be handled in wordes and outward shewe, but
 in deede and veritie. So S. Paule admonisheth us:

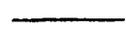
Heb. 12.3 Consider him that endured such speaking against of sinners,
 least^a ye should be wearied and fainte in your mindes.

1 Peter 4.1 And S. Peter sayth: *Forasmuch then as Christ hath
 suffered for vs in the flesh, arme your selues likewise
 with the same minde.* But such meditation is now
 growen out of use and begon to waxe rare, werewith
 notwithstanding the Epistles of Peter and Paule are
 most abundantly replenished.

a) 'lest' B

worden / der doch die Epistolen S. Paul und Petrus voll
 seynd / Wir haben das we⁷ßen yn eynen scheyn vorwandelt
 / unnd das leyden Christi bedencken / alleyn auff die
 brieff unnd an die wendt gemalet.

F i
 N
 i s



- 6. 'dar doch'. BT; Clemen. (Lat.: 'cuius tñ epistolae
 refertissime sunt')
- 7. 'eynem scheyn'. BT; Clemen. (Lat.: 'in vmbratilem')
- 8. WA text finishes at 'gemalet', with footnote that
 T adds below the text proper 'SOLI DEO GLORIA'.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. PRIMARY SOURCES

1. Early Printed Texts

Eyn Sermon von der betrach=//tung des heyligen leydens // Christi D.
Martini Luther zu // Wittenberg
[Johann Rhau - Grunenberg], Wittenberg, 1519

SERMO DOCT. MARTINI // Lvtheri VVittembergensis de Medi=//tatione
Dominicę Passionis e // vernaculo in latinu // versus
[Johann Rhau - Grunenberg], Wittenberg, 1521

SPECIAL AND CHO=//SEN SERMONS OF D. MARTIN // LVTHER, COLLECTED OVT OF
HIS // writings and preachings for the necessary instruction and
edification of // such, as hunger and seeke after the perfect know-
ledge and ine=//stimable glorie which is in Christ Iesu, to the
comfort and // saluation of their soules. // Englished by W. G[ace]
Thomas Vautroullier, London, 1578
(Second edition: Thomas Vautroullier, London 1581)

2. Modern Editions

Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, ed. J.K.F. Knaake et al.
Weimar, 1883-

Luthers Werke in Auswahl, ed. O. Clemen
⁶Berlin, 1966- [1912]

Der Glaube der Reformatoren. Luther. Zwingli. Calvin, ed. F. Lau
Bremen, 1964
(Klassiker der Protestantismus 2; Sammlung Dietrich 267)

Patrologia Cursus Completus. Series Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne
Paris, 1844-

Sancti Bernardi Opera, ed. J. Lederqc et al.
Rome, 1957-

B. SECONDARY SOURCES

1. Reference Works

K. Aland et al., Hilfsbuch zum Lutherstudium
³Witten, 1970 [1956]

R.H. Bainton, E.W. Gritsch, Bibliography of the Continental Reformation. Materials available in English
²Hamden, Conn., 1972 [1935]

J. Benzing, H. Claus, Lutherbibliographie. Verzeichnis der gedruckten Schriften Martin Luthers bis zu dessen Tod
 Baden-Baden, 1965/66

Dictionnaire de Spiritualité : art. *Luther* by J. Wicks
 Paris, 1976 (offprint 1978: D.S.8)

W.A. Jackson et al., A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English books printed abroad 1475-1640
²London, 1976 [A.W. Pollard, G.R. Redgrave et al., 1926]

2. Biography

R.H. Bainton, Here I Stand: a life of Martin Luther
 New York, 1950

M. Brecht, Martin Luther. Sein Weg zur Reformation 1483-1521
 Stuttgart, 1981

R.H. Fife, The Revolt of Martin Luther
 New York, 1957

E.G. Rupp, Luther's Progress to the Diet of Worms 1521
 London, 1951

J.M. Todd, Luther. A Life
 London, 1982

3. Historical Background

A.G. Dickens, Martin Luther and the Reformation
 London, 1967

A.G. Dickens, The German Nation and Martin Luther
 London/New York, 1974

G.R. Elton, Reformation Europe 1517-1559
 London, 1963 (Fontana History of Europe)

G.R. Elton (ed.), The New Cambridge Modern History: Vol. II The Reformation 1520-1559
 Cambridge, 1958

H.J. Hillerbrand, The World of the Reformation
New York, 1973

H. Jedin, J. Dolan (ed.), Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte: Vol. IV
Reformation, Katholische Reform und Gegenreformation
²Freiberg i.B., 1967

D. Olivier (tr. J. Tonkin), The Trial of Luther
London/Oxford, 1978
(Le procès Luther, 1517-1521, Paris, 1971)

4. Luther as Preacher

E.H. Bond, Luther as a Preacher
Unpubl. diss., University of Birmingham, 1964

T. Coates, *Luther's Picture of Christ on the Basis of the Church Postil*
CTM 1949 (Vol. 20.4, pp. 16-267) Sermons

G. Heintze, Luthers Predigt von Gesetz und Evangelium
Munich, 1958 (FGLP Ser. 10, Vol. 11)

E.C. Kiessling, The Early Sermons of Luther and their relation to the
Pre-Reformation Sermon
Diss., Grand Rapids, Mich., 1935 (repr. 1978)

D.S. March, Martin Luther as Preacher: a stylistic analysis of his
sermons (1515-1525) with special reference to his presentation of the
primitive kerygma
Unpubl. diss., University of London, 1967

U. Nembach, Predigt des Evangeliums. Luther als Prediger, Pädagoge
und Rhetor
Neukirchen, 1972

5. Luther as Theologian

W. Allgaier, Der „Fröhliche Wechsel“ bei Martin Luther. Eine
Untersuchung zu Christologie und Soteriologie bei Luther unter
besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schriften bis 1521
Diss., Erlangen, 1966

P. Althaus, Die Theologie Martin Luthers
^sGütersloh, 1980 [1963]

U. Asendorf, *Kreuz und Auferstehung bei Luther*
In: Die Heilsbedeutung von Kreuz und Auferstehung Jesu Christi
Berlin/Hamburg, 1970 (Fuldaer Hefte 20)

H. Beintker, Die Überwindung der Anfechtung bei Luther. Eine Studie
zu seiner Theologie nach den Operationes in Psalmos 1519-21
Berlin, 1954 (Theologische Arbeiten 1)

- T. Bohlin, Den korsfäste skaparen Förhållandet skapelse-frälsning i Luthers teologi mot bakgrund av skolastiskt tänkande
Stockholm, 1952
- P. Bühler, Die Anfechtung bei Martin Luther
Zurich, 1942 (Theologische Dissertationen 3)
- A.E. Carlson, *Luther and the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit*
LQ 1959 (Vol. 11, pp. 135-146)
- J. Dillenberger, God Hidden and Revealed. The interpretation of Luther's 'deus absconditus' and its significance for religious thought.
Philadelphia, 1953
- M. Gebrehiwet, Christ-Mysticism in the Theology and Spirituality of Martin Luther
Diss., Ann Arbor, 1976
- E. Grislis, *Luther's Understanding of the Wrath of God*
JR 1961 (Vol. 41, pp. 277-292)
- G.S. Hendry, God the Creator. The Hastie Lectures in the University of Glasgow, 1935
London, 1937
- O. Hof, Luther über Trübsal und Anfechtung
Neuendetteslau, 1951 (Bekennende lutherische Kirche 5)
- K. Holl, Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte: Vol. I Luther
Tübingen, 1932 (^h1921)
- R. Jansen, Studien zu Luthers Trinitätslehre
Diss., Bern/Frankfurt a.M., 1975 (Basler und Berner Studien zur historischen und systematischen Theologie 26)
- M. Lienhard (tr. R. Wolff), Martin Luthers christologisches Zeugnis. Entwicklung und Grundzüge seiner Christologie
Göttingen, 1980
(Luther, Témoin de Jésus-Christ. Les étapes et les thèmes de la Christologie du Réformateur, Paris, 1973)
- W.v. Loewenich, Luthers Theologia Crucis.
^hWitten, 1967 [^h1929]
- T.M. McDonough, The Law and the Gospel in Luther. A Study of Martin Luther's Confessional Writings
Oxford, 1963 (Oxford Theological Monographs)
- J.T. Mueller, *The Concept of God in Luther and Lutheran Confessions*
CTM 1955 (Vol. 26.1, pp. 1-16)
- H.A. Oberman, *"Iustitia Christi" and "Iustitia Dei". Luther and the Scholastic Doctrines of Justification*
HThR 1966 (Vol. 59, pp. 1-26)

R. Prenter (tr. W. Thiemann), Spiritus Creator. Studien zu Luthers Theologie

² Munich, 1954 [1944] (FGLP Ser. 10, Vol. 6)

(Spiritus creator. Studier i Luthers teologi, Copenhagen, 1944)

E.G. Rupp, The Righteousness of God: Luther Studies

London, 1953

E. Sormunen, Die Eigenart der lutherischen Ethik

Helsinki, 1934 (AASF Ser. B, Vol. 29.1)

J.E. Vercauysse, *Luther's Theology of the Cross at the Time of the Heidelberg Disputation*

Gregorianum, 1976 (Vol. 57, pp. 523-548)

E. Vogelsang, Der angefochtene Christus bei Luther

Berlin/Leipzig, 1932 (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 21)

R. Williams, The Wound of Knowledge. Christian Spirituality from the

New Testament to St. John of the Cross: ch. 7 *The Sign of the Son of Man*

London, 1979

H.A. Wilson, The Doctrine of Mortification and the 'Opus Alienum Dei' in Luther and representative Lutheran theologians

Unpubl. diss., Edinburgh University, 1964

