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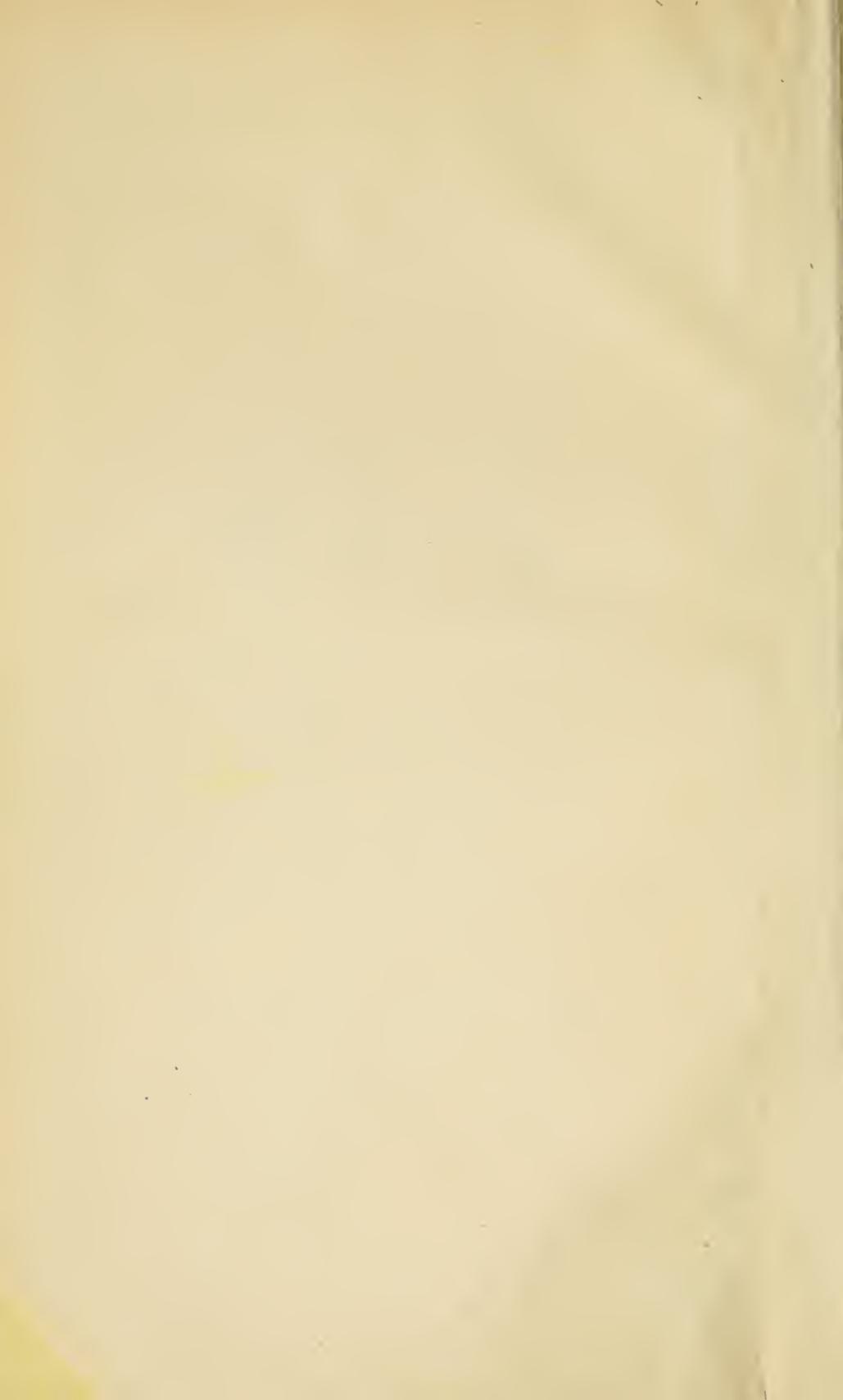


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BEQUEST OF  
REV. CANON SCADDING, D. D.  
TORONTO, 1901.



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COLLOQUIA MENSALIA;  
OR, THE  
FAMILIAR DISCOURSES

OF  
DR. MARTIN LUTHER

At his Table,

WHICH IN HIS LIFETIME HE HELD WITH DIVERS LEARNED MEN,  
SUCH AS WERE

PHILIP MELANCTHON, CASPARUS CRUCIGER, JUSTUS JONAS,  
VITUS DIETRICUS, PAULUS EBERUS, JOHANNES  
FORSTERUS, JOHANNES BUGENHAGEN,  
AND OTHERS.

CONTAINING  
QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

**Touching Religion and other main points of Doctrine;**

AS ALSO

MANY NOTABLE HISTORIES,  
AND ALL SORTS OF

LEARNING, COMFORTS, ADVICES, PROPHECIES, ADMONITIONS,  
DIRECTIONS, AND INSTRUCTIONS.

COLLECTED FIRST TOGETHER BY DR. ANTONIUS LAUTERBACH,  
AND AFTERWARDS DISPOSED INTO CERTAIN COMMON PLACES BY JOHN AURIFABER, D.D.

TRANSLATED FROM THE HIGH GERMAN INTO THE ENGLISH TONGUE,

By CAPTAIN HENRY BELL,

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF DR. MARTIN LUTHER:

By JOHN GOTTLIEB BURCKHARDT, D.D.

MINISTER OF THE GERMAN LUTHERAN CONGREGATION AT THE  
SAVOY, IN LONDON.

Gather up the fragments, that nothing be lost.—JOHN, vi. 12.

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GRAY'S INN ROAD.

LUTHER'S  
DIVINE AND FAMILIAR  
DISCOURSES.

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CHAPTER XXIII.  
OF ANTICHRIST.

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*Luther's Discourse of the Antichrist, or Pope.*

THE head of Antichrist (said Luther) is the Pope, and the Turk together. For a living beast must have a body and soul; the spirit or soul of Antichrist, is the Pope, but his flesh, or body, is the Turk. This devasteth, destroyeth, and persecuteth God's church corporally; the Pope spiritually; yea, also corporally, with hanging, burning, murdering, &c. But like as in the Apostle's time, the church had, and kept the victory, and remained against the seeming holiness of the Jews, and power of the Romans. Even so to this day, she will maintain and keep the field against the hypocrisy and idolatry of the Pope, of the Turk, and against the power of other enemies.

*Of Luther's expounding the Prophecy of the Prophet Daniel,  
(Chapter the Eleventh) touching Antichrist.*

“AND the King shall do according to his will, and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself above every God, and shall speak marvellous things against the God of Gods, and shall prosper until the indignation is accomplished: for that that is determined shall be done. Neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor the desire of woman, nor regard any God, for he shall magnify himself above all,” &c.

This prophecy (said Luther), as all the teachers uniformly do shew, pointeth directly at the Antichrist, under the name of Antiochus; for the same shall regard neither God, nor the love of woman; that is the state of matrimony. Thus it ought to be understood, that the Antichrist shall contemn these two on earth, namely, God (that is religion) and mankind; he will not regard a woman, that is, he will contemn temporal and house-government, he will regard no laws, no jurisdiction, emperors, or kings; for through women, children are born, and brought up, to the preservation of generation, and replenishing of the world; therefore when the same shall not be regarded, then of necessity house and temporal government must also be contemned; yea, all emperors, kings, their laws, rights, and ordinances must be held of no value nor esteem.

Daniel was an exceeding high and excelling prophet, whom Christ loved, and touching whom he said, Whoso readeth, let him mark. He spake of that Antichristian horror so clearly, as if he had been at that time an eye-witness thereof. Read the 11th chapter throughout.

He beginneth at that time when Emperor Caligula, and other tyrants ruled; he saith, "He shall plant the tabernacle of his palace between the seas, upon the glorious holy mount; that is, at Rome in Italy. The Turk ruleth also between two seas at Constantinople, but that is not the holy mount. He doth not honour, nor advance the worshipping of *Maosim*, neither prohibiteth he matrimony. Therefore Daniel pointed directly at the Pope, who accomplished both, with great fierceness and severity. The prophet saith further, "He shall also be forsaken of his Lord." It is come to that pass already (said Luther), that kings and princes do leave him. Therefore I advise that ye give credit to Daniel, and hold for certain that the Pope is the right Antichrist.

Now concerning the manner of religion under the Pope and the Turk, there is no difference, but only in ceremonies; for the Turk observeth Mosaical, but the Pope Christian ceremonies. Yet both of them do sophisticate and falsify their ceremonies; for, like as the Turk defileth the Mosaical bathings and washings, even so the Pope staineth and fouleth the right use of baptism, and the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The kingdom of Antichrist is described and pictured in Daniel,

and in the Revelation of John ; where he saith, " And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them." This (said Luther) seemeth to be prophesied of the Turk, and not of the Pope. But we are forced to understand this text of the Pope's abominations and tyranny, in temporal respects ; as his acts, and our experience witness. It followeth, chapter xii., verse 7, " That it shall be for a time, times, and a half." Now here is the question, what that time is ? If time be called a year, then it maketh three years and a half, and hitteth just upon Antiochus, who so long exercised tyranny among the people of Israel, and afterwards died in his own filth and excrements.

In like manner shall the Pope also be destroyed, without hands, and shall die in himself ; for he began his kingdom, not through power, but through superstition, and external shining, and seeming authority of Scripture ; as, " Thou art Peter," &c., " Feed my lambs," &c. This is the ground on which Popedom is built and grown, and through the same is fallen again ; therefore this prophecy, " He shall be broken without hands," aimeth chiefly at the Pope ; for all other tyrants and monarchs use temporal power and strength ; however, this prophecy in general fasteneth both Pope and Turk ; for they both began their government almost at one time, under the Emperor Phocas, who murdered his own master, Emperor Maurice, together with his empress and young princes, 900 years since. At the same time the Pope began to govern in the church, and Mahomet began to increase ; but the Pope's temporal kingdom, when he began to jeer and plague emperors and kings, hath stood scarcely 300 years.

I cannot define this prophecy, " A time, times, and an half." I would willingly draw it upon the Turk, who began to rule, after Constantinople was overcome, in the year 1453, which is eighty-five years. Now, when I reckon the time according to Christ's age (thirty years), so this sentence maketh one hundred and five years. Well (said Luther), God knoweth how he will deal with it, and how he will deliver those that are his ; our duty is, neither to know, nor to guess at it, but to repent and pray.

Seeing the Pope is the Antichrist, I believe that he is a devil incarnate ; for like as Christ is true and natural God and man, even so is the Antichrist a living devil : therefore it is true what

they say of the Pope, he is an earthly god ; that is, he is neither a proper god, nor a proper human creature, but two natures mingled together ; an earthly god ; that is, a god of this world.

But why nameth he himself an earthly god, as though the only true, and Almighty God, were not God on earth ? Truly, the Pope's kingdom is an horrible wrath of God ; namely, an abomination of desolation, which standeth in the holy place, as Christ saith, " Whoso readeth, let him understand," Matt. xxiv.

God's wrath must be very great (said Luther), that a human creature dare presume (now Christ is come) to exalt himself in the church. If it had been done amongst the Gentiles before the coming of Christ, then it were not so great a wonder. And although Daniel, Christ himself, and his Apostles, did give us warning of that poisoned beast and pestilence ; yet we Christians have been, and still are so doltish and mad, as to adore and worship all his idols, and believe that he is lord over the universal world, under the name and title of St. Peter's successor ; whereas, neither Christ, nor St. Peter, left any dominion upon earth.

To conclude, the Pope is the last blaze in the lamp, which will go out, and ere long will be extinguished ; he is the last intent of the devil, that lightneth and thundereth with sword and bull, who maketh war through the power and strength of others, as Daniel saith, " He is powerful, but not by his own strength," as it now plainly appeareth. It hath been said, the Pope hath more power in one finger, than all the princes in Germany. But the spirit of God's mouth hath seized upon that shameless whore, and in many hearts is so startled, that they regard him no more, which no emperor with sword and power had been able to accomplish ; for the devil scorneth sword and scabbard : but when he is struck with God's Word, then the Pope is turned to a poppy, and to a frothy flower ; that is, to such a flower, which with the sun goeth up, and with it again goeth down ; that yellow flower in the evening is just like a bald friar.

*From whence the Bishop of Rome hath the Name Papa, Pope.*

THE word [Papa] (said Luther) as I think, cometh of the word [Abba] by turning the letters about, as were he a father of fathers ; for by the ancients, in some places, the bishops were called Papa, as Hieronymus writeth to Austin, who was bishop

of Hippo, To the holy Papa, who, notwithstanding, was meaner in degree than Hieronymus. We read also in the legends of Cyprian, who was a martyr of the church, that the judge asked Cyprian, and said, Art thou that Cyprian whom the Christians do call their Papa? So (I conceive) it was a name common to all bishops; like as little children call their fathers Ebbe, so are the bishops in such manner called fathers of the church.

*That every man in Duty is bound to resist that Bear-wolf, the Pope.*

IN the year 1530, the 9th of May, Luther held a very sharp disputation at Wittemberg (which continued three hours) against that abominable monster, the Pope, that bear-wolf, who exceedeth all tyranny and oppression, as he alone will be *Exlex*, will live secure and free, and do according to his own will: yea, and will be worshipped and adored under pain of damnation, and loss of many poor souls.

Therefore whoso regardeth God's honour, and the saving health of his soul, the same ought to withstand and resist the Pope with all his power.

The Pope in his decretals boasteth, that he hath power and authority over all rule and government in heaven, and on earth; that he is a lord over all lords. Surely neither God nor king can or may endure a human creature to speak in this manner. He is a king of asses, his tyranny climbeth up too high, he dared presume to tread emperors and kings under his feet, he suppressed the whole world, and brought it under his yoke; for God with powerful errors blinded the world, as Daniel saith, until the indignation be accomplished.

I hope (said Luther) he hath done his worst, and though he falleth not altogether, yet he shall increase no more, but rather decrease. The ancient Popes were more upright and honest; but when they began to look after government and domination, (fearing they might become servants again) then Cain could no longer endure his brother. The Papists ought never to be trusted, though they promise peace by covenants, articles, under nand and seal, or by whatsoever confirmation may be thought sure and sufficient. At the imperial and princely assembly at Nuremberg, they held us in hand with deceitful disputations and delays,

to the end, in the mean time, they might over-run and suppress us. Let us watch and pray in this time of cessation of arms, that through this light of the gospel God's name may be hallowed, &c.

*Of the Pope's three-fold Crown.*

THE Pope hath three crowns: the first is directly against God, for he condemneth religion. The second is against the emperor, for he rejecteth temporal government. The third is against the common people, for he condemneth the state and condition of the house-government, forbiddeth the priests, and other his shavelings, the state of matrimony, and house-keeping.

*Of the Tyranny of Popes against other Popes their Predecessors.*

THERE have been heretofore three Popes, whose treatment of each other was as followeth; As the first was dead, he that succeeded caused all his predecessor's decrees, laws, and ordinances utterly to be abolished; commanded him to be taken out of his grave, and his fingers to be cut off. Now when the second was dead, then the third likewise caused all what the former had ordained, to cease, and to be annihilated; commanded his corpse to be digged up, his head to be chopped off, and the body to be cast into the Tiber; such fine laws and ordinances these Popes made, and used these and the like tyrannies.

*Of Pope Julius.*

JULIUS, the second of that name (said Luther), was an excellent champion in wars and government, he had altogether a worldly brain and understanding; he waged war against the Emperor, the Venetians, and against the French king; and as he understood that his army was defeated by the French before Ravenna, he blasphemed God, and said, Art thou (in the name of a thousand devils) now on the side of the French? dost thou in this manner defend and protect thy church? Then he turned his face towards the ground, and said, Holy Switzer, pray thou for us; and presently sent Bishop Mathias Langen (the cardinal of Saltzburg) to Maximilian the emperor, for aid and assistance. He was in such sort humbled, that he almost fell down at the Em-

peror's feet, imploring his help. And although he was so great a soldier, very rich, and had raised powerful forts, yet he was afraid of the cardinals and Romans. He kept the streets in Rome so sweet and clean, that in his time there were no plagues nor sicknesses. He was a right worldling; every morning he arose early about two of the clock, and dispatched business until five or six; afterwards he took in hand temporal affairs, as wars, buildings, coining of money, &c. They say he had in ready money a treasure of one hundred and six tuns of gold, which maketh ten millions and six hundred thousand rix-dollars. When he lay on his death-bed, he gave, in his will, to those that kept his treasure, two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. He aimed at the empire, and grievously plagued Lodowick, the French king; insomuch, that the king wrote to the universities in France, desiring them by public writings, to smother the insufferable pride of the Pope. If I had come at that time (said Luther), they would, doubtless, have entertained me at Paris with honour; but I was then too young for him: neither was it God's will at that time that I should write against him, to the end people should not think he was thrust from his stool by the strength and power of the French king, but only and alone through God's Word. For when God speaketh but a word, and saith, Jerusalem, fall; Rome, be destroyed, and lie in the ashes; king, yield thyself captive; Sir Pope, come down from your throne, so is it accomplished immediately. In this sort did God confound that mighty Popedom, which was the most powerful of all.

Pope Julius would fain have been emperor; Pope Alexander would willingly have made his son emperor; likewise, Pope Leo made his brother king of Naples, but he was destroyed by poison. Pope Clement was the richest among them all; for he got the great treasure of Pope Julius, and was also the craftiest; yet whatever he took in hand was fraudulent, and merely in vain; he was an Italian, and a Florentine, which maketh as much as three Italians. Moreover he was a bastard, descended of the house of Medicis, which maketh seven Italians. To conclude, a more offensive knave than Pope Clement the seventh, was never on earth. The Italians boasted of Pope Julius thus, Since St. Peter's time, no Pope ever had so great an esteem as Julius, yet God hath startled and weakened the powers and authorities of all these, and now they lie in ashes.

*Of the Covetousness of the Popes.*

POPE Leo was bribed by the Capuchins with four-score thousand ducats, to the end he might leave them unreformed. When he saw the money which they sent lying on a table, he said, Who is able to resist so many harnished potentates? True it is (said Luther), money maketh knaves.

*Of Pope Alexander.*

POPE Alexander (said Luther) was a Maran, that is, a baptized Jew; he believed nothing at all. Pope Julius succeeded him, and was so great an enemy unto him, that he caused all gates, doors, and windows, on which his arms were carved or pourtrayed, to be broken down and defaced.

*Epitaphium Scorti Alexandri Papæ.*

*Conditur hoc tumulo, Lucretia nomine, sed re  
Thais, Pontificis filia, sponsa, nurus.*

That is,

Lucretia call'd, indeed a whore,  
Lieth buried in this tomb,  
Both wife and daughter to the Pope,  
And bride unto his son.

*Of Pope Clement the Seventh.*

THIS Pope (said Luther) that now ruleth is the richest, and therewith the most unfortunate; he is a most wicked wretch, an author of all mischief. He saith, "Rather than I will cease from persecuting the Protestants, I will lead the Turks upon them;" and surely he will also perform it: therefore pray with diligence, and remember this when I am dead, for the Pope goeth about with fraud and deceit to ensnare us, but he shall fail of his purpose, and so shall King Ferdinand. Never came on earth a greater villain (except Satan) than this Pope. He hath riches, power, repute, and authority; the Lord's Prayer is necessary against him, for he hath an evil intent. He hath stirred up the Turks, and brought them upon our necks. He hath lived to

see Rome drowned, ransacked, and devastated, yet he setteth light thereby, insomuch that nothing moveth his wicked heart. He intended to destroy the French king, made a league with the Emperor at Bononia, and now he inviteth the Turk to be our guest. What shall I say of him ? He is the son of a Florentine whore.

*Of the Pope's Sword.*

FORASMUCH as the Papists discern (said Luther to the Prince Elector of Saxony) that they can no longer defend their doctrine, nor protect themselves with the Holy Scripture ; therefore they cry out, and say, We will use St. Peter's keys no more, but will lay hold on his sword ; that is, they have bloody enterprises and counsels, they would willingly destroy and exterminate the memory of us.

*Of Agnes, a Female Pope.*

I HAVE seen, in a great street at Rome (said Luther), which goeth straight up toward St. Peter's church, a Pope, like a woman, cut out in stone-work, with a sceptre and Popish *pallium* ; she carried a child in her arms. No Pope is carried or goeth through the same street, lest he should behold that picture. For a woman named Agnes, born at Mentz, was by a cardinal taken into England in the habit of a boy, and afterwards brought to Rome, where, by the cardinals, she was elected Pope. But she was confounded and discovered in such sort, that, in the aforesaid street, she bare a child. The wretch (said Luther) was served right, and the devil therewith finely flouted his little creature. I much marvel how the Popes endure that picture to stand ; but God blindeth them, to the end the world may see what Popedom is ; namely, altogether deceits, lies, and devilish doings.

*That three Popes have been at one Time.*

IN the time of John Huss (said Luther) there were three Popes at one time, that ruled thirty years together, and each of them excommunicated the other, with kindred and subjects. Pope John the Twenty-third kept his court at Rome. Pope Peter de Luna, at Arragon. Pope Benedict remained on the Italian Alps.

There was an horrible schism, which betokened Popedom's downfall. Now when Emperor Sigismond could not endure the same, he called a council at Costnitz; but the cardinals would yield to no reformation, but set themselves against it, and (*incongruè*) said, *Non est schismam*. The Emperor said, O! know ye not yet *priscianum*? ye should say, *Non est schisma*, not *schismam*. Then one of the cardinals answered the Emperor, and said, forasmuch as we are lords of right and laws, so are we also lords of *priscianus*, and of the grammar rules.

Three Popes were deposed in the same council, and a fourth elected; but Pope John, who had surrendered up his Popedom, thinking to have been elected again, died for grief, as he saw the contrary; in like manner also Benedict: Peter remained stiff-necked.

Pope John was rejected by reason of his wicked and deceitful practices; for he murdered his father, made sale of bishoprics, &c. And when thirty such like articles were openly read against him, he said, Ah! I have offended far above all these, in that I departed from Rome and went over the Alps; had I stayed at Rome, ye should have left me undeposed.

*That Popes of necessity must always be notorious wicked  
Persons.*

POPEDOM (said Luther) hath always been ruled by wicked wretches, correspondent to their doctrine; for as the Creator is, such is also his creatures. As the devil is, who is the author and erector of Popedom, such are also the Popes.

Pope Alexander the sixth had two sons, and one daughter, named Lucretia, with whom both father and sons committed whoredom and bloody incest: the one brother slew the other on horseback for the whore's sake. Cardinal Valentine stabbed another prince, and was prince in his place; wrote of himself, *Aut Cæsar, aut nihil*. Afterwards, Alexander the father, together with his son, invited all the cardinals to a banquet, intending to have poisoned them with a drink out of a flaggon prepared for that end; out of which flaggon, unawares, they filled wine to the Pope, and to his son: the father died thereof; but the son drank sallad oil, caused himself, with his legs upwards, to be hung up, whereby he voided the poison from him again. At last, after he

had committed much evil, and many wicked deeds, he was taken captive by the king of Castile in Spain; and as they were about to execute him, he cried out, in prison, *Misericordia*, desired first to make his confession; then they caused a friar to visit him, and to hear his confession; but he murdered the friar, put on his habit and so escaped. This (said Luther) I have heard at Rome for a most certain truth. Such lives they led; therefore their wickedness was ripe, and must be put to confusion.

In this our time (said Luther) Pope Leo held a council, in which it was decreed, that people from that time should believe the resurrection of the dead; and that no cardinal should have above five whores; the like horror was never heard before.

To conclude: none should be made Pope (said Luther), but an incomparable knave and villain. The bishop of Mentz ought justly at the next election to be made Pope; for he deceiveth people and country. The duke of Bavaria said, the bishop of Mentz weareth a very long gown, and though it were as long again, yet the knave would peep out both beneath and above.

*Whether Peter was the first Pope? and how Riches, Countries, and People came unto the Popes.*

ALL Popish histories say, Peter was the first Pope at Rome; but (said Luther) it is altogether false and feigned. After him, say they, were Lucius, Cletus, and Clement, which ruled one after another; for at that time the church was very small, and these three preached only in houses of good and godly christians, not in public; they contemned not the temporal magistrate. In process of time, the Emperors gave them privileges chiefly for this cause.

They found by experience, that Italy would not be governed by them; for the Italians can endure no chief head, nor to have peace among themselves; therefore, the emperors gave it over to the bishops of Rome, who governed all well, till Pope Hildebrand came, who joined with the Italians and paid the Germans with ingratitude. For the first fifteen Emperors (of which eight were of the line of Charles the Great, and seven of the Franconians) were good and honest, and kept the Italians in subjection. But now they have a right block of this Charles, he can rouse them up with his Spaniards, and teach them manners.

*Of Pope Adrian.*

ADRIAN (said Luther) was advanced to be Pope by Emperor Charles, whose tutor he had been; he governed not long; for he was of mean parentage, a citizen's son at Lovain.

He caused two cities to be painted upon his table; the one, his native city where he was born, the other, Lovain, where he commenced Master of Arts: by the first he wrote, "I have planted;" by the other, "I have watered." But under the two cities the Emperor was pictured, who answered, "I gave the blessing thereunto" (for he made him Pope). Then another, with a piece of chalk, wrote underneath, "God did nothing here."

*Of the Blindness of the Papists.*

THE blindness of the Papists (said Luther) is great and horrible, in that out of the holy Sacrament they have made a sacrifice of reconciliation for the living and dead, &c. And although they now would trim and cloak the same, as if it were a sacrifice of thanksgiving, yet all the Sophists, the Canonists, School-divines, and Sermonists apparently do disprove them; nevertheless they are so audacious as to allege such lies openly.

*How long Popedom shall stand and continue.*

IN the Pope's decrees (said Luther) are many good and profitable sentences taken out of the fathers, and by *Gratianus* collected together. But the Pope hath bereaved them of their power and authority, and brought the same upon himself, will have power and authority alone to rule and conclude in the council how and what he pleaseth, and under the name of God, encroacheth thereupon, whose kingdom shall stand 666 years, according to the number of the beast in the Revelation, chap. xiii. For sorrow of heart began soon after Pope Gregory the first. Afterwards the two bishops of Constantinople and of Rome, falling into dissension and strife about Popedom, until Charles the Great; then the Romish Pope was exalted and made lord over all Kings on earth.

*How and by what means Popedom came up and increased.*

AFTER that the persecution of the church ceased, then presently the Popes laid hold on the government, merely out of covetousness and ambition. The first was Hildebrand (or rather Hell-brand); then they affrighted all people with their bull, or excommunication, which was so fearful a thing, that it descendeth upon the children and posterity; yea, servants were forced to take it upon them. The Pope's deceitful practices were very mild, and had a sweet entrance, whereby they sought applause and love of the people; they liberally promised pardons and remission of sins, were they never so great and heavy; yea, although one should have deflowered the Virgin Mary, or crucified Christ, yet the Pope could, for money, pardon and forgive the same. This power and majesty of the Pope's (said Luther) by God was brought to confusion and abolished through my pen: for God out of nothing made all things, and is able out of nothing to bring all things to confusion.

*Of Popedom's Downfall.*

POPEDOM must needs be brought to the stake, and pay for all. The Pope shall be devoured by friars, his own creatures. The great and innumerable multitude of monks and friars (said cardinal Campeius) produce great unhappiness and evil; for they shake and loosen the fairest monarchy of Popedom, which with great consideration was erected and prepared.

I believe indeed (said Luther) that his prophecy is fulfilled, in that the Rat King is paid home by his own nation. By divinity he cannot be defended, for it is a very cold argument, that his colleagues, the canonists and shaven crew, will in some kind undertake to defend him, by pleading that it has long been a custom. How should the Pope be able to censure and judge, whereas he hath no skill nor experience in causes belonging to temporal government. How foolishly censured he touching matrimonial causes. He hath forbidden his greased retinue to enter into the state of matrimony, notwithstanding he hath commanded the same to be held and observed for a sacrament. But if matrimony were a sacrament, then it could not be by the heathen; for the unbelieving Gentiles have nothing to do with sacraments.

*What it was that startled Popedom.*

IF the Pope (said Luther) had not silenced the prince elector of Saxony, with myself, but had condemned Tetzell and Eck, and had suffered me to live at quiet, then it had not come thus far; but he would needs maintain those two seducers, thundered and lightened against me, and would throw me headlong into hell. Then the truth brake through in such sort, that the Papists themselves were not well contented with the Pope; and it was even right, for no counsel can prevail against the Lord of Hosts.

The books of Philip Melancthon are now gotten into Italy, and received by our adversaries, so that the Pope is more plagued of his own people than of us.

The cardinal of Camers, in his vesper-book, fell upon the Pope, and got the victory; he openly disputed at Paris against his power.

*Of the Pope's Power and Practices.*

IN former time (said Luther) the Pope was very haughty and proud; he contemned every man. His legate, cardinal Cajetan, at Augspurg, said unto me, What? do you think that the Pope careth for Germany? The least of his fingers is more powerful and stronger than all the princes of the empire. But now seeing the Emperor striveth for him; he therefore flieth from the council, maketh between the Emperor and the French king a Twitchmill, without which two he cannot subsist in this dissension. For when the Emperor dieth, then the French king will undertake to fall upon the empire, and take it into possession. In the last election he had near five voices of the princes electors; if he forsake the Pope, then he will call upon the Turk, upon the king of Persia, yea, upon the devil himself, whom the Pope hath on his side *à parte antè*, and before him. He forsaketh not that Twitchmill with the Emperor and French king, but will be sure to hold with one of them; but now he is neutral, carrieth on both shoulders.

A public notary at Rome, named Rote, openly confessed, that only gross lies, and common affairs were handled in open court; but within, in the Pope's cabinet council, were consulted and devised abominable practices and enterprises against kings, princes, and the protestant state.

Pope Julius the second celebrated a fair mass to the devil, on Easter-day, early in the morning, at which time he made a lamentable massacre and slaughter with the French, wherein twenty thousand of Christians were slain. Ah! (said Luther) the wicked wretches strive not for the church, of which they have no care, but only to get wealth and overcome kingdoms and countries.

I hope the legal process of God will proceed against the Pope and his retinue, as it hath begun: for against him the three first petitions in the Lord's Prayer chiefly are directed. Blasphemed and accursed be the Pope's name; his kingdom be destroyed and thrown down; his will be hindered and confounded. I hope the number of friars and nuns shall no more increase. When the Pope's feet are chopped off, then he must creep; for it cannot long stand as it now standeth.

*That the Pope's Knavery and Wickedness cannot sufficiently be expressed.*

I WOULD willingly (said Luther) fall upon the Pope's canons and decrees, his patched cloak. No base name or stile is bad enough for him; his great wickedness and knavery cannot be founded out nor expressed; therefore Christ in one word sheweth it, and calleth him "An abomination of desolation" that standeth on the holy Mount. And St. Peter displayeth him finely, and painteth him out in his colours. St. Paul also nameth him an opposer, or adversary, that exalteth himself above all that is called God. Daniel likewise prophesied the same, and saith, "He shall be proud, and not regard the God of his fathers."

This we have read and read again, and yet understood nothing thereof. But now seeing such abomination is shewed both in God's word, and found out by experience through our wicked lives; such thoughts do arise in me as willingly I would not have; namely, that this acknowledgment of the word will fall again, and that the bright shining light of the gospel will be extinguished. We now know he is properly called the man of sin; for the gospel clearly saith, Christ will come at midnight, when neither day nor light will appear.

*Of the Pope's Livings.*

IT is a mere fable (said Luther) to say that Constantine the Emperor gave to the Pope so much living, land, and people as they boast of. But this I read, that Constantine gave much alms to the poor, and commanded the bishops to distribute the same, by which means they grew to be great lords. But he gave them neither countries nor cities; therefore the world admireth from whence the Popes have gotten such dominions. In former times the Popes were not lords over emperors and kings, but the Popes were instituted or ordained by the emperors.

Lotharius, the emperor (a prince of Saxony), took the power of election from the Pope; for there was a continual strife and dissension in the election. But afterwards they drew it unto them again by deceitful practices, insomuch that they were by the emperors therein confirmed, which was first done in the election of Charles the Great, who by reason of succession, was chosen emperor. Then for a time the empire remained by the posterity in succession. But when no more were living of that descent, then the Pope took upon him the choosing and electing of an emperor. Afterwards came emperor Otto, who ordained seven electors (princes), whereby an end was made of that strife and discord.

*Of Constantine's Donation.*

RESPECTING the donation of Constantine the emperor (said Luther), is a great lie, through which the Pope will claim the half of the Roman empire. And although it were true and had been done; yet it was not in the Emperor's power to give, neither ought the Pope to receive it, according to Christ's saying, "But it shall not be so with you," &c.

*Of the State of the Pope with his new-baked Cardinals, and how God blessed them.*

THE Pope, in one day (said Luther), made thirty cardinals, which were met beyond the Tiber, and received in great state by many thousands of horsemen; all the cannons roared for joy in

a glorious manner. Then came our Lord God also thereunto with thunder and lightning, which so affrighted them that, as Pasquillus writeth, in the church, the little child fell out of the arms of God's mother, and ascended up into heaven, fearing it should, with the rest, be made also a cardinal. On the same day, a priest, saying mass at the altar, lost the consecrated oblate, and for fear spilt the cup; at which accident the Pope cried out aloud, and said, One of these cardinals will prove a poison and pestilence of the Romish stool; which accordingly fell out shortly before the gospel was brought again to light.

When my first positions (said Luther) concerning indulgences were brought before the Pope, he said, A drunken Dutchman wrote them; when he hath slept out his sleep, and is sober again, he will then be of another mind. In such sort he contemneth every man.

#### *How Gerson fell upon Popedom.*

GERSON was the first (said Luther) that began to assault the Pope; but he was not certain of his cause. He durst not venture to express himself quite through, yet he was comfortable to the people, from whence they named him the Doctor of Consolation. He was by the Pope excommunicated and damned. Cardinal Cajetan, at Augspurg, at the imperial diet, anno 1518, called me a Gersonist, because I appealed from the Pope to a general, free, Christian council.

Whoso blameth me for giving way and yielding so much to the Pope at the first, let him consider in what darkness I stuck at that time. Those that never were in Popedom do hold that to warn others touching Popedom are altogether unnecessary; but those that have stuck therein do know it to be necessary, diligently to put the youth in mind thereof.

#### *Of the First Chapter of St. Paul to the Romans.*

I BELIEVE (said Luther) St. Paul, in the first chapter to the Romans, wrote a register of abominable sins and confusions, more by way of prophecy than history. Now the same is fulfilled at Rome. The Pope maketh cardinals not in vain; for every one of them hath a yearly income of thirty thousand

florins, which is given towards the pallium, to the end the Pope, through money and reputation of the cardinals, may be strengthened and confirmed. From hence Daniel saith, "The king will govern according to all his will and pleasure:" for the cardinals in all countries are the pillars of Popedom; in Germany we have many cardinals; likewise France, Spain, &c. Insomuch that the Pope to this day relieth upon his power and sanctity; yea, and that in spite of God Almighty; how sorely soever his power is broken, and his ungodly proceedings discovered and laid open.

*Of the Pope's wicked Practices.*

ANNO 1530, news was sent to Luther out of England, how the Pope with money had corrupted the chief of the king's privy councillors, to the end they secretly should kill the king (who had separated himself from the church), and for their pains would give that kingdom unto them: for one of them was of the royal race, and continually about the king's person. The Pope boasted that he was heir to that kingdom, by reason it was held as from him *per feodum*. But that treason being discovered, they were apprehended and beheaded.

*Of the Papists' Practices.*

THE 28th of June, 1538, Luther got secret intelligence concerning the bloody enterprises of the Papists, and said, The Pope and Papists expect the Emperor's coming; they gather money in all monasteries and bishoprics to levy soldiers, under a pretence of going against the Turks, but they intend to fall upon us on every side. As the bishop of Mentz lately said, It is but a little while to their utter destruction, &c. He intendeth not to depart from Mentz until the Emperor cometh, to the end he may the sooner set abroad the blood-thirsty vessel. But these practices will fail them. God, through his holy angel, will preserve us, and deal with them according to the second Psalm.

I would desire the world (said Luther) to take notice of this one particular, namely, when God-fearing people do earnestly pray, then the stratagems and enterprizes of the worldly-wise are confounded and brought to naught.

*Of the Blindness of the Papists.*

WHEN our Lord God intendeth to plague and punish one, then he leaveth him in blindness, insomuch that he regardeth not God's word, but condemneth the same as the Papists now do. They know that our doctrine is God's word, but they will not allow of this syllogism and conclusion, When God speaketh, we must hear him : now God speaketh through the doctrine of the gospel ; therefore we must hear him. But the Papists (against their own consciences) say, No ; we must hear the church.

Truly, the case is very strange ; they yield to both propositions, but they will not allow of the consequences, nor permit the conclusions to be right. They press through in such a manner, as is written in a decree and conclusion of the Council of Costnitz : for, say they, although Christ speaketh, who is the truth itself, yet notwithstanding an ancient custom must be preferred and observed for a law and ordinance. In this sort do they solve arguments, and answer, when they intend to wrest and pervert the truth.

If this sin of Antichrist (said Luther) be not a sin against the Holy Ghost, then I do not know how to define and distinguish sins. They sin herein wilfully, and maintain the same against the revealed truth of God's word, in a most stubborn and stiff-necked manner. I pray, who would not, in this case, resist these devilish and shameless lying lips ? I marvel not that John Huss died so joyfully, seeing he heard of and understood such abominable impieties and wickednesses of the Papists. I pray, how holdeth the Pope concerning the church ? He buildeth and preserveth her, but only in an external lustre, pomp, and succession. But we censure and judge her according to her essence, as she is in herself and own substance, that is, according to God's word and sacraments. The Pope is reserved for God's judgment, therefore only by God's judgment he shall be destroyed. Henry the Eighth, king of England, is now also an enemy to the Pope's person, but not his essence and substance ; he would only kill the body of the Pope, but suffer his soul (that is, his false doctrine) to live ; the Pope can well endure such an enemy ; he hopeth within the space of twenty years to recover his rule and government again. But (said Luther) I fall upon the Pope's

soul (his doctrine) with God's word, not regarding his body; that is, his wicked person and kind of life; I do not only pluck out his feathers (as the king of England and prince George of Saxony do), but I set the knife to his throat, and cut his wind-pipe asunder; we put the goose on the spit, if we should but only pluck her, the feathers would soon grow again. Therefore is Satan so bitter an enemy unto us, because we cut the Pope's throat; the same doth also the king of Denmark, he aimeth at the essence of Popery.

*Of the Pope's Fall in our Time.*

IT is a great wonder (said Luther) that in this our time the majesty of the Pope (for the most part) is fallen. For all monarchs, emperors, kings, and princes heretofore feared and quaked by reason of the Pope's majesty and power, who held them (with a wink) all at his bay; none durst so much as mutter a word against him. This great god is now fallen; his own creatures (friars and monks) are his enemies, but in that they still continue with him; they do it for the sake of gain, otherwise they would oppose him more fiercely than we do. His wickedness and knavery is now displayed, it being apparent that he hath sent one hundred and twenty thousand crowns to levy murderers and land burners.

*Of the Pope's Crown.*

THE Pope's crown (said Luther) is named *Regnum mundi*, the kingdom of the world; I have heard it credibly reported at Rome, that the same crown is worth more than all the princes of Germany. God placed Popedom in Italy not without cause, for the Italians can make many things as if they were real and true, and yet in truth are nothing: they have crafty and subtle brains

*That the Pope is not the Head of the Church.*

IF the Pope were the head of the Christian church, then the church were a monster with two heads, inasmuch as St. Paul saith, that Christ is her head. The Pope may well be, and is, the head of the false church.

*Of comparing the Pope with the Cuckoo, and the Christian Church with the Lark.*

WHERE the lark is (said Luther), there the cuckoo desireth also to be, for he thinketh his song is a thousand times better than the lark's. Even so, the Pope placeth himself in the church, there his song must be heard, wherewith he overcroweth the church; yet, like as the cuckoo is good for something, but in bringing news that summer is at hand, even so the Pope serveth for this purpose: he declareth unto us that the last day of judgment approacheth. The Papists are the scum of all heretics; for all other heretics do flatter themselves, yea, would die upon it, that they have the very truth. But the Papists do know their cause to be nought, and that they be in error: they damn themselves in sinning wilfully against the Holy Ghost. They will needs maintain, that the public strumpet of Rome is a pure virgin. The bishop of Saltzburg said to Philip Melancthon at Auspurg, What, wilt thou make much disputing? we know very well that we are in the wrong. And when, *anno* 1530, he entered into discourse with him, touching controversies at the Imperial Diet, the bishop said, Ye are but few, we are many, it shall be tried which party will be able to destroy the other.

Cardinal Campeius said, Do ye Germans refuse to be under the yoke and obedience of the Pope? Well (said he), we will cause Germany to swim in blood. These cogitations (said Luther) are too high for my reach. The Pope and Emperor, at this time, must certainly have some wicked exploits in their minds.

*That the Pope is the right Antichrist.*

HEREBY it plainly appeareth that the Pope is the right Antichrist, for those that transgress his statutes, are more severely punished than they which offend against God's laws and Word. In such sort the Pope exalteth himself over and above God. Therefore he is properly called the Antichrist, in that he sitteth in the temple and church of God, and exalteth himself over all that is called God, and that is worshipped. The Turk is not the

Antichrist, for he sitteth not in God's church; he is a wicked beast, for out of God's church is no Antichrist, but the Pope sitteth in the holy church, and taketh upon him the honour and worshipping which is due to God only; therefore the Pope is the right Antichrist.

*Of Ordaining of Priests in Popedom.*

IN Popedom (said Luther) they invest the priests, not for the office of preaching and teaching God's Word, but only to celebrate mass, and to gad about with the sacrament. For, when a bishop ordaineth one, he saith, Take unto thee power to celebrate mass, and to offer for the living and the dead. But we (said Luther) ordain priests according to the command of Christ and St. Paul, namely, to preach the pure gospel and God's Word. The Papists in their ordinations make no mention of preaching and teaching God's Word, therefore their consecrating and ordaining is false and unright, for all worshipping which is not ordained of God, nor erected by God's Word and command, the same is nothing worth, yea, it is mere idolatry.

*The Simple Aspect of Luther's Person deceived the Pope*

NEXT unto my just cause (said Luther), the small repute and mean aspect of my person gave the blow to the Pope. For when I began to preach and write, the Pope scorned and contemned me; he thought it is but one poor friar, what can he do against me? &c. I have maintained and defended this doctrine in Popedom against many emperors, kings, and princes, what then shall this one man do? &c. But if he had regarded me, he might easily have suppressed me in the beginning.

*That the Pope boasteth, that he treadeth in the Footsteps of St. Peter; for such a Falsity he justly ought to lose his Power.*

THE office of St. Peter (said Luther) was not to govern people by force and power, but, as he himself saith, "feed the flock of Christ which is amongst you, taking oversight thereof, not by constraint but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind, neither as being lords over God's heritage, but be ensamples to

the flock." And Christ saith, "Peter, follow me, feed my lambs." But the Pope will be Christ's lieutenant, and pretend to follow the steps of St. Peter, and yet he will not serve, nor minister, but will be served and ministered unto; he will be an earthly god, a god of this world; he will govern and domineer over all emperors, kings, and princes, with great pomp, glory, and power. Therefore such his power, in all equity and justice, ought to be taken from him.

*That we ought to preach sharply against the Pope.*

THERE are many (said Luther) that think I am too fierce and swift against Popedom; on the contrary, I complain in that I am (alas!) too mild; I wish that I could breathe out thunder-claps against Pope and Popedom, and that every word were a thunder-bolt.

*That the Popish Bishops have not equal Power with the Apostles.*

A GREAT difference (said Luther) is between the Apostles and our Popish bishops, for the Apostles were great in a general calling, ordained by Christ himself, who, without rules and examples, could do and deal as Christ and the Holy Ghost instructed them. But the Popish bishops are in a private or single calling, who ought to content themselves, and be satisfied with the examples and rules of Holy Scripture.

*Of the Papists' imagined Antichrist.*

IT is an idle dream of the Papists that they entertain of the Antichrist; they suppose that he should be a single person that should govern, scatter money amongst the people, should do miracles, should carry a fiery oven about him, and should kill the saints, Elias and Enoch.

*Of Pope Clement's Enterprises and Exploits against the Protestants.*

BEFORE the imperial diet was held at Augspurg (said Luther), I marked the wicked enterprises of Pope Clement; I saw perfectly that he was a man of sin, and intended bloody exploits.

For, seeing we know the devil, and what his drift is, how then should we not know his fairest jewel and member on earth, and his resolutions? The chiefest plot and intent of this Pope hath been, and is, by tricks and devices, to instigate the Emperor to leave off, and desist from his happy and prosperous success in the wars in Italy, and to divert his forces into Germany, and with all his power to fall upon the Protestants, and to root us out.

*That the Pride of the Pope and Cardinals spoiled their Cause, and gave furtherance to Luther's Doctrine.*

THE Pope and his retinue (said Luther) relied upon their great power, and thereby they confounded themselves. When first I went to Rome, they called the city, *fontem justitiæ*, the fountain of justice, but I saw that Rome was a whore or a bawdy-house. Anno 1530, at the imperial diet at Augspurg, cardinal Campeius said, cardinal Cajetan (said he) in the year 1518, spoiled our cause touching the doctrine, for he would needs run headlong through by force, but he should handsomely have gone about it, and have used policy, craft, and cunning. The Pope is now confounded in Germany, only some princes as yet protect him, and still hath some places in possession, not by reason of his authority, but by the protection of the said princes. For as Paulus Vergerius, the Pope's legate, in the year 1533 was in Germany, the apprentices and boys at the hall had almost killed him, by throwing at him mire and dirt, as the Pope's mother. After the diet at Augspurg was ended, cardinal Campeius went with king Ferdinand to Vienna, where the people made an image of clouts and rags, like a little cardinal, and set it upon a dog's back; about his neck was tied the Pope's letters of pardons, indulgencies, and seals; and under his tail they hung a swine's bladder filled with peas, and in that sort they hunted the dog through the streets in Vienna. The day after, the cardinal appointed a whore to bear him company that night, who stole from him his cardinal's cross. This cardinal, because he was rich, was by the Pope's son made away with through poison.

*Of Holy Reliques.*

THE bishop of Mentz bragged that he had a flame of the bush which Moses beheld burning.

At the black star at Compostel, in Spain, they show for a holy relique the ensign of victory which Christ had in hell ; likewise, they show his crown, the holy cross, the nails, &c.

*Touching the Holy Relique of the Ass upon which Christ rode on Palm Sunday, wherewith certain Dutchmen were gulled, and rightly set upon the Ass.*

A DUTCHMAN making his confession to a mass-priest at Rome, promised by an oath, to keep secret whatsoever the priest should impart unto him, until he came into Germany ; whereupon the priest gave him a leg of the ass on which Christ rode into Jerusalem, very neatly bound up in a silken cloth, and said, This is the holy relique on which the Lord Christ corporally did sit, and with his sacred legs touched this ass's leg. Then was the Dutchman wondrous glad, and carried the said holy relique with him into Germany. Now when he came upon the borders, he bragged of his holy relique in the presence of four others, his comrades, and shewed it unto them, each of them having likewise received from the same priest a leg, and had promised the same secrecy, they said with great admiration, Lord ! had that ass five legs ? Hence the Italians do jeer the Dutchmen, and hold them for ignorant people. But now (said Luther) we mark and see their knaveries. The Italians are vexed at nothing more than when we disregard them, like as they do us. A Dutch school-master (to disgrace a friar, who in his sermons rejected all good arts and sciences) gave to his school-boys this Latin, *Monachus*, a devil, *Diabolus*, a friar.

*Of the Pope's Robberies.*

I BELIEVE (said Luther) that the Pope appointed and ordained the feasts of St. Sylvester, and Thomas of Canterbury, to be celebrated eight days after Christmas-day ; because the one brought to the Pope the kingdom of England, the other the Romish Empire.

The Apostle St. Thomas was by the Pope held in no esteem in comparison of Thomas of Canterbury. For the Pope chiefly aimeth at this object, that he may keep possession of the livings. And at such times when the empire fell void, then the Pope always gaped after the same. Therefore have I noted and shewn some of the robberies in the Pope's keys, which will vex him much ; for his acts and deeds will plainly appear to agree with my words. It was high time to have this wickedness discovered to the world.

*Of the Papists' shameless Lies.*

THE lies of the Papists (said Luther) are so palpable and apparent, that they themselves thereof are ashamed. Here is a townsman who the last Lent openly dressed, sold, and ate flesh, and as he was called in question for the same, he boldly confessed that he had power so to do by virtue of his butter-letters of indulgences, which gave full satisfaction to the magistrates. The same townsman caused his wife to be buried without vigils and soul-masses, pleaded his letters of confession, in which during her life all her sins were pardoned and forgiven, therefore vigils and soul-masses were altogether needless.

At Orleans, in France, was a woman who gave order, that after her death, no vigils nor soul-masses should be celebrated for her ; afterwards she being buried in a monastery, the friars alleged that her ghost, howling and crying about, prayed that mass might be celebrated for her ; for she was in purgatory by reason of her sins. At last the knavery and deceit was found out and discovered, being acted by a boy ; who for the same, by the king's command, was banished out of the kingdom. To conclude, the Pope's lies are not human, but devilish.

*Of the Pope's Covetousness and Pedlary.*

IN England the Pope receiveth of every one a Peter-penny, that is, a groat, which yearly amounteth to above one hundred and four score thousand pounds sterling. Many of the altarists have scarce twenty shillings yearly income ; yet nevertheless they can maintain themselves well by accidentals and peddling markets, as by vigils, soul-masses, and the like offerings. The

bishop of Mentz, to my knowledge (said Luther) hath lost the annual revenue of 500*l.*, which heretofore he was wont to receive from the consistory, for pardoning of whoring and adultery. The same properly belongeth to the temporal princes and magistrates, who, if they were wise, might bring the same to their coffers. As I intended to know also the spiritual rights and jurisdictions of the church, I read for that end *Summam Angelicam*: The name thereof is falsely given; it ought not to be called angelical, but diabolical; by reason of the exceeding great knavery and sophistry that lieth lurking therein, a man can scarce understand nor know how to find out the same. All the Pope's rights and jurisdictions are also uncertain, and with his devilish lies he jeered and deceived us under the colour of the power of the keys. St. Peter, with very fierce words, describeth the Pope, where he saith, "They are exercised with covetous practices," he speaketh not of human covetousness. Let us but consider (saith Luther) what Pope Urbane the Sixth, Gregory the Ninth, and Bonifacius the Twelfth did, before the council was held at Costnitz: for although the Romanists in the same council were humbled and scared, yet they recovered again, and became haughty, like as now they are startled again and brought into Chorun. Tetzels, in his allegations, behaved himself so grossly, that they were to be felt; he wrote that indulgences were reconciliations between God and mankind; and although people repented not of their sins, yet they were profitable without any sorrow and grief for the same.

*Of the Pope's Keys and Purse whereon he was hanged.*

A PICTURE being brought to Luther, in which the Pope, together with Judas the traitor, were hanged on the purse and the Pope's false keys, he said, this will vex the Pope horribly, whom emperors and kings have worshipped, and now must be hanged on his false pick-locks; it will also much grieve the Papists, for their consciences will be touched, the acts witnessing the Pope's abominable proceedings. Therefore the purse accordeth well with the cardinal's hats and their incomes, for the Pope's covetousness hath been so gross, that in all kingdoms he not only raked to himself *Annates, Palliums*, &c. but also sold for money the Holy Sacrament, indulgences, fraternities, Christ's blood, matrimony, &c. Therefore his purse is filled with robberies,

upon which justly ought to be exclaimed, as in the Revelations, "Recompense them as they have done to you, and make it double unto them according to their works." Therefore (said Luther), seeing the Pope hath damned me, and given me over to the devil, so will I, in requital, hang him on his own keys.

*Of the Pope's Abominations in his Decrees.*

IT is abominable that in so many of the Pope's decrees, there is not so much as one single sentence of Holy Scripture, or one article of the catechism mentioned; for the Pope intended to conduct the government of his church in an external way; therefore his teachings were blasphemous, that a lousy, stinking friar's hood, being put upon a dead body, certainly procured remission of sins, and of equal value with the merits of our blessed Saviour Christ Jesus. This abominable idolatry and blaspheming of God was by the Pope not only permitted, but also confirmed.

*Of the cruel Hatred of the Papists against Luther.*

IT is no marvel (said Luther) that the Papists hate me so vehemently, for I have deserved it well at their hands. Christ more mildly and mannerly reprov'd the Jews, than I the Papists, yet notwithstanding they killed him; therefore they justly persecute me according to their laws and rights; but according to God's laws and will, they shall see him whom they have pierced. The Pope killeth and destroyeth the poor married priests, that receive and observe God's word and statutes, whereas by all their laws and rights they are only to be displaced from their offices. Prince George in that sort hath banished and driven away from Oshitz ten citizens and householders, with twenty-seven children, for the word's sake, whose sighs will cry up into heaven against him, as Jesus Sirach saith, "The tears of widows do fall downwards, but nevertheless they ascend upwards."

*That the Papists will endure no Reformation.*

THE Pope with his crew (said Luther) can in no wise endure a reformation; the very word reformation is more hated at Rome than thunder-bolts from heaven, or the last day of judgment: as

a cardinal said, let them eat and drink and do what they please, but in that they think to reform us, the same is in vain; we will not endure it. Neither will we, that are Protestants (said Luther), be satisfied with them, although they administered the sacrament in both kinds, and permitted priests to marry; but we will also have the doctrine of faith pure and unfalsified, and the righteousness that justifieth and saveth before God, which expelleth and driveth away all idolatry and false-worshipping, which being gone and banished, then the foundation on which Popedom is built falleth also. In the mean time the Papists in Germany are filled with fear; for as we returned from the assembly at Schmalcalden, the priests at Erfurt enquired what was there concluded, whether for their ruin or safety? Philip Melancthon answered them, and said, remember the example at Auspurg. The priests in Franconia make to themselves friends of the unrighteous Mammon, that is, they are confederate with certain princes.

*In what Points we and the Papists disagree, and wherein we may yield unto them.*

WE will (said Luther) that the Holy Sacrament shall be administered in both kinds. In like manner it shall be free for priests to marry, or to forbear. Thirdly, we shall and will in no wise suffer ourselves to be bereaved of the article of justification, "That by faith only in Jesus Christ we are justified and saved before God, without any works, merits, and deserts, merely by grace and mercy:" the same article, above all other, we must keep and preserve pure and unfalsified, if we intend to be saved. As touching the private mass, we cannot stop nor hinder it, but must leave it to God, to be acted by those over whom we have neither power nor command; yet, nevertheless, we shall and will openly teach and preach against them, and shew that they are abominable blasphemies and idolatry. Either (said Luther) we must go together by the ears, or else they, in our countries, must yield unto us in that particular; if it cometh to pass, that therein they yield unto us, then must we be contented; for, like as the Christians dealt with the Arians, and as St. Paul was constrained to carry himself towards the Jews, even so must we also leave the Papists to their own consciences, and seeing they will not follow us, so we neither can nor will force them, but must let

them go and commit it to God's judgment; and truly, sincerely, and diligently hold unto, and maintain our doctrine, let the same vex, anger, and displease whom it will.

*Of the false and blind Doctrine of the Papists.*

THE Papists teach (said Luther) that a man deserveth grace when he doth what he is able to do, and thereby is fitted and prepared to please God and to be saved, insomuch that it can be no otherwise. This doctrine always hath continued, yea also in the time of that high-enlightened man and teacher, Gerson, and hath remained until this my time, and there is no difference between the same and the doctrine or heresy of Arian, only that other words are used.

*Of the Pope's Tyranny.*

OCCAM writeth, that Constantine was the first Christian emperor; for when he had given the kingdom to the Pope, he then by homage of the Pope received it again, and so was made Emperor as by the Pope justly confirmed, alleging that sentence of Christ, "To me is given all power in heaven and on earth," &c.

The Pope drew this Constantine to his own humour, for he would needs be Christ's lieutenant. In like manner the Pope roareth in his decrees, and saith, "Whosoever doubteth of any one word or act of the Romish church, and believeth not every thing that she saith, the same is an heretic." Dr. Wimpling was almost slain, because he doubted whether St. Austin had been a friar or no. In this sort (said Luther) were we captivated, insomuch that we durst not mutter against the least thing.

*Of the empty Arguments of the Papists.*

WHEREAS the Papists see that they have an ill cause, therefore they undertake and labour to maintain and defend the same with very base arguments, which cannot endure the proof, and therefore may easily be confuted.

They say, "The praising of any thing is an invocation; the saints are to be praised, therefore they are to be invoked." I answer (said Luther), no, in no wise; for every praising is not

invoking: married people are to be praised, but not to be invoked; for invocation belongeth only to God, and not to any creature, neither in heaven nor on earth; no, not to any angel.

Moreover, every act of lust and concupiscence, which is done in evil desire, is unseemly and against God. Matrimonial actions are accomplished with evil lust and desire, therefore they are unseemly and against God, and consequently are sins.

*Ans.* Matrimonial actions in themselves are not actions of evil desire and lust; but inasmuch as one married person loveth another, that is God's ordaining, and although such actions accidentally are unclean, by reason of original sin, yet notwithstanding of themselves they are pure and clean.

In like manner, the doctrine of the remission of sins is necessary: indulgences, pardons, and graces are remissions of sins; therefore they are necessary.

*Ans.* The Pope's pardons are not remissions of sins, but are satisfactions for remitting of the punishments, which notwithstanding are mere fables and fictions.

#### *Of the Papists' unsound Reasonings.*

IF (said Luther) we could not convince the Papists by their own books, and with living witnesses, then we must be in the wrong, and they in the right. But who is able to number all their gross errors? *Scotus*, their greatest and chiefest sophist, writeth, that a human creature, by his own natural strength and free-will, is able to satisfy God and his laws, without the assistance and grace of the Holy Ghost, *Ex merito congrui*, whereby he is so prepared, that God giveth him grace, and loveth him: then afterwards followeth *Meritum condigni*, that is, the merit of deserts, as deserving to be made worthy; he further saith, if one can love the lesser good, much more can he love the greater, which is God.

#### *Of the Papists' Abominations.*

IN the time of my being at Rome (said Luther) a disputation was openly held (in which were thirty learned masters, besides myself) against the Pope's power, who boasted, that with his right hand he commanded the angels in heaven, but with his left hand he drew souls out of purgatory; and that his person was

mixed or mingled with the godhead. Calixtus disputed against the same, and shewed, that power was given to the Pope to bind and to loose only upon earth. But when the other outrageously opposed him with exceeding great vehemency, then Calixtus concluded that he spake it only by way of disputation, and not that he held it to be so.

For the space of many hundred years there hath not been one bishop that undertook any earnest care of schools, of baptism, and of preaching; for the same had been too great a labour and trouble for them; such enemies were they to God. I have heard divers learned fathers affirm (said Luther), that the church long since stood in need of a reformation; but no man hath been so bold as to fall upon Popedom; for the Pope carried this style, *Noli me tangere*, touch me not; therefore every man was silent. Dr. Staupitz said once to me, if you meddle with Popedom, you will have the whole world against you; and said further, yet nevertheless, the church is grounded upon blood, and in and with blood must be dewed, sprinkled, and planted. Therefore I would wish that all those which intended to preach the gospel, might diligently read the Popish abominations, decrees, and books; and above all things, well and thoroughly consider the horrors of the mass (for the sake of which idol, God in justice might have drowned and destroyed the universal world), to the end their consciences may be armed and confirmed against the adversaries and present offences.

The books of John Capelle, wherein a comparison is made between Christ and St. Francis. Christ, he saith, is a figure of St. Francis; and affirmeth, that Christ assigned over to St. Francis the seat of judgment, to the end he might save or condemn whom he pleased.

In a monastery at Luneburg, standeth to this day a great altar, wherein is carved the birth, and all the miracles of Christ; also his riding into Jerusalem, his imprisonment, passion, death, descending into hell, his resurrection, and ascension. Just by the same is also engraven the birth of St. Francis, his miracles, sufferings, death and ascending up into heaven, insomuch that they of equal value esteemed the works of St. Francis with the wonderful works and passion of our blessed Saviour Christ Jesus, which was a great and most abominable blaspheming of God.

The Pope is a mere scoffer and scorner of God and mankind;

for he contemneth and derideth religion, the temporal state and civility: and as a proof of the same, his bastard son married the emperor's daughter, and was made a great prince. The Pope in his heart should have been thereof ashamed, if he intended to be held for a priest.

*Of the whoring Priests.*

A REFORMATION being lately made at Wurtzburg among the prebends, they were constrained (said Luther) to put away the maiden and woman-cooks; the same continued for the space of a fortnight (for they could be without them no longer), then they had leave to take them again: but the women-cooks refused to live with the prebends, except they would take and maintain them as if they were their wives; whereupon they took them upon such conditions, and were fain to apparel them anew, to the end they might not be known. I have heard a lock-smith say, that for the space of a fortnight, day and night, he had work enough to do in making keys: for every one of those women would have a key to her prebend's chamber, because formerly they put them away as their whores, but now received them again as their wives.

Such wicked wretches must the church have to be her rulers and governors. In the council of Basil it was decreed, that priests should wear long gowns down to the feet, high shoes, broad hats, and neither red nor green apparel, and that no man should dispute, whether the souls were mortal or immortal. The Pope (said Luther) is a king without God and matrimony, for he hath abolished that which is divine and godly, and also hath altered that which God instituted and ordained in the world.

*Of Tetzels insolent Boldness with his Indulgences, which gave Luther Occasion to write against the same.*

TETZEL wrote and taught that the Pope's indulgences, or pardons, could remit and pardon such sins which one intended and resolved to commit in future. Also he affirmed, that the cross of indulgence, which the Pope had erected and ordained, was of equal power and value with the cross of Christ. These and the like abominations (said Luther), constrained me to oppose and write against the same, not for the sake of any one man, nor for the sake of any preferment or gain.

*That the Pope is an Heretic, and exalteth himself over and above  
God's Word.*

SAINT Austin and others make difference between heretics. A schismatic is one that raiseth divisions and dissensions, professeth the true faith of the Christian church, but is not at union with her, by reason of certain ceremonies and customs; or he is such an evil and a wicked Christian as will hold and observe both the doctrine of faith and ceremonies, but therewith will lead an evil life, and walk in a wicked conversation. But an heretic is one that produceth false opinions and meanings against the articles of the Christian faith without, yea, against the true meaning of Holy Scripture, and stubbornly maintaineth and defendeth the same. The Papists do not call me an heretic (said Luther), but a schismatic; one that prepareth discords and strifes. But I say, the Pope is an arch heretic, for he is an adversary to my blessed Saviour Christ; and so am I to the Pope, because he maketh new laws and ordinances according to his own will and pleasure, and so directly denieth the everlasting priesthood of Christ.

Let us but mark the two points in his decrees, where, with exceeding pompous majesty, he exalteth himself above the Holy Scriptures. He is content to leave the expounding thereof to the fathers, but the censuring of the truth, and right of the same, he reserveth only for the chair of Rome. Therefore he dischargeth against me his thunderings and lightnings, yea, also against his own decrees; for the Pope himself saith (Dist. 8<sup>va</sup>.) Justice must give place and yield to the truth; for that purpose he produceth the example of king Ezechias, who brake in pieces the brazen serpent which God had commanded to be erected. But the Pope dealeth quite contrary to his own laws and decrees; for now he will have, that truth must and shall give place to his innumerable and apparent errors. And indeed it is a grievous case, that the youth have not seen such errors, neither have they any knowledge thereof; they think that the course of the gospel hath always stood in the same state and condition as now it is taught and preached. If (said Luther) we had held God's Word in due honour and reverence, then such abominable errors and idolatries should never have risen nor crept in among us; therefore, loving brethren, let us follow this counsel of God, where he saith,

“This is my well beloved Son, hear ye him.” Let us live and remain by this sweet Son of God, and learned doctor; and forasmuch as the Pope with his greased crew do hate to be reformed, let us therefore leave them to their most detestable, wicked, and abominable errors and idolatries.

*That Popedom denieth the Power of Godliness.*

POPEDOM (said Luther) hath a very fair and glittering external worshipping: indeed, they boast much of God's Word, of faith, of Christ, of the sacraments, of love, of hope, &c. But they utterly deny the power and virtue of all these; nay, they teach that which is quite contrary thereunto; therefore St. Paul very well saith, “They deny the power of godliness;” he doth not say they deny godliness, but they deny the power, strength, and virtue thereof, by false and superstitious doctrine.

Luther (coming from Rome) shewed a table to the Prince Elector of Saxony, which he had brought with him, whereon was portraited, or painted, how the Pope had fooled the whole world with his superstitions and idolatries; namely, the little ship of the church (as they term it) which was almost filled with friars, monks, and priests: these directed and cast lines and boards out of the ship to those that were dabbling and swimming for their lives in the sea; but the Pope, with the patriarchs, cardinals, and bishops, sat behind, in the end of the ship, over-shadowed and covered with the Holy Ghost, looking up towards heaven, whereby, and through which only, those swimming in the sea, in great danger of their lives, were by the waves hoisted up into the ship and saved.

These and the like fopperies and fooleries we then believed as the articles of faith. They blind people, by pretending that they go through much tribulation in this world; whereas they wallow in all the glory, pleasures, and delights of the earth. But let them be assured, in about two hundred years, that the power of all their abominable blasphemies, idolatries, and damnable religion, will be broken, if not destroyed.

And on the contrary, we (who for the sake of confessing God's holy Word in truth, are terrified, banished, imprisoned, and slain here on earth by that man of sin, and God's enemy, the Antichrist and Pope of Rome), at the last day, with unspeakable comfort,

shall take possession of the fruits of our assured hopes, namely, everlasting consolation; joy, and salvation.

*Of the Lasciviousness and Incontinency of the Papists.*

PAUL the Third, before he was Pope, had a sister, the same he gave to his predecessor, the Pope, for a concubine, and thereby deserved to be made a cardinal; then he forsook his married wife, of whom he begat a son, who is now a cardinal. Such confounded pranks have the Popes played, as surpass all human thoughts. The priests were forced to give the Pope (as their pander) a florin for every child they begot of their women-cooks and laundresses: the same was called a milk-penny; he received also as much of the child's mother, and at last it came so far, that all priests were allowed, void of all shame, to keep whores.

Doctor Staupitz hit the bishop of Magdeburg in the teeth with it, and said, You are the greatest whore-master in Germany, for no whore-master hath above fifty florins yearly income, no, not out of the richest bawdy-house; but you have a yearly revenue of above five hundred florins: whereupon the bishop laughed, and said, True; and therewith I maintain and pay the clerks and writers in the chancery.

*At what Time the Article of the Resurrection of the Dead was commanded to be believed.*

IN the council at Lateran, in the year 1515 (which began in the life of Pope Julius, and ended under Pope Leo), it was first concluded, that the resurrection of the dead should thenceforth be believed; and that a cardinal lawfully might keep five whores, but not more, to be his chamberlains for the accomplishing of his wicked lust, but the same afterwards was altered by Pope Leo. Surely some fearful fall and destruction attendeth them, and those that undertake to maintain and defend them; therefore let us pray. The suspicions and idolatries in Popedom were such horrible abominations (said Luther), that if I had not seen them with mine eyes, but only had read thereof, I should never have believed them.

The Pope placeth his cardinals in all kingdoms, the same are pcevish milk-sops, effeminate, and unlearned ass-heads, they lie

lolling in kings' courts, among the ladies and women. The Pope hath possessed all countries with cardinals, and with his papistical bishops. Germany is taken captive with Popish bishops, for I can make an account of above forty bishoprics, besides abbies and cathedrals, which are richer than the bishoprics. Again, there are in Germany but eight and twenty principalities, so that the Popish bishops are far more rich and powerful than the princes of the empire.

On a time, the bishop of Magdeburg (reading by chance in the Bible of the prophets) said, Can I find nothing in this book but how we priests are railed at? And indeed (said Luther), the writings of the prophets are fierce thunder-bolts against false prophets and Popish bishops.

The princes of the empire regard not much, neither do they look thereinto, how and after what deceitful manner the Pope devoureth and swalloweth up the whole world, according to Daniel's prophecy.

*The Book of the Birth and Generation of the abominable Desolation of Antichrist, the Son of Hypocrisy, the Son of the Devil.*

THE devil begat darkness, darkness begat ignorance, ignorance begat error and his brethren; error begat free-will and presumption, out of self conceit; free-will begat merit, merit begat forgetfulness of God, forgetfulness begat transgression, transgression begat superstition, superstition begat satisfaction, satisfaction begat the mass-offering, mass-offering begat of unction the priest, the priest of unction begat unbelief, unbelief begat king hypocrisy, hypocrisy begat trading with offerings for gain, trading for gain begat purgatory, purgatory begat the yearly solemn vigils, yearly vigils begat church-livings, church-livings begat mammon, mammon begat swelling superfluity, swelling superfluity begat fulness, fulness begat rage, rage begat freedom, freedom begat rule and dominion, dominion begat pomp, pomp begat ambition, ambition begat symony, symony begat the Pope and his brethren, about the time of the Babylonian captivity.

After the Babylonian captivity, the Pope begat the mystery of iniquity; the mystery of iniquity begat sophistical divinity, sophistical divinity begat rejecting of the Holy Scripture, rejecting of the Holy Scripture begat tyranny, tyranny begat slaughtering

of the saints, slaughtering of the saints begat contemning of God, contemning of God begat dispensation, dispensation begat wilful sin, wilful sin begat abomination, abomination begat desolation, desolation begat anguish, anguish begat questioning, questioning begat searching out the grounds of truth, out of which the desolator, the Pope (called Antichrist), is revealed.

St. Paul (said Luther) complaineth and saith, "The time will come when they will not endure sound doctrine, but after their own lusts shall heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears: and they shall turn away their ears from the truth, and shall be turned unto fables," &c. In like manner, St. Paul saith, "This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come: for men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy, without natural affection, truce-breakers," &c.

When first I read these sentences (said Luther), I never looked towards Rome, but thought they had been spoken of the Jews and Turks.

No man believeth that these words are the words of the Holy Ghost, who truly warneth and admonisheth us; as also St. Peter, master-like, describeth and painteth them out in his second Epistle, chap. ii.

*That the Popish Church is not the Christian Church.*

WHEN I was at Worms (said Luther) the Bishop of Magdeburg came unto me, and said, I know we have an evil cause in hand, and that your doctrine is right; yet, for some reasons, best known to ourselves, we neither may nor will receive it. In like manner, the Cardinal of Saltzburg said unto me, We know, and it is written in our consciences, that priests justly might marry; and that matrimony is far better than the shameless and wicked whoring which priests drive and use; yet, notwithstanding (said he), we must neither alter nor reform it; for the Emperor will not suffer Germany to be disturbed for the conscience sake. What is this else but flat contemning of God; these are devilish words; and God also contemneth and derideth them again; as we see that emperors, kings, and princes, and all the imperial cities do leave and forsake them.

They can no way defend themselves, but only under the name

of the church ; their raging and tyranny is even against their own consciences ; for they know well that the church is made subject to God's Word, and can be no where but only where Christ is taught and preached ; therefore, no thanks unto them. they must confess that our doctrine is the doctrine of Christ. The wretches know that Popedom is not God's church ; yet they will not hear us, neither will they yield nor permit that God is above the church, but that the church is over and above God ; therefore Popedom is not the church of God.

*Of the Deceits of the Papists.*

IN the monastery at Isenach standeth an image (said Luther), which I have seen : when a wealthy person came thither to pray thereunto (being Mary with her child), then the child turned away the face from the sinner to his mother, as if it refused to give ear to his praying, and therefore was to seek meditation and help of the mother Mary. But if the sinner gave liberally to that monastery, then the child turned to him again ; and if he promised to give more, then the child shewed itself very friendly and loving towards him, and with out-stretched arms made over him a cross. But this picture or image (said Luther) was made hollow within, and prepared with locks, lines, and screws ; and behind it stood a knave that drew the lines and screws ; and in such sort were the people mocked and deceived, who took it to be a miracle, and to have moved by Divine Providence.

*Of the Popish Mass, and how they now disguise and colour it.*

WE have against us (said Luther) the greatest champions, who intend to oppose our apologies, as Smith, Eck, and Rossloffel. Smith is resolved to write against the article of justification ; Eck intendeth to maintain and defend Popedom and human traditions : Rossloffel will oppose the marrying of priests, and will defend the invocating of dead saints. They call the mass an offering, or a sacrifice, which signifieth a mystery.

Well (said Luther) let them approach, I will grease their stilts. The wicked wretches now recant, and with equivocations and coloured words, which they may construe and turn as they please, only to deceive the simple. — They now call the mass a

mystery, which formerly they never would condescend unto; for hitherto they always called the mass an upright and a true sacrifice or offering, which justified, made satisfaction, and reconciled; and have made false thereof, and thereby deceived and cozened people of their money. But now they say it is a mystery; that is, a significant sacrifice; therefore it must needs follow, that it is no upright nor true offering; insomuch that the common people will no more come on, but will seek for restitution of the money which formerly they have been cozened out of, seeing it is not an upright nor a true offering.

*Of Murders acted by the Papists.*

UNDER Pope Leo the tenth (said Luther) were two Austin friars, in a monastery in Italy, who were much moved and sorely grieved to see and hear how unchristian like the Papists dealt both in their lives, conversations and doctrine, and in their sermons they mentioned some particulars against the Pope: but behold, in the night-time, two murderers were sent, secretly to dispatch them, who first cut off their heads, pulled out their tongues, and stuck the same in their hinder parts. These were the Pope's virtues.

*Of the Heads of St. Peter and Paul.*

WHEN I first came to Rome (said Luther), they shewed me the heads of St. Peter and Paul, carved and cut out in St. Peter's church; by which, towards the rising of the sun, were written these lines.

*Ecclesiam pro mare rego, mihi climata mundi  
Sunt mare, Scripturæ retia, piscis homo.*

For sea I rule the church; taking, not much amiss,  
The world for sea; nets, scripture; man for fish.

*Of the Pillars of Popedom.*

THE Pope (said Luther) is the undoubted and true Antichrist, 1 Tim. iv. His castle and fort is, *Moasim*, that is, the mass, as Daniel saith: he called him a devastor of religion, and of house-government: that is, of the true service of God, and of matrimony; nay the Pope hath abolished grace, religion, and faith.

*Of the Year Jubilate.*

IN the old Testament the year Jubilee was the most usual and general worshipping observed every fiftieth year; the same hath the Pope imitated with the golden gate, for it brought gain and money to the Popes: therefore they afterwards changed the fiftieth year into the five and twentieth, then to the fifteenth and seventh year, to the end they might fresh and frequently purchase money, otherwise the time seemed too long for them: *Attamen Papistæ nunc volunt esse justissimi.*

*Of the manner of the Oath of such as recant and will desist from their Errors.*

I, *N. N.* with mouth and mind do openly confess the holy faith in all articles, and in so many as the christian church hitherto hath held and observed, and commanded to be observed. And whereas I have been seduced by and through the Protestant doctrine, in that, contrary to the common use and custom of the holy christian church, I have received the holy sacrament of the altar under both kinds of bread and wine, whereby I have turned myself out of the general christian faith and obedience, for which I am heartly sorry.

I swear by the true living God, my Creator, and by all the saints, that I never will cleave to the Protestant heresy, neither in this nor any other articles, but will condemn and despise the same as heresies and errors; and now and always I will be he that shall shew dutiful obedience to the church. And if in case that hereafter I should again fall into the said heresies (from which God preserve me), that as then, and then as now, I will consent and truly acknowledge, that I have deserved the sharp punishment of the law, which is ordained for such an one to suffer as falleth off from the christian faith; so help me God, and his holy loving gospel.

After this oath taken, then followeth the Popish bishop's absolution.

*Of the Wickednesses of Papists.*

IF I had not been a doctor (said Luther), Satan had made me work enough. It was no slight and easy matter for one to alter the whole religion of Popedom, which was so deeply rooted. But I promised and sware in baptism, that I would hold by Christ and his word; that I would steadfastly believe in him, and utterly renounce the devil and all his lies. And indeed, the oath which I took in baptism is renewed in all my tribulations; without this I could not have subsisted nor resisted my troubles, but they had overwhelmed and made an end of me. I would willingly have shewn obedience to the Pope and Bishops in any reasonable particular; but they would have short and round that I should deny Christ, and make God a liar, and say, the gospel is heresy.

*Of the Papist's raging and Persecutions.*

Two cities in France (said Luther), over which Sadoletus was set, for the gospel's sake, were set on fire, and burned down to the ground; insomuch that the sucking infants were not spared: for this cause John Calvin fled into Helvetia, and admonished them not to consent unto such abominable tyranny, but rather should declare to the king a revocation of the confederacy erected between them.

CHAPTER XXIV

OF HUMAN TRADITIONS.

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*Luther's Discourse of Human Traditions*

THE grievous and detestable ordinance in Popedom (said Luther) sprang up out of mere pride, according to the speech of Christ, where he saith, "They bind heavy burthens, and grievous to be borne, and lay them on men's shoulders, but they themselves will not move them with one of their fingers." They press with great power and authority upon that which they themselves condemn; as lately two Frenchman said, we have seen at Rome that not only on Fridays, but also in the time of Lent, they openly eat flesh: if (said they) one did so in France, he must be burned to ashes. Such ungodly things proceed from the Romish chair.

*Of the final Cause and Reason of Human Traditions in Popedom.*

IT is the devil himself (said Luther), and all manner of misfortune, that the Papists hold the final cause of instituting human traditions, is, that thereby God is truly worshipped and served, and that they be necessary to salvation: it is most monstrous; for although such human traditions were the best and most esteemed works of christianity, which they are not, yet adding this thereunto, namely, that they think or hold them necessary to salvation, or therewith to give God satisfaction for their sins, and so to purchase grace, then all is spoiled, and their best works are utterly rejected of God.

The like superstition and abomination lay hid in those works which they call *Opera Supererogationis*, that is, works which they had in overplus, and more than they (the friars, priests, and nuns) themselves had need of, but sold them to the lay-people for

money; as if the christian church were nothing else but a company of shorn and shaved knaves. Wittzell now railleth at me, because I praise and extol temporal and house government.

*That ceremonies are the foundation of Superstition.*

IF (said Luther) we could but preserve the catechism, and set up schools for posterity, then we had lived well: as for ceremonies, they might go whither they would, for they are the touch-powder which give occasion to superstition, in that people think they are necessary to salvation, when they are kept and observed; but being omitted, then it is sin.

*Of the Papistical Fasting.*

THE Popish fasting is a right cave of murder, whereby many people have been utterly spoiled, in observing the times so strictly, and chiefly in eating one sort of food, insomuch that nature's strength thereby is wholly weakened.

For this cause Gerson, that ancient teacher, was constrained at Paris to write a book of "Comfort for troubled and perplexed Consciences," to the end they might neither be discouraged nor despair. For those that fast, do break and spoil themselves, and weaken their strength. Such darkness hath been in Popedom, where they neither taught, nor intended to teach the ten commandments, the creed, nor the Lord's Prayer.

*That Hypocrisy and feigned Sanctity deceiveth People.*

PEOPLE in Popedom are destroyed through feigned sanctity, hypocrisy, and superstition; but the Holy Scripture and the office of the Holy Ghost is to lay open and discover the same. No logic can teach what difference is between substantial and accidental holiness. As St. Francis once was substantially holy, only by and through the word of faith, but afterwards he was accidentally holy through the holiness (as they pretended) that stuck in the friar's hood, insomuch that he received the same as a precious sanctity and holy relique; whereas the hood was no proper accidental thing of holiness; but it was even like to one that putteth on a fool's cap, which he might well do without.

*Of Saint Bernard's Erections.*

ST. Bernard (said Luther) was thirty-six years of age, in which time he built and erected one hundred and threescore monasteries, and richly provided for them with annual revenue. Let us but consider what might belong to the maintaining of 160 monasteries. In such sort superstition arose in a short time to the highest, insomuch that in the mean time the gospel went a begging.

*That the seeming-holy Workers do invent many new Ceremonies.*

IN the new testament, and in the christian church, God's worship consisteth in the plain simple truth; no coloured superstitions nor worshipping of idols are therein to be found; from whence St. John, in his Epistle, writeth, There are three that bear witness in earth: 1. The spirit; that is, the function of preaching. 2. Water; that is, baptism. 3. Blood; that is, the supper of the Lord. But the Pope and his seducing spirits (said Luther) do contemn these witnesses, and have invented innumerable worshippings, ceremonies, and offerings, and have prepared the same out of their own election without God's word, insomuch that through errors the church is expelled out of her bridegroom's institutions and ordinances.

Ceremonies (said Luther) are only middle things, instituted for the end of policy; namely, to observe rules, and that every thing in the church might proceed decently and in order, as the law of nature also teacheth, and as we behold in the creating of all creatures how fine and orderly God hath created them.

Moreover, Christ saith, "In vain do they serve me, seeing they teach such doctrine, which is nothing but commandments of men." And St. Paul saith, "If either we, or an angel from heaven, should preach unto you any other gospel than that which we have preached, let him be accursed;" for the gospel teacheth that for Christ's sake only we are upright, justified, and saved before God.

*Of true and upright Christian Fasting.*

LUTHER received advertisement out of Denmark, that the same king and duke of Holstein had instituted a fast, to be observed three days together, thereby to admonish the people to prayer and peace; whereupon he said, it is a very upright and good course, I would wish that all other kings and princes did the like; the same is the most external humiliation, and when we add thereunto the inward humility of the heart, as then it is exceeding good.

CHAPTER XXV.  
O F T H E M A S S .

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*Of the Mass, the Foundation of Popedom.*

POPEDOM (said Luther) standeth upon the mass two manner of ways ; first, spiritually ; for they hold that the mass is a worshipping of God. Secondly, corporally ; for Popedom is maintained and preserved, not by divine power, but by human and temporal princes.

The mass is the Papist's rock, both spiritually and carnally ; but now it is fallen in the spirit, and in due time God will also destroy it corporally, or in the flesh.

*Of the Abominations of the Mass.*

I HAVE seen in Italy (said Luther) two mass-priests standing at one altar, the one right against the other, celebrating mass ; the one turned himself towards the rising, the other towards the going down of the sun ; the one read the gospel on this, the other on that side ; they were exceeding expert in their trade, thereby seeking only gain and profit. They hold the mass neither for a sacrifice nor sacrament ; they celebrate it only for lucre and gain of money, and other profit. These monstrous abominations the Pope both saw and heard, yet nothing regarded them.

Therefore (said Luther) he must of necessity be either a gross ass, or a carnal devil ; an ass, in that he understood not such errors ; a devil, in that he maintained them.

*Of the private Mass.*

THE corner, or private mass, since the time of Gregory, now above 800 years, hath deceived many saints. John Huss was taken captive by that deceitful painted stuff. I much wonder

(said Luther) how God drew me out of this idolatry. Three years since there was here a Morian, who shewed me for certain, that in Asia no private mass was celebrated. I am assured that in Armenia, in Ethiopia, India, and in the countries towards the east, many christians are still to this day that never heard mass. In little Asia they are all under the great Turk.

The mass in France was not so highly esteemed as it hath been in Germany; for when in the morning one had heard mass, then he cared for no more how many soever had been held, but passed by them without shewing any particular reference. When the French king heard mass, he always gave a French crown to the priest, which he laid upon a book that was brought and held before him.

*Of the Canon in the Mass.*

THE canon in the mass (said Luther) is pieced and patched up out of many lies. The Greeks have it not. When I was in Italy, I saw that they at Milan had no such canon, and when I offered to celebrate mass there, they said unto me, *Nos sumus Ambrosiani*. For they say, that at Milan they had been at debate in former time among themselves, whether they should receive into their church the book of Ambrose, or of Gregory, and for that end they prayed to God by some miracle to shew the same unto them. Now at night they laid both those books in the church; in the morning they found the book of Ambrose altogether whole and unremoved, upon the high altar; but the book of Gregory they found torn all in pieces, scattered up and down in the church. The same they construed after this manner; Ambrose should remain at Milan upon the altar, and Gregory should be scattered through the whole world; insomuch, that they of Milan do celebrate the mass otherwise than doth the Romish church.

*From whence and how the gay Trimming and Ornaments came up, which they use in Popedom in celebrating Mass.*

THE ornaments and gay apparel which is used in Popedom in celebrating mass, and other ceremonies, were partly taken out of Moses, and partly from the heathen. For as the priests saw that by public shows and puppet-plays, which were held in the market

places, the people were drawn away and took delight therein. They were thereby moved to institute such manner of shows and puppet-plays in the churches, thereby to induce children and unlearned people to go to church, to behold such fopperies and foolish actions, as those toys which they use on Easter-eves, which were very pleasing and acceptable unto them, not for devotion's sake, but only to delight their foolish fancies.

As I (said Luther) was a young friar at Erfurt, and was constrained to go out into the villages for puddings and cheeses, I came to a little town where I held mass. Now when I had put on my vestments and trimming, and approached before the altar, the clerk or sexton of the church began merrily to strike upon the lute the *Kirieleison ad Patrem*, whereat I scarcely could forbear laughing (for I was unaccustomed to such organings), and was constrained to direct and tune my *Gloria in excelsis*, according to his *Kirieleison*.

*That the Mass in Popedom is the greatest worshipping, and the chiefest good Work.*

LUTHER discoursing much of the mischievous and abominable errors of their own proper righteousness (which hath drawn away many people from God's truth) said, the Jews held their offerings *ex opere operato*. When a work was accomplished only externally, then they thought that thereby sins were reconciled and satisfied, whereas all their offerings and sacrifices ought to have been signs of thanksgiving.

Even so is it likewise with the Papists' errors in the mass, when the same is celebrated, then the mass-priest (an unlearned ass) presumeth by such a work to give full satisfaction for sins.

At that time Luther continued his discourse touching the horrible abuses of the mass, which had captivated all people, both mass-priests, standers-by, and the hearers of the same. When a priest was silenced from saying mass, that was the highest and severest punishment; for the celebrating of mass was *fac totum*, therefore (said he) it is no marvel that the mass in England cannot be so soon abolished, for it hath a great and glorious lustre.

*Of the first Mass.*

THE mass (said Luther) was in high esteem: it brought in much money and gain, and, indeed, it was a right money bank with gifts and offerings. When I celebrated my first mass at Erfurt, I was fearfully perplexed, for no faith was there; I beheld only the worthiness of my person, as being no sinner; I stood also in great fear lest I might leave out and omit something in the mass with crossings and pompous ostentations.

*Whether the Mass be an Offering or Sacrifice or no?*

THE Papists (said Luther) at the imperial assembly, dealt with us through threatenings; they would force us to consent, that the mass was a sacrificing of the life, to the end they might help themselves only with this word, sacrificing, as a cloak of their shame. I would permit the mass to be a sacrifice of praise, if again they would yield and allow, that not only the priest, but also every communicant which received, did offer thanksgiving unto God.

The mass ought to be abolished, chiefly for two reasons. First, because natural understanding is able to judge, that it is a dishonest kind of trading and gain, namely, to celebrate mass for a matter of two-pence, or to sell it for three-half-pence. Secondly, because according to the spirit, it is judged to be an abominable idolatry, inasmuch that thereby Christ died in vain, seeing they pretend therewith to make full satisfaction for sins only for the sake of works accomplished. These two abuses are altogether inexcusable, yet nevertheless, all universities have therein conspired, consented, and vowed to maintain and defend the mass. Therefore we neither may nor can agree with the Papists. For if they should suffer the mass to fall, and to be abolished, then of necessity they must make full restitution of a that which with the mass of lies and deceits, they have gotten and stolen from emperors, kings, princes, nobility, and from other people. The mass (said Luther) is a double impiety and abomination; first, it is a divine blaspheming of God; secondly, a political sin, namely, a deceit, and a theft.

*That the Mass by the Italians is the highest Worshipping.*

MANY Italians (said Luther) are well inclined to the Protestant religion. They would therewith have been well satisfied, if I had not touched the mass, for to reject the mass they hold most abominable. They depend thereon so fast and sure, and are of opinion, that, who had heard mass, nothing evil could happen unto him that day, but was free from all danger; neither could he sin in whatsoever he took in hand; from whence it came to pass, that after hearing of mass, many sins and murders were committed; for in my time (being at Rome) there was one that had sought after his enemy two whole years, to be revenged of him, but could not find him out; at last, he spied him in that church where he himself had heard mass, and newly was risen from before the altar; then he presently stepped to him, and stabbed him to death in the church, and fled. My book (said Luther) touching the abolishing of the mass, is written very harshly against the adversaries, the blasphemers. I would not that new beginners, nor young milk christians be offended thereat, for if twenty years ago any should have presumed to take from me the mass, the same should have tugged hard before he had got it from me; for my heart did hang thereon, and I did adore it, although now, God be praised, I am of another mind, and am fully assured, that the foundation and ground of the mass, and of Popedom, is nothing else than merely a whoring trade, and an abominable extortion and idolatry.

*From whence the Mass hath her name.*

MISSA, the mass (said Luther), cometh of the Hebrew word, *Maostm*, that is, a collecting of alms, a stipend, or a tax for the sakes of priests, or other poor people. The mass hath devoured infinite sums of money, which for her sake have been lost.

CHAPTER XXVI.  
OF PURGATORY.

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*Luther's Discourse of Purgatory.*

AUSTIN, Ambrose, and Hierom (said Luther) held nothing at all of purgatory. Gregory being in the night-time deceived by a vision) taught something of purgatory, whereas God openly forbade that we should search out and enquire nothing of spirits, but of Moses and the Prophets.

Therefore we must neither own nor believe Gregory's opinion concerning this point; but the day of the Lord will shew and declare the same; for as then it will be revealed by fire.

This sentence "And their works do follow them" must not be understood of purgatory, but of the doctrine of good works, or of godly and true christians, and of heretics. Arius, the heretic, hath had his judgment, the fire of faith hath declared it. For the last day will discover and declare all things.

To conclude, God hath in his word laid before us two ways; one, which by faith leadeth to salvation; the other, by unbelief to damnation.

As for purgatory, no place in Scripture maketh mention thereof, neither must we any way allow thereof; for it darkeneth and undervalueth the grace, the benefits, and the merits of our blessed sweet Saviour Christ Jesus.

The bounds of purgatory extend not beyond this world (said Luther); for here in this life the upright, good, and godly christians are well and soundly scoured and burged.

CHAPTER XXVII.  
OF GENERAL COUNCILS.

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*Whereto Councils are profitable.*

IN the year 1533, the 21st of March, the Emperor's ambassador came to Luther's house at Wittemberg to visit him; he had commission from his master the emperor, to address himself to the courts of all the princes of the empire. Luther would not be seen of the ambassador, but appointed Doctor Houseman to confer with him. He asked the ambassador where his imperial majesty was? The ambassador answered, at Mantua, where, for a long time, he hath been dealing with the Pope about holding a general council; but the Pope, said he, by deferring and delays, much excuseth himself; insomuch that when the Emperor put it home unto him, pressed and desired that a general free council might be appointed and proclaimed, then the Pope secretly departed from Mantua, and left the emperor there.

When Dr. Houseman made this the ambassador's speech known to Luther, he said the Pope is a knave and a wicked wretch; I have always hoped for a council, not that our doctrine therein should be continued and confirmed (for the same is given and confirmed already by another council, namely, by God himself), but only that thereby an union and a reformation might be made concerning ceremonies; but I see there will be nothing done. Therefore (said Luther) let no man be so foolish as to put the people in hope of a council: God's word shall be the ground of our faith, whereon we must and will depend. Moreover it is very uncertain with a council; how many hundred thousands of people in the mean time do die before a council is held? Therefore we should lead the people to God's word and will, and not depend on councils.

Even in the self-same year, 1533, the emperor sent his ambassador to John Frederick, prince elector of Saxony, to set on and to further a council. His Highness answered the ambassador, and said, I am willing and desirous that a free, general Christian council might be called and held, and will be content also to appear thereat, either myself in person, or by my ambassador and council, so far that they might sufficiently be secured by convoys and safe conduct.

At that time Luther discoursed with Philip Melancthon, sighed and complained concerning future dangerous times, in which there will be many masters that will work confusion. None will give ear nor hearken to the other, every one will be a rabbi, from whence great offences will proceed. Osiander and Grickle will do much mischief, therefore it were best to be by a council prevented. But (said Luther) the Papists will not hearken to the calling of a council; they shun and fear, like bats, to come into the light, for their cause is naught, and they have evil consciences.

Then Philip Melancthon, with great grief, said, The Pope will never be brought to yield to the calling of a general council; he useth only craft, deceit, and power against us. Bishop Nicholas, of Schonberg, wrote to the Pope, advised, and with all diligence desired him, to go seriously about the business of the church, and not to use his authority and power against the Germans; for they are such people as will not yield, having a just and upright cause, neither are they to be broken nor overcome by any subtilty, nor power, &c. But the Pope contemned that bishop's good and Christian advice.

I could wish (said Luther) that the princes and states of the empire would make an assembly, and hold a council and an union both in doctrine and in ceremonies, so that every one might not break in and run on with such insolency and presumption, according to his own brains, as already is begun, whereby many good hearts are offended. Truly (said Melancthon) the church hath a very lamentable aspect, which lieth hid under such great weakness and offences.

*Of an humble Letter which the Pope and his Cardinals wrote to one of King Ferdinand's Chaplains.*

IN the year 1534, the Pope and cardinals wrote a letter to Simon Nausea, chaplain to king Ferdinand, in which they humbled themselves exceedingly, and admonished him to be a means, by the king his master, to further the assembling of a council; therein also complaining of Luther, and of the Protestants, as those which hindered the same. This letter being sent unto Luther by Nausea to peruse, after the reading of which Luther said, They are not in earnest, they will have no council except we be rooted out and destroyed. In former time the cardinals would not have so much as looked upon so mean a man as Nausea is, much less would they have esteemed him worthy of their writing unto. But now they must honour him, because their consciences do accuse and prick them; now they must pay for that which they have done to Christ.

O Lord God! (said Luther) righteous art thou, and thy judgments are just. Thy name, and not ours, be sanctified and praised.

*Of the Pope's Boasting.*

THE Pope (said Luther) styleth himself a bishop of the Catholic church, which title he never dared to take upon him before; for at the time when the council of Nice was held, then there was no Pope at all. The church at that time was divided into three parts; first, into Ethiopia, in the land of the Moorians. Secondly, into Syria, to which Antioch belonged. The third was Rome, with her appertaining sects. In this manner they swarmed soon after the apostles' time: instituted and ordained three sorts of councils; first, a general; second, a provincial; third, an episcopal; that is, that in every bishopric a council should be held, so far as the jurisdiction thereof reached.

*Of the consulting of a Council at Saltzburg, and what happened there.*

THE Archbishop of Saltzburg caused many bishops, and 800 spiritual persons, to be assembled; and as in the church they consulted about a council, they were fearfully driven away and scattered by a mighty tempest of lightning and thunder. Afterwards the second consultation was held in the castle: then again, being the third time assembled together, they were separated by fearful thunderings, that one ran this way, another that way, and so departed without any further consultation. The Pope will needs build up the church *ex accidentibus*, out of accidental things, which have no constant nor sure ground; namely, out of an external aspect and succession. But we, on the contrary, do build the church *ex substantia*, upon the true foundation; namely, upon God's word and sacraments, and also censure her accordingly.

Although the Pope should hold a council, yet he would bind and oblige kings and princes, by oath, to direct themselves according to his conclusions, and to hold with the Romish church. Surely the Pope is reserved for God's judgment, who, in the end, without all mercy, will do execution upon him; God's word now hath strangled him.

*Of Four Principal Councils.*

SINCE the time of the Apostles (said Luther), threescore general and provincial councils have been held, among which only four were worthy of praise: two of them maintained and defended the Trinity and Godhead of Christ, as that of Nice, and of Constantinople; the other two, namely, the council at Ephesus, and of Calcedon, maintained Christ's humanity.

In the council of Nice, nothing is written nor mentioned of the Pope or bishop of Rome, that any such had been there; only one, named Ozias, bishop of Cordua in Spain, was present there. The other bishops came thither from the churches in the East; as, out of Grecia, Little Asia, Egypt, Africa, &c.

Ah, Lord God! (said Luther) to what end are the councils and conventions of bishops, but merely for honour and ambition, wherein they are at discord and variance about titles, honours.

precedency of places, and other base and childish fopperies ! Let us consider what hath been handled in councils for the space of three hundred years ; only outward and external things and ceremonies, nothing at all touching true divine doctrine, upright worshipping of God, and faith.

*What Councils ought to order.*

IN the year 1539, the 27th of January, a book was sent to Luther, intituled, *Liber Conciliorum*, which with great diligence and pains was collected together : after the reading of which, he said, this book will maintain and defend the Pope ; whereas in his own decrees, innumerable canons are quite against him and this book. And besides (said Luther), councils have no power to make and ordain laws and ordinances in the church, what are to be taught and to be believed, nor concerning good works ; for they have been and are already taught and confirmed. But councils have power to make ordinances only concerning external things, customs, and ceremonies ; and yet no further neither, than so much as may concern persons, places, and times. When the same do cease and are no more, as then such ordinances do also cease, are exterminated and abolished.

The Romish laws are now dead and gone, by reason Rome is not now, but hath been ; for now it is another place. In like manner the decrees and ordinances of councils are now no more of value, by reason it is now and another time. As St. Paul saith, “ Why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances ? (touch not, taste not, handle not, which all are to perish with the using) after the commandments of men. Which things have indeed a shew of wisdom in will-worship and humility, and neglecting of the body, not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh.”

Therefore (said Luther) such decrees and statutes bind not the consciences which do aim and are directed at persons, times, and places ; for like as these three (persons, times, and places) do cease and are changed, even so likewise such ordinances do cease and are altered. Such doctrine out of a mortal human creature, will make an immortal ; like as they name the Pope an earthly god ; and indeed (said Luther) very proper and fitly ; for, in truth, all his laws, rights, decrees, and ordinances, do savour and taste of terrestrial, and not of celestial things.

*Of comparing God's Word with the Writings of the Fathers.*

WHEN God's Word (said Luther) is by the fathers expounded, construed, and glossed, then, in my judgment, it is even like to one that straineth milk through a coal-sack, which must needs spoil and make the milk black; even so likewise God's Word of itself is sufficiently pure, clean, bright, and clear. But through the doctrines, books, and writings of the fathers, it is very sorely darkened, falsified, and spoiled.

*Of the Council of Nice.*

THE council of Nice, held after the Apostles' time (said Luther), was the very best and purest; but soon after, in the time of the emperor Constantine, it was weakened by the Arians; for at that time, out of dissembling hearts, they craftily subscribed that they concurred in one opinion with the true and upright Catholic teachers, which in truth was nothing so; whereof ensued a great dissension: as St. Paul saith, "There must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest."

Now seeing that heresies are already come while we yet live, what will then be when we are dead, and have laid our heads in the dust? As Moses saith, "From the day that I have learned to know you, ye have always been opposite; what will ye not do, then, after my death?" Let us therefore watch and pray (said Luther), it is high time and needful.

*That the Pope will be over and above a Council.*

THE Papists highly extol the four councils, and do compare them with the four evangelists; with such false and deceitful boasting they intend to strengthen and confirm their authority and power. Afterwards they exalted themselves above the councils. In the council at Costnitz it was concluded, that the council is above the Pope; therefore at that time they deposed three Popes, and elected a fourth. There was one named Decius, an excellent lawyer, who in our time was banished out of Italy by the Pope, because he disputed and taught, that a council was over and above the Pope.

*The Papists earnestly seek not that the Church might be reformed, but suppressed.*

THE assembly which in the year 1532 was appointed to meet at Nuremberg, gave to Luther no content at all ; he said, The Papists go craftily about, and endeavour to suppress us ; they intend that a reformation should be made, that will in no way suit us to give way to, or to give up any thing that we openly confessed and published at Auspurg and Schmalkelden ; for if, for the sake of outward peace, we should enter into an accord with the Papists, then we should make the pure doctrine of our church to be suspected and doubted. O no (said Luther), no such agreements for me. If emperor Charles would appoint a national council, then there were some hope ; but he will not go on : the Papists will not yield, but will sit alone therein, and have power to determine and conclude. Therefore, by my consent, if it so falleth out, we will all arise and leave them sitting alone ; for the Pope shall have no authority nor power over us and our doctrine. We need no council for the sake of God's Word, for that is sure enough, and therefore we want not to go to council. We can well appoint and order fastings and such like things without a council ; but yet without ensnaring of the consciences ; those shall be at liberty, and not troubled therewith, nor tied thereon. Christ did not institute and command fastings with laws, but saith, " When the bridegroom shall be taken from them, then they shall fast." Also he saith, " Go, sell all what thou hast," &c., as then (said Luther) fasting will follow thereupon.

*Of Luther's Speech with the Pope's Legate, Paulus Vergerius, touching a Council.*

ANNO 1533, Paulus Vergerius, the Pope's legate, came to Wittenburg to cite Luther to the council ; Luther said unto him, I will be there, God willing ; but ye Papists (said he) labour in vain, ye strangle yourselves with your exploits and devices ; for although ye hold a council, yet ye treat nothing of wholesome doctrine, nothing of the sacraments, nothing of faith, which only justifieth and saveth, nothing of good works which God hath commanded, nor nothing of an honest kind of life and godly

conversation; but ye only treat of ridiculous and childish toys, namely, what long gowns and garments the spiritual persons shall wear, how broad the girdles must be, how big and broad their bald crowns must be shorn, how and after what sort friars and nuns must be reformed and more strictly kept; ye treat also of the differences of meat and drink, and such like foolish fopperies. When Luther had ended this his speech, the Pope's legate turned himself from Luther towards his adjuncts, which were joined in commission with him, and said, truly this man hitteth the nail right on the head concerning the whoie principal dealings and proceedings. When the legate had taken his leave of Luther, and was gone, then Luther continued his discourse, and said; Ah, loving Lord God! the Papists despair of their enterprises, practices, and councils, for they see and feel that Germany (which now, God be praised, hath her eyes opened, and is enlightened through the gospel) will henceforward do no more what formerly, through superstition and idolatry, it hath been bewitched and befooled to do and suffer; Germany will now no more be cozened and deceived, neither by imperial diets, nor with councils, be they never so wise and crafty. 'The Almighty God (said Luther) preserve what he hath wrought in us; the cause is his and not ours; God grant that we may be truly thankful for this his revelation. The Pope, by this his legate, hath promised to give the emperor one hundred thousand crowns, in pretence as against the Turks; this may be called, coming to catch birds. The Papists, if a council be held, will still maintain and keep their idolatries and superstitions; therefore (said Luther), it is highly necessary that we watch and pray to God, to further the course of the gospel, that it may bring much fruit, and to preserve his church, to the end that both with mouth and manner of living we may from our hearts confess the clear light of the gospel. Will the Papists press and force the people to errors and to constrained worshippings? Then, indeed, they shall be driven by tyranny to superstitious honesty, which cannot long subsist nor endure.

*That the Pope will not endure an upright Council.*

THE Italians and Walloons (said Luther) are so stiff-necked and proud, that they will by the Germans not be reformed, no not

although they be convinced with the clear truth of God's Word. I have thought oftentimes with myself, how we might by a council, in some measure, come to an agreement between us, but I see no means can be found. For if the Pope should acknowledge that he had failed but in the least article, and should subject himself under a council in his very gross and feeling errors, then he hath lost his authority and power; for he braggeth and boasteth that he is the church's head, to whom all the members must shew and yield obedience; from hence proceeded the complaint in the council at Cöstnitz, and therefore that council set itself over and above the Pope, yea also, and deposed him. Wherefore, if the Papists should give place to us, and yield in the least article, then the hoop in the garland were quite broken in sunder; then all the world would cry out and say, Hath it not been constantly affirmed that the Pope is the head of the church and cannot err? How then cometh he now to acknowledge his errors, &c.? As Sylvester Prieras, master of the holy palace, intended to affright me (said Luther) with this thunderbolt, and said, whosoever he be that doubteth of any one word or act of the Romish church, the same is an heretic.

At that time I was yet weak, and was afraid to touch the Pope, I esteemed greatly of such arguments, and held them in honour and great reverence. But now I am better taught, I will now write concerning councils, and will advise the emperor not to leave to the Pope free power and authority to appoint, to order and conclude what he pleaseth; as then we may best come to the business.

*When and at what Time the upright Council is to be held.*

LUTHER at that time asked the cardinal, *Quando Papa esset convocaturus consilium?* He answered, 'The council shall begin on the day of All-saints. I thought as much (said Luther), that it would not be before the last day, nor until our Lord God himself holdeth a council; understanding that the right day of All-saints is the last day, when all the saints shall arise from the dead, and with Christ shall enter into everlasting life.

*How a Council ought to be handled.*

IN a council (said Luther) ought to be two manner of voices ; the first they call *vocem consultivam vel deliberativam*, that is, when they consult and discourse concerning affairs ; the same is common to all kings, princes, and doctors, that every one delivereth his mind and opinion. The second they call *decisivam vocem*, a deciding voice ; when they conclude what is to be believed and done. But this voice the Pope and certain of his cardinals have usurped ; for they decide and conclude what they will and please.

I doubt we shall never come so near together as we were at Augspurg, *anno* 1530. These times are abominable, and they will proceed to the cross and persecution, to the end we may thereby be humbled, and not grow haughty and proud. But our Saviour Christ will be with us to the end. If the emperor despaireth of a council, and seeth that it goeth not forward, then it is like he will assemble and hold an imperial diet, and it may be, he will not call our princes thereunto, but will condemn them as disobedient, and will himself do execution upon them. But if he openly undertaketh to maintain the Pope's villanies, then he will be a most unfortunate prince. As then the emperor will lose the good will and affections of all the Germans ; for he hath already dealt very evil with them ; they will not receive him with such humility as heretofore. And although he raiseth an army of Spaniards, yet he shall not easily force Germany and bring it under his yoke. Hitherto he hath overcome them with his goodness, but the cruelty and tyranny of the Spaniards is insufferable ; neither will our princes give him assistance against the Turks, but will say, Cæsar, give us peace. Therefore a great insurrection and tumult is to be feared : God divert it from us. Let us diligently pray ; God, doubtless, hath some great matter in hand, and will suffer the punishment to proceed if we repent not. Mark (said Luther) how the authority, power, and reputation of the Pope was weakened in the council at Costnitz, which deposed three Popes, and ordained that a council should be over and above the Pope : insomuch that never since the Pope hath had any long-  
ing after a council. Therefore, for the space of one hundred and twenty years, the Papists have laboured with highest diligence to

exalt the Pope's power and authority above a council, which he loatheth and shunneth, as the devil flieth from holy-water ; and unless the emperor and princes do convene a council, there is no hope at all of any to be held. For Popedom falleth very sorely, and by degrees inclineth to confusion. Four kingdoms in Europe are already fallen from Popedom, namely, England, Germany, Hungary, and Denmark, the others hold but slenderly ; for whereas the protectors of the Pope have swallowed up the thunders and lightnings of the bulls in his decrees, so will they also strip and flay Popedom, and draw the skin over the ears. Like as now the king of England doth, and rendeth the church-livings to himself, and will not permit that money for *Annats, Pallias,* &c. shall be carried away to Rome, so that the Pope is like to lose both money and power. I am heartily glad that the same king proceedeth therein so soberly, and that he useth not thereunto the sword nor wars, as is done in Bohemia, but goeth on peaceably.

*Of the right Use of a Council.*

A COUNCIL (said Luther) should be a purgatory ; it should purge, cleanse, and reform the church. And when new errors and heresies break and press in, then to confirm, to strengthen, and preserve pure doctrine ; to resist, hinder, and quench new fires, and condemn false doctrine. But the Pope would have a council so qualified, and to be held, that he daily might make and heap new decrees, new orders and statutes touching good works, &c. ; but what better good works can we learn and find than those which God himself hath set down and charged in the ten commandments ?

*Which is the Upright and True Council.*

Now at this time (said Luther) is an upright council ; for Christ is president, and chief ruler therein ; the angels are the assemblies, assistants, and benchers ; we are accused therein and indicted, but, through God's Word and promise, we plead, Not guilty

*Of a Council propounded and declared by the Pope's Legate to John Freiderick Prince Elector of Saxony, touching which, the said Prince desired Luther's Consideration and Advice.*

Most gracious prince (said Luther), so much as I understand, I hold, that it otherwise will not seem fitting and expedient, but that we consent to appear, yet with assurance of a free safe conduct, and withal to protest, that we therein will not be tied and obliged by articles, as heretofore hath been required; for although we should refuse a council, yet nevertheless we must stand in the same danger wherein we now are, and we should also thereby procure more bitterness of other nations against us, as if we shunned and feared a council. Moreover, our refusal therein would also hinder that good which other nations do hope for and expect; all other nations now looking upon us in these parts. Likewise the Pope will take his advantage of us; notwithstanding our refusal, he will conscribe a council, and will cite us thereunto, which would appear far more disgraceful to this doctrine, if in case we should shun the acknowledgment thereof. Therefore, better it were that we offered ourselves now to appear. And when we come to the council, if as then we may obtain a light and an easy proceeding, as is promised, so shall we be well satisfied; but if the same be not obtained, then we have so much the better excuse. We may also justly shew, why we refuse to be bound and obliged; for the Pope saith, he will hold a council according to the custom of the church in former times. Now the custom and manner held in these times is far different from that which hath been held and observed in the ancient councils. For then they were compelled to judge according to God's Word, as is to be seen in the Acts of the Apostles, and which is worthy of all praise. But afterwards in Popedom, they observed far another manner; they judged according to their own constitutions and proper power, as plainly appeareth.

Now it is apparently known that we oppose and fight against the constitutions which are opposite to God's Word; therefore this cause in no wise may be censured according to the Pope's constitutions, especially as our adversaries, the Papists, do boast that their doctrine and constitutions are upright, and grounded on God's Word. And besides, this practice of binding and obliging

is a new custom, only used now to hinder the council, and to give occasion unto us to refuse a council.

Lastly, I hold it good and fitting (said Luther) diligently to admonish the imperial majesty, that he would consider how the empire is inclined to hold a general and free council, which the high necessity of the whole Christian world requireth. Therefore that his majesty would labour in the cause, and aim at that scope, that the proceeding may be orderly heard, as the cause requireth; if otherwise his majesty intendeth to do any good.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## OF IMPERIAL DIETS.

*Of Imperial Diets and Assemblies in Causes of Religion.*

IN the year 1518, the 9th of July, when I (said Luther) was cited and summoned, I came and appeared: Frederick prince elector of Saxony having appointed me a great and strong convoy and safe conduct; I was warned in any case not to have conversation with the Italians, nor to repose any trust or confidence in them. I was three whole days in Augspurg without the emperor's safe conduct. In the mean time, an Italian came unto me, and carried me to the cardinal Cajetan; and by the way he earnestly persuaded me to revoke and recant; I should (said he) need to speak but only word before the cardinal, namely, *Revoco*; and as then the cardinal would recommend me to the Pope's favour: so that with honour I might return safely again to my master, the prince elector. After three days the bishop of Tryer came, who, in the emperor's name, shewed and declared to the cardinal my safe conduct. Then I went unto him in all humility, fell down first upon my knees; secondly, all along upon the ground; thirdly, when I had remained awhile so lying, then the cardinal, three times, bade me arise; whereupon I stood up. This pleased him well, hoping I would consider, and better bethink myself.

The next day, when I came before him again, and would revoke nothing at all, then he said unto me, What? thinkest thou that the Pope careth for Germany? or dost thou think that the princes will raise arms and armies to maintain and defend thee? O, no; where wilt thou remain in safety? I said, under heaven. After this the Pope humbled himself, and wrote to our church, yea, he wrote even to the prince elector's chaplain, and to one of his

counsellors (Spalatine and Pfeffinger) that they would surrender me into his hands, and procure that his pleasure and command might be put in execution. And the Pope wrote also to the prince elector himself after the following manner:

“Although, as touching thy person, thou art to me unknown, yet I have seen thy father (prince Ernestus) at Rome, who was altogether an obedient son to the church; he visited and frequented our religion with great devotion, and held the same in highest honour. I wish and would that thy illustrious serenity would also tread in his footsteps,” &c.

But the prince elector well marked the Pope’s unaccustomed humility, and his evil conscience; he was also acquainted with the power and operation of the Holy Scriptures. Therefore he remained where he was, and returned thanks to the Pope for his affection towards him.

My books and resolutions (said Luther) in a short time went, yea, flew throughout Europe (the fourth part of the world); therefore the prince elector was confirmed and strengthened, in-somuch that he utterly refused to execute the Pope’s commands, but subjected himself under the acknowledgment of the Scriptures.

If the cardinal had handled me with more discretion at Augspurg, and had dealt kindly with me when I fell at his feet, then it had never come thus far; for at that time I saw very few of the Pope’s errors which now I see; had he been silent, so had I lightly held my peace. The style and custom of the Romish court in dark and confused cases, was this: that the Pope said, We by papal power do take these causes unto us, we quench them out and destroy them. I am persuaded (said Luther) that the Pope willingly would give three cardinals, on condition, that it were still in that vessel wherein it was before he began to meddle with me.

*Of Luther’s Journey and Proceedings at the Imperial Diet at Worms, Anno, 1520.*

ON Tuesday in the passion week (said Luther) I was cited by the herald to appear at the diet; he brought with him a safe-conduct from the emperor, and many other princes; but the safe-conduct was soon broken, even the next day, Wednesday, at Worms, where I was condemned, and my books burned. Now,

when I came to Erfurt, I received intelligence that I was cast and condemned at Worms, yea, and that in all cities and places thereabout it was published and spread abroad ; insomuch that the herald asked me, Whether I meant to go to Worms, or no ?

Although I was somewhat astonished at the news, yet I answered the herald, and said, although in Worms there were as many devils as there are tiles on the houses, yet, God willing, I will go thither.

When I came to Oppenheim, in the Palatinate, not far from Worms, Bucer came unto me, and dissuaded me from entering into the town ; for, said he, Sglapion, the emperor's confessor, had been with him, and had entreated him to warn me not to go thither, for I should be burned ; but rather that I should go to a gentleman there near at hand, Francis Von Sickingen, and remain with him, who willingly would receive and entertain me. This plot the wicked wretches (said Luther) had devised against me, to the end I should not appear ; for if I had contracted the time, and staid away three days, then my safe-conduct had been expired, and then they would have locked the town-gates, and without hearing, I should have been condemned and made away. But I went on in all simplicity, and when I saw the city, I wrote presently to Spalatine, and gave him notice of my coming, and desired to know where I should be lodged. Then they all wondered at my coming, which was so far from their expectation ; for the verily thought I would have staid away, as scared through their threatenings. There were two worthy gentlemen (John Von Hirshfield, and St. John Schott) who received me by the prince elector's command, and brought me to their lodging.

No prince came unto me but only earls and gentlemen, who earnestly looked upon me, and who had exhibited four hundred articles to his imperial majesty against those of the spirituality, and desired a redress and a removing of those their grievances ; otherwise they themselves should be constrained to remedy the same ; from all which grievances they are now delivered through the gospel, which I, God be praised, have brought again to light. The Pope at that time wrote to the emperor, that he should not perform the safe-conduct ; for which end all the bishops also pressed the emperor ; but the princes and states of the empire could not consent thereunto : for they alleged that a great tumult reupon would arise. I received of them a great deal of

courtesy, insomuch that the Papists were more afraid of me than I was of them.

For the landgrave of Hessen (being then a young prince) desired that I might be heard, and he said openly unto me, Sir! is your cause just and upright? Then I beseech God to assist you. Now being in Worms, I wrote to Sglapian and desired him to make a step unto me, but he would not. Then being called, I appeared in the senate house before the council and state of the whole empire, where the emperor, the princes electors in person were assembled.

Then Doctor Eck, the bishop of Tryers Fiscall, began, and said unto me, Martin, thou art called hither to give answer, whether thou acknowledgest these writings to be thy books or no (the books lay on a table which he shewed unto me)? I answered and said, I believe they be mine. But Hierome Schurfe presently thereupon said, let the titles of them be read. Now when the same were read, then I said, yea, they are mine. Then he said, will you revoke them? I answered, and said, most gracious lord and emperor, some of my books are books of controversies, wherein I touch my adversaries: some, on the contrary, are books of doctrine, the same I neither can nor will revoke. But if in case I have in my books of controversies been too violent against any man, then I am content therein to be better directed, and for that end I desire respite of time: then they gave me one day and one night. The next day I was cited by the bishops and others, who were appointed to deal with me touching my revocation. Then I said, God's word is not my word, therefore I know not how to give it away; but whatsoever is therein, besides the same, I will shew obedience. Then Marquis Joachim said unto me, Sir Martin! so far as I understand, you are content to be instructed, excepting only what may concern the holy writ. I said, yea; then they pressed me to refer the cause to his imperial majesty; I said, I durst not presume so to do. Then they said, do you not think that we are also Christians, who with all care and diligence would finish and end such causes? You ought to put so much trust and confidence in us, that we would conclude uprightly. To that I answered, and said, I dare not trust you so far, that you should conclude against yourselves, who even now have cast and con-

demned me, being under safe conduct; yet, nevertheless, that ye may see what I will do, I will yield up into your hands my safe conduct, and do with me what ye please. Then all the princes said, truly, he offereth enough, if not too much. Afterwards they said, yield unto us yet in some articles: I said, in God's name, such articles as concern not the Holy Scriptures, I will not stand against. Presently hereupon, two bishops went to the emperor, and shewed him that I had revoked. Then the emperor sent another bishop unto me, to know if I had referred the cause to him and to the empire. I said, I had neither done it, nor intended so to do. In this sort (said Luther) did I alone resist so many, insomuch that my doctor, and divers others of my friends, were much offended and vexed by reason of my constancy; yea, some of them said, if I had referred the articles to their consideration, they would have yielded, and given way to those articles which in the council at Costnitz had been condemned. Then came Cocleus upon me, and said, Sir Martin, if you will yield up your safe conduct, then I will enter into dispute with you. I, for my part (said Luther), in my simplicity, would have accepted thereof. But Hieronimus Schurfe earnestly entreated me not to do the same, and in derision and scorn answered Cocleus, and said, O brave offer, if a man were so foolish as to entertain it!

Then came a doctor unto me, belonging to the Marquis of Baden, assaying with a strain of high carried words to move me, admonished me, and said, truly, St. Martin, you are bound to do much, and to yield for the sake of fraternal love, and to the end that peace and tranquillity among the people may be preserved, lest tumults and insurrections should be occasioned and raised. Besides, it were also greatly befitting you to shew obedience to the imperial majesty, and diligently to beware of causing offences in the world; therefore I would advise you to revoke. Whereupon (said Luther) I said, for the sake of brotherly love and amity, I could and would do much, so far that it were not against the faith and honour of Christ. When all these had made their vain assaults, then the chancellor of Tryer said unto me, Martin Luther, you are disobedient to the imperial majesty, therefore you have leave and licence to depart again with your safe conduct. In this sort I again departed from Worms with a

great deal of gentleness and courtesy, to the wondering of the whole Christian world, insomuch that the Papists wished they had left me at home. After my departure, that abominable edict of proscribing was put in execution at Worms, which gave occasion to every man to revenge himself upon his enemies, under the name and title of Protestant heresy. But the tyrants, not long after, were constrained to recall the same again.

*Of the Imperial Diet at Augspurg, Anno, 1530.*

THE imperial diet held at Augspurg, 1530, is worthy of all praise; for then, and from thence, came the gospel among the people in other countries, contrary to the wills and expectations both of emperor and Pope; therefore (said Luther) what hath been spent there, should be grievous to no man. God appointed the imperial diet at Augspurg, to the end, the gospel should be spread further abroad and planted. They over-climbed themselves at Augspurg, for the Papists openly approved there of our doctrine. Before that diet was held, the Papists had made the emperor believe, that our doctrine was altogether frivolous; and when he came to the diet, he should see that they would put us all to silence, insomuch that none of us should be able to speak a word in the defence of our religion; but it fell out far otherwise; for we openly and freely confessed the gospel before the emperor and the whole empire. And at that diet we confounded our adversaries in the highest degree. The imperial diet at Augspurg was invaluable, by reason of the confession of faith, and of God's word, which on our part was there performed: for there the adversaries were constrained to confess that our confession was upright and true.

*Of the Confession and Apology which at Augspurg was exhibited to the Emperor.*

THE emperor (said Luther) censured understandingly and discreetly, and carried himself princely in this cause of religion; he found our confession to be far otherwise than the Papists had informed him; namely, that we were most ungodly people, and led most wicked and detestable kind of lives: and that we

taught against the first and second tables of the ten commandments of God. For this cause, the emperor sent our confession and apology to all the universities; his council also delivered their opinions, and said, in case their doctrine were against the holy Christian faith, then they thought fitting that his imperial majesty should seek to suppress it with all his power. But if it be only against ceremonies and abuses (as now it appeareth to be), then to refer it to the consideration and censure of learned people, &c. This (said Luther) was good and wise counsel.

Doctor Eck confessed openly, and said, the Protestants cannot be confuted and opposed out of Holy Scriptures; therefore the bishop of Mentz said unto him, O, how finely our learned divines do defend us and our doctrine! The bishop of Mentz (said Luther) holdeth our doctrine to be upright and true, but he only courteth the Pope; otherwise, long before this time, he would have played strange pranks with his Holiness.

*Of the Strength and Profit of the Confession and Apology of Augspurg.*

God's word is powerful, the more it is persecuted, the more and further it spreadeth itself abroad. Behold the imperial diet at Augspurg, which doubtless is the last trumpet before the dreadful day of judgment; how raged the world there against the word? O (said Luther), how were we there fain to pray the Pope and Papists, that they would be pleased to permit and suffer Christ to live quietly in heaven! There our doctrine broke through into the light in such sort, that by the emperor's strict command the same was sent to all kings, princes, and universities. This our doctrine forthwith enlightened many excellent people, dispersed here and there in princes' courts, among whom some of God were chosen to take hold on this our doctrine, like unto tinder, and afterwards kindled the same also in others.

Our apology and confession with great honour came to light; the Papists' confutations are kept in darkness, and do stink. O (said Luther), how willingly would I that their confutations might appear to the world; then I would set upon that old torn and tattered skin, and in such sort would baste it, that the stitches thereof should fly about here and there; but they shuz

the light. This time twelvemonth, no man would have given a farthing for the Protestants, so sure the ungodly Papists were of us. For (said Luther) when my most gracious lord and master, the prince elector of Saxony, before other princes came to the diet, the Papists marvelled much thereat, for they verily believed that he would not have appeared, by reason (as they imagined) his cause was too bad and foul to be brought before the light. But what fell out? even this, that in their greatest security they were overwhelmed with the greatest fear and affrightments, because the prince elector, like an upright prince, appeared so early at Augspurg; then the other Popish princes swiftly posted away from Augspurg to Ispruck, where they held serious council with prince George, and the marquis of Baden, all of them wondering what the prince elector's so early approach to the diet should mean, insomuch that the emperor himself thereat was astonished, and doubted whether he might come and go in safety or not; whereupon the princes were constrained to promise that they would set up body, goods, and blood by the emperor, the one offering to maintain 6000 horse, another so many thousands of foot soldiers, &c., to the end his majesty might be the better secured. There was a wonder among wonders to be seen, in that God struck with fear and cowardliness the enemies of the truth. And although at that time the prince elector of Saxony was alone, and but only the hundredth sheep, but the others were ninety and nine, yet, notwithstanding, it so fell out, that they all trembled and were afraid. Now when they came to the point, and began to take the business in hand, then there appeared but a very small heap that stood by God's word.

But (said Luther) we brought with us a strong and mighty King, a King above all emperors and kings, namely, Christ Jesus the powerful Word of God. Then all the Papists cried out, and said, O, it is insufferable, that so small and silly a heap should set themselves against the imperial power. But (said Luther) the Lord of Hosts frustrateth the councils of princes. Pilate had power to put our blessed Saviour to death, but willingly he would not; Annas and Caiaphas willingly would have done it, but could not.

The emperor, for his own part, is good and honest; but the Popish bishops and cardinals are undoubtedly knaves. And forasmuch as the emperor now refuseth to bathe his hands in inno-

cent blood, therefore the frantic princes do bestir themselves, do scorn and contemn the good emperor in the highest degree. The Pope also for anger is ready to burst in pieces, because the diet in this sort, without shedding of blood, should be dissolved; therefore he sendeth the sword to the duke of Bavaria, to proceed therewith, and intendeth to take the crown from the emperor's head and set it upon the head of Bavaria; but he shall not accomplish it. In this manner ordered God the business, that kings, princes, yea, and the Pope himself, fell from the emperor, and that we joined with him, which was a great wonder of God's providence, in that he whom the devil intended to use against us, even the same God taketh, maketh, and useth for us. O wonder (said Luther) above all wonders!

*Of the Assembly of the Princes at Brunswick.*

WHEN the princes (professing the Augustinian Confession) held an assembly at Brunswick, then Luther received letters, wherein was shewed that the prince elector of Saxony journeyed six days through the marquisate of Brandenburg, whereas prince Henry of Brunswick would neither give him convoy, nor permit him to go through his country. But the prince elector of Brandenburg, in his country, gave him princely entertainment in every place, and many went out of Brunswick to meet and to receive him. But the landgrave of Hessen went on the other side, through Gosslar, without a convoy. Christianus, king of Denmark, the second day of the assembly delivered up the confession of his faith, and was held and esteemed a second David. Whereupon Luther said, God of his mercy assist him for the sanctifying of his name. But (said he) the pride of the duke of Brunswick may easily redound to his own hurt and prejudice, who, contrary to all law and equity, denied a false convoy to one of his best and truest friends. Moses likewise desired a safe convoy of the king of Amorites; but being denied, he thereby took occasion to raise war against him. The Lord of Heaven grant us peace. The same day other letters came to Luther from Brunswick, shewing that the king of Denmark in person, the ambassadors of England and France, and of many imperial cities were arrived there, among whom, some carried themselves very strangely towards those of the protestant league. Luther said,

under the name and colour of the gospel, they seek their own particular advantages, but in the least danger they are afraid. These politic and terrestrial leagues and union have no hand nor share in the gospel: God alone preserveth and defendeth the same in times of persecution. Let us put trust and confidence in him, and with him; let us erect and establish an everlasting league, for the world is the world, and will remain the world.

*Of the Convention and Assembly of the Protestant State at Frankfort on the Main, 1539.*

GOD of his infinite mercy (said Luther) assist them at Frankfort on the Main, that they may christian-like consult and conclude, to the end God's honour, the good and profit of the commonwealth may be furthered. Indeed, it is a very small assembly, it hath a strange aspect to be held in an imperial city; but forasmuch as they are thereunto constrained by the adversaries, they must be content.

The Papists void of shame, do unwisely undertake to possess themselves of the cities, and by fraud to draw thereunto their adherents; then they make shew of keeping peace, but in the mean time they contrive how to separate and confuse the whole body, and of the members, to make a massacre; they secretly fall upon Hambrough, upon Minden, and Frankfort. They might more wisely go to work, if by open wars they assailed us. At Augspurg they openly condemned us; and if those of our party had not been patient, it had presently gone on at that time. Anno 1539, the 16th of February, Luther commanded public prayers to be made for the day at Frankfort, that peace might be confirmed. For if the landgrave be incensed, then all resistance will be in vain. The landgrave neither provoketh nor giveth occasion to wars; but, on the contrary, when he is provoked, he still seeketh peace; whereas notwithstanding he is better furnished and provided for wars than his adversary is, by 2,000 horse, for Hessen and Saxon are horsemen; when they are set in the saddle they are as then not so easily hoisted out again. As for the high-country horsemen, they (said Luther) are dancing gentlemen. God preserve the landgrave; for a valiant man and prince is of great importance. Augustus Cæsar was wont to say, I

would rather be in an army of stags, where a lion is general, than to be in an army of lions where a stag is general. The 25th of February, Luther prayed again with great devotion for peace, and for the day at Frankfort, that through civil wars (which are most hurtful) the religion, policy, and God's word, might not be sophisticated and torn in pieces. Wars are pleasing to those that have had no trial or experience of them; God bless us from wars.

## CHAPTER XXIX.

OF THE BOOKS OF THE FATHERS  
OF THE CHURCH.

*Luther's Discourse of the Books of the Fathers of the Church.*

A MAN may read Jerome (said Luther) for the sake of the history, for in his writings is not so much as one word either touching faith, or upright religion. As for Origen, I have banished him already. Chrysostom I esteem nothing worth; he is only a talker or a prater. Basil is of no value at all, he is merely a friar, I would not give an hair for him. The apology of Philip Melancthon surpasseth all the fathers of the church, yea it surpasseth Austin. Hilary and Theophilact are good, and so is Ambrose, for he sometimes finely toucheth the remission of sins, which is the highest article, namely, that the divine Majesty pardoneth and forgiveth sins.

*That the Fathers of the Church are good for teaching, but they are not to be valued for Disputing.*

*PATRES, quanquam sæpe errant, tamen venerandi propter testimonium fidei.* We honour Jerome, Gregory, and others, because in their writings we feel that they believe in Christ as we do, and as the church hath held of faith from the beginning of the world. When Bernard preacheth, then he is above all the doctors in the church: but when he disputeth, then he is altogether another man. Bonaventura (said Luther) is the best among all the school divines and church writers. Austin always hath had the pre-eminence, the second in esteem was Ambrose, Bernard the third. Tertullian among the church-teachers is a right

Carlestad ; Cyril hath the best sentences. Cyprian the martyr, is a weak divine ; Theophilact is the best expounder and interpreter of St. Paul.

*Of the Book of Cyprian.*

LUTHER reading Cyprian, *De singularitate Clericorum* (how spiritual persons should separate themselves and abstain from women, and handling such foolish and childish things in his book), said I doubt whether this be Cyprian's book or no : but howsoever, it is no marvel, when men fall from God's word and ordinances, as then they wallow themselves in filthy errors and offences, inso-much that they reject even matrimony, which of God is ordained ; likewise they therein reject the apparent witnesses and examples of the Holy Scriptures, and betake themselves to whoring and to adultery. This Cyprian (said Luther) was almost the next teacher after the Apostles, in the time of emperor Valerian, scarcely 200 years after the Apostles. Tertullian was the ancientest ; after him was Gregory Nazianzen, then Jerome, Austin, Ambrose, &c. At that time (said Luther) the church degenerated greatly. We see how St. Paul complaineth over the Corinthians and Galatians. And Christ himself had Judas the traitor among his disciples ; therefore (said Luther) away with them that expect to have such a church as is altogether pure like the dove ; that is, to have no church at all. For this cause let us have precious regard to our vocations and callings, and be waking, for we lightly fall into sin, yea sometimes by reason of a small and silly word. Therefore it is no wonder that ignorant people, that go on drowned in their opinions, regarding no man, and self-conceited spirits, will soon be led into errors and fall from the truth, like as the heretic Pelagius did, who seduced many people touching the article of justification, only with this base argument, namely, we are (said he) justified by grace ; to know Moses and the law, is grace, therefore we are justified through the knowledge of the law. The people (said Luther) did neither see nor hear this open deceit. Even thus likewise the holy fathers said, in the fourth petition in the Lord's Prayer, we pray not for corporal and temporal things, for it is against the sentence of Christ, where he saith, "Take no care what ye shall eat," &c. As though that commandment did not mean the carping and caring for the daily bread.

The books which the fathers wrote upon the bible do leave the readers hanging between heaven and earth, they conclude nothing that is certain. I will not presume to censure their writings, seeing they are received of the church, and have great applause, for then I should be held an apostate; but whoso readeth Chrysostom, will find that he digresseth from the chief points, and proceedeth to other matters, saith nothing (or very little) of that which pertaineth to the business. When I expounded the Epistle to the Hebrews (saith Luther), and beheld what Chrysostom had written thereupon, I found nothing therein that served to the purpose; yet I believed that he at that time (as being the chiefest rhetorician) had many hearers, but taught without profit; for the chief office of a preacher is to teach uprightly, and diligently to look to the chiefest points, and grounds whereon he standeth, and in such sort to instruct and teach the hearers, to the end they may understand aright, and be able to say, this is well taught. When this is done, then he may shew his rhetoric, to adorn his subject, and admonish the people.

*Of the Fathers.*

BEHOLD (said Luther) what great darkness is in the books of the fathers concerning faith; for if the article of justification be darkened, then is it impossible to smother the grossest errors of mankind. St. Jerome, indeed wrote upon Matthew, upon the Epistles to Galatians and Titus; but, alas! very coldly. Ambrose wrote six books upon the first book of Moses, but they are very slender. Austin wrote nothing to the purpose concerning faith; for he was first roused up and made a man by the Pelagians, when he strove against them. The fathers, indeed taught well and finely, but they could not openly deliver it, because they had no combating nor striving: I can find no exposition upon the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, wherein any thing is shewed and taught pure and uprightly. O (said Luther), what a happy time have we now, in regard to the purity of the doctrine; but alas! we little esteem it. The loving fathers taught better than they wrote. After the fathers came the Pope, and fell in with his mischievous traditions and human ordinances, and, like a breaking water-cloud and deluge, overflowed the church, snared the consciences touching eating of meats, touching friars' hoods,

masses, touching his dirty laws and decrees, insomuch as daily and continually he brought abominable errors into the church of Christ; and to serve his own turn, took hold on St. Austin's sentence where he saith *Evangelio non crederem*, &c. The ass-heads could not discern what occasioned Austin to utter that sentence, for he spake it against the Manichees; as if he should say, I believe you not, for ye are damned heretics, but I believe and hold with the church, the spouse of Christ, which cannot err.

Epiphanius described the histories of the church long before Jerome, which are good and profitable; and if separated from dissentious arguments, then they were worth the printing.

The fathers had a great lustre and esteem, by reason of their good conversation, and strict kind of lives. Their lustre consisted in watchings and fastings, which indeed were surpassing, and (said Luther) so it becometh such people to be: for there must be either a seeming sanctity, as the hypocrites have, or else there must be an upright essence and being, which proceedeth from the heart, as the great champions whom God awakeneth are endued with.

#### *Of Prudentius.*

I MUCH do applaud (said Luther) the hymns and spiritual songs of Prudentius; he was the best poet of the christians; if he had been in the time of Virgil, he would have been extolled above Horace, whom Virgil praised. I wish that the verses and songs of Prudentius might be read in schools, but schools now begin to become heathenish, and the Holy Scripture (upon which they are built) is sophisticated through philosophy.

Among all the fathers, Austin and Hilary wrote most clear; all the rest ought to be read with judgment, with circumspection and consideration. Tertullian is harsh and superstitious; howsoever Cyprian boasteth of him, in that he was his preceptor and master. Therefore (said Luther) let us read the fathers consideratively. Let us lay them in the gold balance, for the fathers often stumbled and went astray; they mingle in their books many impertinent and monkish things. Austin had more work and labour to screw and wind himself out of the fathers' writings, than he had with the heretics. Gregory expoundeth the five pounds mentioned in the Gospel (which the husbandman gave to his servants to put to use) to be the five senses, which the beasts also

possess. But the two pounds, he construeth to be, the reason and understanding.

*Of the Four Pillars of the Church.*

AMBROSE (said Luther) is the chiefest, then Jerome; after him, Austin, who died 1011 years since; Gregory is the fourth. Ambrose was a politician, well experienced in temporal affairs. He was constrained to be elected Bishop of Milan, and was much employed by the emperor; he could not exempt himself from worldly business, like as it now goeth with us; for we must serve the table in the consistory about matrimonial causes, more than God's word and command: even so was it with Ambrose; he wrote indeed well and purely, was more serious in writing than Austin, who was amiable and mild. Jerome is called a Christian doctor; Bernard is called an under-aged prince's teacher; Austin is called Aurelius; Bonaventura, Seraphicus; St. Thomas, Angelicus; Scotus, Subtilis; and Martin Luther is called an arch-heretic. Fulgentius is the best poet, and far above Horace, both with sentences, fair speeches, and good actions; he is worthy to be numbered among the poets. They pictured St. Austin, in a book, like a friar, with a hood. There-with they much wrong that holy man; for he lived a public kind of a life, like another common citizen; he conversed with the people; he led no monkish kind of life, as the Papists have feigned of him, thereby to cloak and colour their errors; like as Tetzēl said, Whoso will minister good unto his soul, let him give liberally to monasteries, thereby to redeem grace; for after your death, your children will forget you, and will not perform your intentions.

Mercarius, Antonius, and Benedictus (said Luther) brought apparent mischief to the church with their monkery. But in case they led a private and a grizzly kind of life, yet it was far from a holy life; I believe that they are in a far lower degree in heaven, than an honest, God-fearing, married man and house-father.

*Of Luther's esteeming the Fathers and Teachers of the Church.*

ALTHOUGH it becometh not me (said Luther) to censure the Fathers, I being in comparison of them a little worm and of no repute; yet, notwithstanding, the more I read their books, the more I find myself offended; for they were but men, and (to speak the truth) with their repute and authority they did undervalue and suppress the books and writings of the sacred apostles of Christ. From whence the Papists were not ashamed to say, What is the Scripture? we must read the holy fathers and teachers, for they drew and sucked the honey out of the Scripture. As if God's word were not to be understood and conceived by none but by themselves, whereas the heavenly Father saith, "Him shall ye hear," who in the gospel taught most plainly in parables and similitudes, as where he saith, "Whoso believeth in me, the same shall not die," John, viii. Also, "Ye shall not resist evil," Matthew, v. Likewise, "Behold the fowls under heaven, and the flowers of the field," &c. Yet, nevertheless, the Papist sophists dare to presume to blaspheme the holy Scriptures, and allege they are dark, and not well to be understood, therefore it behoved the fathers to expound and clear them; but (said Luther) such their expounding and clearing may rather be called overshadowing and darkening.

Ah! (said Luther) the fathers were but men as we are, therefore we must well consider what they say; we must look to their lips. From hence Austin laboured wonderfully, who had stumbled and offended through human traditions; yet, nevertheless, he was strong and powerful in the holy Scriptures, and had a fine judgment and understanding in causes: he was sharpened by those heretics the Pelagians; he affected the state of matrimony, spake well of good bishops (who then were ministers), but those times vexed and offended him much: if he now were living, he would, doubtless, be enraged to see and hear the abominations of the Pope, in boasting of St. Peter's patrimony and inheritance; the same St. Austin would not endure.

To conclude: faithful Christians should hear only the legation or embassy of our blessed Saviour Christ, and hearken to what he saith. Therefore all those which alter and construe the gospel through human authority, power, and repute, do deal very

unchristian-like and against God. No temporal potentate alloweth his ambassador to exceed his enjoined instructions, no, not in one word; yet we, in this celestial and divine embassy and legation, will be so presumptuous as to add and diminish to and from our heavenly instructions, according to our own vain conceits and self-will.

I am persuaded, if at this time St. Peter, in person, should preach all the articles of holy Scripture, and but only deny the Pope's authority, power, and primacy, and should say, that the Pope were not the chief head of all Christendom, then surely they would cause him to be hanged. Yea, if Christ himself were yet on earth, and should preach, without all doubt the Pope would crucify him again. Therefore (said Luther) let us expect the same entertainment; better it is to build upon Christ, than upon the Pope. If from my heart I did not believe that after this life there were another, then I would sing another song, and would lay the burthen on another's neck.

*Of the Commentaries of Lyra upon the Bible.*

LYRA'S Commentaries upon the Bible (said Luther) are worthy of all praise; I will give order that with diligence they may be read, for they are exceeding good; especially they serve well for the historical part of the Old Testament. Lyra is very profitable to him that is well seen in the New Testament. The commentaries which Paulus and Simigerus made upon the same are very chill and cold; they may well be omitted and left out, if Lyra should be reprinted.

*At what times the Fathers and Teachers of the Church did live.*

ATHANASIUS, Bishop of Alexandria, lived anno domini, 379, died, 387.

Basilus Magnus, and Gregorius, died, 380.

Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, died, 380.

Aurelius Prudentius, died, 380.

Austin, Bishop of Hippo, his age 76, died, 430.

Beda, a Benedict in England, aged 72, died, 737.

Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, died, 259.

Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, died, 432.

- Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, died, 420.  
Gregory, the first Pope, died, 511.  
Hierom, Presbyter, and the eldest of Striden, died, 522.  
Irenæus, Bishop of Leon, died, 175.  
Polycarpus, tutor to Irenæus, died, 175.  
Nicolas de Lyra, died, 320.  
Origen, Presbyter of Adomantz, died, 261.  
Philo the Jew, died, 50.  
Josephus, died, 100.  
Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, died, 111.  
Prosperus, Bishop of Rogen, Austin's disciple, that drew  
Austin's sentences together, died, 460.  
Sedulius, the eldest Presbyter, died, 430.  
Tatianus, the Heretic, died, 170.  
Tertullian, the Elder, at Carthage, died, 200.  
Thomas Aquinas, died, 1274.  
Bonifacius, Bishop of Mentz, died, 755.  
Bernard, Abbot of Cistern, died, 1140.  
Hugo Parisiensis, died, 1130.  
Anselmus, died, 1110.

CHAPTER XXX.

OF SCHOOL DIVINES.

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*Luther's Discourse of School Divines.*

THE Terminists (said Luther) were sectaries in the high schools, among whom I was: they oppose the Thomists, the Scotists, and the Albertists: they are also called Occamists, of Occam, their first beginner and founder. They are of the newest sect, and now are the strongest in Paris.

The strife and discord among them was, whether the word *humanitas* was called a general humanity, and which is in every human creature, as Thomas and others do hold. The Occamists and Terminists say, It is not in general, but it is spoken in particular of every human creature; like as a picture of a human creature signifieth every human creature.

But now in this case they must be called Terminists, which speak of a thing in its own proper words, as they sound and are called of themselves, and not to construe and signify the words after a strange and barbarous sort, which is called a ridiculous kind of speaking; as with a carpenter, we must speak in his terms, and with such words as is usual in his faculty; namely, a chisel, an axe, and not an hatchet. Even so we must let the words of Christ remain, and speak of the sacraments *in suis terminis*, with such words as Christ used and spake; as "Do this," must not be said, "Offer this: and this word *corpus* must not signify both kinds, as the Papists tear and torment the words, and wilfully wrest them from the highway against the clear text.

*Of Luther's Censure of Longobard.*

*Magister sententiarum*, the master of high sentences, Peter Longobard, was a very diligent man, and of a high understanding; he wrote many excellent things. If he had wholly and fully given himself to the holy Scriptures, then he had been indeed a great and a principal doctor of the church: but he confused his books with many unprofitable questions, sophisticating and mingling all together. The school divines were fine and delicate wits, but they had not such times as we now have. They came so far, that they taught mankind was not complete, pure, nor sound, but was wounded in part; yet so that people by their own power, without grace, were able to fulfil the law; but when they had obtained grace, as then they were able more easily to accomplish the law of their own proper power only.

Such and the like horrible things they taught; but they neither saw nor felt Adam's fall, nor that the law of God is a spiritual law, which requireth a complete and full obedience inwardly and outwardly, both in body and soul.

When Popedom stood in the highest flourishing state, then Scotus, Bonaventura, Gabriel Biel, Thomas Aquinas, &c., were idle fellows, prone to entertain fantasies and frivolous toys.

Gabriel Biel wrote a book upon the canon in the mass, which at that time I held for the best; my heart bled when I read therein. I still keep those books which in such sort tormented me. Scotus wrote very well upon the book styled, *Magistri Sententiarum*; he diligently endeavoured to teach orderly and uprightly touching those matters. Occam was an understanding and a rich sensible man; he used much diligence in making a thing great, to enlarge and to spread it abroad. Thomas Aquinas was only a talker and a brawler.

*Of John Huss the Martyr.*

PROLES, the best preacher (going into the monastery at Gotha, where he saw Andreas Zacharias pictured on a wall, who, as they say, convinced John Huss with a rose, which he wore on his Italian cap), said, God preserve me from wearing this rose, for he convinced John Huss wrongfully, through a

falsified Bible; namely, where, in the prophecy of Ezekiel, the 24th chapter, it is written, "Behold, I myself will visit and punish my shepherds," there was added thereunto these words, *Non populus*, not the people. This they found in John Huss's own Bible, shewed him the words, and concluded thereout in this manner; Behold, thou must not reprove the Pope, but God himself will do it. Hereupon that good and godly man was condemned and burned. Spalatin said, The devil put that text into the Bible. John Agricola read the writings of John Huss, rich and full of the spirit of patience, and of prayer, and how they tormented him in prison with stones. He was a precious man (said Luther), his death was thoroughly revenged; for soon after his death, Emperor Sigismund had strange and sudden misfortunes, and remained an unhappy governor, being always, after Huss's death, beaten by the Turks, over whom, before, he had continual victories.

#### *Of St. Austin.*

AMONG all the writings of the fathers (said Luther), I took most delight to read St. Austin's works; but since the time that, by God's grace, I understood St. Paul, I could esteem nothing of any father whatsoever; they are all of very small value. At the first I willingly read Austin; but when the door of St. Paul was opened unto me (insomuch that I knew what was the righteousness of faith), then had I done with Austin. The best and chiefest sentences in Austin are these: "Sins are forgiven (saith he), not that they are no more present, but in that they are not imputed." Likewise he saith, "The law as then is fulfilled, when that is pardoned which is not fulfilled nor performed."

#### *Of Hieronymus.*

HIERONYMUS (said Luther) should not be numbered among the teachers of the church, for he was an heretic; yet nevertheless I believe that he is saved through faith in Christ. He speaketh nothing of Christ, but only carrieth the name in his mouth. I know none among the teachers whom I hate like Hieronymus: for he writeth only of fasting, of victual, of virginity,

&c. he teacheth nothing neither of faith, nor of hope, neither of love, nor of the works of faith. Truly (said Luther) I would not willingly have entertained him for my chaplain.

*Of Gerson.*

GERSON saith, Christ instituted his last supper for a communion; that is, to the end it should be used and enjoyed generally one with another, that thereby we might know that we ought not to be solitary or alone: the loving good man saw (when we are alone) that the devil hunteth us like a lost sheep. Gerson only (said Luther), among all the teachers in the church, wrote of spiritual tribulations; all the rest were sensible and felt but only corporal temptations. The church, which now is in the fullest age, should justly be sensible of such tribulations. *Wilhelmus Parisiensis* felt some of those spiritual trials, but the school divines never came to the knowledge of the catechism. Gerson, by extenuating and undervaluing the law, delivered many poor sorrowful consciences from despair; for which cause he was condemned by the Pope.

*Of John Huss.*

THE blood of John Huss, to this day, is yearly damned by the Papists. Truly (said Luther) he was an honest and a learned man, as is to be seen in his book of the church, which I love exceedingly well; indeed there was in him a Christian's weakness; yet, nevertheless, God's power raiseth him up again. The combat of the flesh and spirit in Christ and in Huss is sweet and delightful to behold; every man's witness standeth and will remain, showing that Jerome of Prague was an eloquent, but Huss a very learned man. He accomplished more than the whole world was able to do, but innocently was condemned. From that time Popedom by degrees began to fall. *Costnitz*, since the death of Huss, is grown a miserable poor city, insomuch that I do believe that God's punishment struck it, in regard the citizens therein armed themselves, led and conveyed that holy man, Huss, to the fire. In Huss the Holy Ghost was powerful, who so joyfully and constantly held over God's Word against so many great people and nations; namely, against Germany, Italy, Spain, England, and France,

which were assembled together in the council at Costnitz, against whose assaults, cries, and alarms he only stood, was constrained to bear them, and thereupon was burned to ashes. Even so (said Luther) shall I, God willing, be more secure in death than in this life.

*Of Luther's Censure touching certain School Divines, the Sons of certain Nuns.*

THREE great learned men (said Luther) were begotten of nuns; Peter Longobard, a divine; Gratianus, a civil lawyer; and Comester, who wrote the church histories.

*Of Dionysius.*

DIONYSIUS prateth much (said Luther) of the Divine name, of the celestial and church hierarchies, insomuch that he was named *Diviniloquim*, God's eloquent speaker, that writeth of high divine things; but it is a mere fable, neither was it that Dionysius who was Paul's disciple, nor he that was a martyr; but this was one of Paris, for there have been three of that name.

## CHAPTER XXXI.

OF THE BOOKS OF THE OLD AND  
NEW TESTAMENTS.

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*Luther's Discourse of the Books of the Old and New Testaments.  
and his Censure of the same.*

CHRIST, in Matthew, v. and in the next two chapters, teacheth briefly these points; first, of the eight happinesses or blessings, how every Christian ought particularly to live as it concerns himself; secondly, of the office of teaching, what and how a man ought to teach in the church; namely, we must season with salt, and enlighten, that is, we must teach the law and the Gospel; we must reprove and comfort, and exercise the faith; thirdly, he confuteth and opposeth the false expounding of the law; fourthly, he condemneth the wicked hypocritical kind of living; fifthly, he teacheth which are upright and good works; sixthly, he warneth them of false doctrine; seventhly, he cleareth and solveth that which might be found doubtful and confused; eighthly, he condemneth the hypocrites and false saints which abuse the precious word of grace.

*Of St. Luke and St. John; how they described the Passion of  
our Saviour Christ.*

THE evangelist, Luke (said Luther), above the rest described the history of Christ's sufferings in the best and most copious manner: but John displayeth the chiefest business; he described the audience, and how the cause was handled, and in what sort they proceeded before the seat of judgment; how Christ was questioned, and for what cause he was slain. When Pilate asked

him, “ Art thou the king of the Jews ?” yea, (said Christ) I am : but not such a king as the emperor is, for then my servants and armies would fight and strive to deliver and defend me ; but I am a king sent to preach the gospel, to give record of the truth which I must speak. What ? (said Pilate), art thou such a king, and hast thou such a kingdom as consisteth in word and truth ? then surely thou canst be no prejudice to me. Doubtless Pilate took our Saviour Christ to be a good, plain, honest man, that talked of a kingdom which no man knew nor heard of, to be one that happily came out of a wild wilderness, a simple fellow, or a hermit, who knew or understood nothing of the world nor of government.

*That St. John and St. Paul in particular were certain and sure of their Doctrine.*

IN the writings of St. Paul and St. John (said Luther) is a surpassing certainty, knowledge, and *plerophoria*. They spake thereof so directly, as if those passages had been already done before their eyes. Therefore Christ not in vain touching St. Paul, saith, he shall be a chosen instrument and vessel unto me, there he was made a doctor, and therefore he spake so certainly of the cause. Whoso readeth Paul may, with a safe conscience build upon his words ; for my part, I never read more serious writings. St. John in his gospel describeth Christ, that he is a true and natural man (*à priori*) from former time, where he saith, “ In the beginning was the word,” &c. Likewise, “ whoso honoureth me, the same honoureth also the father.” But Paul describeth Christ (*à posteriori et effectu*) from that which followed, and according to the actions or works, as where he saith, “ They tempted Christ in the wilderness,” &c. And also, “ Take heed therefore to yourselves,” &c. Acts, xx.

*Of Solomon's Proverbs.*

THE book of Solomon's proverbs is a fair book : rulers and governors should diligently read the same ; for therein is seen how it goeth in the world, it containeth lessons touching God's fear, wherein governors and rulers ought to exercise themselves.

I bid adieu to the third book of Esther (said Luther); those things which Esther dreamed of in the book are fair and pretty knacks; as, "The wine is strong, the king is stronger, women strongest of all;" but the truth is stronger than all these.

I cannot conceive (said Luther) that the book of Judith is a history. Besides, the country therein is not specified where those particulars should have happened; therefore I hold, that like as the legends of the saints were devised, even so likewise, this poem or imagination was made by some good man, to the end he might teach, that God-fearing people (where God was known and confessed) overcame and vanquished all the kingdoms of the world; and that all tyrants should be destroyed.

The master of the same book of Judith (said Luther) doubtless intended, that it should be a figure and signification. And like as the poet Homer took occasion to pen his conceit of Troy, and Virgil of Æneas, (wherein is shewed how a great prince ought to be adorned with surpassing virtues, like a brave champion, with wisdom and understanding, with great courage and alacrity, with fortune, honesty, and justice, &c.), even so, Judith is placed before our eyes in such manner of conceit and imagination. Therefore I conceive Judith to be a tragedy, wherein is described and shewed what the end of tyrants is. I also take the book of Tobias to be a comedy concerning women. This is an example for house-government, but the other for temporal discipline, wherein is shewed how it useth to go with rulers. When Luther corrected the second book of the Maccabees, he said, I am so great an enemy to this book, and to Esther that I wish they were not at all, for they are too much jewishized, and have many heathenish unnaturalities. The Jews much more esteemed the book of Esther than any of the prophets: they utterly contemn Daniel and Isaiah. It is dreadful that the Jews do contemn the prophesying of these two holy and glorious prophets, whereas the one in the most rich and purest manner teacheth and preacheth Christ, the other describeth and pourtrayeth the kingdom of Christ, and the monarchies and empires of the world in a striking light.

When Doctor Justus Jonas had translated the book of Tobias into high Dutch, he attended Luther therewith, and said, many ridiculous things are contained in this book, especially concerning the three nights, and the liver of the broiled fish, wherewith the devil was scared and driven away. Whereupon Luther

said, it is a Jewish conceit, and the devil, as a fierce and powerful enemy, will not be hunted away in such sort, for he hath the spear of Goliah; yet, nevertheless, God giveth him such weapons, to the end, that when he is overcome by the godly it may be the greater terror and vexation unto him. Daniel and Isaiah are the most excellent prophets. I am Isaiah (said Luther, be it spoke with humility) to the advancement of God's honour (whose work alone it is), and to spite the devil. Philip Melancthon is Jeremiah; "that prophet stood always in fear," even so it is with Melancthon.

In the book of the Judges the excellent and valiant champions and deliverers are described, which by God were sent, and who believed and trusted wholly in God, according to the first commandment (touching whom Moses preached), they committed themselves, their actions, and enterprises to God, and gave him thanks: they relied only upon the God of Heaven, and said, Lord God, thou hast done these things, and not we, to thee only be praise, glory, &c.

The book of Job (said Luther) is a very good book, not written only touching himself, but also for the comfort and consolation of every sorrowful, troubled, and perplexed heart. When the devil and human creatures sorely vexed and set themselves against him, he endured and suffered it patiently, and said, "The name of the Lord be blessed." But when he conceived that God began to be angry with him, then he became impatient, and was much offended. It vexed and grieved him to the heart that the ungodly prospered so well. Therefore this should be a comfort to poor Christians that are persecuted and forced to suffer; namely, that in the life to come, God will give unto them exceeding great and glorious benefits, and everlasting wealth and honour; and he also limiteth their sufferings, how far and long the persecutors shall touch and vex them, and not as they willingly would.

*For what Cause the Histories of the Patriarchs were so briefly described.*

THE reason (said Luther) why Moses so briefly described the history of the holy patriarchs, which are wrapt up together, and noted in the shortest manner, is in regard they lived so long a time. For let us but consider what experience and knowledge

was in those that lived, some six hundred years, some more, some less, and yet were as strong in body and understanding, as we are now at the age of thirty years.

Moreover we need not wonder at Moses touching this particular; for the Evangelists, in the shortest measure, do describe also the sermons in the New Testament; how briefly do they run through the same? yea, they give but a touch of the preachings of John the Baptist, who, doubtless, made the beautifullest sermons; this sentence only therein is shewed, where St. John saith, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world."

*Of the Gospel of Saint John.*

SAINT JOHN the Evangelist speaketh majestically, with very plain and simple words, as where he saith, "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him, and without him was not any thing made that was made. In him was life, and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehendeth it not."

Behold (said Luther) how he describeth God the Creator, and also the creatures, with very plain and simple words; as with a sun-beam. If one of our philosophers or high learned should have described the same, what wonderful swelling and high-trotting words would he have breathed out and prattled *de ente et essentia*, of a self-being thing; insomuch that no man could have understood any thing that he meant. Hereby we see, and experience teacheth us how mighty and powerful divine truth is, she presseth through, though she be hemmed in; the more she is read, the more she moveth, and taketh possession of the heart.

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF

THE PATRIARCHS AND PROPHETS.

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*Of David.*

DAVID'S fall (said Luther) was very offensive, for the holy man fell into adultery, murder, and despising of God. He was afterwards visited and punished by God in such sort, that the whole nation forsook him. His counsellors, yea, his best beloved son conspired and made a league against him, who before had such great fortunes, and was held in high esteem.

On account of those offences, the ungodly, doubtless, boasted and said, where is the king now? where is now his God? what is become of his good fortunes and prosperity? For without doubt, there were many kings more powerful than David; as the king of the Moabites, whom Isaiah calleth a three-year'd cow; that is strong, powerful, and fat.

Such offences always have been in the world; namely, that it hath gone evil with the godly, but well with the ungodly; of which, complaint is made in many Psalms. We see the same also to this day, that the Popish Bishops and ungodly princes do live in great honour, wealth, and great power: but good and God-fearing people are in poverty, disgrace, and trouble.

*That David was constrained to connive at many Things.*

DAVID (said Luther) was a fine understanding king, he could connive and dispense with many things, as with his nephew Joab, &c.

All the Grecian tragedies were not to be compared to the histories of David.

All kings, princes, and governors, that are in public offices, do sin of necessity, therefore they have special need of the remission of sins. I am persuaded that Ahab was saved, inasmuch as God said to the prophet, "Seest thou not how Ahab boweth himself before me?" For to whom God affordeth speech, that is, his word and promise, with him it standeth well. Therefore, doubtless, he was saved, notwithstanding the Scriptures witness against him, even to his death. He believed the promise of the Messiah to come, insomuch that at his death he got hold of the forgiveness of sins. In like manner (said Luther) I am persuaded also of all those of whom the Scripture saith, "And he slept with his fathers," that they are all in heaven. For this word [slept] sheweth some good in the Scriptures. But of whom it is written, "They were made away and slain by the enemies, or were devoured and torn in pieces by wild beasts," I am persuaded that they are lost and damned.

*Of the Cause why David did not build the Temple.*

ALTHOUGH (said Luther) God formerly charged David to build the Temple yet he could not perform it; because he had shed much blood, and had carried the sword; not that he did wrong therein, but that he could not be the figure or type of Christ, who should have a peaceable kingdom without shedding of blood. But Solomon must accomplish it, who (in the German language) is called [*Fridich*] peaceable, through which Christ's kingdom was signified.

*Of Judas Maccabeus.*

It goeth with us as it did in the time of Judas Maccabeus, who defended his people, and yet was not able to suppress the enemies which had the government in possession; but his own people were unthankful, and wrought him the greatest mischief; these two oppressions make one weary.

The legends of the patriarchs far excelled the holiness of all the saints; for they went on in simple obedience towards God in the works of their vocation. They performed such things as came to their hand, according to God's command, without respect; therefore Sara, Abraham's wife, excelleth all other women.

Philip Melancthon demanded of Luther, how it was, that though David was instituted and ordained a king immediately by God, yet he had many knocks and plagues as his psalms do shew, where he saith, " Lord help thy people," &c. Also, " We have a God that helpeth, and the Lord of Lords that delivereth from death," &c., which are Psalms of mourning : whereupon Luther said, David was not acquainted with many good days : he was plagued by the ungodly and false teachers, he saw that his people banded themselves against him, he endured and suffered many insurrections and tumults, which taught him his lesson to pray. As he was without tribulation he grew giddy headed and secure, as we see in the adultery and murdering of Uriah.

Ah, Lord God ! (said Luther) how is that thou sufferest such great people to fall : this David had six wives, which doubtless were wise and understanding women ; as, that wise Abigail ; if they were all such, then he was furnished with excellent surpassing wives. Moreover, he had ten concubines, yet notwithstanding he was an adulterer.

### *Of Job.*

JOB (said Luther) had many tribulations ; he was also plagued of his own friends, who fiercely assaulted him. The text saith, that his friends fell upon him, and were full of wrath against him ; they tormented him thoroughly, but he held his peace, suffered them to talk their talking ; as if he should say, you know not what you prate about. Job is an example of God's goodness and mercy ; for how upright and holy soever he was, yet he sorely fell into temptation ; but he was not forsaken, he was again delivered and redeemed through God's grace and mercy.

### *That Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were poor plagued People.*

I HOLD (said Luther) that Zaccheus was richer than Abraham, who digged so many wells, which the inhabitants of that country filled and stopped up.

Isaac was also a miserable plagued man, and so was Jacob likewise ; yet they possessed such a faith that I do much admire how they were able to brook and endure so many knaveries as were put upon them.

*Of the Revelation of the Holy Prophets.*

MELANCTHON discoursed with Luther touching the prophets, who continually do boast in this sort, and with these words, "Thus saith the Lord," &c. whether God in person spoke with them or no.

They (said Luther) were very holy, spiritual, diligent, people, who seriously did contemplate upon holy and divine causes; therefore God spake with them in their consciences, which the prophets held for sure and certain revelations.

*Of Isaiah, why he was Slain.*

WE read in the books of Jews (said Luther) that Isaiah was slain by king Ahaz, because he said, "I saw the Lord sitting upon a throne," &c. For, doubtless, Ahaz said unto him, thou wretch! how darest thou presume to say, "Thou hast seen the Lord," whereas God saith to Moses, "Shall a man see me, and live?" Thou art an heretic out of thy wits, and frantic; thou blasphemist God, thou art worthy of death, take him away. And many think it agreeth well with the truth, that Isaiah was slain for the same, for they could endure no man that said, he had done or seen greater things than Moses.

*Of Elias.*

THE history of Elias (said Luther) is awful, and almost incredible. It was a fierce anger indeed, that so holy a man should pray, that it might not rain for so long a time; he saw that the teachers were slain, and that good and God-fearing people were hunted away and persecuted. Therefore he prayed against those whom with words and preaching he could not prevail; for they regarded the same as nothing at all: wherefore they said, thou troublest Israel, for he had oftentimes threatened them, and complained of the great want which he with them had suffered.

*Of the Prophet Jonah.*

THE majesty of the prophet Jonah (said Luther) is worthy to be advanced. He hath but four chapters, and yet he moved there-

with the whole kingdom, therefore under weakness he was justly a figure and a sign of the Lord Christ. Indeed it is surprising, that Christ should remember this but only in four words. Moses likewise, with few words describeth the creation, the histories of Abraham, and such great mysteries; but he spendeth much time about describing the tent, the external sacrifices, the kidneys and excrements, for he saw that the world greatly esteemed outward things which they beheld with their carnal eyes; but that which was spiritual they soon forgot.

This history of the prophet Jonah is so great, that it is almost incredible; yea, it soundeth more strange than any of the poet's fables; and (said Luther) if it stood not in the bible, I should take it for a lie; for consider, how for the space of three days he was in the great belly of the whale, whereas in three hours he might have been digested and changed into the nature, flesh and blood of that monster; may not this be said, to live in the midst of death? In comparison of this miracle, that wonderful passage through the red sea was nothing.

But what appeareth more strange is, that after he was delivered he then began to be angry, and to expostulate with a gracious God, touching a small matter, not worth a straw. It is a great mystery; I am ashamed of my exposition upon this prophet, in that I so weakly touch the main point of this wonderful miracle.

*Of the sharp Sermons of the Prophets against Hypocrisy and Idolatry.*

THE harsh and sharp words of the prophets, go to the heart, for when they say, "Jerusalem shall fall, and be destroyed," then the Jews held such preaching to be altogether heretical, they could not endure them.

Even so say I, the Romish church shall fall, and be destroyed but the Papists will neither believe nor endure it; for, say they, it is impossible to be believed, because it is written in the article, "I believe in the holy Christian church." Indeed many kings were in such sort destroyed before Jerusalem, as Sennacherib, &c. yet when the prophet Jeremiah said, "Jerusalem shall be destroyed," (which he spake through the Holy Ghost), then so it fell out, and was done accordingly.

If the Pope (said Luther) could bring against me only one argument (as the Jews had against Jeremiah, and other prophets) then it were not possible for me to subsist.

The Pope disputeth with me, not according to justice and equity, but with the sword and his power. He useth no written laws, but club laws. If I had no other argument against the Pope than *de facto*, of the deed or fact, I would instantly hang myself; but my dispute is *ius*.

*Of the History of Jonah.*

AN upright christian is like unto Jonah, who was cast into the sea, yea, into hell. He beheld the mouth of that monster gaping, and lay three days in his dark belly without consuming. This history should be unto us one of the greatest comforts, and an apparent sign of the resurrection from the dead.

In such sort God useth to humble those that are his. But afterwards Jonah went too far, would presume to master God Almighty, became a great man-slayer and a murderer, and would have had so great a city and so many people utterly destroyed. This (said Luther) was a strange saint.

*That it is a difficult matter to translate the Prophets.*

To translate the prophets well (said Luther) according to the Hebrew tongue, is a precious, a great and a glorious work, no man ever attained thereunto; to me it is also a hard task; may I be once exempted from it, so will I, in God's name, let it rest.

*Of the Cause, why David took Bathsheba to Wife.*

It is easy to be conceived, that David dealt uprightly, and repented himself, in not rejecting Bathsheba, Uriah's wife, but married her: and forasmuch as he had shamed her, it was therefore fitting for him to bring her again to honour. God was also pleased with that conjunction; howsoever, for a punishment of that adultery, God caused the son, begotten in adultery, soon to die.

*Of Abraham's Legends.*

No man (said Luther) since the Apostles' time, rightly understood the legends of Abraham. The Apostles themselves did not sufficiently extol nor explain Abraham's faith, according to the worth and greatness thereof. I much marvel, that Moses so slightly remembereth him.

*Of Job and David.*

JOB at one time lost ten children and all his cattle, he was punished in body and in goods, yet it was nothing in comparison of David's troubles, for he had the promise which could neither fail nor deceive; namely, where God saith, "Thou shalt be king," but God thoroughly powdered and peppered his kingdom for his tooth; no miserable man surpasseth David; the Grecian tragedies are nothing like unto David's calamities.

*Of Adam.*

ADAM (said Luther) begat more children than those three which are specified in the bible. But, in that mention is made of Seth, the same was done by reason of the lineage of our Lord Christ, who was born of that descent. Adam, doubtless, had many sons and daughters. It is like, that Cain was born thirty years after the fall, as they were comforted again: I believe, they were often comforted by the angels, otherwise it had been impossible for them to have lain together, by reason they were filled with great sorrows and fears. At the last day it will be known that Eve did exceed all women in sorrow and misery; never came into the world a more miserable and sorrowful women than Eve; she saw, that for her sake we were all to die. Therefore, all other women may hold their peace and stop their mouths before Eve. Some affirm that Cain was conceived before the promise of the seed that should crush the serpent's head. But (said Luther) I am persuaded, that the promise was made not half a day after the fall. For they entered into the garden about noon, and having appetites to eat, she took delight in the apple, then, about two of the clock (according to our account) was the fall.

*Of Agar, Abraham's Concubine.*

THE reason why Abraham gave so slender a dispatch to Agar his concubine with Ishmael his son, giving her only one flaggon, or bottle of wine, was this, she was thereby to know, that she had no right to demand any thing of the inheritance; but that which was given her, proceeded out of good will, not of any obligation or reason of law, yet, nevertheless, she might repair again to Abraham, and fetch more.

The text in Genesis saith, "Isaac and Ishmael buried Abraham;" from hence it appeareth that Ishmael was not continually with his father, but was nurtured out of the father's goodness and bounty; the same was done for this end, that Abraham intended to lead Christ through the right line; therefore Ishmael was separated like Esau.

*Of Jacob.*

I HOLD that Jacob was a poor perplexed man; I would willingly (if I could) frame a Laban out of the rich glutton in the Gospel of Luke, and a Jacob out of Lazarus which lay before the gate. I am glad (said Luther) that Rachael sate upon the idols, thereby to spite her father Laban.

*That David was an eloquent Man.*

NEITHER Cicero, Virgil, nor Demosthenes, are to be compared with David for eloquence, as we see in the 119th Psalm, where he divideth one sense and meaning into two and twenty parts, making no variation but in words; he had a great gift, and was highly favoured of God; I hold that God suffered him to fall so horribly, lest he should be too haughty and proud.

David's history is a right tragedy, but at last it was reduced to a comedy. Oh, the offence which the heathen took in him, without doubt it vexed him sore, when they saw that his own son procured the mother's fall. The same made him so chill and cold, that it took away all his strength. I hope that all his wives were not then living, seeing the scripture maketh no mention thereof. If they were, then it was a great matter.

*Of the Punishment of Shimei.*

Some are of opinion that David dealt not well and uprightly, in that upon his death-bed he commanded Solomon his son to punish Shimei, who cursed and threw dirt at him in his flight before Absalom. But (said Luther) I say, he did well and right therein; for the office of a magistrate is to punish the guilty and wicked malefactors. He made a vow indeed not to punish him, but that is to be understood so long as he lived.

In so strange and confused a government, where no man knew who was cook or who was butler, as we used to say, David was often constrained to look through the fingers at many abuses and wrongs. But afterwards, when in Solomon's time, there was peace, then through Solomon he punished. In tumultuous government, a ruler dareth not proceed as in time of peace, yet at last it is fitting that evil be punished; for David saith, *Maledixit mihi maledictionem malam*, the wretch cursed me sorely.

*Of Hezekiah.*

Hezekiah (said Luther) was a very good and godly king, full of faith, yet he fell; for God cannot endure that an human creature should trust and depend upon his own works; No man entereth into heaven without the remissions of sins.

*Of Elisha.*

ELISHA (said Luther) dealt uprightly, in permitting the forty youths to be torn in pieces of two bears, because they called him, bald-pate; for they mocked not him, but his God. As the same was also a jeering and mocking of Elijah, where they said unto him, "Thou man of God," &c. Therefore fire came down from heaven and devoured them.

*Of David.*

MANY strange things are written in the books of the kings, according to human sense and reason; they seem to be slight and simple books, but in the spirit they are of great weight. David

endured much, Saul persecuted and plagued him ten whole years; yet notwithstanding all this, David remained constant in faith, and believed that the kingdom pertained unto him. I (said Luther) should have gone my way, and said, Lord! thou hast deceived me, wilt thou make me a king, and sufferest me in this sort to be tormented, persecuted, and plagued? But David was like a strong wall, and he was also a good and a godly man; he refused to lay hands on the king when he had fit opportunity; for he had God's word, and that made him to remain so steadfast; he was sure that God's word and promise never would nor could fail him.

Surely Jonathan was an honest man, whom David loved entirely; he marked well that the kingdom belonged to David, therefore he entreated David not to root out him and his. Jonathan also wrought wonders, when he with his armour-bearer alone, went over the mountain, and slew and destroyed the Philistines; for, doubtless, he said with himself, the Lord that overcometh with many, is able also to overcome with few. But in that he wretchedly was slain, was a great grief to David; the same often happeneth, that the good are punished for the sake of the wicked and ungodly. As we see the son of God himself was not spared.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

OF THE APOSTLES AND DISCIPLES  
OF CHRIST.

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*Of the Disciple's fear.*

THE cause why the disciples were afraid when Christ came unto them, (the doors being shut) was this, they saw how it lately went with their Lord and master, fearing it might go even so with them, especially considering that at the same time the Jews intended to act with violence against them. For as yet they scarcely believed that Christ was risen again from the dead, as may be gathered from the two disciples going to Emaus, who said, we hoped he should have redeemed Israel, as if they should say, now all our hope is at an end.

*Of the Cause why the Pope extolleth not St. Paul as much as  
St. Peter.*

THE cause (said Luther) why the Papists boast more of St. Peter than of St. Paul, is this; St. Paul had the sword, St. Peter had the keys: they esteemed more of the keys (to open the coffers, to filch and steal, and to fill their thievish purse) than of the sword. That Caiaphas, Pilate, and St. Peter came to Rome and appeared before the emperor are mere fables; the histories touching that point do not accord; for that reason I give no credit thereunto. Christ died under the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, who governed five years after his death. All histories unanimously agree, that St. Peter and St. Paul died under the emperor Nero, whose last year was the five and twentieth year after the death of Christ. But St. Peter was eighteen years at Jerusalem after Christ's death, as the Epistle to the Galatians witnesseth.

And after that, he was seven years at Antioch. Then (as they fable) he ruled afterwards five and twenty years at Rome.

No Pope, among them all, yet ruled five-and-twenty years; and, according to this reckoning, St. Peter was not crucified under Nero. To conclude, the accounts in those histories agree not together. Saint Luke writeth also, that Saint Paul was two whole years at liberty in Rome, and went abroad; he mentioneth nothing at all of Saint Peter: it is a thing dangerous to believe, that Saint Peter ever was at Rome.

*Of St. John's Canons and Epistles.*

SAINT John the Evangelist wrote his gospel touching the true nature of faith; namely, that our salvation dependeth only upon Christ the son of God and Mary, who so dearly purchased the same with his bitter passion and death, and through the word is received into the heart by faith, out of his mere mercy and grace. At last he was constrained to write in his epistle also of works, by reason, of the wickedness of those, that, void of all shame, abused the gospel through indulging the flesh.

*That the Miracles of the Apostles were necessary.*

So long as Jupiter, Diana, and other worshipping of idols and abominable idolatries of the heathens reigned, so long it was needful that Christ and his Apostles wrought corporal and visible miracles, to confirm the doctrine of faith, and to pull down and destroy all other doctrines and idolatrous worshippings. And such visible miracles to endure and to be wrought until the gospel and baptism should be confirmed, and no longer. But the spiritual wonders, which Christ holdeth for miracles indeed, the same remain continually to the world's end. As that of the Centurion, who took hold on so great a faith in Christ, although he was not present with his sick servant.

John the baptist had a great spirit, strength, and courage, who boldly opened his mouth against the holiest people, the Jews; for he touched them home, when he said "Do not think to say in ourselves, we have Abraham to our father," &c. Truly (said Luther) that was searching deeply.

## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## O F   A N G E L S.

*What an Angel is.*

AN angel (said Luther) is a spiritual creature created by God (without a body) for the service of Christendom, especially in the office of the church.

*How and what we ought to teach concerning Angels.*

THE acknowledgment of Angels (said Luther) is needful in the church. Therefore good and godly preachers should plainly, orderly, and Christian-like teach the same logically. First, to shew what angels are, namely, spiritual creatures without bodies. Secondly, what manner of spirits they are, namely, good spirits and not evil. And, here evil spirits must also be spoken of, which of God were not so created, but out of a settled hatred against God they fell, the same hatred began in Paradise, and so will continue and remain against Christ and his church to the world's end. Therefore the Angels we are treating of are not evil, but good spirits. Thirdly, we ought also to speak touching their offices, as the epistles to the Hebrews sheweth.

In them a looking-glass of humility is presented to godly christians in that such pure and glorious creatures do minister unto us, poor and base people in housekeeping, in policy, and in religion. And therein they are our true and trusty servants, they perform such offices and works as one poor miserable creature, would be ashamed to do for another. In this sort we ought to teach touching the sweet and loving angels; whoso observeth not such order according to logic, the same indeed may speak of many impertinent things not belonging to the matter, but he shall speak little or nothing to edification.

*Of Good and Evil Angels.*

THE Angels (said Luther) are near unto us, and to those creatures, who by God's command they are to keep and preserve, to the end they receive no hurt of the devil. And withal, they behold God's face, and stand before him. Therefore when the devil intendeth to hurt us, then the loving holy angels do resist and drive him away; for the angels have long arms, and although they stand before the face and in the presence of God and his son Christ, yet they are hard by and about us in our affairs, which by God in our vocations we are commanded to take in hand. The devil is also near and about us, and every twinkling of an eye tracketh our steps in order to deprive us of our lives, our saving health, and salvation. But the holy angels do defend us from him, insomuch that he is not able to work us such mischief as willingly he would. Many devils are in woods, in waters, in wildernesses, and in dark pooly places, ready to hurt and prejudice people; some (said Luther) are also in the thick black clouds, which do cause hail, lightnings, and thunderings, do poison the air, the pastures and grounds; when these things happen, then the philosophers, and physicians do say, it is natural, they ascribe it to the planets, and shew, I know not what reasons, for such misfortunes and plagues as proceed thereupon.

*That the Angels are Lords Protectors.*

IT were neither good nor fitting for us to know, how earnestly the holy angels do strive for us against the devils, how hard a combat it is; for (said Luther) if we should see, that one devil made work for so many angels, and put them to it, then we should be discouraged. Therefore the holy scripture with few words saith, "He hath given his angels charge over thee," &c. Also, "The angel of the lord encampeth round about those that fear him," &c. Now, whosoever thou art, that fearest the Lord, be of good courage, take thou no care, neither be faint-hearted, nor make any doubt of the angels waking, watching, and protection; for most certainly they are about thee, and do carry thee upon their hands. But how or in what manner it is done, take thou no care for that. God saith it, therefore it is most sure and cer-

tain. In Job it is written, "Behold he put no trust in his servants; and his angels he charged with folly;" namely, the evil angels.

Concerning the angels, this is my opinion (said Luther), and whereupon I stand stedfast, I do verily believe, that they are already up in arms, they are putting on their harness and girding their swords about them. For (said he) their judgment draweth near, and the angels prepare themselves for the fight and combat, and that within the space of a few hundred years they will strike down both Turk and Pope into the bottomless pit of hell.

CHAPTER XXXV.  
OF THE DEVIL AND HIS WORKS.

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*That an ungodly Human Creature is a perfect Picture of the Devil.*

WHOSO (said Luther) would see the true picture, shape, or image of the devil, and would also know how he is qualified and disposed, let him mark well all the commandments of God in order one after another, and then let him place before his eyes an offensive, a shameless, a lying, a despairing, an ungodly, insolent, and blasphemous man or woman, whose mind and conceptions are directed in every way and kind against God, and who taketh delight in doing people hurt and mischief; there thou seest the right devil carnal and corporally. First, in such a person there is no fear, no love, no faith nor confidence in God, but altogether contempt, hatred, unbelief, despair and blaspheming of God, &c. There thou seest the devil's head, which directly opposeth the first commandment. Secondly, a believing christian taketh God's name not in vain, but spreadeth abroad God's word, calleth upon Him from his heart, thanketh Him for his benefits, confesseth Him, &c. But this picture and child of the devil doth quite the contrary, he holdeth God's word for a fable, he fearfully abuseth God's name, blasphemeth God, and withal he sweareth and rageth abominably, calleth upon the evil one and yieldeth unto him. There thou seest the mouth and the tongue of the devil, directed against the second commandment. Thirdly, a true christian esteemeth worthily of the office of preaching; he heareth and learneth God's word, with true earnestness and diligence, according to Christ's institution and command, not only to the amendment and comfort of himself, but also for good example to others, he honoureth and defendeth good and godly servants of the word, permitteth them not to suffer want, &c. But this image and child of the devil regardeth no preaching, heareth

not God's word (or very negligently) speaketh evil thereof, perverteth it, and maketh a scoff thereat; yea, he hateth the servants thereof, who, for ought he careth, may famish for want of food, &c. There thou seest the ears of the devil, his throat and neck of steel, directly against the third commandment. Further, desirest thou to know, how the body of the devil is shapen and fashioned, then hearken to the following commandments of the second table, and take good heed thereunto. For the first, a good christian honoureth his parents, and hearkeneth unto them, to the magistrates, and to the shepherds of souls, according as God hath commanded. But this child of the devil hearkeneth not to his parents, serveth and helpeth them not; nay, he dishonoureth, contemneth, and vexeth them, he forsaketh them in their need, he is ashamed of them when they are poor, he scorneth them in their old age, he is disobedient to the magistrate, and sheweth unto them no reverence, but speaketh evil of them, he regardeth no admonition, no reproof, no civility, nor honesty, &c. There thou seest the breast of the devil. Secondly, an upright and true christian envieth not his neighbour, he beareth no ill-will towards him, he desireth not to be revenged of him, although he hath cause, yea, he condoleth with his neighbour, when hurt and grief assaulteth him, helpeth, and to his power defendeth him against those which seek his life, &c. But this child of the devil, although he cannot hurt his neighbour in body and life, or murder him with the fist; yet, he hateth and envieth him, he is angry with him, and is his enemy in his heart, wishes his death, and when it goeth evil with his neighbour, then he is glad and laugheth in his sleeve, &c. There thou seest the devil's wrathful and murdering heart. Thirdly, a God-fearing christian, liveth modestly and honestly, he shunneth all manner of wrongful dealing, standeth in fear of God's wrath and everlasting punishment, who will judge the whoremongers and adulterers, &c. Hebrews the 13th, and Saint Paul to the Ephesians, saith, "No whoremonger nor unclean person, &c. hath inheritance in the kingdom of heaven." But the child of the devil doth quite the contrary, void of all shame and chastity, with words, with behaviour, with the act, if he hath opportunity, through whoring, adultery, incest, sodomy, &c. There thou seest the belly of the devil. Fourthly, a godly christian liveth by his labour, by his trade, with a good conscience, deceiveth no man of that which is

his, yea, he lendeth, helpeth and giveth to the needy according to his ability, &c. But this devilish child helpeth none, no, not in the least kind, but he tradeth in usury, coveteth, robbeth, and stealeth, as he may, by power and deceit; he taketh all manner of advantage to cheat and to cozen his neighbour by false wares, measures, weights, &c. There thou seest the hands and sharp-pointed claws of the devil. Fifthly, a godly creature speaketh evil of no man, he belieth not his neighbour, nor beareth false witness against him; yea, although he knoweth his neighbour faulty, yet out of love he covereth his infirmities and sins, except by the magistrate he be called to confess the truth, &c. But this child of the devil doth quite the contrary, he slandereth and backbiteth, betrayeth, and falsely accuseth his neighbour, perverteth that which he hath rightly spoken, &c. There thou seest the devil's evil and wicked will. Sixthly, and lastly, a true christian coveteth not his neighbour's house, his inheritance, nor his wealth, misleadeth not his wife nor his daughter, enticeth not away his servants, coveteth nothing that is his, yea, according to his power, he helpeth to keep and preserve that which belongeth to his neighbour, &c. But this child of the devil imagineth, endeavoureth, and day and night seeketh opportunity to defraud his neighbour of his house, his grounds, lands, and people, to draw and entice his wife away unto himself, to flatter away his servants, to instigate his neighbour's tenants against him, to get his cattle from him, &c. There thou seest the devil's lust. Christ with short words, portrayeth and draweth the wicked villain in his right colours, where he saith, "He abideth not in the truth." Also, "He is a murderer." For (said Luther) through lies, yet under the colour of the truth, he seduceth and deceiveth godly people, like as he did Adam and Eve in Paradise; therefore the more holy the people be, the greater is the danger they stand in. For this cause, we ought to beware of the devil, and to take our refuge in Christ, who crushed his head, and delivered us from his lies; he, as the only right master and teacher, taught us the truth, as it is written, Him shall ye hear. He, through his death, hath redeemed us from everlasting death, and hath purchased everlasting life.

*Of the Cause, why the Devil is an enemy to upright Christians.*

THE devil (said Luther) is provoked to be our enemy, because we are against him with God's Word, wherewith we destroy his kingdom. Now, he is a Prince and a God of the world, he hath a greater power than all the kings, potentates, and princes upon earth, therefore, doubtless, he would be revenged of us, as indeed he assaulteth us, without ceasing, which we both see and feel. On the contrary, how great soever he be, yet we have no more in the world to encounter him with, than what is enclosed within flesh and blood. But the spirit is that little bag or purse, wherein that *viaticum*, that pure Arabian gold, lieth hid, the same must the devil leave untouched and unremoved, and shall have no thanks at all for his pains. Is it not provoking that the hellish fiend, that utter enemy of God, who brought the fall of human nature, and is the cause of sin and death, should so lamentably plague, affright, and accuse us poor creatures, and, by reason of our sins, presume to condemn us? What hath the wicked villain to do therewith, allowing that we have sinned? we have done him no harm, much less have we sinned against him, for he gave no laws unto us, but alas, we have sinned against God, and transgressed his commandments. Therefore we have nothing to do with that arch-enemy, but we confess, and say, "Against thee, Lord, have we sinned," &c. We know, through God's grace, that we have a gracious God and a merciful father in Heaven, whose wrath against us, Christ Jesus, our only Lord and Saviour, hath appeased with his precious blood. Now forasmuch as through Christ we have remission of sins and peace with God, so must the envious devil be content to let us alone and to live in peace, so that from henceforward he can neither upbraid nor hit us in the teeth concerning our sins against God's laws, for Christ hath cancelled and torn in pieces the bill or hand-writing of our consciences which was a witness against us, and hath nailed the same to his cross; to God be everlasting honour, praise and glory in Christ Jesus for the same. Amen.

*That the Devil knoweth the thoughts of ungodly People, and through his Ministers hath a guess what in future shall come to pass.*

THE devil (said Luther) knoweth the thoughts of the ungodly, for he possesseth them therewith. He seeth and ruleth the hearts of all such people as are not kept safe and preserved by God's word; yea, he holdeth them captive in his snares, insomuch that they must think, do, and speak according to his will. And St. Paul saith, "The God of this world blindeth the minds of them that believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them," &c. And Christ giveth a reason, and sheweth how it cometh to pass, that many do hear the word, yet they neither understand nor keep the same, where he saith, "The devil cometh, and taketh the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe, and be saved." Therefore it is no marvel, that the devil through his profits declareth what shall happen and come to pass: as he knew touching the wars of Bavaria, and declared the same before they began; for he saw that Rupert Prince Palatine was haughty and rich, audacious and bold, and that he contemned Maximilian the emperor. Again, the devil marked that the emperor was possessed with a civil, upright mind and disposition, and therefore he knew, that the emperor would not endure such contempt; whereupon, *anno* 1540, the same war arose and proceeded accordingly.

*Of the Knowledge of the Devil.*

THE scripture clearly sheweth (said Luther) that the devil giveth unto mankind evil thoughts, and blindeth the minds of the ungodly; as of Judas is written, "That the devil put it into his heart to betray Christ." And he not only gave into Cain's heart to think evil of his brother Abel, and to become his enemy, but also he instigated and stirred him up to murder his brother. The devil knoweth not the thoughts of the faithful, until they utter them: Christ was too wise for him, for he knew not the thoughts of Christ's heart, neither knoweth he the thoughts of the odly, in whose hearts Christ dwelleth. But he is a powerful, a

crafty, and a subtle spirit; Christ himself nameth him a prince of the world, who goeth about and shooteth fearful thoughts (which are his fiery darts) into the hearts even of the good and godly, as discord, wrath, hatred against God, despair, blaspheming, &c. St. Paul partly understood them; yea, he vehemently complaineth thereof, when he saith, "There was given to me a thorn in the flesh," namely, "the messenger of Satan to buffet me," &c. Those were the high spiritual tribulations which no Papist understandeth.

*Of the Devil's Trade or Occupation.*

THE Apostle giveth this title to the devil, "That he hath the power of death," Heb. ii. And Christ calleth him a murderer. He is such a master that he is able to procure death even out of the leaf of a tree; he hath more boxes and pots full of poison, wherewith he destroyeth people, than all the apothecaries in the world have of healing medicine; if one poison will not dispatch, so will another. To conclude, the power of the devil is greater than we can imagine or believe, by reason that only God's finger can resist him. Christ himself saith (touching the crooked woman which could not lift up herself), "That Satan had bound her eighteen years." And St. Peter saith, "Christ healed all that were oppressed of the devil."

*That the Devil is the cause of Death and of all Sickness and Diseases.*

I VERILY think (said Luther) that all dangerous diseases are mere blows and plagues of the devil; yet nevertheless he maketh use of natural instruments and means, as murderers use swords, or other weapons; like as God also useth means to preserve the lives and health of people, as with sleep, food, &c. for God commonly worketh by means; even so the devil through means hurteth and killeth people.

A physician helpeth corporally; we divines spiritually. We make the case good again, when the devil hath spoiled it. A physician giveth physic, insomuch that a creature, through creatures, helpeth creatures. Physic hath not its descent and original out of books, but God revealed the same; or, as Syrach

saith, "It cometh from the most Highest; the Lord hath created medicines out of the earth." Therefore we may justly use corporal physic, as God's creature. The Mayor of Wittemberg lately asked me, if it were against God to use physic; for, said he, Doctor Carlstad openly preached, that whoso fell sick, the same should use no physic, but commit the cause, and pray that his will be done, &c. Whereupon I asked him again, if he used to eat when he hungered? He answered, yea. Then said I to him, even so, likewise ye may use physic, which is God's creature as well as meat and drink, or what else we use for the preservation of life.

*That the Devil disquieteth People, yea, also in their Sleep.*

SATAN plagueth and tormenteth people all manner of ways, insomuch that he fooleth and affrighteth some in their sleep, with heavy dreams and visions, so that now and then the whole body sweateth by reason of anguish of heart. Moreover, he leadeth some also sleeping out of their beds and chambers up into high dangerous places, insomuch that if, through the defence and service of the loving angels, which are about them, they were not kept and preserved, he would throw them down, and cause their death.

*That Christ only frustrateth the Power and Craftiness of the Devil.*

INDEED (said Luther) although the devil be not a commenced doctor, yet he is both deeply learned and well experienced; he hath been in practice, hath used his art, his trade and occupation, now almost six thousand years. No human creature can prevail against him but only Christ; yet nevertheless he hath made trial of his art and trade also against him, as when, drily, he said unto him, "If thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the whole world," &c.; he saith not as before, "Art thou the son of God," but saith, I am God, thou art my creature, for all the power and glory of the world is mine, I give the same to whom I please: Therefore if thou wilt worship me, so will I give them unto thee. This blaspheming of God, Christ could not endure, but calleth him by his right name and saith "Avoid Satan," &c.

the year 1524, Luther laid aside the monks' me, and henceforth dressed according to the on of the world. He chose black clothes, and quently the color has become the fashion of argy. His reason for choosing this color was, lector of Saxony took an interest in him, and nd then sent him a piece of black cloth, being t time the Court fashion; and because Luther red it, so his scholars thought it became them r the same color as their master. From that lack has been the color mostly worn by the

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No man (said Luther) is able to comprehend or understand this temptation; I would willingly die, on condition that I could fundamentally preach thereof. Doubtless, the devil moved Christ much when he said, "All this is mine, and I give it to whom I will;" for they are words of divine Majesty, and belong only to God. True it is, the devil giveth also, but let us make a strong distinction between the true giver, who giveth all that we have and are, and between the dissembling murderer, who giveth to those that serve and worship him for a short time, yet so, that they must everlastingly perish. Christ contradicteth him not, in that he is a lord and a prince of the world; but he will not therefore worship him, but saith, avoid Satan, &c. Even so ought we to do likewise. He must be, indeed, a most wicked, a poisoned, and a thirsty spirit, in that he durst presume to tempt the Son of God to fall down and worship him. The arch-villain, doubtless, in the twinkling of an eye, laid before the lord a delusion of all the kingdoms of the world, and shewed the glory of the same, as Luke writeth, thereby to move and allure him, to the end he should think, such honour might one receive, and yet nevertheless be the child of God. But the Lord meeteth him rightly and saith, "Avoid Satan; thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, &c." The Evangelist Matthew saith clearly, "Jesus was led by the spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil."

*That we must resist the Evil Spirit when he tormenteth the Conscience.*

WHEN the envious poisoned spirit, the devil, plagueth and tormenteth us, as he useth, by reason of our sins, and intendeth thereby to lead us into despair, when we must meet him in this manner, and say, thou deceitful and wicked spirit! how darest thou presume to persuade me to such things? Knowest thou not that Christ Jesus my Lord and Saviour, who crushed thy head, hath forbidden me to believe thee, yea, even when thou speakest the truth, in that he baptizeth and nameth thee a murderer, a liar, and a father of lies. I do not grant unto thee, that I, as thy captive, shall be condemned to everlasting death and hellish torments by reason of my sins, as thou falsely suggestest; but thou thyself, on the contrary, long since, by Christ my Lord and Saviour, art stripped, judged, and with everlasting bonds and chains of

darkness art bound, cast down, and delivered to hell, insomuch that thou art reserved to the judgment of the great day, and finally, with all the ungodly, shalt be thrown into the bottomless pit of hell.

Further, I demand of thee, by what authority thou presumest to exercise such power and right against me? whereas thou hast given me neither life, wife, nor child; no, not the least thing that I have: neither art thou my lord, much less a creator of my body and soul; neither hast thou made the members wherewith I have sinned. How, then, thou wicked and false spirit, art thou so insolent as to domineer over that which is mine, as if thou wast God himself.

*Of the Charmers of the Devil.*

THE people which in Popedom are possessed of the devil, are not rid of him by such arts, words, or gestures as their charmers do use: the devil suffereth not himself to be driven out with slight words; as, "Come out, thou unclean spirit," &c., for those charmers mean it not earnestly. The power of God must effect it; and one must not venture his life thereupon, in that the devil terrifieth him with great anguish of heart; for without fears and frightenings it will not be accomplished.

When the woman with the bloody issue touched the hem of Christ's garment, he said, "I perceive that virtue is gone out of me," Luke, viii. Likewise when he intended to awaken Lazarus from the dead, he groaned in the spirit, and was troubled, John, xi.

The devil (said Luther) is driven out either by the prayers of the whole church, so that they join all their prayers together, which are so strong and powerful that they even pierce the clouds; or else he that driveth out the wicked enemy must be highly enlightened, and must have a strong and a steadfast courage, and be certain of the cause; as Elijah, Elisha, Peter, Paul, &c.

*That in the Time of Christ many were possessed of the Devil.*

THE cause (said Luther) that so many poor people in the time of Christ were possessed, was, that the true doctrine was almost sunk and quenched by the people of Israel, few excepted; as

Zacharias, Elizabeth, Simeon, Anna, &c. And I believe if the Pharisees should have continued to rule, and that Christ had not come, then surely Judaism would have been turned into Paganism, and an heathenish kind of being; as, before the shining of the Gospel, was seen in Popedom, where the people understood as little of Christ and his word, as the Turks and heathens.

*Whether the Devil knew Christ according to the Flesh, or no.*

THE devil (said Luther) well knew the scripture, where it is said, "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a child." Also, "Unto us a child is born," &c. All this the devil knew very well.

But because Christ carried himself humble and lowly, went about with public sinners, and by reason thereof he was held in no esteem, therefore the devil looked another way over Christ, and knew him not; for the devil looketh a-squint upwards, after that which is high and pompous; he looketh not downwards, nor on that which is humble and lowly.

But the everlasting merciful God doth quite the contrary; he beholdeth that which is lowly, as the 113th Psalm showeth, "Our God hath his dwelling on high, and yet humbleth himself to behold what is in heaven and on earth." And Isaiah the 66th, "I will look to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word." God careth not for that which is high; yea, it is an abomination before him. St. Luke saith, "That which is highly esteemed among men, is abomination in the sight of God." Therefore he that intendeth to climb high, let him beware of the devil, lest he throw him down; for the nature and manner of the devil is, first to hoist up into heaven, and afterwards to cast down into hell.

*That all Sadness and Melancholy cometh of the Devil.*

X IN cases of melancholy and sicknesses (said Luther) I conclude it is merely the work of the devil. For God maketh not melancholy, neither doth he affright nor kill, because he is a God of the living. From hence the scripture saith, "Rejoice, and be of good comfort," &c. God's Word and prayer is physic against spiritual tribulations.

*That it is more laudable to be made away by the Devil than by Human Creatures.*

I WOULD wish (said Luther) rather to die through the devil, than through the Emperor or Pope; for then I should die through a great and mighty prince of the world. But if it should be so he should eat such a bit of me as will be his bane, he shall spew me out again; and, at the day of judgment, I in requital will devour him.

The devil (said Luther) needeth not to tell me that I am neither good nor upright; neither would I wish to be so, that is, to be without feeling of my sins, and think that I need no remission of the same; for, if that were the case, all the treasure of Christ were lost on me, seeing he saith himself, "He came not for the sake of the just, but to call sinners to repentance."

*When the Devil is once overcome, whether as then he returneth again, or no?*

I HOLD (said Luther) when a devil, who is once overcome with God's Word and Spirit, must then be gone, and dareth not return again with the same temptation; for Christ saith, "Avoid Satan," &c. And in another place he saith, "Come out thou unclean spirit," &c. Then say the devils, "Suffer us to enter into the herd of swine." Origen saith, I believe that the saints do strangle and slay many devils in combating; that is, break their power.

*How the Devil bewitcheth People.*

WITCHCRAFT (said Luther) is the devil's own proper work, wherewith, when God permitteth, he not only hurteth people, but oftentimes through the same he maketh them away; for in this world we are as guests and strangers, both in body and soul cast under the devil. For seeing he is god of this world, so are all things under his power whereby we are preserved in temporal life; as meat, drink, air, &c.

The devil is so crafty a spirit, that he can ape and deceive our senses. He can cause one to think that he seeth something,

which notwithstanding he seeth not. Also, that one heareth a thundering, or a trumpet, which he heareth not. Like as the soldiers of Julius Cæsar thought they heard the sound of a trumpet (as Suetonius writeth), and yet there was no such thing. Therefore, Satan is a master in aping and deceiving people, and every human sense.

And especially, he is an artificial master ; as when he deceiveth people spiritually, when he bewitcheth and deceiveth the hearts and consciences in such sort, that they hold and receive erroneous and ungodly doctrine and opinions for the upright and divine truth.

We see at this day (said Luther) how easy a matter it is for him so to do, by the sectaries and seducers ; for he hath in such sort bewitched and deceived their hearts, that they hold that for the clear truth, which is altogether lies, errors, and abominable darknesses. They hold themselves wise and learned in divine causes ; but other people they hold merely for geese, and such as neither see nor understand any thing at all.

*That the Devil plagueth upright and true Christians with his Delusions.*

THE poisoned serpent taketh such delight in doing mischief, that he not only deceiveth and apeth the secure and proud spirits with his delusions, but also he undertaketh through his deceptions to bring into error those which are well instructed and grounded in God's Word. He vexeth me oftentimes (said Luther) so powerfully, and assaulteth me so fiercely with heavy and melancholy thoughts, that I forget my loving Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus, or at least I behold him far otherwise than he is to be beheld.

To conclude, there is none of us all that is free, but that oft he is deceived and bewitched with false opinions ; that is, hath now and then other thoughts and meanings of our Lord God, of Christ, of faith, and of his state God-ward, than indeed he ought to have.

Therefore we should learn how to know this conjuror, to the end he might not come behind us (being sleepy and secure), and so delude us with his witchcraft. And truly, if in case he findeth us not sober and watching, and not armed with spiritual

weapons, that is, with God's Word and with faith, then most sure and certain he will overcome us. 1 Pet. v. ; Ephes. vi.

As in the year 1521, I made, in my journey, a stay at Wartburg (said Luther), in the high castle in Pathmo, the devil many times plagued me there ; but I resisted him in faith, and with this sentence I encountered him, God is my God, who hath created mankind, and hath put all things in subjection under their feet. Now, if thou thinkest (Satan) that thou hast any power over me, so try it.

*That Faith overcometh the Devil.*

ANNO 1521, as I departed from Worms (said Luther), and not far from Eisenach, I was taken prisoner, and was lodged in the castle of Wartburg, in Pathmo, in a chamber far from people, where none could have access unto me, but only two boys that twice a day brought me meat and drink. Now, among other things, they brought me hasel nuts, which I put into a box, and sometimes I used to crack and eat of them. In the night time, my gentleman, the devil, came and got the nuts out of the box, and cracked them against one of the bed-posts, making a very great noise and rumbling about my bed, but I regarded him nothing at all ; when I began to slumber, then he kept such a racket and rumbling upon the chamber stairs, as if many empty hogsheads and barrels had been tumbled down ; and although I knew that the stairs were strongly guarded with iron bars, so that no passage was either up or down, yet I arose and went towards the stairs to see what was the matter, but finding the door fast shut, I said, Art thou there ? so be there still ; I committed myself to Christ, my Lord and Saviour, of whom it is written, *Omnia subjecisti pedibus ejus*, and then laid me down to rest again.

*That the Devil may be driven away by contemning and jeering.*

AT such a time (said Luther) when I could not be rid of the devil with uttering sentences out of the Holy Scripture, then I made him often fly with jeering words ; as when he intended to burthen my conscience, I sometimes said unto him, Devil ! if Christ's blood, which was shed for my sins, be not sufficient, then

I desire thee that thou wouldst pray to God for me. When he findeth me idle, and I have nothing in hand, then he is very busy, and before I am aware, he wringeth from me a bitter sweat; but when I offer him the pointed spear, that is, God's Word, then he flieth, yet before he goeth, he maketh a grievous hurricane. When at the first I began to write against the Pope, and that the gospel went on, then the devil laid himself strongly therein, he ceased not to rumble and rage about, for he willingly would have preserved purgatory at Magdeburg; *et discursum animarum*. For there was a citizen whose child died, for which he refused to have *Vigilia* and soul-masses to be sung; then the devil played his reaks, came every night, about twelve of the clock, into the chamber where the child died, and made a whining like a young child. The good citizen being therewith full of sorrow, knew not what course to take. The Popish priests cried out, O, now you see how it goeth when vigils are not solemnized, &c. Whereupon, the citizen sent to me, desiring my advice therein, (for my sermon which I had lately preached touching this sentence, "They have Moses and the prophets," was gone out in print, which the citizen had read); then I wrote unto him from Wittenberg, and advised him not to suffer any vigils at all to be held, for he might be fully assured that those were merely pranks of the devil; whereupon, the children and servants in the house jeered and contemned the devil, and said, What doest thou, Satan? Avoid, thou cursed spirit, and get thee gone to the place where thou oughtest to be, into the pit of hell, &c. Now, as the devil marked their contempt, he left off his game, and came there no more; *Quia est superbus Spiritus, et non potest ferre contemptum suū*.

*That it is profitable for Christians to be tempted of the Devil.*

ALTHOUGH Satan ceaseth not to plague the christians (said Luther), and to shoot at us his darling fiery darts, but prepareth one combat after another, yet the same is very good and profitable for us, for thereby he maketh us the more sure of the word and doctrine, insomuch that faith increaseth and is stronger in us; indeed, we often lie under, and it may be well that now and then the devil hunteth out of us a sour and bitter sweat, yet notwithstanding he cannot bring us into despair; for Christ

always hath kept the field, and through us he will keep it still. Through hope in all manner of trials and temptations we hold ourselves on Christ.

*That the Devil raiseth Sectaries and Seducers.*

SURE it is (said Luther) the devil in these times befooleth the frantic sectaries and seditious spirits, and maketh them so stiff, hard, and insolent, that no anvil can possibly be more hard ; for they will not to be taught ; they receive no instructions ; they permit no scripture to be of value, but think how they may spin their own conceits and glosses out of their brains, thereby to make frivolous opposition against the clear and open sentences, which are against them, out of Holy Writ ; they will presume to defend and maintain their dreaming opinions, which they bring into the Scripture, &c. Hereby we may apparently know that for certain the devil rideth them, and through his sorcery hath taken them captives.

*That the Devil can mask himself in Christ's Person.*

IT is a fearful thing when Satan intendeth to torment the sorrowful consciences with intolerable melancholy ; then the wicked villain, master-like, can mask and disguise himself into the person of Christ, so that it is impossible for a poor creature whose conscience is troubled to discover the villainy of the devil. From hence it falleth out, that many of those (that neither know nor understand the same) run headlong into despair, and make themselves away ; for they are blinded and deceived so powerfully by him, that they are fully persuaded it is not the devil, but Christ himself that vexeth and tormenteth them in such sort.

I (said Luther) am a doctor of Holy Scripture, and for many years have preached Christ ; yet to this day, I am not able to put Satan off, nor to drive him away from me, as willingly I would ; neither am I able so to comprehend Christ and to take hold on him, as in Holy Scripture he is placed before me ; but the devil continually seeketh how to put another Christ into my mind. Yet, nevertheless, we ought to render humble thanks to Almighty God, who hitherto hath preserved us by his holy Word, through faith and by prayer, so that we know how to walk before

him in humility and fear, and not to depend or presume on our own wisdom, righteousness, strength, and power, but to cheer and comfort ourselves in Christ, who is always more than sufficiently strong and powerful; and although we be weak and faint, yet we continually vanquish and overcome through his power and strength in us poor, weak, and feeble creatures. For this may his holy name be blessed and magnified for evermore. Amen.

*Of the Devil's Work.*

THE devil goeth about with two things, wherewith he advanceth his kingdom, and raiseth tumults in the world; namely, lying and murdering, which he driveth with all diligence, and without ceasing. God commandeth, and saith, "Thou shalt do no murder." Also, "Thou shalt have none other Gods but me." Against these two commandments, the devil, in his members, dealeth seriously without intermission. He neither can nor may do any thing else but lie and murder, as, alas! we find by sad experience.

He now dallieth and playeth no more with people, as heretofore he hath done, with and by rumbling spirits; for he well seeth, that the condition of the time is far otherwise than what it was twenty years past. Truly (said Luther), he now beginneth at the right end, and useth great diligence. The rumbling spirits are now mute among us; but the spirits of sedition do increase above measure, and get the upper hand: God resist them.

*Of the Power of the Devil.*

THE power which the devil useth is not by God commanded, but God resisteth him not, but suffereth him to make tumults, yet no longer nor further than he willeth; for God hath set him a stint and mark, over and beyond which he neither can nor dareth to step.

Like as when a great lord beheld another setting his barn on fire and resisted him not, but looked through the fingers; even so doth our Lord God likewise with the devil. But in that God said (concerning Job) to Satan, "Behold, he is in thy hands, yet spare his life," &c. That power (said Luther) was by God, permitted, who gave him leave thereunto; as if God should say. I will once permit and give thee leave, but touch not his life.

*That God through human Weakness destroyeth the Power of the Devil.*

It is almost incredible (said Luther) that God commandeth us (weak flesh and blood) to enter combat with the devil, and to strive and fight with so powerful a spirit as he is, and, hath given into our hands no other weapon, but only his Word, which by faith we take hold on, and therewith we beat and overcome him; the same must needs grieve and vex that great and powerful enemy. But in such combating, it is very difficult and heavy, especially, in that we know the devil to be the devil; for no man is able with words to express, much less to believe, how that maledicted majesty can disguise and transform itself into an angel of light, as Paul saith, 2 Cor. xi.

*That the Devil is a Fowler.*

THE devil is like a fowler. Those birds which he catcheth, the necks of the same he wringeth asunder, keeping very few alive; only those that do allure other birds to his snare, and also do sing the song which he will have, the same he putteth into a cage, to the end, that by their alluring, he may catch more; all the rest must go to the pot. I hope (said Luther) he shall not get me into his cage.

Therefore, if thou intendest to resist Satan, then look that thou be well armed and weaponed with God's Word, and with prayer. For if thou art secure, and without God's Word, then the devil is near thee, and lieth upon thee; thou hast no way to resist him, but only and alone through God's Word and prayer. For he cannot endure those blows of defence; otherwise, though thou givest him once his dispatch and turnest him away, yet he will quickly return again, especially if thou art secure, liest snoring, and thinkest that now all is safe.

Let no man flatter himself (said Luther) and think, that the devil is far from the ungodly, and in hell, as the Archbishop of Mentz thinketh; whereas the devil dwelleth in his hard heart, and driveth him according to his will and pleasure. For if the devil had none other power, but only to plague us in body and in wealth, and that he vexed and tormented us only with the

cares and troubles of this life, then he were no devil to make account of. But he hath learned a higher art; namely, when he taketh away from us and falsifieth the article of justification, both *privativè et positivè*, when he either teareth the same quite out of our hearts, as is done in Popedom, or else defileth it through sects and heresies, in that they talk and babble much thereof; but nevertheless, they hang thereon a gloss concerning works, or somewhat else, which is not pure, so that they leave the husks or peelings of the nuts to their people and hearers, but the kernels are gone.

*What Shape or Form the Devil carrieth.*

THE devil carrieth two manner of shapes or forms, wnerin he disguiseth himself; he either appeareth in the shape of a serpent, thereby to affright and to kill; or else, into the form of a silly sheep, to lie and deceive; these (said Luther) are his two court-colours. The devil is a foolish spirit, for he giveth means and occasion to Christ to defend himself in that he plagueth the poor and weak Christians; for thereby he confirmeth the authority of Christ and his Apostles: as when they make the sick whole and sound, then the devil should rather wish he had left them at peace and quiet, but his wicked desire in doing mischief driveth him forward, to the end he might be brought to confusion.

*That the Words and Works of Godly People do much vex the Devil.*

OUR songs and psalms (said Luther) do sorely vex and grieve the devil; on the contrary, our passions and impatiences, our complainings and cryings, Alas! or Woe is me! do please him well; yea, he laugheth thereat in his fist. He taketh delight in tormenting us, especially when we confess, praise, preach, and laud Christ. For seeing the devil is a prince of this world, and our utter enemy, therefore we must be content to let him pass through his country; he will needs have imposts and customs of us, and striketh our bodies with manifold plagues.

*Over whom and how far God permitteth the Devil to plague the People.*

GOD giveth to the devil and to witches power over human creatures two manner of ways: first, over the ungodly, when he will punish them by reason of their sins. Secondly, over the just and godly, when he intendeth to try them, whether they will be constant in the faith, and remain in his obedience, or no. For without God's will, and our own consent, the devil cannot hurt us; for God saith "Whoso toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye." And Christ saith, "There cannot fall an hair from your head, without your heavenly Father's notice."

*Of the Nature of the Devil.*

THE devil hath even the nature and manner in devouring like a wolf; who beginneth not to eat, until he hath torn in pieces and murdered all the sheep in the fold; for the devil (if God resisted him not) would destroy and kill all human creatures at once.

*That the Devil's Power is seen by the falling of the Saints.*

THE devil's power (said Luther) is not so well to be seen by the falling of carnally-minded people, and of the wise of this world (which live like senseless creatures and heathens), as it is seen by the falling of the saints that were endued with the Holy Ghost; as Adam, David, Solomon, Peter, &c. who committed great sins, and fell by God's determinate council, to the end they should not proudly exalt themselves by reason of God's gifts; for which cause God suffered David to fall so fearfully into adultery and murder, to the end he should learn to know his spoiled nature, and to pray the *Miserere* for our example, that we also continually may live in God's fear, may watch and pray.

*A fearful History of a Scholar who gave himself over to the Devil.*

ANNO 1538, the 13th of February, a young student at Wittemberg, named Valerius, of Leipzig, was by me pronounced absolved in the sacristy, in the presence of the deacons and his tutor, George Mavor. The same was very rude and disobedient to his tutor.

At last, being examined and asked, why he lived so lewd and dissolute kind of life, fearing neither God nor men? He thereupon confessed, That five years past he had given himself over to the devil, with these words, "I renounce and deny thy Faith, O Christ, and henceforward will be entertained by another master."

Touching these words (said Luther) I examined him; I reprov'd and chid him sharply, and I asked him, if he had spoken any words more to the devil? He answered, No. Then I asked him, if he was sorry for it, and if now he would return again to our Saviour Christ? Whereupon he answered and said, Yea, and earnestly persisted in praying. Then I laid my hand upon him, and with the rest that were by, I kneeled down, prayed the Lord's Prayer, and afterwards said,

"Lord God, heavenly Father, who through thy well-beloved Son hast commanded us to pray, and in thy holy church hast ordained and instituted the office of preaching, that with meek spirit we should instruct and recover again such of our brethren, which through some fault might be overtaken. And Christ thy only Son himself saith, I am not come, but only for the cause of sinners: wherefore we pray thee, for this thy servant, that thou wouldst pardon and forgive him his sins, and receive him again into thy holy church, for thy dear Son's sake, Christ Jesus our Lord, Amen.

I afterwards spake these words to the youth in the high German tongue, which he spake after me: I, Valerius, confess before God and all his holy angels, and before the assembly of this church, that I did renounce and deny the faith of my God, and gave myself over to the devil: the same is grievous unto me, and I am heartily sorry: I will henceforwards, by God's help, be a professed enemy to the devil, and will conform myself to the will of my Lord God, and amend myself, Amen.

Hereupon I admonish'd him again to repentance, and God's fear, and that henceforth he should in godliness, civility, and in obedience live, and should by faith and prayer resist the counsels of the devil: and when the devil should take hold on him with wicked cogitations, then he should arm himself with God's Word, and should repair to his tutor, or minister, discover the same unto him, and should reject the devil, with his counsels and advices.

This young student (said Luther) from that time forward grew and became a very good and godly Christian.

*How we ought to carry ourselves in Time of Tribulation.*

WHEN tribulations approach, then (said Luther) excommuni-  
cate them in the name of Christ Jesus, and say, God hath for-  
bidden me to receive that coin, because it is minted by the devil;  
therefore we reject it, as being prohibited.

When heavy temptations come upon thee, then expel them by  
what means thou best mayest: talk with good friends of such things  
as thou takest delight in. But here a man may say, without due  
consideration, nothing that is good can be effected. Hereunto I  
answer, we must make a difference of cogitations. Those of the  
understanding do produce no melancholy, but the cogitations of  
the will cause sadness; as, when one is grieved at a thing; or  
when one doth sigh and complain, those are melancholy and sad  
cogitations, but the understanding is not melancholy.

When I write against the Pope, I am not melancholy; for then  
I labour with the brains and understanding: then I write with  
joy of heart; insomuch, that not long since Dr. Reisenpusch said  
unto me, I much marvel that you can be so merry; if the case were  
mine, it would go near to kill me. Whereupon I answered him,  
and said, Neither the Pope, nor all his shaven retinue, can make  
me sad; for I know that they are Christ's enemies; therefore I  
fight against him with joyful courage.

Since the time that Silvester wrote against me, and in his book  
gave himself this title, "The Master of the Holy Palace," and  
that I saw the bigot wrote such stuff as constrained me thereat to  
laugh and jest; I say, since that time, I scorned him, his master  
the Pope, and all his popish crew.

Now in my old age I am vexed and tormented with nothing,  
but with the temptations of the devil, who walketh with me in my  
bed-chamber; who pouteth and knitteth his brows at me: can  
he gain nothing of me in my heart, so falleth he on my head,  
and soundly plagueth me.

He oftentimes troubleth me touching praying; he striketh  
thoughts into my breast, as though I neglect to pray diligently:  
although I know, that in one day I pray more than all the Popish  
priests and friars, but I babble not so much. My earnest advice  
is (said Luther), that no man contemn written or described prayers;

for whoso prayeth a psalm, the same shall be made thoroughly warm.

The devil oft-times argued against me the whole cause which (through God's grace) I lead; he objecteth also against Christ. But better it were that the temple brake in pieces, than that Christ should therein remain obscure and hid.

*Of the Devil's Kindnesses.*

THE devil is so kind, that he giveth heaven to people before they sin, and after their sins, he bringeth their consciences into despair. But Christ dealeth quite contrary, for he giveth heaven after sins committed, and maketh joyful consciences.

Last night (said Luther) as I waked out of my sleep, the devil came and intimated, that God was far from me, and heard not my prayers; whereupon I said, very well, so will I call and cry the louder. I will place before my sight the world's unthankfulness, and the ungodly doings of kings, potentates, and princes; I will also think upon the raging heretics; all these will inflame my praying.

*Of the Difference between the Obedience towards God, and towards the Devil.*

AMONGST the external obediences towards God and the devil, nothing carrieth a fairer lustre than superstition and unbelief. People are very diligent in practising God's worship without his word and command. God commandeth the obedience of faith and of good works. But the obedience towards the devil consisteth in evil works; that is, in superstition and worshipping of idols.

*That the Devil is a Hell-hound.*

THE hellish-hound (said Luther), in Greek, is called Cerberus; in Hebrew, Scorphur: he hath three throats, which are sin, the law, and death.

*Of the Whale the Devil.*

IN Job are two chapters concerning Behemoth the whale, that by reason of him no man is in safety. "Wilt thou (saith the text) draw Leviathan out with a hook? Will he make many sup-

plications unto thee? will he speak soft words unto thee?" These are coloured words (said Luther), and figures whereby the devil is signified and shewed. The whale careth for no ship, neither doth Behemoth; he careth for no art, for no wisdom nor power. The prince of this world regardeth these like straw or stubble. But one thing there is that shall destroy him; namely, God's Word in faith: "The woman's seed will do the deed."

## CHAPTER XXXVI.

OF

## TEMPTATION AND TRIBULATION.

*How Luther was tried and tempted of the Devil, by reason of his Doctrine, and how he defended himself.*

WHOSO, without the word of grace and prayer, disputeth with the devil touching sin and the law, the same hath lost; therefore (said Luther) let him leave off betimes. For the devil is armed against us with Goliah's sword, with his spear and weapons; that is, he hath on his side to assist him, the testimony of our own consciences, which witness against us in that we have transgressed all God's commandments; therefore the devil hath a very great advantage against us.

The Devil oftentimes assaulteth me, by objecting, that out of my doctrine great offences and much evil hath proceeded, wherewith he many a time vehemently perplexeth me. And although I make him this answer, That much good is also raised thereby (which by God's grace is true), yet notwithstanding, he is so nimble a spirit, and so crafty a rhetorician, that, master-like, he can pervert the same merely into sin. He was never so fierce and full of rage as he is now. I feel him exceeding well.

But when I remember myself, and take hold on the gospel, and meet him therewith, then I overcome him and confute all his arguments; but many times I fail therein: therefore he saith, The law is also God's Word, why then is the gospel always objected against me? Then I say unto him, True: the law is also God's Word; but it is as far different from the gospel, as heaven is from earth: for in the gospel God offereth unto us his grace; he will be our God, merely out of love, and he presenteth unto

us his only begotten Son, who delivereth us from sin and death, and hath purchased for us everlasting righteousness and life; thereon do I hold, and will not make God a liar. Indeed, God hath also given the law, but in every respect for another use and purpose.

What I teach and preach, the same (said Luther) I lead openly by clear daylight, not hidden in a corner. I direct and square the same by the gospel, by baptism, and by the Lord's prayer. Here Christ standeth, him I cannot deny; upon the gospel do I ground my cause, &c. Yet notwithstanding all this, the devil, with his crafty disputing, bringeth it so near unto me, that the sweat of anguish droppeth from me, insomuch, that I feel many times that he sleepeth nearer unto me than my wife Kate; that is, he disquieteth me more than she comforteth or pleaseth me.

Thus St. Paul was constrained to defend and comfort himself at Philippi, when both Jews and Gentiles hit him in the teeth, and said, "That he troubled their city," &c. And at Thessalonica they said, "These are they that turn the world upside down, they do contrary to the decrees of Cæsar," &c. And at Cesaria, Tertullus said, "This is a pestilent fellow, that hath moved sedition among all the Jews throughout the world," &c. This was as much as to say, He was a rebel against the emperor. Likewise the devil stirred up the Jews against Christ, accusing him of rebellion also, and that he forbade to pay tribute unto Cæsar. Also that he blasphemed, in making himself the Son of God.

Therefore I say to Satan, Like as thou camest to confusion by Christ and St. Paul, even so, Mr. Devil, shall it go with thee, if thou meddlest with me.

*How a Christian ought to defend himself against heavy Thoughts.*

As I said before, so I say still, That all heaviness of mind and melancholy cometh of the devil; for he is the lord of death, Hebrews, vii.: especially when a man is possessed with such thoughts, as, that God is not gracious unto him: or, that God will have no mercy upon him, &c. Therefore whosoever thou art, that art possessed with such heavy thoughts, know for certain, that the same is a work and driving of the devil: for God hath sent his Son into the world, not to affright but to comfort

sinner. From hence these and the like sentences are oftentimes expressed in Holy Scripture: "Rejoice: be joyful in the Lord. Be not afraid. Be not discouraged. Be of good comfort, I have overcome the world. The sting of death is made blunt upon me: yea, it is altogether broken in pieces," &c.

Therefore in such tribulations thou oughtest to be of good courage, and to think, that henceforward thou art not the child of a human creature, but of God through faith in Christ, in whose name thou art baptized; therefore the spear of death cannot enter into thee; he hath no right unto thee, much less can he hurt or prejudice thee, for he is everlastingly swallowed up through Christ.

*That Tribulations are sure and certain Tokens that God loveth us.*

It is better for a Christian (said Luther) to be sorrowful than to be secure, as the people of the world be. Well is he (saith the wise man, Prov. xxviii.) that standeth always in fear; yet so, that he knoweth he hath in heaven a gracious God, for Christ's sake, as the Psalm saith, "The Lord's delight is in them that fear him, and put their trust in his mercy."

There are two sorts of tribulations; one, of the spirit; another, of the flesh. Satan tormenteth the conscience with lies; he perverteth that which is done uprightly, and according to God's Word. But the body, or the flesh, he plagueth in another kind.

No man ought to lay a cross upon himself, or to make choice of a tribulation, as is done in Popedom; but if a cross or tribulation cometh upon him, then let him suffer it patiently, and know that it is good and profitable for him. For by that means we must learn, through experience, that Satan is a liar and a murderer, and that heaviness of spirit cometh of the devil, who, out of mere hatred, wisheth that we might not enjoy so much as one hour's solace or comfort. But (said Luther) be thou of good comfort in the Lord, it will be better; for Christ will make good his promise, where he saith, "I live, and ye shall live." Likewise, "I will not leave you comfortless." And, "I will take you unto me, so that ye shall be where I am," &c.

Therefore, I hope that our loving Lord God will graciously help us, and put an end to our tribulations. In the mean time

let us cheer up ourselves in patience, and let us with joy and comfort keep in mind what St. Paul saith, Through much tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. And all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution.

*That blaspheming of God is Two-fold.*

LUTHER being informed of one that was fiercely tempted and plagued in his conscience, because he found not in himself a complete righteousness; that he was not so righteous as God in the law required; and that in praying he always felt blaspheming against Christ, said, It is a good sign; for blaspheming of God is two-fold; one is *activa*, or operative, when one wilfully seeketh occasion to blaspheme God; the other is a constrained blaspheming of God, *passiva*; when the devil, against our wills, possesseth us with such evil cogitations unawares, which we desire to resist. With such God will have us to be exercised, to the end we may not lie snoring in laziness, but that we should strive and pray against the same. By this means such reasonings, in time, will vanish away and cease, especially at our last end; for then the Holy Ghost is present with his Christians, standeth by them, driveth away the devil, and maketh a sweet, a quiet, and a peaceable conscience. Wherefore (said Luther) write unto him, that he take, for his spiritual disease, this my physic; namely, that he trouble not himself about anything, but be of good comfort, trust in God, and hold himself on the Word: as then the devil, of his own accord, will cease from stirring up such temptation.

But concerning his tribulation, in not finding a full and complete righteousness in himself, let him know, that no human creature findeth the same in this life; it is altogether angelical, which shall fall unto us in the life to come. Here we must content ourselves with Christ's righteousness, which he fully merited for us with his innocent and spotless life.

*The evil Doings which one cannot hinder, call for Patience and Prayer.*

DAVID (said Luther) was a wonderful discreet man, in that he dared openly to teach and speak against the false worshipping of the Jews, but he was not able to hinder the same: doubtless he saw in this corner one celebrating mass, another in that place teaching falsely (the same were both powerful and numerous), which if by force he could have destroyed, no doubt he would have done it; but seeing he knew not how to remedy the same, he was forced to have patience, and to compose a song thereof unto the Lord, sang, and called upon him.

*Of Physic against unprofitable Reasonings.*

WHEN I (said Luther) am troubled with reasonings concerning temporal or domestic affairs, then I take a psalm, or a sentence out of St. Paul, and so I lay me down to rest and sleep. But the cogitations that come of the devil are somewhat more chargeable unto me, then I must look well about me, and valiantly strive to work myself thereout.

*Of the Christian's Victory through the Holy Ghost.*

HUMAN weakness (said Luther) must lie open to all tribulations and dangers inwardly and outwardly, to corporal and spiritual trials; yea also, must lie open to the devil; insomuch, that if God held not over us, defended and protected us not, none of us could remain the space of an hour. Therefore the Holy Scripture giveth a very fair epithet of the Holy Ghost, calling him an advocate and assistant, that pleadeth our cause, speaketh our words, standeth in our stead, and when we are fallen, he helpeth us up again. Thus we keep the victory through faith, we overcome the devil and the world; yet not by our strength or ability, but through the strength and operation of the Holy Ghost by faith.

*That Christians must suffer.*

WE which are Christians must to the task, and suffer *activè et passivè*, of God, who worketh and formeth us as a potter prepareth his clay ; we must also suffer of the world and the devil, who doth so plague and torment us, that we are made martyrs continually.

Our Lord God vexeth all his saints, they must all drink of the cup ; for even so he dealt with the Virgin Mary. Those which are loving and acceptable unto him, the same must suffer : and when we strive, then we lose. This (said Luther) affrighteth me.

It is impossible that a human heart, without crosses and tribulations, should think upon God, and not forget him.

*That all cannot bear equal Tribulations.*

NOR all (said Luther) are able to bear tribulations alike ; for, if a human creature were merely flesh without bones, then the body would fall into a lump, or bunch ; the bones and sinews do keep up the flesh, &c. Even so it is in the Christian congregation, some must be able to bear a blow of the devil ; as we three, Philip Melancthon, John Calvin, and myself : therefore we pray continually in the church ; for it is prayer that must do the deed.

*That David's Tribulations were much more heavy than ours are.*

DAVID, doubtless, had worse devils than we have, for without great tribulations he could not have had so great revelations, which, indeed, were great and glorious. David made psalms, and sang : we also will make psalms, and sing as well as we can, to the honour of our Lord God, and to spite and deride the devil and his spouse.

*How we ought to comfort one that is in Trouble, thinking he hath sinned against the Holy Ghost.*

SUCH a one (said Luther) ought earnestly to be dissuaded from entertaining those temptations, and not to vex himself therewith, for he is not guilty of such sins. No adulterer or mur-

derer treadeth Christ's blood under foot; but when they are sorry for their sins, and believe on the Son of God, then their sins are remitted; as Christ said to the adulteress, and to the murderer on the cross: to the adulteress he said, "Neither do I condemn thee, go, and sin no more." To the murderer he said, "This day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." But to the Scribes and Pharisees, who set themselves against the righteousness of the gospel, Christ said, "Woe be unto you."

When one out of weakness denieth God's Word, as many at this time do under Prince George, so is it no sin against the Holy Ghost. Peter sinned in denying Christ, but not against the Holy Ghost. On the contrary, Judas persisted in sinning, he repented not aright, but remained hardened.

*How Luther answered the Devil when he tempted and plagued him in the Night-season.*

WHEN in the night-time the devil cometh upon me with his temptations and tribulations, then I give him these and the like answers, and say, Devil! I must now sleep; for the same is God's command and ordinance, to labour by day, and to rest and sleep by night; but thou, devil, art so holy, that thou never comittest any sin; if otherwise, then go thy way to God, and purchase grace for thyself; and in case thou intendest to make me good and just, then I say unto thee, Physician heal thyself.

*Of the Reason why good and godly People are plagued of the Devil.*

A GOD-FEARING person (said Luther) is chastised, to the end he should not be condemned with the world; but the ungodly, that they may either confess their sins, or else be more hardened. The better Christian, the more tribulation; the more sins, the more fear.

*Of David's Tribulations.*

WHEN David sang this song, O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom, would God I had died for thee, O Absalom my son, my son, &c. Ah! how sorrowful and perplexed a man was he at

that time ? The very words do denote that his grief of heart was great.

The good and holy king had vehement tribulations and crosses, which altogether eclipsed and darkened the promises, which by God were made unto him ; yea they were thereby more darkened than cleared up. They were fearful and horrible examples or offences ; his grief of heart was such that he lamented that ever he was born. His kingdom, indeed, was thoroughly powdered and peppered unto him : for although he was anointed king, yet for the space of seven years he had but only two tribes : and afterwards, when he was confirmed king in Israel, then they rebelled against him. Absalom slew his brother Amnon ; the sister by the brother was deflowered, and made a shame to the world, &c. Therefore (said Luther), to hold fast and sure to the Word, in time of such trials and vexations, as David did, O ! the same is of inestimable value.

*Of Luther's admonishing to Patience in Tribulation.*

IF (said Luther) we rightly considered how great the glory of the life to come will be (which we expect when we rise again from the dead), then should we not be so heavy and unwilling to suffer all manner of tribulations, which by the wicked world are put upon us.

When the Son of Man, our Lord Jesus Christ, shall appear at the last day to judge the living and the dead, and shall pronounce the sentence both over the God-fearing and the ungodly, then from our hearts shall we be ashamed, that so unwillingly we suffered but a slight cross of tribulation ; as imprisonment, or a casting into the dungeon, &c. Then we shall say, O, fie upon me ! in that I threw not myself under the feet of the ungodly to be trampled upon, for the sake of the glory which now I see revealed, and proceedeth out of the truth of the promises of God's Word, and which is shewed to all those that received and believed the same ; therefore St. Paul joyfully saith, " For I reckon that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us," Rom. viii.

*That Spiritual Tribulations are most grievous.*

THE upright and true Christian church hath not to strive with flesh and blood, but with spiritual wickedness in high places, as St. Paul saith, Eph. vi. The spiritual combat is most heavy and dangerous: for flesh and blood taketh away but only body, wife and children, house, land, and what is temporal; but the spiritual evil taketh away the soul, everlasting life and salvation.

Let us be of good comfort and never be dismayed (said Luther), all will turn to the best; for our tribulations shall tend to God's honour, to the profit and saving health of us, and of many people. Let us stand stedfast and endure the blow; let the devil rage and swell as long as he will, for certainly he shall run himself on the rock.

*Comfort against Melancholy.*

DR. Jeronymus Weller being deeply plunged into melancholy fits and humours, Luther said unto him, be of courage, you are not the only one that suffereth tribulation, I also have greater sins upon me, than you and your father have; for I blasphemed my God fifteen years together with celebrating that abominable idol the mass, insomuch that I wish from my heart I had been at that time rather a pander or a thief.

*That God helpeth out of Tribulations.*

I HAVE found by experience (said Luther), that in my highest tribulations (which tormented and exhausted my body in such sort that I could scarcely pant and take my breath), I went dried up and pressed out like a sponge; no creature was able to comfort me; insomuch that I said, am I alone the man that must feel such tribulations in the spirit? but ten years past, I being solitary and alone, God comforted me again through his holy angels, and enabled me to strive and fight against the Pope.

*That the true Church is always in Danger and Tribulation.*

WE learn both in Holy Scripture, and also by experience, that the church continually standeth in danger and in need, so that she might easily fall into despair. For what did we see and feel before the Imperial Diet held at Auspurg, *Anno* 1530, but that the cause of religion and the church had quite been extinguished? But seeing that, by God's grace, we are now delivered from that fear, there ariseth a greater danger and tribulation concerning seditious spirits, especially the Antinomians. Therefore the church must continually stand trembling and in danger, as it is written, "If I considered not thy law, so had my soul remained in hell;" that is, I should have fainted and despaired.

Tribulations and hurtful cogitations are certain signs of the death of self-confidence; they shoot more surely at the heart than any arrow or bullet is shot at a mark; they dry up marrow and bone; such evil reasonings plagued me more than all my labours, which have been innumerable.

Oft I took business in hand, thereby intending to drive away the devil; but all would not do, he would neither depart nor desist. For Satan, as a founder of death, hath so spoiled and fouled our nature, that we refuse to be comforted. Therefore he that feeleth such devilish cogitations and spiritual temptations, take my advice in order to expel them. Let him think on somewhat else that is pleasant; let him take in hand some honest and civil matter, and as much as possible let him seriously meditate thereon. But above all things, let him use the principal physic, namely, let him stedfastly believe in Jesus Christ; for he came to comfort and to revive, and will destroy the works of the devil. And inasmuch as all melancholy and heavy cogitations proceed from the devil, so must we pray to God for his Holy Spirit, who is a stout and a courageous contemner of death and all danger: he is the daring champion.

A true Christian (said Luther) should be a joyful creature; and although we must suffer many plagues and tribulations outwardly and inwardly, both of the world and the devil, let it go on, let us not be dismayed, but call upon God and have patience; he is a help in time of need; he will not leave us comfortless, nor let us die in tribulations, for they are good and necessary for us,

to the end God's strength, in our weakness, may be the stronger. Let us behold how, and in what manner, the holy patriarchs, the prophets, and apostles, were dejected and discouraged. How then should we go scot-free, that are poor, miserable, and weak worms.

*Where the Gospel is purely taught, there are always Persecutions and Tribulations.*

THE gospel cannot be without persecution; for that man, who is called Christ, must taste of blood, as Moscs's wife said to her husband, "Thou art to me a bloody bridegroom." For Anti-christ is not Christ's friend, as in this our time we find by experience, in that the Pope so fiercely rageth and thundereth against the gospel. If (said Luther) I had not been circumspect and diligent, so had the Pope devoured me. *Nisi ego fuisset mordax, Papa fuisset vorax.* I am the Pope's perch, that have sharp-pointed fins, which he is not able to swallow nor devour: the Pope on me hath found a hedge-hog to chew on.

*Comfort for perplexed Consciences.*

THE Lord our God is a God of the humble and perplexed hearts, which are in need, in tribulation, and in danger, in whom he sheweth his power; for if we were strong, then should we be proud and haughty. God cannot shew his power, nor make proof thereof, but only in our weakness: he will not quench the glimmering flax, neither will he break in pieces the bruised reed.

God loveth tribulations, and he also hateth them; he loveth them, when we thereby are stirred up to pray, and to trust in God; again, he hateth them, when by reason thereof we grow faint and dismayed. Therefore, when we are well, then let us sing to God a psalm and praise him; but if we be not well and merry, then let us call upon God, and pray; for the Lord hath pleasure in them that fear him, and wait upon his mercy.

He that feeleth himself weak in faith, let him always have a desire to be strong therein, for that is a nourishment which God relisheth in us with an appetite. Therefore faint not, but lift up and comfort thyself with God's Word, and with examples of Holy Scripture: for God, who hath holpen all the patriarchs, the prophets, and the saints, will not forsake thee.

*Of Faith's Tribulation.*

FAITH'S tribulation is the greatest and sharpest torment, for faith must overcome all other tribulations whatsoever; now, if faith be foiled and lieth under, then all other tribulations must needs fall upon human creatures; but if faith holdeth up his head, if that be sound and in health, then all other tribulations and vexations must grow sick, weak, and decrease. This tribulation of faith was that thorn which St. Paul felt, and which pierced through flesh and spirit, through soul and body, &c. Such tribulations was David possessed with, when he made this psalm, "Lord rebuke me not in thine anger," &c. No doubt (said Luther) he would rather have been slain with a sword, than to have suffered such wrath and indignation from God, which was heavy upon him. I am persuaded that such do far excel those martyrs which corporally are plagued and pained, for they see daily in the world, offences, heresies, errors, the falsifying of the pure doctrine; they see that the ungodly are fortunate, and whatsoever they take in hand prospereth according to their hearts' desire; on the contrary, they see that the righteous and godly Christians are daily banished, hanged, drowned, and persecuted in the fiercest manner, like as sheep appointed to be slain, inso-much that they are ready to break their hearts for very sorrow.

*That Solitariness in Tribulations ought to be abandoned.*

IT is written of St. Paul, that when he had suffered shipwreck, and great hunger, fourteen days together, he went afterwards to his brethren, who received him courteously, and so was refreshed and comforted. Even so (said Luther) when I am in heavy tribulations, then I rather go to my swine-herd than to remain alone. The heart of a human creature is like a mill-stone in a mill, when corn is shaken thereupon, it runneth about, rubbeth and grindeth it to meal; but if no corn be present (the stone nevertheless still running about), then it rubbeth and grindeth itself thinner, and becometh smaller; even so the heart of a human creature will be occupied if it hath not in hand the works of its vocation to be employed therein; then cometh the devil, and shooteth into him heavy cogitations and vexations; then the

heart consumeth itself with melancholy, insomuch that it must starve and famish. Many a one therewith grieveth and perplexeth himself to death, as Syrach saith, Sorrow killeth many people, and melancholy consumeth marrow and bone, it produceth no profit at all.

*That heavy Cogitations do sicken the Body.*

HEAVY thoughts (said Luther) do enforce rheums; when the soul is busied therewith, then the body must partake of the same. Austin said well, *Anima plus est ubi amat, quàm ubi animat.* When cares, heavy cogitations, sorrows, and passions do exceed, then they weaken the body, which, without the soul, is dead, or like a horse without one to rule it. But when the heart is at rest and quiet, then it taketh care of the body, and giveth it what pertaimeth thereunto. Therefore we ought to abandon and resist anxious thoughts by all possible means whatever.

*That every one hath his particular Tribulations.*

THE life of no human creature is peaceable without discontent, every one hath his tribulations, and many a one, rather than be without them, will procure disquietness to himself; for no man is content with that which God giveth and sendeth: hath one a wife, so wisheth he that he had her not; a single man desireth to have a wife; a master wisheth to be a servant; a poor man would willingly be rich; a rich man continually coveteth more, he cannot be filled nor satisfied. Even so fareth it with the heart of a human creature, which never can be at rest. To conclude (said Luther), I never yet knew a troubled and perplexed man that was right in his own wits.

*Of Luther's Wish and Desire in his Sickness.*

AH! (said Luther) how willingly would I now die, for I am faint and overwrought, and at this time I have a joyful and peaceable heart and conscience. I know full well, so soon as I shall be again in health, I neither shall have peace nor rest; but sorrow, weariness, and tribulations do attend me. For could not that great man, St. Paul, be free or exempt from tribulations;

how then should I, poor man, have peace and be without vexations and tribulations? for through many troubles we must enter into the kingdom of God. How willingly would I be instructed of St. Paul, if he were now living, what manner of tribulation his was at that time, he called a thorn in the flesh. I am persuaded, it was something higher than despairing by reason of his sins, as in Isaiah xlv., such tribulations are expressed, "For a small moment have I forsaken thee; in a little wrath I hid my face from thee," &c. And in the 22d Psalm, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" As if he had said, thou hatest me without a cause; for in Christ was no sin. Also, in the 73d Psalm, we read, "I was pricked in my reins," that is, a spear went through my reins.

*That Corporal Tribulations are far lighter than the Spiritual.*

WHEN spiritual tribulations do approach, then we breathe out and say, cursed be the day wherein I was born, &c. Then we begin to sweat. In such tribulations almost was our blessed Saviour Christ in the garden, when he said, "Father, let this cup pass from me;" here the will was against the will, yet he turned himself presently according to his Father's will, and was comforted by an angel. Christ (who in our flesh was plagued and tempted) is the best mediator and advocate, by God, in our tribulation. He is president, when we are only respondents, if we will but suffer him to mediate. Be it so, that it seemeth God is angry with us when we are in tribulation and temptation; yet when we repent and believe, then we shall find, that under such anger, God's grace and goodness towards us lieth hid. Therefore let us patiently attend our Lord God's leisure, and constantly remain in hope; let us not be offended at such vizards, but diligently pray.

*To have Patience in Suffering.*

ON the 8th of August, 1529, Luther, together with his wife lay sick of a fever; then he said, God hath touched me sorely, and I have been impatient: but God knoweth better than we whereto it serveth. Our Lord God doth like a printer, who setteth the letters backwards; we see and feel well his setting,

but we shall see the print yonder, in the life to come: in the mean time we must have patience.

The tribulations of God-fearing christians are strong and profitable. Tribulation is a right school, and an exercise of flesh and blood: whoso is without them, the same understandeth nothing. Therefore the Psalms, almost in every verse, speaketh of nothing but tribulations, and perplexities, sorrows, and troubles: it is a book of tribulations.

### *Comfort in Spiritual Tribulations.*

DID Christ receive the thief on the cross (said Luther), and Paul, after so many blasphemings and prosecutions? then have we no cause at all to doubt thereof. And, indeed, we must all in that way attain to salvation; and although we have no cause to fear God's wrath, yet, for old Adam's sake, we must stand in fear; for he cannot take such hold on the grace and mercy of God, as he ought to take hold thereof; and although old Adam had but only the first three words in the creed, "I believe in God the Father," yet were they far above his natural wisdom, reason, and understanding.

### *Of Satan's Tribulations.*

THE devil useth to plague and torment us in that place where we are most tender and weak; so he did in Paradise, he fell not upon Adam, but he assaulted Eve. It commonly raineth there where it was wet enough before.

When one is possessed with these doubts, namely, that although he calleth upon the Lord, yet he cannot be heard, therefore concludeth, that God hath turned the heart from him, and is angry. These are cogitations which we suffer, not which we make, for they are forced upon us. Against the same thou must arm thyself with God's word, in which he hath promised that he will hear thee. But in that thou will appoint through whom, when, and how God shall hear thee, the same is stark naught; for place, times, and persons are accidental things, but the substance and essence itself is the promise, that thou shalt be heard; for seeing thou art baptized, and believest in Christ, most certainly God heareth thee. But it is God's manner and custom to hide his

love from us, insomuch that we suffer ourselves to dream that he heareth us not. God hath said that he would dwell in the thick darkness, and that clouds and darkness are round about him. Sometimes we must see God's back parts, &c. Indeed we are cast down, but not forsaken. Whoso feeleth not these thoughts, the same cannot find nor know what Christ can do. Therefore let us with Job say, "Although he slay me, yet I will trust in him." My Lord Jesus Christ (said Luther) hath won and conquered, and kept the field, therefore shall I well remain. That, and no other, is my ground and comfort in my tribulations. We say, "I believe," &c. The Holy Ghost with his finger must write the same in our hearts, that with the mouth we confess, and with the heart we believe, &c. These are true signs that we belong to the fellowship, brotherhood, and congregation of Christ.

*To resist Evil Thoughts.*

I HAVE need oftentimes in my tribulations, (said Luther) to talk even with a child, thereby to expel such thoughts as the devil possesseth me with: and the same is done, to the end we may not boast, as if of ourselves we were able to help ourselves, and to subsist; but should know that the strength of Christ in us ought to be extolled and praised. Therefore sometimes such a one must help me, who in his whole body hath not so much divinity as I have in one finger, to the end I may learn that without Christ I am able to do nothing. It was said to St. Paul, "My strength is strong in weakness." This is not such a strength as striveth with raging and power, but it striveth and fighteth in weakness, in silence, and in patience; so that an afflicted heart saith, I, a poor sinner do believe in thee, O Christ! let it go with me as it will. Hast thou forsaken me, or art thou angry with me, yet will I be a Christian; I will still maintain that thou, O Christ! diedest for me, &c. Now when this remains stedfast and unremoved, which is the substance, then all the rest which is accidental must be gone and depart. Therefore, thou that art in tribulation and spiritual temptation, fear God and doubt not; thou art a member of Christ, and washed with his blood, and delivered from the chains of Satan; therefore ease thy corporal smart with spiritual joy; have patience, and thou shalt find that Christ will keep and preserve thee in thy faith, and will deal with thee according to his good and gracious fatherly will. "Amen."

*Of Luther's Example, touching the profit of his Tribulations.*

MY tribulations (said Luther) are more necessary for me than meat and drink; therefore those that feel them ought to use themselves thereunto, and learn to bear them. If Satan in such manner had not plagued and exercised me, then I should not have been so great an enemy unto him, neither should I have been able to do him such hurt. Tribulations do keep us from pride, and therewith they increase the acknowledgment of Christ and of God's gifts and benefits. For from the time that I began to be in tribulation, God gave me the glorious victory in overcoming that confounded, that maledicted and blasphemous kind of life wherein I lived in cursed Popedom. And truly (said Luther) seeing that God conducteth the business in such a way, that neither the Emperor nor the Pope are able to suppress me; therefore the devil must come and set upon me, to the end God's strength might be known in my weakness. We that feel our sins have no cause to fear; but those that are not sensible of their sins, they indeed may justly be afraid.

Our tribulations and doubtful reasonings wherewith the devil plagueth us, can be driven away by no better means, than by contemning of him; as when one contemneth a fierce cur, by passing quietly by him, the dog as then not only desisteth from biting, but also from barking: but when one enrageth him by striking and throwing at him, then it is to be feared that he will fall upon him, and bite him. Even so, when the devil seeth that we fear him, then he ceaseth not to torment and plague us with tribulations and temptations.

*How Luther visited and comforted a Sick Woman in heavy Tribulation.*

A WOMAN at Isenach lying very sick, and had endured horrible paroxysms, which no physician was able to cure; for it was directly a work of the devil, and an unnatural thing, occasioned by devilish frighteningings, insomuch that she fell into a faint swooning, and thereupon had four paroxysms, each enduring the space of three or four hours; her hands and feet bended in the manner of an horn; she was chill and cold, the tongue rough and dry; her body by reason of the disease, was much swelled;

she seeing Luther, who came to visit her, much rejoiced thereat, raised herself up, and said, Ah! my loving father in Christ, I have a heavy burthen upon me, pray to God for me; and so fell down into her bed again. Whereupon Luther fetched a deep sigh, and said, God rebuke and command thee, Satan, that thou suffer this his divine creature to be in peace: then turning himself towards the standers by, he said, she is plagued of the devil in the body, but the soul is safe, and shall be preserved; therefore let us give thanks to God, and pray for her; and so they all prayed aloud the Lord's prayer. After which, Luther concluded with these words, "Lord God, heavenly father! who hast commanded us to pray for the sick; we beseech thee through Jesus Christ thy only beloved Son that thou wouldst deliver this thy servant from her sickness, and from the hands of the devil. Spare, O Lord, her soul, which together with her body, thou hast purchased and redeemed from the power of sin, of death, and of the devil." Whereupon the sick woman said, "Amen." The night following she took rest, and the next day was graciously delivered from her disease and sickness.

*Of a comfortable Letter, written by Luther to Doctor Benedict Paul, whose Son was lately killed by a Fall from the Top of a House.*

ALTHOUGH it be no where forbidden in Holy Scripture to mourn and to be grieved for the death of a godly child or friend, for we have many examples of the godly, who have bewailed the death of their children and friends, yet notwithstanding, there ought to be a measure in sorrowing and mourning. Therefore, loving doctor, you do well in mourning and lamenting for the death of your son. But let not the same exceed the measure of a christian, in refusing to be comforted. I would have you, first, to consider, that God gave that son unto you, and took him from you again. Secondly, I would wish you to follow the example of that just and godly man, Job, who, when he had lost all his children, all his wealth and substance, at last said, "Have we received good at the hand of the Lord, and shall we not receive evil? The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord," &c.

He rightly considered, that both good and evil cometh of the Lord; even so do you likewise, then you shall see, that you have

much greater gifts and benefits left of God unto you, than the evil which you now feel. But you look now only upon the evil, namely, that your son is dead; and, in the mean time, you forget the glorious treasury of God, namely, that he hath given you the true knowledge of his word, also a good and peaceable conscience, which alone should overweigh all evil which may happen unto you; why then do you plague and torment yourself with the death of your son? But in case the loss be great and heavy, yet it is no new thing, you are not alone in that case, but you have companions which have had such misfortunes. Abraham had much more sorrow of heart concerning his son while he was yet living than if he had been dead; for the Lord commanded him, that with his own hands he should sacrifice and kill him, who was his only and best beloved son, in whose seed God had promised to bless all nations on earth. How think you, was it at that time with him in his heart, when with his naked sword he should strike off the head of his son? How was it also, think you, with Jacob, when he was informed that his loving son Joseph was torn in pieces of wild beasts? Or, what father was ever perplexed and troubled in heart like David, when by his son Absalom he was persecuted and driven out of his kingdom, yea, when in a state of rebellion he was struck through, slain, and was damned? Doubtless, David's heart, at that time by reason of great grief might have melted. Therefore when you rightly behold and consider these and the like examples of such high enlightened people, you ought to understand, that this your sorrow of heart is nothing comparable to theirs. Therefore know, loving brother, that God's mercy is greater than our tribulations. You have indeed cause to mourn, as you think, but it is nothing else than sugar mingled with vinegar; your son is very well provided for, he liveth now with Christ; oh! would to God that I had finished my course; I would not wish myself here again. Your suffering is only a corporal cross. You are a good logician, and you teach others that art; make use thereof yourself at this time; put the same in practice, define, divide, separate and conclude, learn to distinguish that which is spiritual, and to separate the same from that which is corporal.

It was a fine speech of Maximilian the emperor, wherewith he comforted king Philip his son, who deeply bewailed the death of a godly, a faithful, and an honourable man that was slain in a

battle. His words were these: Loving Philip, thou must accustom thyself to these misfortunes: thou shalt lose yet many of those whom thou lovest.

*Of Luther's Comforts against such Tribulations as concern the Feeble-minded.*

WE ought to know (said Luther) that the life of a true christian standeth in the midst of tribulations, of perplexities, lamentations, and of death, &c. Therefore those that are disquieted and plagued of the devil with such heavy and dangerous cogitations ought to be admonished and comforted in this manner. They are God's children, and have a gracious father in heaven, who taketh hearty care of them; as is written to the Hebrews, "My son, despise not thou the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked of him; for whom he loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons, for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement (whereof all are partakers) then are ye bastards and not sons. Now forasmuch as those are God's children which of Satan are plagued and tormented in this world, (without all contradiction) God careth for them as for his loving children, neither are they of him contemned nor rejected. Therefore they ought to be cheerful in the midst of tribulations and adversities, and to be sure and certain that God loveth them. But, (said Luther) here such a perplexed person may object and say, I hear you well, but what say you to the sentence of St. Paul, where he saith, "Those which are justified by faith have peace with God," &c. *Answer*, True it is, (said Luther) they have peace in faith, but in the flesh we feel lamenting, and sorrowing, and bewailing; as David complaineth, where he saith, "I have no rest in my bones," &c. Christ himself felt no peace on the cross. Moreover, if upright christians (which are justified by faith) should feel no tribulations, adversities, nor vexations; to what end and purpose then are so many rich comforts touching the promises of the gospel of grace? As where Christ saith, "To the poor is the gospel preached." Likewise, "Fear not little flock." Also, "Receive the weak brethren, and let one comfort another, or comfort ye yourselves together," &c. Therefore seeing that up-

right christians do always feel tribulations, sorrows, and perplexities; therefore we are charged of God to raise up and to comfort those that mourn and have sorrow of heart.

*How those are to be comforted that are in Tribulation concerning persevering in the Faith.*

WHEN Satan will not leave off (said Luther) nor desist from tempting thee, then bear with patience such deferring, let go neither hand nor foot, nor do thou faint, as if there would be no end therewith, but hold out courageously and attend God's leisure, and know, what the devil cannot accomplish by his sudden and powerful assaults, the same he thinketh to gain by his craft and policy, by continuing, insisting, and holding on in vexing and tempting thee, thereby to make thee faint and weary, as in the Psalm is noted, "Many a time have they afflicted me from my youth up; yet they have not prevailed against me," &c. But be thou fully assured, that in this sport and pastime with the devil, God, with all his holy angels, taketh delight and joy; and assure thyself also that the end thereof will be blessed and happy, which thou shalt certainly find to thy everlasting comfort.

*Of Tribulations touching Predestination.*

CONCERNING predestination, it is best to begin below at Christ, as then we both hear and find the father; for all those that have begun at the top have broke their necks. I have been well and thoroughly plagued and tormented with such cogitations of predestination; I would needs know how God intended to deal with me, &c. But at last, God be praised! I clean left them; I took hold again on God's revealed word; higher I was not able to bring it, for an human creature can never search out the celestial will of God, the same God hideth for the sake of the devil, to the end the crafty spirit may be deceived and put to confusion: the revealed will of God the devil hath learned of us; but God reserveth his secret will to himself, and concealeth the same. It is sufficient for us to learn and know Christ in his humanity, in which the Father hath revealed himself. But we, like fools, will grapple and search after God's secrets; therefore such, as thereupon plunge themselves into despair, are rightly served.

*Of Christ's Tribulations.*

CHRIST (said Luther), on the tenth day, came again into Jerusalem, and on the fourteenth day he was killed. His cogitations and tribulations then were concerning the sins of the whole world, concerning God's wrath and death, of which all ought to stand in fear. But before he was thus personally made sin for us, he was a man of sorrows, and acquainted with grief; his tribulations were concerning his labour and pains, which he knew would be spent in vain upon his own nation, the Jews, and over which he wept bitterly, and because they knew not the time of their visitation.

We also, at this time, do weep over the plagues and punishments which are coming upon us in Germany, but we conceal the cause thereof; namely sin, which well deserveth the same. Therefore let us lead our lives no more against the command of our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ; for our deliverance cost him dearly, and was bloody bitter unto him.

It was truly fearful that such punishment passed upon his own nation and city, where his church, his priests, and rulers were. What is Babylon, or Nineveh, or Rome, in comparison of Jerusalem? What may we think of Germany, how it will go with us.

*Of what Hurt cometh of Solitariness.*

MORE and greater sins are committed when people are alone, than when in fellowship. When Eve, in Paradise, walked alone, then the devil misled and deceived her. Moreover, where corners and solitary places are, there commonly are committed murders, robberies, adulteries, and all other sins; for where solitariness is, there the devil hath place and occasion to lead people into sin, blasphemy, and confusion. But whosoever is among people, and in honest company, the same is ashamed to sin, or at least he hath no place nor opportunity thereunto. Not only so, our Saviour Christ promised, and said, "That where two or three be gathered together in my name, there will I be in the midst of them."

When king David was idle and alone, and went not out to the wars, then he fell into adultery and murder. I myself have

found, that I never fell into more sin than when I was alone. God hath created mankind for fellowship, and not for solitariness, which is clearly proved by this strong argument; God, in the creation of the world, created man and woman, to the end that the man of the woman should have a fellow. To conclude, when thou art sorrowful, then have conversation with godly people, and comfort thyself with God's word.

*Of the Sorrow of Heart and Bloody Sweat of our Saviour  
Christ Jesus, in the Garden.*

WE find in no histories of nations that an human creature was ever possessed with such sorrow as to sweat blood, therefore this history is wonderful; no man can understand or conceive what this bloody sweat is. And it is more wonderful, that the lord of grace and of wrath, of life and of death, should be so weak, and made so sorrowful, as to be constrained to seek for solace and comfort of poor and miserable sinners, and to say, Ah, loving disciples! sleep not, wake yet a little, and talk one with another, that at least I may hear some people are about me. Here the Psalm was rightly applied, which saith, "Thou hast made him a little lower than the angels," &c. Ah, (said Luther) that bloody sweat was pressed out of our blessed sweet Saviour Christ Jesus, through the immeasurable heavy burden which lay on his innocent back; namely, the sins of the universal world, against which, doubtless he prayed, "O lord, rebuke me not in thine anger, neither chasten me in thy hot displeasure;" which words, doubtless, he enlarged upon with deep lamentation.

*How we ought to defend ourselves against Tribulation.*

IN every temptation (said Luther) we must take diligent heed that we give no place to carnal reasoning; if we do, then a fall soon followeth thereupon, and we tumble into sin. For where the serpent bringeth a head into a hole, it afterwards windeth in the whole body, as then it is in vain to resist. Therefore we are bidden to make use of this prayer, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil."

And the Apostle St. Peter also admonisheth us to resist the devil in faith, who, like a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom

he may devour. Thus ought we to carry ourselves in tribulations. True it is we ought first to be affrighted by reason of our sins, but we must not remain in these affrightments, but we ought to turn to God's grace, otherwise we lean too much on both sides; for commonly out of excessive joy proceedeth secureness; and again, excessive fear, produceth despair, both which God hath expressly forbidden; namely, that we should not despair of his mercy, nor be secure in ourselves.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF LUTHER'S ADVERSARIES THAT  
WROTE AGAINST HIM.*Of Cocleus, Chaplain to George Prince of Saxony.*

MUCH discourse, in Luther's presence, was had of the insolence of Cocleus, who always boasted of his disputations, whereas at Auspurg, he was always scoffed at and derided by Eckius; whereupon Luther said, Cocleus made the Papists themselves to blush for shame, in hearing his lies. But concerning the little book which he caused to go out in print after the imperial diet, the same putteth me in mind of many things which fell out at that time, and also of things which in future shall be brought to light. For seeing he will not forget the same, so will we Protestants well remember them. Henceforward, I will no more answer any book of Cocleus which he shall write against me, and that will vex him much; for, if I should continue answering his foolish sopperies, then he would grow haughty and proud, but he shall fail of that honour which he seeketh through my writings.

*Of Emperor Charles, his Censure concerning Doctor Eck and Faber.*

THE Emperor, in my hearing (said Luther), spake these words: My brother holdeth very much with Faber and Eck, yea, he greatly esteemeth them; but doth he think, that they should defend and maintain the christian faith? since the one is drunk every day, the other followeth after whores, and is a mere idiot. He censured like a wise and understanding prince.

*Touching the Writing of the Papists against Luther.*

OF all the books which the adversaries wrote against me (said Luther) I have read none quite through, save only the little book of Erasmus Roterodamus, *Diatribes*, concerning free-will, the same I oftentimes intended to throw under the bench. For all that wrote against me, gave me ample cause so to do, and to esteem of them no otherwise; for when I had read only one or two leaves in any of their books, the remainder was fit for nothing but waste paper.

*Of Meuchlerus.*

THE book wrote against prince George caused not so much anger as my two little books: the one, against the Emperor's edict; the other, a warning to my loving Dutchmen. The same prince George could not endure, and for that cause he wrote to my master, the prince elector: afterwards he employed against me, first, Meuchlerus, and then Cocleus: but I trust I shall hit the right master. In this my book I am very mild (said Luther), I proceed modestly therein; but at last, I will answer them thoroughly: I will heave those unhallowed priests out of the saddle: I will powder their mass-offerings in such sort, that they shall not know whether they have a sacrament or not upon the altar.

*Of Dr. Eck.*

Eck (said Luther) hath many fine natural gifts. It was not his earnest intent to hold on the Pope's side; but, like an hypocrite, he flattered the Pope for the sake of his belly, for he is merely a swine: he would (for gain of money) take part with Turks and Tartarians; for when at Auspurg he could not obtain a prebendary, which was sold to another for 400 florins, he said, I know Popedom full well. If Luther had not dealt too hardly with me, so would I this hour join with him: he is a neutralist, and carrieth on both shoulders, yet he hangeth more towards the Pope's side; but such people are the worst, and do the greatest mischief. The Athenians punished with death such fellows as

sought praise and honour on both sides. Eck in disputing, and in collations, is well spoken and eloquent; he is jocund, merry, and altogether life; but in preaching, and in writing, he is exceeding cold. Not long since he said, he could wish that all friars and nuns would run out of the monasteries; nevertheless he, and his like, do maintain and defend Popedom, and would kill and murder such priests as marry honest women; wherewith they apparently prove that they maintain their evil doctrine.

*Of Sadoletus.*

SADOLETUS, who had been fifteen years the Pope's secretary (a very witty and learned man), wrote in a most courteous manner to Philip Melancthon, but exceeding craftily, according to the Italian custom; to the end, they might have brought him on their side, which was done by the Pope's directions; for the good gentleman, Mr. Pope, is much perplexed, he knoweth not how to fall upon us.

The same Sadoletus, by reason of his expert wit, was made a cardinal by the Pope, to the end he should write against us; but in him was no understanding of holy scripture, as is clearly to be seen in his commentary upon the 51st Psalm, in which he bringeth strange and impertinent things. Ah, Lord God (said Luther), help thou; let thy good spirit lead us the right way. Amen.

The Papists are proud and unlearned people in the holy scriptures, they are able to govern and rule no church at all, nor to execute any office; for they understand nothing, they read and write nothing sincerely; but stiffly sit in the government; they cry, "The decrees of the fathers must not be questioned, what they have concluded the same ought not to be disputed," &c. Therefore the Pope defendeth his tyranny, and holdeth strongly thereupon, as we see in his decrees, *C. Si Papa.* 40 *Dist.* There it is clearly written, that although the Pope should lead the whole world into hell, yet no human creature must presume to question him for the same, nor once dare to ask, why or wherefore he did it?

This (said Luther) is most abominable, that for the sake of his usurped authority we should lose our souls, which Christ purchased with his precious blood. Yet notwithstanding all this, our

princes do fall down before him, worship him, and kiss his feet; therefore we ought to withstand and resist him, to beat him down with God's word and prayer.

*Of Faber.*

DOCTOR Faber, bishop of Vienna, made a sermon at Spire, at the imperial diet, wherein he openly spake these words—Rather than I would receive the Protestant's faith, I would believe the Alcoran of the Turks. Whereupon Luther said, I fear, alas! he hath prophesied like Caiaphas; and that he, with the rest of his adherents, will be forced to receive the Turkish faith, before they attain to the acknowledgment of the truth.

*Of Lemnius.*

CONCERNING the confounded writings and fictions of Lemnius, Luther said, behold how the devil in every place setteth upon us; we are the mark at which all darts are directed, we must enure ourselves thereunto; he hath always such wretches in store, especially among the Papists, through whom he falleth upon us. The devil doth not this to the Turks, he letteth them alone; but seeing we preach Christ clearly and purely, therefore he persecuted us fiercely like a roaring lion; wherefore let us not mourn nor be dismayed, especially seeing Christ saith, "If ye were of the world, the world would love its own." Ye see (said Luther) how that trencher-licker, Lemnius, slandereth us, and writeth all evil of us, he extolleth the popish bishops, our adversaries, and styleth them holy; but henceforward we will not allow thereof here in this school, for they seek after our blood, and hate us bitterly. The bishops (if they pleased) might be profitable to Germany, but they are not, for they have sworn to the Pope; and although they confess our doctrine to be upright, and condemn their own, yet they will not endure it, because we began it not with their advice, insomuch that they are become such people as St. Paul nameth, Titus, iii. *Autocatacriti*, who have judged and condemned themselves: they have no other cause to be against us, than that we are poor, weak, and silly people, but they are great, rich, and powerful.

Solomon saith, "He that justifieth the wicked, and he that condemneth the just, even they both are an abomination to the Lord." We are here to resist the Papists, and the evil; we must not be silent: we must call the Pope, the Antichrist; he that refuseth so to do, let him draw from hence towards Rome, and run with him to the hangman.

The temporal princes are not deceived as the Popish bishops are; for they are despairing ungodly wretches. I am persuaded (said Luther) that there are among us, at Wittemberg, many spies, but we regard them not. If they please to hear or see us, we shall be well content therewith; but in that they will presume to smite us on the lips, and highly extol our enemies, the same we will not endure. It is enough that thou, Lemnius, as an adversary, art permitted to be here among us; but we will not endure, that with thy books and writings, wherein thou extollest the Popish bishops, who are enemies to Christ and his gospel, and, who with the sword do seek to slay us, and with lies would murder our souls; but whoso praiseth and extolleth them, let him for a recompence have that which Solomon speaketh of; namely, "Let the ungodly perish and go to destruction." This admonition gave Luther openly in the church on Trinity Sunday, and afterwards he read his printed commission against the book of Simon Lemnius. Such books as Witzell, Tolpell, Lemnius, make me nothing at all to regard them. We should have no dealing with such backbiters and slanderers, they are most detestable; they appear not openly upon the plain, neither do they come right in our sight, but out of a poisoned hatred they scorn every thing that we do. They boast highly of the fathers, but (said Luther) we have but one Father, which is in heaven. He is above all fathers: their piecings and patchings are nothing worth; and although they write much, yet we know that their writings are altogether lies. I read no book of such fellows, they write directly against their own consciences. Cocleus argued in this manner, the article of holy Trinity is no where written expressly in Holy Scripture, yet it is believed; therefore (said he) we ought also to believe traditions and ordinances of men without God's word, &c. Witzell is full of errors. He taught, whoso once is converted, the same can sin no more; let him do what he will, all is upright and good. Thus it went with St. Paul, who also was

constrained to hear such blasphemers say, let us do evil and sin merrily, that good may come of it, &c. Let us therefore pray against their blaspheming.

*Of Ungodly Preferment.*

MENTION being again made of that false and perjured man, Witzell, that he was called to Leipzig, and there preferred, Luther said, Witzell is a mischievous fellow. As he was condemned to die, and should have been executed, he was saved at my intercession, and was honourably entertained, and now he requiteth me. But have patience, the wicked wretch (who hath condemned himself) is not worthy to be answered, for he himself knoweth, he maintaineth an evil cause, but surely he will have his judge. The Papists will gain nothing at all with their railing. Therefore, when they blaspheme, then we ought to pray; to be silent, and not to carry wood to the fire.

I am glad (said Luther) that he is at Leipzig, he is there like a mouse taken in a trap, for he is full of evil opinions; when they break out, then he will get his payment, such poison he sucked from Campanus, who wrote a blasphemous book under this title; Against all that were and are in the world since the Apostles' time, &c. He took (said Luther) very much at one bite; but he hath lost the general praise. Witzell is reserved, therefore his preachings are so cold; yea, colder than ice. He dareth not break out and say what he hath in his heart; he goeth like a shackled hare; he feareth the censure of the hearers; his mouth is shut, his words captivated, as in a dungeon. The words of an eloquent man should move others, and pierce the hearts. But they that teach nothing uprightly, nor pure, are like half-Grecians, or half-learned. Such over-grown doctors are, dunce-like, bold, and presumptuous; as Carlestad is with his *Touto*, out of which he made *Autos*.

*Another concerning Witzell.*

WHEN Witzell's book (entitled *Tesserotheca*) was brought to Luther, in which he would reconcile and make an agreement touching the controversies between the Pope and Luther, merely

out of pride, Luther said, if Witzell can bring the Pope to that pass, then I will condescend and yield to more on our part than they desire; but these propositions are hammered and made rather out of fear, than out of any devotion or good will. For, it may be, those of Leipzig, are inclined to court them of Vienna with these propositions, as those that hate the gospel; for the gospel is no doctrine for usurers.

*Of the abominable Presumption of the Papists, exercised upon the Emperor at Costnitz.*

SIGISMUND the emperor by the papists was in a manner captivated, they had him in their power, and was constrained to do what they pleased; he was by them compelled to put on and to wear a deacon's coat, and in the time of Christmas to read the gospel to the Pope, insomuch that every emperor is a deacon of the Romish church; but the Romish king is a sub-deacon, he must read the Epistles before the Pope, so that both emperor and king are the Pope's mass-servants. The emperor, after he performed this ceremony or duty to the Pope, had never any good success against the Turks, nor in Germany. The kingdom of Bohemia is fallen, which before was a very fair kingdom. They lamentably made away that good and just king Uladislaus, and elected another king. At last, when king Matthias died, then that kingdom had an end.

*Of Latomus.*

LATOMUS (said Luther) was the best among all my adversaries that wrote against me: his head, his ground and point was this, "What is received of the church, the same ought not to be rejected." This argument is like unto that of the Jews who said, "We are God's people," &c. Even so the papists cry, "The church, the church cannot err." This was the highest argument against which the prophets and Apostles sought; as Moses saith, "They moved me to jealousy with that which was not God, and I will provoke them to anger with a foolish nation. St. Paul also saith, "That he is a jew which is one inwardly." Likewise Isaiah saith, "In him shall the Gentiles trust."

"It impossible (say they) that God should forsake his church," for he saith, "I am with you always unto the end of the world,"

&c. Hereunto (said Luther) we must answer, and say, that these two words [with you] must be particularly noticed, and well distinguished; namely, which is that true church whereof Christ spake? Whether he did mean thereby the perplexed, the broken and contrite in heart; or, whether he meant the Romish courtisans and sodomitical knaves.

*Of a converted Papist.*

PHILIP MELANCTHON shewing Luther a letter which he had received from Augspurg, whereby he was informed, that a very learned divine (a Papist) in that city was converted, and had received the gospel: whereupon Luther said, I like those best that do not fall off suddenly, but do ponder the case with considerate discretion; do compare together the writings and arguments of both parties, and lay them on the gold balance, and in God's fear do search after the upright truth: out of such, fit people are made able to stand in controversy. Such a man was St. Paul, who at the first was a strict Pharisee and holy-worker, who stiffly and earnestly held over and defended the law; but afterwards he taught and preached Christ in the best and purest manner against the whole nation of the Jews.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF CERTAIN PAPISTS' FEARFUL AND  
SUDDEN DEATHS.

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*Luther's Discourse of the fearful and sudden Deaths of certain  
Papists.*

No man regardeth as he ought the wonderful signs of God which daily are shewed. Let us but consider how (after the coronation of Charles the emperor, *anno* 1531) miserably the bishop of Trier died, in horrible fears and frightings, only in drinking one draught. Graffè Casimire, of Baden, (said Luther) died a sudden death, at the imperial diet at Augspurg, where he made a deep vow to die in the wars against me.

It is well to be noted, that within these few years, most part of the contemners and persecutors of the gospel (who despitefully spake against God's word here in Germany) many have had fearful and sudden deaths. The chancellor of Trier (who said, "They must be very idle people that do receive the gospel," &c.) died suddenly in speaking those words.

A famous papist (the last week, on Bartholomew-day, 1538) died in despair at Mentz; and when he lay at his last gasp, he spake these words, "Devil! there thou hast the soul."

The Venetian general (who laid siege against Padua) was mortally wounded with a shot, and as he was near his death, he spake against the Virgin Mary at Putana, he railed at her with shameless words, he scoffed grievously at St. Peter with words unfitting to be uttered to modest ears. And another Italian at the same time, (as he was striving with death), said, "My goods I bequeath to the world, my body to the worms, and my soul to

the devil." These are fearful blasphemings which that nation do much use. Erasm Rotterdam knoweth them and their doings full well.

One, named Urbane, in the city of Magdeburg, fell from the gospel; and, void of God's fear, he uttered blasphemous words against the gospel: he bound himself under a curse, and said, "If I receive the Protestant faith again, then I pray God that the thunder may destroy me." Even the same day came a fearful tempest of thunder and lightning. He, calling his words to mind, ran into the church, and caused the bells to be rung, thereby to drive the tempest over, and kneeling before the altar, he was struck by the tempest into a swoon. Now after they had cooled and refreshed him, he was led homewards between two men; but in going, he was struck again, in at the crown of the head, and out again at his privy parts, scalding him fearfully, burned and consumed him to death. These (said Luther) are fearful signs of God's just punishments against the contemners and persecutors of the gospel, and his holy Word.

Anno 1526, a friar, in the pulpit, gave St. Paul the lie, and said, We ought not to believe St. Paul, because he said, "Rejoice with them that rejoice," &c. At that instant, uttering those words, he fell down dead at Hildesheim, in the pulpit. A Popish minister at Kunwald, on Trinity Sunday, was struck dead by thunder; for he made a vow against the gospel, to oppose the same, and said, "If the gospel be God's Word, so should the thunder destroy him."

Such examples (said Luther) we ought diligently to mark and consider; for they are both fearful and comfortable: fearful to the ungodly and contemners of God's Word; but comfortable to God-fearing people, that do honour and love the gospel.

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF FRIARS, OF THEIR LIVES AND  
GOOD DAYS.*Of the Papists' Fasting.*

IN Popedom (said Luther) every thing is done without trouble; their fasting is more easy unto them than our eating is to us. To one fasting-day, belonged three days of devouring. Every friar, to his evening collation, hath two quarts of beer, a quart of wine, spice-cakes, or bread prepared with spice and salt, the better to relish their drink. Thus went these poor fasting brethren; they grew so pale and wan, that they were like to the fiery angels.

*That the State of Friars striveth directly against God's Creation.*

GOD in the beginning made but only one human creature, which was a wise council; afterwards he created also a woman, then came the mischief. The friars followed God's first council, for they live alone without marrying; wherefore, according to their rule and judgments, it had been good, nay better, that God had remained by his first determination and council; namely, that but one man only had lived. But (said Luther) if the emperor would act a work worthy of immortal praise, then he should utterly root out the order of the Capuchins, and for an everlasting remembrance of their abominations, should cause their books to remain in safe custody. For the same is the worst and most poisoned sect. The Austin and Bernardine friars are no way comparable to these confounded lice.

*Of the great Multitudes of Monasteries.*

THE electorate of Saxony (said Luther) had twelve Capuchin and Minorite, five Preacher or Pauliner and Carmelite, and four Austin friar monasteries. These were but beggarly monasteries, which of themselves are dusted away. Whereupon an Englishman said, In England, which is but a small island, there are twenty and seven beggarly monasteries. To conclude (said Luther), the spiritual livings are cursed; for their original proceedeth from whoring, rents, and income, and from idolatry; therefore they return to whores again: as they came, so they go: evil gotten, evil spent. Livings which are honestly gained, are by them also devoured. Therefore I advise every good man to take heed that he meddle not with such spiritual livings.

*Of the Grey Friars, and of Franciscus.*

FRANCISCUS (said Luther) was an Italian, born in the city of Assis, no doubt an honest and a just man. He little thought that such superstition and unbelief would proceed out of his life. There have been so many of those grey friars, that they offered to send forty thousand of them against the Turks, and yet the monasteries should be sufficiently provided for of that order.

The Franciscan and Grey Friars came up under emperor Frederick the Second, at which time St. Elizabeth was canonized and brought into the number of saints, in the year 1207. Franciscus drove his game eighteen years; two years under emperor Philip, four years under emperor Otto, and twelve years under emperor Frederick the Second. They feign, that after his death he appeared to the Pope in a dream, held a cup in his hand, and filled the same with blood that ran out of his side. Is not this, think ye, a fine and proper piece of government, that began with dreams and with lies? Therefore the Pope is not God's image, but his ape. He will be both God and emperor; as Pope Innocent the Third said, I will either take the crown from emperor Philip, or he shall take the same from me. O! (said Luther) such histories ought diligently to be described, to the end posterity may know upon what grounds Popedom was erected and founded; namely, upon mere lies and fables. If I were younger, I would write a chronicle of the Popes.

*Of the Pillars of Popedom.*

IF the Pope (said Luther) should go about to hunt away the begging friars, then he would prepare a fine sport; for he hath made them fat, and cherished them in his bosom: he hath given unto them the greatest and most powerful princes to be their protectors. Now if he should offer to drive them away, then all would combine against the Pope, and would instigate the princes against him. For divers kings and princes, yea, the emperor himself, have friars to their confessors: they would finely persuade them. The friars were the Pope's columns, they carried him like as the rats carry their king. I (said Luther) was our Lord God's quicksilver, which he threw into the fish-pond; that is, which he cast among the friars.

A friar is evil every way, whether in the monastery or out of it. For as Aristotle giveth an example touching fire, that burneth whether it be in Ethiopia or in Germany: even so is it likewise with the friars. "Nature is not changed by any circumstances of time or place."

*Of the Friars' Ignorance in good Arts.*

IN Italy was a particular order of friars, called *Fratres Ignorantiæ*, that is, Brethren of Ignorance: these were forced to take solemn oaths, that they would neither know, learn, nor understand any thing at all, but should answer all questions with *Nescio*. Truly (said Luther) all friars are well worthy of that title, for they only read and babble out the words, but they regard not to understand them: they say, Although we understand not the words, yet the Holy Ghost understandeth them, and the devil flieth away. This was the friars' highest argument, who are enemies to all good arts and learning; for the Pope and cardinals conclude thus, Should these brethren study and be learned, so would they master us, &c. Therefore, *saccum per neccum*, that is, *hang a bag or sack about their necks*, and send them a-begging through cities, towns, and countries.

*Of the Covetousness and Deceit of the Capuchin Friars.*

AN honest matron here in Wittenberg complained of the covetousness and deceit of the Capuchin friars, one of which had persuaded her father upon his death-bed to bequeath something to their monastery. And, by reason of her father's charge and command, she had given to the guardian four hundred florins to the use of the monastery. He constrained her to make a deep vow, and to swear that she would discover the same to no human creature; insomuch that the same friar kept that money to himself, which course he usually took, to the great hurt of all the children and orphans in that city. At last, by command from the magistrate, she was compelled to discover how the friar had dealt with her. Many such and the like examples have been found, yet no creature dared to complain thereof: there was no end in robbing, filching, and stealing, by those unsatiable, money-diseased wretches.

*How two Friars, a Capuchin and a Preaching Friar, preached one against the other.*

LUTHER took in his hand a young sparrow, and said, Thou bare-foot friar with thy grey coat, thou art the most mischievous bird. I would wish that some one would write a declamation of a passage that happened at Erfurt, in the time of my being there in the monastery; namely, a preaching friar and a bare-foot friar wandered together into the country to beg for the brethren, and to gather alms. These two played upon each other with unprofitable words in their sermons. The bare-foot friar preaching first, said, Loving country people, and good friends! take heed of that bird the swallow, for it is white within, but upon the back it is black; it is an evil bird, always chirping, but profitable for nothing; and when it is angered, it is altogether mad. This bare-foot friar hereby intended to paint out the preaching friars, that wear on the outside black coats, inward they wear white bandillions. Now, as, in the afternoon, the preaching friar came into the pulpit, he played likewise upon the bare-foot friar, and said, Indeed, loving friends! I neither may nor can well defend the swallow; but the grey sparrow is far a worse and

more hurtful bird than the swallow ; for it pricketh the kine, and when it fouleth into people's eyes, it maketh them blind, as ye may see in the book of Tobit ; he also robbeth, stealeth, and devoureth all he can get, as oats, barley, wheat, rye, apples, pears, peas, cherries, &c. ; moreover he is a lustful and lecherous bird : his greatest art is to cry, "Scrip, scrip," &c. Herewith (said Luther) one beggar endeavoured to hinder another ; a good *Rhetoricus* were here necessary to amplify and enlarge this passage, and to explain it. But the bare-foot friar ought with better colours to have painted out the preaching friars, for they are the haughtiest buzzards and right epicures that go on in particular pride. Again, the begging or bare-foot friars, under the colour of sanctity and humility, are more proud and haughty than kings or princes, and most of all, have imagined and devised lies.

#### *Of St. Bernard.*

ST. BERNARD (said Luther) was the best friar, whom I love above all the rest ; yet, he dared to say, It were a sign of damnation if one remained not in the monastery. He had under him three hundred friars, among all of which not one was damned, if his opinion was true. *Sed vix credo.* St. Bernard lived in dangerous times under emperor Henry the Fourth and Fifth, under emperor Conrade, and Lotharius : he was an experienced friar, but he gave an evil example. The friars, especially the Minorites and Franciscans, had the best and easiest days through hypocrisy ; they touched no money, yet they were the richest, and lived in great quietness. The evil friars' life began betimes, when people under the colour of piety abandoned temporal dealing : this was and is very hateful, and produceth much loathing ; but the estate and calling of a true Christian, which God ordained and founded, consisteth in three hierarchies ; namely, in domestic, in temporal, and church government.

#### *Of the Crowning of Nuns, and the Matrimoniless Monastery Kind of Life.*

THE unmarried life is a great hypocrisy and wickedness, inso-much that under such colour the fathers of the church were deceived. Austin, who although he lived in the good and acceptable

time, yet he was deceived through the crowning of monastery nuns and virgins. And although he gave them leave to marry, yet he said they did unright in marrying, and sinned against God. Afterwards, when the time of wrath and blindness came, and the truth was hunted away, and lying got the upper hand, then the generation of poor women was contemned under the colour of great holiness, which in truth was mere hypocrisy. But Christ with one sentence confuteth all their arguments; namely, God created them male and female.

CHAPTER XL.  
OF CARDINALS AND BISHOPS.

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*Of the Cardinal of Saltzburg.*

IN the year 1530 (said Luther) Philip Melancthon, at Augspurg, was six hours together with that swift brained cardinal of Saltzburg; and among other discourses, he had much talk with him about religion. In the end, the cardinal said unto him, We priests were never yet good; we know that your doctrine is right, but ye ought to know again, that never yet any man was able to overcome the priests, neither will ye be the first. This cardinal (said Luther) was the son of a horse-jockey in Augspurg, whose father had been of an ancient and good family in that place, but by reason of poverty he came to be a servant. This was the first cardinal in Germany; and through his sister's preferment, grew well acquainted in emperor Maximilian's court, and afterwards in a legation was sent to the Pope to Rome, and was made coadjutor of the bishopric of Saltzburg. This cardinal, seeing on a Sunday a great multitude of people in this city running to hear the preaching of the gospel, said, What shall we shepherds do? How our sheep go on in error! Well, I know no remedy. Luther, being advised hereof, said, This cardinal one day will find, that God will cause his guilty conscience to be stinged; he loveth his cardinal's hat better than the divine truth; he feareth the loss of it and of his bishopric; he believeth not that God is able to put down the mighty from their seat, and to exalt the humble and meek; he is of a cowardly disposition, he cannot hold out long, his conscience pricketh him too sorely. The Papists differ among themselves, they cannot agree in their own pedlaries. For, *anno* 1530, in the proceeding at Augspurg, they made no mention, (no

not so much as one word was spoken) of the article of the Pope's primacy, or vicarage of St. Peter, which was wont to be the chief article of Popedom. We ought to set upon such an ungodly and insolent creature, we ought to preach and to write against him. If God spare me life and health but only one half year, so will I fetch a dance with that bride over block and stone. I would wish that the lawyers also appeared in the game, so would I thoroughly tug and teach them what *subjectum juris* is. I acknowledge *jus* is altogether a fair spouse, so long as she remaineth in her own bed; but when she strideth into the bed of another, and will rule in the church, then she becometh a great strumpet, therefore *jus* must stand uncovered before divinity. Luther, still continuing his discourse touching this cardinal and other bishops, said, I never read such fearful examples of hard hearts as in them; they far surpass the Jews, Pharoah, and others; in a word, they are next neighbours to the devil, my heart trembleth when I think on them. At the Imperial Diet at Worms, I prophesied unto them, that the time would come when they willingly would receive the truth, but they should then fail thereof, because that merely out of wickedness they now condemned the same. This prophecy, alas! I have out-lived; they confess that our doctrine is upright and true, but the hardened wretches do it for the sake of their bellies; therefore I now prophesy unto them, that they shall go to the ground and be destroyed, but I shall not live to see the same. This cardinal of Saltzburg is not a *brother of ignorance*, but a *brother of malice*; he is a great epicure, he causeth himself to be led, he listeneth to what people say, he maketh a shew of amity and meekness, but he is not in earnest, he can artificially fit and prepare himself to people's humours, 'like the Italians, who give good words out of false hearts. Luther, deeply sighing over him, said, loving Lord and Saviour Christ, give me life and strength that I may shave the crown of this prelate, for he is a crafty derider of thy name, he is a downright knave, he sticketh not to boast that very few of his stratagems have failed him. When lately I wrote exceeding harshly to this cardinal, and at the same time scorned him, then he confessed that in causes of religion he was in the wrong, therein he would give place to Luther, and suffer himself by him to be blamed; but in temporal and state cases he would yield nothing at all unto him. I see (said Luther) I must rouse him up better. Ah, Lord God, we ought with thee not to dally,

nor to abuse thy name, sufficient it is that we have sinned against thee ; we ought, therefore, to repent and be sorry for our sins. Surely this cardinal hath no conscience at all ; he is like that soldier which lately came unto me, whom I admonished to desist from his wicked kind of life ; he answered me, and said, If I should think thereon, then should I never go to the wars again : even so it is with this cardinal. The good and godly Princess Electrix of Saxony lately asked me, If any hope were to be had of this cardinal's conversion ? I answered, I believe not, however it would be a great joy unto me, if in time he were won over to the truth, and repented ; but there is little hope thereof ; I would rather believe and hope the same in Pilate, in Herod, and Dioclesian, who sinned openly. The princess replied and said, God is almighty and merciful, who would have received Judas again, if he had truly repented. Luther answered, True, gracious madam, God would also receive Satan to mercy, if from his heart he could say, God be merciful to me a sinner. But, alas ! of this cardinal there is no hope, for he opposeth the known truth : a few days since he caused thirteen Christians to be slain for receiving the communion in both kinds. True it is, God is almighty and merciful, he can do more than we are able to think ; but he will do no more than what he hath concluded to do, as St. Paul saith, " Whom he predestinated, them he also called," &c. When our Lord God saith, I will not do this or that, then it is time for us to be gone, and to set our hearts at rest, as God said to Samuel, " Why mournest thou for Saul, whom I have rejected ? Therefore all my hope is gone touching this cardinal ; I commit the case to God, he will rule the same." This cardinal (said Luther) wrote often very friendly unto me, thinking to grease my lips, insomuch as I gave him literal advice to take a wife, but in the mean time he intended with smooth words to deceive me ; but at the Imperial Diet at Augspurg I learned to know him right, yet nevertheless he still pretended great friendship towards me, and in causes of weight would always make choice of me to be an umpire. After my departure from the Diet, he assembled the citizens together, and uttered unto them these words, Loving people be obedient unto me, and receive the sacrament in one kind, so will I not only be a gracious lord unto you, but also a father, a brother, and a friend ; and I will procure from the emperor great privileges for you. But in case you refuse

to be obedient herein. so will I be your utter enemy; I will bring you and your city into the utmost confusion. Were not these words rather of a Rabshakeh, or of the Turkish emperor, than of a prelate.

I will leave this testimony behind me (said Luther) touching this cardinal, namely, excepting Nero and Caligula, he is the greatest knave that ever came on earth. He sought wonderfully to ensnare me; insomuch, that if our Lord God in special manner had not preserved me, he had taken me captive. *Anno 1525*, he sent one of his doctors unto me with a present of two hundred Hungarian ducats, which he caused to be given to Kate my wife; but I refused to receive them, and charged my wife not to meddle therewith; for, God be praised, I never had the name to be a money-taker.

CHAPTER XLI.

OF THE POPE'S SPIRITUAL LAWS.

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*Luther's Discourse of the Pope's Spiritual Laws.*

THE Pope's decretals (said Luther) is stark naught: he that hammered it was an ass; for it hath three parts, *distinctiones, causas, et consecrationes*. It is a thing raked together like a beggar's coat, patched up with divers rags. In the introduction he describeth how a bishop should be qualified, and live (out of St. Paul's Epistle to Titus); namely, "A bishop (saith he) must be blameless, must lead a good life and conversation, not self-willed, not soon angry," &c. Then he speaketh touching bigamy; that is, to have two wives one after another. And when one taketh a maid to wife, and findeth her not a maid, the same shall have no hope to be made a priest. It is therefore a dangerous thing to take a wife in Popedom, and to live in hope, when she died, to be a priest. But the decre'tals do govern the world, for therein are contained law businesses, how they should go to law one with another, and live at debate; nothing concerning the church government is taught therein, but altogether of temporal causes and policy, which serve for ruling and government.

*Of the Impiety of the Pope's Decrets, and of his Tyranny.*

IN the Pope's decretals many shameful things are contained; for the Pope therein presumeth to say, Whoso believed and observed not his decrees, it were in vain for such a one to believe in Christ, or to give credit to the four Evangelists. Likewise he saith in his decree, although he led people into hell, yet they ought to follow him; whereas the office of a true bishop is to

comfort the broken and sorrowful in heart, and to lead them to Christ. Fie upon this maledicted villain, must he teach the consciences to despair in that sort ?

Whoso readeth his decrees shall often find, that when an article is proved out of Holy Scripture with fair sentences, then he argueth against them, and saith, the Romish church hath otherwise concluded; and so, like Satan, he dare presume to make God's Word subject to human creatures.

Even so doth Thomas Aquinas dispute; for when he citeth a place in Scripture, he concludeth thus, Aristotle holdeth the contrary. Here (said Luther) the Holy Scripture must give place to Aristotle the heathen writer. Such abominable darkness the world will not acknowledge, but contemn the truth, and fall into horrible errors; therefore let us make good use of the time, for it will not always remain as it is now.

#### *Of Decrets and Decretals.*

In the decretals, the Pope domineereth and triumpheth like a victor or conqueror; there he is on his dunghill in possession, where he lightneth and thundereth with these words, "We acknowledge, we censure, and by divine command we judge; we have power to command and to conclude; all other ought to be obedient unto us." All the world must know, that no human creature ought to censure the Pope, but he only and alone hath power to judge and censure the whole universal world. But in the decret the Pope only striveth and contesteth. I am persuaded (said Luther), that in the Pope's spiritual laws it is written above one thousand times, that the Pope neither may nor can be censured by any man whatsoever.

#### *Of the Spiritual Law, and what it is.*

THE spiritual law of the Pope, as all lawyers do witness, is a filthy book that stinketh of money. Take out of it covetousness and ambition, then there remaineth nothing therein of its own proper substance, yet it hath a great lustre; for all unhappiness must begin in *nomine Domini*. Like as all righteousness and saving health is only "in the name of the Lord." Even so, under the colour and cover of God's name, all idolatry and superstition

cometh. Therefore the commandment followeth fitly upon the first, and saith, "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain."

*What Gratianus sought in the Decrets.*

GRATIANUS, the lawyer (said Luther) who collected the decrets together, endeavoured with highest diligence to make an union, and to find a means to separate the good from the evil. The good man meant well, but the issue thereof was naught; for it proceeded thus; he rejected that which was good, and justified that which was evil; and undertaking that which was impossible, he was amazed and affrighted through the glosses which say, this, and this we must not hold, for it striveth against the Pope; all histories agree, that the Pope always would be lord and master over the Holy Scripture. And although he was therein resisted by many of his own bishops, yet they could never prevail against him, by reason of God's wrath, to punish the world for its ingratitude, and the contemning of his Word.

*Of the Pope's Decrets and Chancery.*

I MUCH marvel (said Luther) that in so great a book of the Pope's decrets, nothing at all is handled concerning faith. The fathers (*Ecclesiastici scriptores*) wrote likewise very cold things concerning the doctrine of faith. Luther reading in the decret how Emperor Lodowick, nephew to Charles the Great, should have given power to the Pope over all kingdoms and dominions, said, I hold for certain that the Pope's chancery and decret is a cabinet full of lies; for he hath drawn all his privilege out of a custom.

*That in the Pope's Books nothing of Christ is written.*

IN all the books containing the Pope's spiritual laws and rights, is not written so much as one word that teacheth what or who Christ is. May not this man, the Pope, more properly be called a wolf, than the shepherd of the church? He always aimed at three things; first, to strengthen and preserve his government and dominion: secondly, to sow discord between kings and

princes when he pleased, and so often as he saw, that thereby his kingdom might be strengthened and confirmed. But especially in the third place, he, as a good father (as he boasteth of himself), will be applied to to make those princes at an union again, between whom he had made discord; but he doth not the same until such time as he seeth it will be profitable for his dominion and power. But (said Luther) whoso perverteth and falsifieth the truth of God's Word, the same dealeth not like a shepherd of Christ's church, but like an Antichrist and adversary of God.

*That no Man hitherto hath marked the Pope's ungodly Decrees.*

WE ought to know (said Luther) that the upright and true church never had the same title and name in the world, but she hath always been without a name: hence she is not visible nor seen, but believed; as in the creed, we confess and say, "I believe in the holy catholic church," &c. We do not say, I see her, for commonly she is perplexed and covered with the cross. Behold these the Pope's abominable decrets, *capite, cuncta. 9. q. 3. c. Si papa. Dist. 40.* Behold also, *Capite ad Apostolicæ, de appellat. in 6.* No emperor, no king, prince, nor divine, ever marked the'same, insomuch as I greatly wonder at such their blindness, in that they have not discerned so great, so gross, and horrible lies of the Pope, who therein bragged and boasted, that the Holy Scriptures have their power and authority from the Romish church.

## CHAPTER XLII.

## LUTHER'S DISCOURSE OF CEREMONIES.

*Of Ceremonies.*

A HOUSEHOLDER (said Luther) instructeth his servants and family in this manner, and saith unto them, deal uprightly and honestly, be diligent in that which I will and command you, &c. And in so doing, then ye may eat, ye may drink, and ye may clothe yourselves as ye please. Even so, our Lord God regardeth not what we eat, drink, or wherewith we clothe ourselves, all such things, being ceremonies or middle things, he leaveth freely unto us, only that we ground nothing thereon, as if the same were needful or necessary to salvation.

*Luther's considerate Directions to Dr. Nicholas Houseman concerning Ceremonies.*

I HOLD it not good (said Luther) that those of our party do assemble together, to settle an uniform agreement touching ceremonies in the church; for although the same be intended and done out of good meaning, yet it is a matter that giveth an evil example, as all councils of the church do prove; insomuch that in the council which the Apostles held at Jerusalem, they handled more touching ordinances, works, and ceremonies, than concerning faith. And in the councils following, they disputed and concluded at no time concerning faith, but always touching opinions and unprofitable things, of ceremonies and ordinances in the church; so that the very name of council is as suspicious and hateful to me as the name free-will. If one church refuseth, or

is unwilling to follow another in external things, what profit then is it through decrees and councils to force and command them, out of which are made laws and snares to the souls of men. Wherefore (said Luther) if one church willingly will not follow another in ceremonies, then let every one hold and sway their customs for themselves; only that the union in spirit, in faith, and in the pure word, may remain whole and unsinged.

*Of Luther's Opinion and Counsel given to the Church at Northausen.*

REVEREND, loving sirs, and friends! We see, alas! what alarms and tumults Satan stirreth up every where in churches, insomuch as there are almost as many opinions as there are heads or brains of church-servants. It soundeth in my ears, that certain questions are raised among you concerning very base things of no value, but that the doctrine is still pure among you, whereof you have a good report. Yet nevertheless, as ye know how people in common regard not the wholesome doctrine, even so, they easily take occasion to find fault, and to blaspheme also the chiefest articles of faith (especially amongst you, where still Papists are, which carry wood to the fire, and out of a little spark do kindle a great flame), &c. Wherefore I desire, and, for Christ's sake, I pray you (in whom we live, in whom we boast, and in whose spirit we are), "To lay no stumbling-block of offence before any man in external mean things and ceremonies." But that my Christ and your Christ be one among us, whose life and death we justly ought to prefer and higher to esteem than our reasonings, yea, than the devil's tribulations and temptations: and the same Lord keep, preserve, and accomplish in you the work he hath begun, until yonder day of joyful hope, the glorious day of our deliverance. Amen.

*Of the Feast of John the Baptist.*

THE feast of John the Baptist (said Luther) we ought to retain, at whom the New Testament began, for it is written, "All the prophets and the law prophesied until John," &c. We ought to observe the same also for the sake of the fair song (which in Popedom we also read but not understood) of Zacharias, which

indeed is a most excellent song, as is shewed in the preface that St. Luke made, where he saith, "And Zacharias was full of the Holy Ghost," &c.

We that are preachers and ministers should watch and look that ceremonies be observed in such sort, that people be made thereby neither too rude, nor too holy. Whoso intendeth to prepare a ceremony (said Luther), be it never so small, the same must fasten the sword with both hands ; that is, he must do like Erasmus Roterodamus, who scorneth and derideth ceremonies, because they be ridiculous in his wisdom. But if a man should ask Erasmus if he taketh our Lord God to be a fool, in commanding ridiculous things, as the circumcision, sacrificing, and the slaughtering of Isaac, &c., I fain would hear what his profound wisdom would answer thereunto. I (Martin Luther) ask thee Erasmus Roterodamus, How if God be pleased with such foolish things that thou scoffest at and deridest ? This question thou shalt never be able to answer or confute, with all the wisdom thou hast, which thou spinnest out of thy human reason and understanding, which contemneth all divine causes ; I say unto thee, thou knowest not the *principium*, that is the fast and sure ground ; namely, that we ought to rely upon God's Word, and to be obedient thereunto. The article of justification through Christ must alone do the deed ; otherwise, our reasonings do always remain in natural wisdom and understanding. If such things be acceptable and pleasing to God, wilt thou then presume to oppose or deride them ? This argument, "God commandeth," stoppeth thy mouth, and the mouths of all such as thou art. It is a matter impossible (said Luther) that a God-fearing and faithful person should write so many oooks, as Erasmus Roterodamus hath written, and not to sprinkle therein so much as one verse or line of Christ.

## CHAPTER XLIII.

LUTHER'S DISCOURSE OF SEDUCERS AND  
SECTARIES THAT OPPOSED HIM.*Of Carlstad.*

CARLSTAD (said Luther) opposed me merely out of ambition, for he flattered himself that on earth was not a more learned man than he ; and although in his writings he imitated me, yet he drew strange colours thereupon ; he only would be the man, and truly I willingly would have left the honour unto him, so far as it had not been against God. For (I praise my God) I was never so presumptuous as to think myself wiser than another man. When at the first I wrote against indulgences, I intended but only to reject and oppose the same, and I thought that afterwards others would have come and have accomplished what I therein began.

*Of Campanus and his Seducements.*

WE ought (said Luther) utterly to contemn and to reject Campanus, and not to esteem him so much worthy as to write against him, for thereby he becometh more audacious and insolent. Let us despise him, whereby he will soonest be smothered and suppressed ; for he will not achieve much with his seducing authority. Whereupon Philip Melancthon said, He is plunged and fallen into horrible errors ; being as yet young and inexperienced, he thinketh himself a better Grecian than either Luther or Doctor Pommer : the reason of his presumption is, he never yet felt any combat, neither hath he wrestled with the devil, therefore he boasteth that he is altogether sure and certain of the cause, and

saith that he is able to discourse more clear and plainly of Christ's Deity or God-head than St. John the Evangelist himself. He condemneth Luther because he teacheth that faith is yet weak in the godly, and daily must grow and increase, must proceed in weakness, in combating, and continually must be made stronger. But Campanus saith, A Christian must be complete, holy, and righteous, and must not err. In such sort, said Melancthon, he seduceth poor people. Whereupon Luther said, Campanus describeth a Christian not rightly; for true it is, a Christian is sanctified and holy; yet nevertheless he is a poor sinner, plagued, and subject with and to evil concupiscence and lust, whereof also Paul himself complaineth: but Campanus will make as if people were like blocks and stones, as that they neither feel nor be sensible of evil inclinations and desires, as the Stoics allude. If I could be made such a creature, so would I not give a rush for any preaching, nor for the sacraments.

The despairing wretches, Erasmus Roterodamus, and Carlstad, do boast and brag of all their things, whereas God's causes at the first proceed but weakly. I (said Luther) for the space of these twenty years together have built upon God's Word, and have had many a bitter combat touching the same, and yet I find still labour and travel enough thereby. From hence the prophet Habakkuk saith, "Thou didst walk through the sea with thine horses, through the heap of great waters."

*Why George Witzel fell from the Gospel again.*

GEORGE WITZEL was a ring-leader of the rebellion in Thuringia, and therefore was taken captive, and should have been beheaded: then I interceded for him (said Luther), and begged his life: and afterwards, when he came to Wittemberg, I set him over the parish at Niemeck for a minister (which place I now have conferred upon Conrade Cordatus); but afterwards he nung himself on Campanus, who wrote together, and baked both one cake; they opposed the article of the God-head in Christ. Whereupon John Prince Elector of Saxony caused him to be cast into prison (of which we divines knew nothing); then Witzel fell off from us, and joined with the Pope again, and now he is become our bitter enemy, but he shall get his part allotted for him.

*Of Doctor Eisleben.*

DOCTOR Eisleben (said Luther) is puffed up with pride, presumption, and vanity; he seeketh to rule and govern with his cold reasonings, would willingly be exalted and made a great lord, disregarding and contemning in the mean time the affairs of the gospel. Whereupon Philip Melancthon said, This complaint hath always been; for great and weighty businesses have little help, but much hindered; yet God hindereth, frustrateth, and resisteth many of their intentions with less weakness.

Who would have thought of that mischievous sect the Antinomians, the assaulters of the law? I have outlived and endured two abominable tempests, Munster, and the Antinomians. Now seeing they are stilled and gone, others do approach, insomuch that there will be no end in writing. I desire to live no longer; for there is no more hope of peace. Ancient Bernard said well, We should preach of four particulars, of virtues and vices, of rewards and threatenings. Doctor Eisleben flattereth that his *Oportet* will do the deed: for he saith, This and that must, must be done away; it is powdered too much, we will have none of it. But (said Luther) he must swallow down that [*must*] again. I will in such sort powder it to his appetite, that he shall spew it up again.

*Anno* 1539, the 19th of April, Luther earnestly charged Doctor Ambrose Bernd, that he, as a master, should admonish the university, and warn them to take heed of factions, and not to induce schisms or separations, but should observe the ordered directions. He gave charge also that Dr. Eisleben should not be chosen dean, to the end his pride, his presumption, and disobedience, thereby might not be confirmed and strengthened; for he is a very shameless and proud enemy of the church, of schools, and of us all; we should, in so doing, harbour a serpent in our bosoms, which we ought not to feed, and nourish with milk, but with earth; and except he uprightly and truly repenteth, so shall he of us utterly be rejected. Thus much (said Luther) would I have you signify to your facultists, and to tell them, if they refuse to hearken unto you herein, then will I publicly preach against them.

That poisoned doctrine of the Antinomians proceedeth mildly : flesh and blood relisheth it well, it is sweet, it maketh people rude and secure, it will produce much mischief.

*Of Dr. Jacob Schenck.*

JACOB SCHENCK (said Luther), in his epistle to the ministers, utterly rejecteth the preaching of the law, as being nothing necessary ; for, saith he, the same is already well known to human reason. But the gospel, which surpasseth all the understanding of human wisdom, sense, and reason, ought to be preached in the most sweet and amiable manner ; therefore Christ also commanded Peter, and said, “Feed, feed, feed my sheep,” &c. Neither were it proper that a preacher, for the sake of a few ungodly people, should lighten and thunder with the law, and, in the mean time, should neglect the great multitude, and suffer them to stand idle. The ungodly (said Schenck) ought in private to be reformed, and their misdoings discovered to the magistrates, &c.

These monstrous errors (said Luther) must we hear yet in our life-time. The Prince Elector, without my knowledge, caused Schenck to be instituted, by reason he saw Satan’s game played among the Papists, and to the end one might sing and play upon another. It may be, all this is done against future offences, to the honour of Christ, and of the gospel.

Anno 1538, the 18th of September, Luther having notice that the preaching of Jacob Schenck was every where extolled, said, O! how acceptable to me would these reports be, if with his preaching he brought not in such sweet-mouthed, smooth, and stately words, of which St. Paul complaineth to the Romans, whereby the hearers most of all are deceived. They are like to the wind *Cecias*, which bloweth so mild and still, so soft and warm, that thereby the blossoms of trees, and other herbs and flowers, are enticed to spring forth to their destruction. Even so likewise doth the devil, who, when he preacheth Christ in his ministers, even then he intendeth therein to destroy Christ ; and although he speaketh the truth, yet even therewith he lieth. An honest man may well go up the stairs when a knave lieth hid behind them ; for the devil can well endure that Christ sitteth upon the tongue, when, in the mean time, he lieth hid under it ; inso-much that the people’s ears are tickled and enflamed with what

they willingly hear : but (said Luther) such smooth tattling lasteth not long ; for Satan, through the gospel, will pervert the gospel, because presumptuous and secure spirits acknowledge not their sins. And where no matter or tinder is to make it apt to catch, there Christ hath no room or place wherein he may work ; for he only is come to them that are of perplexed, broken hearts and spirits, as he saith, "To the poor is the gospel preached." And in the prophet Isaiah, God saith, "I behold the miserable, and him that is of a broken spirit, and that feareth my word." But these contemners of the law (said Luther) are haughty and proud spirits ; like as the people in Popedom, under the tradition of the law, were far from observing the law, the same being altogether strange unto them. Therefore the preaching of the law is a preparative for the gospel, and it giveth matter unto Christ to work upon, who is the only work-master of faith.

*Of the Doctrine of the Antinomians touching different Kinds of Repentance.*

THE 15th of April, 1539, certain positions, printed at Leipzig, were sent to Luther, which Hamer had made, wherein he sharply maintained that the law concerned the Christians nothing at all. he divided also repentance into three parts, and said, The Jews had one kind of repentance, the Gentiles another kind, and another the Christians had. Whereupon Luther said, Who ever thought that such impertinent and gross spirits should come ? For this is a complete, mischievous error, to distinguish repentance according to the different persons, whereas there is only one kind of repentance given to all mankind, seeing that all, one as well as another, have angered and offended one only God, whether Jews, Gentiles, or Christians ; therefore it is a gross, an abominable, and apparent error ; like as if men had another kind of faith and repentance than the women had ; the princes another kind than the subjects ; the masters than the servants ; the rich another kind than the poor, &c. Insomuch, that therewith they make God a respecter of persons. That poor snake Hamer (said Luther) distinguisheth repentance wrongfully against God and his Word : he saith, We Christians have another kind of repentance than the Jews or Gentiles. As though the prophets had not taught uprightly of repentance, and if the repentance of the Ninevites had

not been upright and true ; from whence at last would follow ; If we preached not repentance out of the law, that then Christ was not under the law, whereas he was for our sakes under the curse of the law.

To conclude, Satan cannot rest, nor be idle ; he stirreth up many sorts of errors, which altogether oppose Christ (as a God), who was made man. All heresies that have been, either have opposed Christ's deity or humanity ; either they have denied his operation and strength, or some circumstances ; inasmuch as the Antinomians, in opposing the law, do deny Christ, who was under the law. They think there are no other sins than the crucifying of Christ ; as if it were not a sin against the first commandment to crucify Christ again. I do not say that we should not preach repentance to those which already are justified by faith ; but this I say, and press hard thereupon, That we ought earnestly to affright the impenitent, stiff-necked, and hardened sinners, and through the preaching of the law, to bring them to the acknowledgment of their sins ; for when we neither acknowledge nor confess our sins, then Christ and his gospel can have no place in us. And where no sin is, or will be, there can be no remission of sins. But the Antinomians will bring Christ in among the impenitent sinners that have no conscience, neither do know how their nature is spoiled and evil. Truly (said Luther), there Christ hath neither room nor place.

*Of the Antinomians, and the Errors of Arius.*

ANNO 1538, the 13th of September, a fierce disputation was held, five hours long, in which Luther powerfully laid himself against the new doctrine. He interrupted those that rejected the law through the gospel, and that would abolish the law, would flatter the people to evil, who, besides that, were too secure. These (said Luther) will I resist to my last end, were I sure to lose my life for the same.

Touching the heresy of Arius, Peter, Bishop of Alexandria (marking the same long before) said, The same is strange, an against Christ's honour ; for he that denieth the Godhead in Christ, the same certainly taketh away Christ's honour. Arius began in that sort ; first, he denied that Christ was God, and said, he was a creature yet complete. But when the godly bishops re-

sisted him, then he said, secondly, Christ was the most completest creature (yea also above the angels), through whom all things were made. Thirdly, he alleged Christ was God, but only by name. Fourthly, he affirmed Christ was very God of very God, light of light. He taught so finically touching Christ with his errors, that many people fell unto him, and held of his opinion. That delicate Bishop of Milan, Auxentius, was also by these errors deceived, against whom Hillary wrote an epistle.

But when the good Christian bishops were not yet satisfied touching these allegations of Arrius, then in the fifth place he said, Christ was not born of the Father equal God, but was made with the Father of one substance, would not admit otherwise, but that he was made. As they began the strife touching *Homoousion*, against which Hillary laid himself, the contents of whose book which he wrote against him was, That Christ is natural God, of one equal substance with the Father. Afterwards St. Jeronimus set himself against the same, he could have wished that the word *Homoousion* had been left out of the symbolum of Athanasius, and the confession of faith, because it was no where written in the Holy Scripture that he was born of the Father, yet it was pertinent, and in respect to his human nature rightly spoken.

The heresies of Arius (said Luther) continued very long, above three hundred years; they reach to the reign of Augustus Cæsar, and of Pope Gregory. They were in highest sway, and flourished under Emperor Constantine; under Emperor Domitian they tyrannized; under Jovianus, Valentinianus, and Gratianus, they somewhat decreased. They endured the times of seven emperors, and until the Goths came. The great Turk to this day (said Luther) is an Arian; howsoever in his oath he extolleth the four Evangelists. He holdeth also, that God is a Creator of heaven and earth; likewise the resurrection of the dead. But he boasteth of his Mahomet as being the highest prophet. In Constantinople he causeth Christ openly to be preached, yet so that they meddle not with his Mahomet; who they hold is a wonderful human creature.

*Of the Heretics the Abelists.*

THE Abelists (said Luther) took their name of Abel; the same in outward show were the chiefest teachers under the sun; for first, they held that all which were of their sect should be in the state of matrimony, and have wives. Secondly, that they should dwell together, and yet should abstain from carnal copulation; should diligently increase their house-keeping with wealth and maintenance. Thirdly, they should make choice of others, and of strangers' children, to inherit their livings. Truly (said Luther) it was a sociable and a strange heresy. Thus the state of matrimony, as God's ordinance, always hath been opposed.

*Of Luther's Censure of Erasmus Roterodamus.*

THE picture of Erasmus Roterodamus being brought before Luther, he said, Erasmus, as his picture sheweth, is a crafty and a subtle man; he derideth both God and true religion; he useth finical words; as, The loving Lord Christ, The worthy saving word, The holy sacraments, &c. But in truth he holdeth them for very cold things. He is possessed with a scoffing spirit and courage; his words are smooth and nimble, as in his *Moria* and *Julio* is to be seen. In teaching he is very chill, nothing worth; he can talk, but his words are made, but not grown. When he preacheth, it soundeth like a patched kettle, it is altogether cold doings.

Cicero saith, There is no better art to move and touch people's hearts, than when it first goeth to thine own heart. Do but behold what in his *Paraphrasis* he writeth and babbleth upon that excellent psalm, "Well is he that feareth the Lord," &c. And also upon the second Psalm. He mentioneth not one word how we are justified before God, which is the highest and chiefest article. He mentioneth the name of Christ only for the sake of the prebendary, yet he regardeth him not. Will not Christ be a king (thinketh Erasmus), so let him be a beggar, it is all one to him. He did mock and scoff at Popedom a while since, but now he slippeth his neck out of the halter.

*Of Erasmus's Picture.*

As Erasmus's picture was presented to himself, he said. Look, I like this picture! so am I the greatest knave that liveth.

*Of Erasmus's Catechism.*

ERASMUS (said Luther) was stained and poisoned at Rome and at Venice with epicurism. He extolled the Arians more than the Papists. He dared to say, Christ was named God but only once in St. John; as Thomas said unto him, "My Lord and my God." But among all his clipped darts, I can endure none less than his catechism, wherein he teacheth nothing certain; he only maketh young people to err and despair. His chiefest doctrine is, we must carry ourselves according to the time, and (as the proverb goeth) we must hang the cloak according to the wind; he only looked to himself, and to have good and easy days, and so he died like an epicure, without any one servant or comfort of God.

*Erasmus an Enemy of Christ.*

THIS (said Luther) do I leave behind me in my will and testament, whereunto I call you for witnesses. I hold Erasmus Roterodamus for Christ's most bitter enemy; in his catechism is not one word that saith, Do this, or, Do not this; he only therein maketh the consciences to err. He wrote a book against me (*Hyperaspiste*), wherein he intended to defend his book concerning free-will, against which I wrote in my book touching servile-will; the same as yet he hath not confuted, neither shall he ever be able so to do; for I am certain and sure, that what I wrote touching that particular is the unchangeable truth of God. But if God liveth in heaven, then Erasmus one day shall know and feel what he hath done.

Erasmus is an enemy to true religion, a particular adversary to Christ, a complete picture and image of an epicure, and of Lucian.

This have I (Martin Luther) written with mine own hand, to thee my beloved son John, and through thee to all my children, and to the holy Christian church.

*Sensibus hæc imis (res est non parva) reponas.*

CHAPTER XLIV.  
OF CHRISTIANS AND A CHRISTIAN  
LIFE.

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*Luther's Discourse of Christians, and a Christian Life.*

To be a Christian (said Luther) is to have the gospel, and to believe in Christ; the same produceth the remission of sins, and God's grace; but it proceedeth only from the Holy Ghost; he worketh it through the Word without our addition or co-operation. It is God's own proper work, our strength and free-will doth nothing thereunto; the same only suffereth and permitteth itself to be prepared and fitted by the Holy Spirit, as a piece of earth or clay by the potter is made and prepared into a vessel.

*Of the Christian's Worshipping.*

A CHRISTIAN'S worshipping (said Luther) is not the external hypocritical vizard which spiritualless friars do wear and shew when they chastise their bodies, torment and make themselves faint, with strict kind of lives, with fasting, watching, singing, and wearing shirts of hair, and scourging themselves with rods, &c. Of such worshipping God knoweth nothing, neither desireth nor demandeth of us; but the right worshipping of a Christian is, when God's Word is taught diligently, clearly, and unfalsified: as then the hearts are rightly instructed, that they know what and how they ought to believe, and how they ought to love their neighbours.

Faith is the upright and true worshipping of God, and therefore he is best pleased; but it proceedeth not out of our will, strength, or addition, but only from the Holy Ghost; he worketh

the same through the Word, in our hearts, when and where he will, if we diligently attend upon the preaching of the Divine Word.

It is a great blindness of people's hearts that they cannot accept of that treasure of grace presented unto them ; for such people we are, that although we are baptized, have Christ with all his precious gifts, faith, the sacraments, his word (all which we confess to be holy), yet we can neither say nor think that we ourselves are holy ; we think that is too much to say we are holy ; whereas the name Christian is far more glorious and greater than the name holy.

We fools can call consecrated robes, dead bones, and such trumpery, holy ; but we cannot think nor believe that a Christian is holy ; the reason is, we gaze upon the outward mask, we speculate and look after such a seeming saint, or righteous person, as leadeth a strict kind of life, &c. From hence proceedeth this vain opinion in Popedom, that they call the dead, saints ; which error Zuinglius encreaseth and strengtheneth. Human wit and wisdom hath regard to the holy-workers, that whoso doth good works, the same is just and righteous before God. But we (said Luther) will remain *in justitia relationis non qualitatis* ; that is, "That God esteemeth us just and righteous for the sake of Christ, who clothed us with his righteousness," &c.

#### *Of a Christian's best way of Dying.*

No better dying (said Luther) than as St. Stephen died, who said, "Lord receive my spirit." That we lay aside the register of our sins and deserts, and die relying only upon God's mere grace and mercy.

#### *How and when we do best of all.*

WE never do better and holier than when we know not what, or how much we do ; that is, when we think we do least. In like manner, we never do more wisely, than when we think we have done and do most foolishly ; for strength is strong in weakness. Suffering is the best work and action. We never do worse, than when we think and know we have done much ; for impossible it is, but that at some time or other we should take delight in our

own doings and actions, as then, in so doing, we utterly stain and spoil our actions and works; we honour and praise not God so purely as we ought, according to that sentence, "Strength in weakness is strong." As we see by the examples of Jonas, Elias, and of all the high excelling saints.

*That upright Christians must be plagued of the World and the Devil.*

PHILIP MELANCTHON (said Luther) hath a good conscience, therefore he taketh a matter near to heart. Christ well and thoroughly exercised and practised our forefathers; for that which belongeth to Christ, the same must feel the serpent's sting in the heel. Also, no doubt the mother of our Lord was a poor maid, therefore she was betrothed to a carpenter, who was also poor.

Wherefore (said Luther) let us be merry and contented in poverty and trouble, and remember that we have a rich master, who neither will nor can leave us without help and comfort, and in so doing, we have peaceable and good consciences, let it go with us as God pleaseth. The ungodly do want this peace in their hearts, as Isaiah saith, "They are as the waves of the sea; neither have the covetous usurers any peace of conscience."

CHAPTER XLV.

OF HYPOCRITES AND FALSE  
BRETHREN.

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*That the greatest Mischief proceedeth from false Brethren.*

I CARE nothing at all (said Luther) for one that is an open enemy of the church, as the Papists and tyrants with their power and persecutions; I regard them not, for by them the true church cannot receive hurt and prejudice, neither are they able to hinder God's Word; yea, the church through their raging and persecution rather increaseth, as Tertullian saith, *Sanguine Christianorum rigatur Ecclesia*. But it is the inward evil of false brethren that will do mischief and devast the church, insomuch as it will be lamentable to see. We see Judas betrayed Christ, the false Apostles confused and falsified the gospel. These and the like, are the right companions through whom the devil rageth and spoileth the church.

*What an Hypocrite is.*

I KNOW not well (said Luther) how to give this word, *hypocrita*, in High Dutch, for hypocrite is too mild and soft a name for such a one, it is almost as much as *sycophanta*, a wicked villain, who for his own private gain doth mischief to others; such hypocrites were the servants and courtiers of king Saul, who for the sake of their bellies, spake against righteous David; they backbite him in the king's presence, whereby the land was stained. *Hypocrita* is not only an hypocrite or a flatterer that pretendeth love towards one and speaketh that which tickleth the ears, but also deceiveth and produceth mischief, and the same he

doth under the colour of holiness, as the examples in the 23d of Matthew do clearly shew. For St. Jeronymus saith, Fained holiness is a double evil. Therefore, *Hypocrisis* is called false-ness; *Hypocrita*, a child of perdition, a false despairing villain.

*With what sort of People Christians are most fiercely to strive with.*

THE greatest and fiercest strife which Christians have, is with false brethren. If (said Luther) a false brother would openly confess and say, I am a Pilate, an Herod, or an Annas, that is, if he would put off the name of a believing Christian, and profess himself an open enemy to Christ, then we would with patience suffer and endure all the evil that such a one were able to work against us. But insomuch as they will carry the name of Christians, the same we neither may, can, nor will endure, in that they speak and act what belongeth not to Christians. For this rule and government over the conscience, we divines take properly unto us, and say, It is ours through the Word, we will not suffer ourselves to be bereaved of it, by no means whatsoever.

*That false Brethren are sprung up in the stead of Monks and Friars.*

FORASMUCH (said Luther) as we have hooted and hallooted away the friars and priests by and through the preaching of the gospel and God's Word, therefore the false brethren do now plague us in such sort, that this sentence must prove true on our hearers, as is written, "He came unto his own, and his own received him not."

*Of Judas Iscariot, the Example and Picture of false Brethren.*

I MUCH marvel (said Luther) that nothing is written of the villainy which Judas did to Christ, I am persuaded, he did it for the most part with the tongue; for Christ, not in vain, complained of him in the 41st Psalm. Doubtless he went to the high priest and elders, and spake grievously against Christ; no doubt he said, I baptize also, but now I see, the same is frivolous and nothing worth, &c. Moreover, he was a thief, he thought to make some

great gain in betraying Christ (as also George Witzell and Cro-tus came to us, thinking by our means to be made great lords); he was a wicked, despairing villain, he glanced upon Christ. If he had not been so wicked a wretch, Christ would have forgiven him, as he forgave Peter, who fell also, but out of weakness; Judas out of wickedness. Like as the apostles could not hinder the Jews at Jerusalem from crucifying Christ; even as little can we heip, when God's punishments proceed, as we see on the traitor Judas; our Lord God suffered Judas and the other Jews to run on their course, and seemed to be so weak and simple as though he could not hinder them, but afterwards he cometh and payeth them soundly.

*Whereto Judas serveth as an Apostle, and is profitable.*

JUDAS (said Luther) was as necessary among the apostles as any three of them. For he solveth and confuteth many arguments and places against the heretics (the Donatists), who allege first, that no man can baptize but he that hath the Holy Ghost. This argument Judas confuteth, he was an apostle, and one of the twelve. Therefore what he did in his office, the same was good and right; but when he played the thief, and stole, then he did wrong, and sinned. Therefore we must separate and distinguish his person from his office, for Christ commanded him not to steal, but to execute his office, to preach, to baptize, &c. Judas likewise confuteth what some do object against us, who say, There are among you Protestants many wicked wretches, false brethren, and unchristian-like offenders: here standeth Judas and saith, I was also an apostle, I behaved and carried myself (as an understanding worldly-wise companion and politician) much better than the others, my fellow apostles did; no man thought that such mischief had lain hid in me. Judas (said Luther) at the Lord's Supper was directly the Pope, who also hath got hold on the purse; he is a covetous wretch, a thief, and a belly-god; he will also speak in the praise of Christ. In truth he is a right Iscariot.

*That Judas is a Pattern of Christ's Enemies, and of his Word.*

IN that Judas hanged himself, burst in pieces, and his bowels fell out, the same is an example and picture how all those shall be destroyed that persecute Christ, his word, and people. For even as it went with their leader and captain Judas, in that he betrayed Christ, even so it will go with all Christ's enemies. The Jews justly ought to have made a looking-glass out of their nephew Judas, and have considered, that they in like manner should be destroyed. In this word (belly and bowels) an allegory or mystery lieth hid, for the belly signifieth the whole kingdom of the Jews; the same shall also fall away and be destroyed, insomuch that nothing thereof shall remain. Also that the bowels fell out, thereby was shewed, that the posterity of the Jews, yea also, that the whole Jewish generation should be spoiled and go to the ground. Thereby was also signified, that where God's Word cometh, there people are worse thereby and more hardened. Of this, Judas to us is a fearful example and looking-glass; he himself preached the gospel, wrought great miracles, was also the chief among the apostles, yet, notwithstanding, he betrayed Christ, and sacrificed him. In like manner, the nation of the Jews were nothing bettered, although they heard the gospel preached by John the Baptist, by Christ himself, and by all the apostles, yet at last they crucified the Lord of life, and slew all the apostles. Thus they remained hardened in their sins, to the end they might by the Romans be utterly spoiled and destroyed.

*How Christians are preserved against the Devil and Tyrants.*

I MAY compare the state of a Christian (said Luther) to a goose which they used to tie up over a wolf's pit, thereby to catch wolves. About which pit, many hungry and ravening wolves are standing that willingly would devour the goose, but she is preserved alive, and the wolves which leap at the goose fall into the pit, are taken, and destroyed. Even so, we that are Christians are preserved by the sweet loving angels, so that the devils, those ravening wolves), the tyrants and persecutors, neither must nor can destroy us.

*That Heretics and Sectaries are necessary for true Christians.*

WE little know (said Luther) how good and necessary it is for us to have adversaries, and that Heretics do hold up their heads against us. For if Cerinthus had not been, then St. John the Evangelist had never written his gospel; but when Cerinthus opposed the God-head in our Lord Christ, then John was constrained to write and say, *In principio erat verbum*, and made the distinction *trium personarum* so clear, that it could not be clearer made. Likewise when I (said Luther) began to write against indulgences and against the Pope, then Dr. Eck laid himself against me, who wakened me up out of my drowsiness. I would wish from my heart, that the same man might be turned the right way and be converted, yea on that condition I would give one of my fingers; but in case he will needs remain where he is, then I would wish he were made Pope, for he hath well deserved it, in that hitherto he hath upon him the whole burthen of Popedom with disputing and writing against me; however in some measure they have rewarded him, for he hath got a yearly pension of seven hundred florins, which he receiveth only out of the parish of Ingolstat. But he justly deserved to be Pope, for besides him, they have none that dare fall upon me; he raised my first cogitations against the Pope, and brought me so far, or otherwise I never should have come. Therefore when heretics and other adversaries tend to do us great hurt, on the contrary, they be profitable to us.

*That False Teachers do great mischief in the World.*

A LIAR (said Luther) is far worse, and doth greater mischief, than a murderer on the highway; for a liar and false teacher deceiveth people, seduceth souls, and destroyeth them under the colour of God's word; such a liar and murderer was Judas, like his father the devil. It was a great matter that Judas should sit at the table with Christ, and not blush for shame, when Christ said, "One of you shall betray me," &c. The other disciples had not the least thought that Judas should betray Christ: each one was rather afraid of himself, thinking Christ meant him; for

Christ trusted Judas with the purse, and whole administration of the house-keeping; from whence he was held in great repute by the Apostles.

*That the Manner and Nature of an Hypocrite is like unto a Scorpion.*

A SCORPION (said Luther) thinketh when his head lieth hid and is thrust under a leaf, then he cannot be seen: even so the hypocrites and false saints do think when they have snatched up one or two good works, as then all their sins therewith are covered and hid.

*Of False Christians.*

FALSE Christians that boast of the gospel, and yet do bring no good fruits, are like the clouds without rain, wherewith the whole element is overshadowed, gloomy and darkened, and yet no rain falleth from them to fructify the ground: even so, many Christians pretend great sanctity and holiness, but they have neither faith towards God, nor love towards God, nor love towards their neighbour.

*Of the Armour and Weapons of Christians.*

JOB saith, "The life of a human creature is a warfare upon earth." An human creature, especially a christian, must be a soldier, ever striving and fighting with the enemy. And St. Paul describeth the weapons of a christian, Ephes. vi.

First, The girdle of truth; that is, the confession of the pure doctrine of the gospel, which is upright, not an hypocritical or feigned faith.

Secondly, The breast-plate of righteousness; but here is not meant the righteousness of a good conscience (although the same be also needful: for it is written, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant," &c. And also St. Paul, "I know nothing of myself, yet I am not thereby justified," but it is the righteousness of faith, and of the remission of sins, which Paul meaneth in that place, touching with Moses spake, Gen. xv. "Abraham believed God, and that was imputed unto him for righteousness."

Thirdly, The shoes wherewith the feet are shod, are the works of the vocation, whereby we ought to remain, and not to go further, nor to break out beyond the appointed mark.

Fourthly, The shield of faith: similar hereunto is the fables of Perseus, who holdeth in his hand the head of Gorgon, whoso looked thereon died immediately. And like as Perseus held and threw Gorgon's head before his enemies, and thereby got the victory: even so a christian must likewise hold and cast the son of God (as Gorgon's head) before all the evil instigations and crafts of the devil, as then most certainly he shall prevail and get the victory.

Fifthly, The helmet of salvation; that is, the hope of everlasting life, but the weapons wherewith a christian overcome the enemy, are two-fold.

“The sword of the spirit,” 1 Thes. v., that is God's word and prayer; for like as the lion is frightened at nothing more than at the crowing of a cock: even so, the devil can be overcome and vanquished with nothing else, than with God's word, and with prayer: of this Christ himself hath given us an example.

#### *Of comparing the Life of a Christian.*

OUR life (said Luther) is like unto the sailing of a ship; for like as the mariners in the ship have before them a port or haven towards which they direct their course, and where they shall be secure from all danger; even so the promise of everlasting life is made unto us; that we in the same, as in a safe port or haven, should rest calmly and secure. But seeing the ship wherein we are is weak; and the winds and waves do beat into and upon us, as though they would overwhelm us; therefore we have truly need of an understanding and experienced pilot, who with his council and advice might rule and govern the ship, that it run not on a rock, or utterly sink and go down. Such a pilot is our blessed Saviour Christ Jesus.

#### *That the World acknowledgeth not Upright Christians.*

LIKE as Christ was of the world unknown, even so are we christians, which only depend on him, unknown and not seen in

the world ; for the world seeth not the faith, neither do they know us that believe in Christ, who most certainly is always in us and among us, as he saith, “ I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.” Also he saith, “ I have given unto them the glory which thou gavest unto me, that they may be one, even as we are one, I in them, and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one,” &c.

*Of a Christian's Properties.*

THE properties of a good christian, (said Luther) is, that in the highest and greatest weakness, he is strongest ; in the greatest foolishness, he is wisest ; the one he comprehendeth with human sense and reason, the other with faith.

*That False Brethren, and Secret Enemies are the worst.*

INGRATITUDE (said Luther) is a very irksome thing, which hitherto no human creature (except Scipio the Roman) could tolerate or overcome ; yet our Lord God can endure more than we. If I should have had dealing with the Jews, then patience would have failed me ; I never had been able so long to endure their stubbornness. The Prophets always were poor contemned people ; not only plagued and persecuted of outward and open, but also of inward and secret enemies, for the most part of their own people. That which the Pope doth against us, the same is nothing to compare of that which Jeckle and Grickle do ; they procure unto us sorrow of heart ; these are the golden friends, but so it must be, therefore Moses said well and truly, “ Thou art indeed a wonderful God.”

*Of False Christians.*

It is more safe to be an Epicure than a false brother. The Pope (said Luther) is far worse than the Turk, and so are false brethren.

CHAPTER XLVI.  
OF SOPHISTRY.

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*Luther's Discourse of Sophistry.*

WE ought with all diligence (said Luther) thoroughly to consider what the world is, for it is governed merely through weanings and opinions; insomuch that upright and true religion is and must be termed sophistry, hypocrisy, or external seeming civility and tyranny. We ought therefore diligently to take heed, and beware of sophistry, which not only consisteth in doubtful and uncertain words, which may be construed and screwed as one pleaseth, but also in each profession, in all high arts (as in religion); it covereth and cloaketh itself with the fair name of holy scripture, it must altogether be God's word, and spoken as from heaven. Such persons are unworthy of praise that can pervert every thing, can screw, contemn, and reject the meanings and opinions of others; and like the philosopher Carneades, can dispute *in utramque partem*, and yet conclude nothing certainly. These, in plain English, are knavish tricks, and sophistical inventions. But a fine and expert understanding, and an honest disposition, that seeketh after truth, and hath love to that which is plain and upright, the same is worthy of all honour and praise.

CHAPTER XLVII.  
O F O F F E N C E S.

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*Luther's Discourse of Offences.*

OFFENCES in the church are far more abominable than by the heathen; for when Christians digress, and fall from their kind, as then they are far worse and more ungodly than the Heathen; therefore the prophet Jeremiah complaineth in the 4th chapter of his Lamentations, and saith, "The punishment of the iniquity of the daughter of my people, is greater than the punishment of the sin of Sodom," &c. And Ezekiel saith, "Thou hast justified Sodom with thine abominations." And Christ saith, "It will be more tolerable for Sodom at the day of judgment, than with thee." But so it must be; "He came unto his own and his own received him not." Truly this maketh the good and godly altogether faint, and out of heart, insomuch as they rather desire death, for with sorrow of heart we find, at this day, that many of ours do give offence to others. We ought diligently to pray to God against offences, to the end his name may be hallowed. From hence St. Paul saith, "Also of our ourselves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them." Therefore the church hath no external esteem nor succession, it inheriteth not.

*That Offences are two-fold.*

THERE are (said Luther) two sorts of offences; the one is *acceptum* (taken), the other *datum* (given). *Acceptum* is, when one is offended at that which is done well and uprightly; for instance, Christ did every thing, which he spake and acted, ac-

ording to God's Word, will, and commandment: yet, notwithstanding, the Jews took offence thereat, they thought he did unright: the same is called an accepted offence, a false opinion, which is stark naught. Even so the Pope with his crew taketh offence, because I teach concerning Christian freedom, that Christians, through Christ, are freed from the law, &c. I reprove them, and find fault with their doctrine for their own good, if they would acknowledge it; if not, let them chuse and rage on. St. Paul saith, I will anger them, not to their fall or damnation, but to their rising again and salvation; well on (said Luther), we must reprove false doctrine, and teach God's Word purely and unfalsified, let it anger and vex whom it will.

There are two sorts of offences; one external, as the Turk and Pope with their adherents; they stand in full flourish, and all goeth according to their will and pleasure; the same vexeth and offendeth us. The other is inward, which is the greatest: as that I am a child of God. If this were true, saith my natural wit and wisdom, as it is most certain, seeing God himself saith it, who cannot lie, and I could always believe it, then I would not give a rush for the Pope's threefold crown; yea, I would tread the Turk under my feet; but we believe not that it is true, therefore are we so faint-hearted and discouraged.

*Of Comfort against the Offence touching the Doctrine.*

TRUE it is (said Luther), much offence proceedeth out of my doctrine; but I comfort myself, as St. Paul did to Titus, whereby this doctrine is revealed for the sake of the faith of God's chosen, for whose sake we also preach, we mean it earnestly. For the sake of others (said Luther) I would not drop one word. I have cracked many hollow nuts, and yet I thought they had been good, but they fouled my mouth, and filled it with dust; Carlstad and Erasmus Roterodamus are merely hollow nuts, they foul the mouth.

*Happy is he that is not offended in me.*

THE same was a strange kind of offence (said Luther) that the world was offended at him who raised the dead, who made the blind to see, and the deaf to hear, &c. They that hold such a

man for a devil, what manner of God would they have? But here it lieth, Christ would give to the world the kingdom of heaven, but they will have the kingdom of the earth; there they part, there they are offended; for the highest wisdom and sanctity of the hypocrites in truth seeth and discerneth nothing but temporal honour, carnal will, human kind of life, good days, money and wealth, all which must dust away, vanish, and cease.

*Of the World's Offence.*

THE whole world taketh offence at the plainness of the second table of God's Ten Commandments, because human sense and reason partly understandeth what is done contrary to the same. But when God and his Word is contemned, then the world thereat is silent, they regard it not. But when a monastery is taken in, or when flesh is eaten on a Friday, or when a Friar or Priest taketh a wife, &c. O, then the world crieth out, and saith, these are abominable offences.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

OF THE TRUE SERVICE OF GOD.

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*Of the Obedience towards God, and towards the Devil.*

THE obedience towards God, is the obedience or faith and good works; that is, who believeth in God, and doth what God hath commanded, the same is obedient unto him: but the obedience towards the devil is superstition, and evil works; that is, who trusteth not in God, but is unbelieving, and doth evil, the same is obedient unto the devil.

*Of two Sorts of Sacrifices in the Old Testament.*

THE first was called the early morning sacrifice; thereby is shewed, that we first should offer unto Christ, not oxen or cattle, but ourselves; we should confess and acknowledge God's gifts both corporal and spiritual, temporal and eternal, and should give God thanks for the same. Secondly, the evening sacrifice; thereby it signifieth and sheweth, that a Christian should offer a broken, humble, and a contrite heart, that he consider his necessities and dangers both corporal and spiritual, and should call upon God for help.

*Of an Argument touching the Service of God.*

GOD will (some may say) that we should serve him freely and willingly, but he that serveth God out of fear of punishment, and of hell, or out of a hope and love of recompence, the same serveth and honoureth God not uprightly nor truly. Answer.

This argument (said Luther) is stoical, who reject the affections and inclinations of human nature. It is true we ought willingly to serve, to love, and to fear God as the chiefest good. But notwithstanding God can well endure that we love him for his promise sake, and pray unto him for corporal and spiritual benefits; therefore he hath commanded us to pray. In like manner God can also endure that we fear him for the punishment's sake, as the prophets do remember. Indeed it is somewhat, that a human creature can acknowledge God's everlasting punishment and rewards. And if one looketh thereupon, as not being the chief end and cause, then it hurteth him not, especially, if he hath regard to God himself as the final cause, who giveth every thing gratis, for nothing, out of mere grace, without our deserts.

*What it is to worship and to serve God.*

THIS word (to worship), is to stoop and bow down with the body with external gestures; to serve, is the work. But to worship God spiritually, or in spirit, the same is the service and honour of the heart; it comprehendeth faith and fear in God: worshipping of God is two-fold, outwardly, and inwardly, that is, to acknowledge God's benefits, and to be thankful unto him.

*That only the Poor do serve and worship God.*

THE whole world blasphemeth God, and indeed (said Luther) only the poor do honour, worship, praise, and serve God, as it is written, "the miserable and poor do praise the Lord; the wise of the world and the powerful give honour not unto God, but to themselves."

*Of upright Christians' Pilgrimages.*

IN Popedom (said Luther) they went on pilgrimage to the dead saints; they went towards Rome, towards Jerusalem, Compostell, and to St. James, to make satisfaction and payment for their sins. But now we might act and perform upright, good, and godly pilgrimages, which are pleasing to God in faith; namely, diligently to read the prophets, the psalms, the gospel, &c. As then we should not wander through the cities of dead

saints, but through our hearty contemplations to God, that is, to visit the right and true land of promise, and paradise of everlasting life. A certain prince in Germany, well known to myself (said Luther), went to Compostell in Spain, where St. James, the brother of the Evangelist and Apostle St. John, should lie buried. Now as this prince made his confession to a barefoot friar, who was an honest man, he asked the prince if he were a German? The prince answered, yea. Then the friar said, O loving child, why seekest thou so far for that, which thou hast much better and more precious in Germany; for I have seen and read the writings of an Austin friar touching indulgences and pardons for sins, wherein he powerfully concludeth, that the true pardons and remissions of sins do only consist in the merits and sufferings of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. O loving child, said the friar, remain thereby, and permit not thyself to be otherwise persuaded. I purpose shortly, God willing, to leave this ungodly life, to repair into Germany, and to join myself to the same Austin friar.

*Of great Alterations done in the Church.*

SINCE the time that the gospel hath been preached, which is not above twenty years, such great wonders (said Luther) have been done, as were not in many hundred years before; for no man ever thought that such alterations should happen: namely, that so many monasteries should be made empty, that the private mass should fall, and be abolished in Germany, in despite of so many heretics, sectaries, and tyrants. Muntzer, that mischievous opiniated man, opposed the same, but he was soon snapped away. Moreover, Rome hath twice been devastated, and many great princes that persecuted the gospel, have been thrown down to the ground, and destroyed. All heathens serve their gods (saith the prophet Jeremiah); only the people of the true God neither love nor serve him.

CHAPTER XLIX.  
OF MATRIMONY.

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*Whether a Servant of the Church, for the Sake of the Office of Preaching, may remain unmarried?*

To which Luther answered and said, a preacher of the gospel (being orderly thereunto called) ought above all things, first, to purify himself before he teacheth others. Is he able with a good conscience to remain unmarried? Then let him so remain; but in case he cannot abstain, and live chastely, then let him marry, and take a wife; for God hath made that plaister for the same sore.

*Of a Papistical Argument.*

FORASMUCH as a Christian preacher, for the word's sake, must suffer imprisonment and persecution, much more ought he to endure and bear the *Cœlibatum*, and unmarried life, and remain single, although it be irksome and grievous unto him. Luther hereupon said, a man may rather suffer bonds and imprisonment than burning, he that hath not the gift of chastity, the same prevaieth nothing with fasting, with watching, or other things that plague and torment the body, thereby thinking to live chastely. I have found it by experience (though I was not very sorely tempted therewith), that the more I chastised and tormented myself, and bridled my body, the more I was tempted; and besides, although one had the gift to live chastely and unmarried, yet he ought to take a wife in contradiction to the Pope, who forbiddeth the spiritual persons to marry; they are (said Luther) tricks and snares of the devil, whereby he goeth about to take

from us the freedom of the word. We must not only speak, and teach against the same, but we must also act against it, that is, we must marry, therewith to contradict and oppose the false and superstitious ordinances and decrees of the Pope; for I fully resolved thus with myself (said Luther) before I took a wife, that if, unexpectedly, I were taken ill, and likely to die, yet, nevertheless, in honour to the state of matrimony, I would have caused myself to be betrothed to some honest maid, and for a marriage gift I would give unto her a couple of silver cups.

*Of the Picture of Matrimony in all Creatures.*

It is written in the First Book of Moses concerning matrimony, God created a man and a woman, and blessed them. Now (said Luther) although this sentence chiefly was spoken of human creatures, yet, nevertheless, we ought to draw the same upon the creatures in the world, upon the fowls of the air, upon the fish in the waters, and upon all the beasts on earth, where we find a male and a female that consort and keep together, do engender and increase; insomuch as in all creatures God hath placed before our eyes the state of matrimony, we have also the picture of the same, even on the trees, yea also upon the stones; for it is known to every man, that among the trees there is found a male and a female; as apples and pears, the apple-tree being the man, or male, the pear-tree the woman, or the female; the like natures are found in other trees, and when they are planted near one another, then they grow and prosper better than otherwise: the male stretcheth forth his boughs towards the female, again the female directeth her boughs towards the male, as if they would embrace each other. Even so likewise, the air is the man, or male, and the earth the woman, or female, for the earth is made fruitful by the air, through the heat of the sun, rain, and winds, insomuch that all manner of herbs and fruit grow out of it; also we find the state of matrimony pictured on the hard stones, especially on the precious stones, as on the corals, smaragds, and on others.

*That the most amiable Company and Communion is among honest married People.*

IT is the highest grace and gift of God to have an honest, a God-fearing, house-wisely consort, with whom a man may live peaceable, in whom he may put in trust his wealth, and whatsoever he hath, yea his body and life, with whom he may have children. But God thru teth many into the state of matrimony before they be aware, and rightly bethink themselves.

*Of the worth and Profit of the State of Matrimony which the World seeth not.*

ALL the works of God are hid from the world, and they regard them not, neither do they understand them; God is wonderful who secretly hideth innumerable benefits which we neither see nor regard; for who can sufficiently admire the state of matrimony, which is God's gift and ordinance of himself, instituted and founded, out of which human creatures that are in the world, yea all states do proceed. Where were we if the state of matrimony were not? But (said Luther) neither God's ordinance, nor the affable being of children, which, by matrimony, are engendered, moveth the ungodly world: they behold only the want and trouble in matrimony, but they see not the great treasure that is hid therein; yet we are all crept out of the mother's womb, emperors, kings, princes, yea Christ himself, the Son of God, was not ashamed to be born of a virgin. Therefore let the contemners and rejecters of matrimony go to the hangman, as the Aninomians and others, who observe no matrimony, but live together like beasts; likewise let the Papists also have good year with their unmarried lives, and nevertheless have whores; if they will needs contemn matrimony, then let them deal therein uprightly, and keep no whores.

*Next to Religion Matrimony is the principallest State.*

THE state of Matrimony (said Luther) is the chiefest state in the world after religion; but people, like the beasts in the fields, and the dregs of the world, do shun and fly from the same, by

reason of personal trials and misfortunes, who, while they intend to out-run the rain, do fall into the water. Wherefore go on with joy in the name of the Lord, and cast thyself under the cross; we ought herein to have more regard to God's command and ordinance (for the sake of the generation, and bringing up of children) than to our untoward humours and cogitations; and when this is not the reason, yet we ought to consider, that it is a physic against sin, and to resist unchastity. I am angry with the lawyers (said Luther) who in every thing deal according to their canons and decrees, in the strictest manner, against their own consciences, they will not yield to God's Word, they maintain secret contracts against natural, divine, and imperial laws, yet, nevertheless, they boast that their canons are upright. On the contrary, none should be compelled to marry, but it should be free for every one, and left to their conscience, for bride-love may not be pressed and forced.

*Of Luther's giving of Thanks for the State of Matrimony.*

WHEN I am alone, then I give our Lord God thanks for the state of matrimony, especially, when I compare the same, and hold it against the confounded ungodly, unmarried life in Popedom, and against the abominable Italian weddings.

*Of the Cause and Foundation of Matrimony.*

THE cause and foundation of matrimony are chiefly God's command, institution, and ordinance. It is a state instituted by God himself, visited by Christ in person, and presented with a glorious present; for God said, "it is not good that the man should be alone;" therefore the wife should be a help to the husband, to the end, that the human generation may be increased, and children nurtured to God's honour, and to the profit of people and countries; also to avoid whoring, and to keep our bodies in sanctification. Matrimony is well pleasing to God, for St. Paul compareth the church to a spouse, or bride and a bridegroom. Therefore we ought to take heed and beware, that in marrying we esteem neither money nor wealth, great descent, nobility, nor lechery.

*What in marrying we ought to consider.*

WHEN one intendeth to marry, the same should consider these points following; 1. God's command. 2. The Lord Christ's confirmation thereof. 3. The gift or present of Christ. 4. The first blessing. 5. The promise that is made thereunto. 6. The communion and fellowship. 7. The examples of the holy Patriarchs. 8. The temporal laws and ordinances. 9. The precious benediction and blessing. 10. The examples of the wicked. 11. The threatening of St. Paul. 12. The natural rights. 13. The nature and kind of the creation. 14. The practice of faith and hope.

*Of Henry, King of England.*

HENRY VIII. king of England (said Luther) married his brother's wife (niece to the emperor Charles V.) but the Pope would not allow thereof. Now the king obtained a censure of the Pope, either to keep, or to forsake her. He thereupon dispatched Cardinal Campeius into England, as a commissary from the Pope. Then a court-day being appointed, the Cardinal heard the case discussed on both sides, whereupon the Cardinal (finding the conjunction in a prohibited degree, so as the Pope, with his authority, could not justify the divorce) departed secretly away, and so left the cause undecided. Then the king therewith being moved to anger, shifted the case from himself to the judgment of divers universities in foreign parts (being seven): all which concluded, that such conjunction and matrimony ought to be separated. But (said Luther) we here at Wittemberg, and those at Loven, pronounced the contrary, having regard to the circumstance; namely, seeing they both had consorted so long a time together in matrimony (not knowing the same to be a prohibited case), therefore we thought it not safe to ravel out and to separate the same matrimonial conjunction, celebrated between such high potentates, in regard of great offences and inconveniences which might ensue, as a daughter was begotten of them. But the other universities proceeded craftily in the cause, they proceeded so as to molest the emperor, by sending his niece home again, stained with dishonour and shame; and by

such a divorce, to marry the sister of the French king, to the king of England. Thus (said Luther) every thing goeth cross and untowardly against the good emperor, he hath many adversaries, therefore he must needs have good fortune.

*Whether a Man from whom his Wife is run away, may marry another.*

DR. Forstenius wrote to Luther to know if a man, whose wife was taken in adultery, and run away from him, might marry another, while she yet lived; and whether the marriage held with the other might not be esteemed a marriage, but rather a whoring and adultery? Luther hereunto answered him in writing, as followeth; St. Paul saith, "If the unbelieving depart let him depart, a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases, but God hath called us to peace." Here St. Paul plainly permitteth the other marriage.

*How far Children, in Marriage, ought to follow the Advice of their Parents.*

THESE matrimonial causes (said Luther) secretly steal from us the time of studying, of reading, preaching, writing, and praying; yet I am glad that the consistories again are erected, chiefly for the sake of matrimonial causes. Many kinds of matrimonial businesses do fall out, which we ought to judge not according to prescribed laws, but according to the circumstances, to equity, and the consideration of honest, God-fearing, understanding people. For many parents are so doatingly fond of their children, that they would debar them from marrying, without any just cause; in this case (said Luther) the magistrates and ministers ought to look thereinto, should help to further matrimony. For when they are young people, and love one another, which is the substance or ground whereon matrimony consisteth, so ought they not to be resisted without great and weighty cause; but we will follow Sampson's example, and children ought to seek the goodwill and consent of their parents, especially now, in the time of the gospel, when matrimony is in great honour and esteem.

*Of Luther's Disputation concerning Secret Contracts entered into by Children without the Advice and Consent of the Parents.*

LUTHER said, the lawyers and canonists are of opinion, that the substance of matrimony is the consent of the bride and bridegroom, and that the privilege and power of the parents is but an accidental thing, without which matrimony may well be accomplished. Therefore we ought not to resist nor hinder the substance, for the sake of the accidents; this I know full well (said Luther) that the consent is the substance and ground of matrimony, for where no love nor consent is, there must needs be an unhappy marriage. But this I say, when such children are punished, thinking thereby to scare and affright them, yet we shall prevail nothing therewith, for youth in this matter will not desist through temporal punishment.

*Cognatio Spiritualis: or, of Spiritual Kindred.*

WHEN one in Popedom christeneth another's child, the same as then hindereth marriage in those persons; this is altogether ridiculus, for according to that manner, one Christian must not marry another by reason of spiritual alliance as being brethren and sisters in Christ, it is merely the Pope's money-net. Such marriages (said Luther) which are performed for the sake of wealth, commonly produce the malediction and curse; for rich women for the most part are haughty, cross, and negligent, they waste and spend more than they bring.

*What separateth Matrimony.*

THERE are two causes of divorcement; First, adultery; therein (said Luther) Christians ought to labour and to use diligent persuasions, that those married people may be reconciled again, and withal, sharply to reprove the guilty person, and to read a sound text unto the same. The Second cause is, when one runneth away from the other, and cometh again, and afterwards runneth away again. Such companions have commonly their mates in other places, who richly deserve to be punished.

*Whether a Minister ought to be troubled with Matrimonial Businesses.*

I ADVISE in every thing (said Luther) that we ministers take not such burthens upon us ; First, in regard we have enough to do in our office ; Secondly, because matrimonial affairs concern not the church, but are temporal things, which pertain to temporal magistrates ; Thirdly, because such cases are in a manner innumerable ; they are very high, broad and deep, and produce many great offences which may tend to the shame and dishonour of the gospel. Moreover, we are therein unfriendly dealt with ; they draw us into those businesses ; is the issue evil, then the blame must be altogether laid upon us. Therefore we will leave the same to the lawyers and magistrates, let them labour in those employments. The ministers ought only to advise and counsel the consciences out of God's Word when need requireth. Dr. Christian Beyr, Saxonian chancellor, would have us divines to hear, to weigh and to examine causes, and afterwards, we should attend and expect the censures and conclusions of the lawyers ; but (said Luther) they shall not bring me thereunto, for they ought to hear, to attend, and expect our censures, what we pronounce. Nevertheless, Philip Melancthon and Dr. Cellarius advised and entreated me, that, for a time, we might serve the poor tattered church in such cases.

*Of secret Contracts, how they were to be punished.*

IN the synod at Leipzig, the lawyers concluded, that secret contractors should be punished with banishment, and be disinherited. Whereupon (said Luther) I sent them word, that I would not allow thereof, it were too gross a proceeding, and although the lawyers should maintain it, yet we would not connive with them. But nevertheless, I hold it fitting, that those which in such sort do secretly contract themselves, ought sharply to be reproved, yea also in some measure severely punished.

*Of Words, De Præsenti and de Futuro.*

MASTER John Holsteine raised a question, when two contracted themselves, *Verbis de futuro*, as when I say, I will marry thee, whether the same were to be understood of the time to come, or no? Luther said, those words ought to be understood of the present time; for this word (*Volo*) I will, sheweth and signifieth a present will; yea all bargained contracts and promises are to be understood of the present time; as when a fellow saith to a maid, when I come again (which will be God willing two years hence), then I will marry thee. These words are to be understood of the present time, for when he cometh again then he is obliged to marry her; and it standeth not in his power, in the time of those two years to alter his mind and will.

*Of Luther's Prayer before his Marriage.*

“LOVING heavenly Father, forasmuch as thou hast placed me in the honour of thy name and office, and wilt also have me to be named and honoured a father, grant me grace, and bless me, that I may rule and maintain my loving wife, children and servants, divinely and christian-like. Give me wisdom and strength well to govern and to bring them up; give also unto them good hearts and wills to follow thy doctrine and to be obedient.” Amen.

*Of the Vow of Chastity.*

To vow chastity, is nothing else than to condemn and curse the state of matrimony, for every one that is spiritual (I mean spiritless) when he is invested, renounceth the state of matrimony with coloured words, and forswearth marriage, not only for a time, but also so long as he liveth. Is not this (said Luther) an abominable desolation?

*At what Time the unmarried Kind of Life began, and how long it hath endured.*

THE Celibat, or single kind of life of the spirituality, began in the time of Cyprian, who lived two hundred and fifty years after the birth of Christ; so that this superstition hath continued thirteen hundred years. St. Ambrose and others believed not that they were human creatures like other people.

*Of the Priests' Chastity, or Celibat.*

ANNO 1532. Albrect, Bishop of Mentz, being at Nurenburg, said, he would rather permit the Lord's Supper to be administered and received under both kinds, and would utterly abolish the mass, than that he would suffer the Celibat, or unmarried kind of life, to go down. This was an abominable speech (said Luther); I hope our Lord God will put in practice the *Magnificat* upon them, *Deposuit potentes de sede*. For God will maintain his honour, and they shall sing the asses' tune, high begun, but lowly ended.

*Of the Fruit of the unmarried Life of Priests and Nuns.*

ST. ULRICH, bishop of Augspurg, in an epistle which he wrote, complained of a fearful spectacle at Rome; namely, that after Pope Gregory had erected and confirmed the Celibat, or unmarried kind of life, he intended to fish in a deep pond at Rome, hard by the monastery of the nuns, the water in the pond being let out, they found more than six thousand heads of children, which had been cast into the pond and drowned; these were the fruits of the unmarried life; whereupon Pope Gregory (at that sight being amazed) abolished that decree concerning the unmarried kind of life; but the other Popes that succeeded Gregory, erected the same again. The like happened in Austria, that in the monastery at Neuburg had been nuns, who by reason of their ungodly lecherous doings, were put out of the same, and placed elsewhere, in which monastery were set Franciscan friars. Now the friars intending to build, the foundation was digged up, where they found twelve great pots, in each pot was the carcase

of a little child. Therefore (said, Luther) like as St. Paul said *Melius est nubere, quam uri*; even so say I, it were better to marry, than to give occasion that so many innocent children should be strangled and murdered.

At Rome are born such a multitude of bastards, that they were constrained to build particular monasteries wherein they were brought up, and the Pope is named their father. When any great processions are held in Rome, then the said bastards go all before the Pope.

*That a Cardinal at Rome was a married Man.*

UNDER Pope Julius was exercised an abominable lechery and whoring at Rome. At the same time was a cardinal that had married a wife, the which being known, he was constrained to forsake her, but within less than the space of a year he took her again; now when the cardinal died, his wife wept bitterly and said, she had an honest husband who contented himself with one woman: the citizens in Rome, wondering to hear the same, cried, *O sancta Maria*. For (said Luther) chastity in those people is rare venison.

CHAPTER L.

OF MAGISTRATES AND RULERS.

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*Luther's Discourse of Magistrates and Rulers.*

MAGISTRACY (said Luther) is a sign of divine grace, and that God is merciful, who hath no pleasure in murdering, killing, and strangling, otherwise God would leave all things to go which way they would, as among the Turks and other nations, without good government, and as then we should quickly dispatch one another out of this world.

*Of the Difference between Parents and Magistrates.*

PARENTS (said Luther) do keep their children with greater diligence and care, than the rulers and governors keep their subjects, from whence Moses saith, *Have I begotten you*, &c. Fathers and mothers are masters naturally and willingly, it is a self-grown dominion; but rulers and magistrates is a forced mastery, that is, they deal by force, and it is a made or prepared dominion; therefore when father and mother can rule no more, then the hangman must do the deed and bring them up. Therefore rulers and magistrates ought to watch over the Sixth Commandment.

*That God punisheth through the Magistrates, who are his Instruments.*

THE temporal magistrate is even like unto a fish-net which they use to set before the fish in a pond or a lake; but God is the plunger, whereby the fish are driven into the net. For when

a thief, a robber, an adulterer, or murderer, is ripe, then he hunteth them into the net, that is, he causeth that they are taken by the magistrate, and punished; for it is written, "God is judge upon earth." Therefore repent, or thou must be punished.

At Wittemberg there was a thief, that had continued stealing threescore years, and being apprehended in the fact, was asked by the mayor, how it went? he answered and said, as I drive, so it goeth.

Let the priests teach; let the magistrates defend and protect; let the husbandman till the ground, and let others do that which is profitable to the conservation of human society.

*That Governors must hold over their Laws and Ordinances.*

PRINCES and rulers should maintain their laws and statutes, otherwise they will be contemned. Princes and governors (said Luther) above all things should hold the gospel in all honour, and carry the same even in their hands, for it furthereth and preserveth them, it ennobleth the state and office of magistracy, so that now they know where their vocation and calling is, and that with good and safe consciences they may execute the works of their office. But formerly, in Popedom, princes and rulers, yea, all judges were weary to censure over blood, and to punish thieves and malefactors; for they knew not how to distinguish a private person that was in no office, from him that was in office, and had command to punish, &c. The executioner or hangman always craved pardon of the condemned malefactor when he was to execute his office, as though he did unright, and sinned in executing the same ungodly wicked wretch, whereas it is their own proper office which God hath commanded, for St. Paul saith, "He beareth not the sword in vain," for he is God's minister, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil: therefore (said Luther) when the magistrate punisheth, then God himself punisheth. Magistrates ought to be mild; for behold God (who is the most merciful), what an earnest and severe law and charge he gave, where he saith, "Whoso curseth his father or mother, the same shall be put to death, thou shalt not have pity on them," &c.

*That Magistrates should always cleanse and put away the Evil.*

JOAB, king David's general (said Luther), was doubtless a brave soldier; for he ventured freely and with a valiant courage: when he had but six hundred men he joined battle with the whole host of Israel and beat them; for he thought, I have with me good and experienced soldiers that oftentimes have been in the business, but yonder are a multitude of people wrapt up together in every place, huddling companions that approach disorderly, &c. Therefore he fell stoutly upon them and put them to flight. I hold that David not willingly raised war against his son Absalom, but that his captains persuaded him thereunto; for he charged them that they should deal well and mildly with the young man; but Joab's counsel was the best, namely, to dispatch wicked wretches out of the way, for they become no better, but always begin and raise one mischief after another.

*That ungodly Princes have ungodly Counsellors.*

IT is possible (said Luther) that where a prince or potentate is ungodly, there should not be ungodly counsellors. As is the master, such are also his servants. And this followeth necessarily, and it is certain. Is the Bishop of Mentz a liar? so must Dr. Turk be a knave. Solomon saith, "A master that hath pleasure in lying, his servants are ungodly; it faileth not."

*That we ought to pray for Governors.*

THE magistracy is a necessary state in the world, and to be held in honour; therefore we ought to pray for them, for they easily may be corrupted and spoiled, *Nam honores mutant mores, numquam in meliores*. Honour altereth the kind of life, produceth another mind, other speech, gestures, and actions, but seldom or never better; they commonly become tyrants; for that potentate or prince who governeth without laws according to his own brain, the same is a monster, worse than a senseless wild beast; but whoso governeth according to prescribed laws and rights, the same is like unto God, who is an erector and a founder of laws and rights.

*How Governors should be qualified.*

GOVERNORS should be wise, they should be of a courageous spirit, and also they should know how to rule alone without their counsellors. The princes of Anhalt are fine qualified, learned, and modest princes, both in words, gestures, and actions; they are well practised in the Latin tongue, and thoroughly read in the Bible, &c. I may truly say (said Luther) that I lately had with those princes a divine dinner; for at the table they had none other discourse than of God's Word, with great humility, discretion, and affability: to conclude, they are God-fearing, understanding, and very worthy princes, who doubtless intend to gather together a treasure in heaven, in case they steadfastly remain by the doctrine of the gospel.

*That God, and not Laws do preserve Government.*

TEMPORAL government (said Luther) is not preserved only through laws and rights, but through divine authority. God preserveth government, otherwise the greatest sins in the world would remain unpunished. Our Lord God in the law sheweth what his will is, how the evil should and must be punished. And forasmuch as the law punisheth not a potentate, a prince, or a ruler; therefore our Lord God one day will call him to an account, and will punish him. In this life, governors and rulers do catch but only gnats and little flies with their laws, but the wasps and great humble bees do tear through, as through a cob-web; that is, the small offences and offenders are punished, but the abominable extortioners oppressors, who grind the faces of the poor, the fatherless and widows, go scot-free, and are held in great honour.

*What People are fit to govern.*

To government belong not common illiterate people, nor servants, but champions; understanding, wise, and courageous people, who are to be trusted, and do aim at the common good and prosperity, not seeking their own gain and profit, nor follow their desires, pleasures, and delights; but how few governors

and rulers think hereon? They prepare only a trading and traffick out of government; they cannot govern themselves, how then should they govern great territories and multitudes of people. Solomon saith, "A man that can rule and curb his mind, is better than he that assaulteth and overcometh cities," &c.

I could well wish (said Luther) that Scipio (that much honoured champion) were in heaven; he was able to govern and also to overcome himself, and to curb his mind, which is the highest and most laudable victory. Frederick Prince Elector of Saxony was such a prince, he could digest much, and curb himself, though by nature he was of an angry mood. In the song of Solomon, the eighth chapter it is said, "My vineyard which is mine, is before me;" that is, God hath taken the government to himself, to the end no man may brag and boast thereof: God will be king and ruler, he will be minister and pastor, he will be master in the house. To conclude, he alone will be the governor; for *Pastor, Episcopus, Cæsar, Rex, Vir et Uxor errant*, but God erreth not. And if in case we should or could accomplish every thing rightly, then we should grow haughty and proud. It is said, "Whom Fortune too much favours she makes him a fool;" for it is impossible that one who is in prosperity, and hath every thing according to his mind, should not be haughty.

*Why every Enterprise and Practice of Princes go not forward.*

POTENTATES and princes in these days (said Luther), when they take in hand an enterprise, do not pray before they begin; but they make to themselves this account and reckoning, three times three make nine, twice seven is fourteen, this faileth not, &c. that is, in this manner must the business surely take effect; therefore our Lord God saith unto them, for whom then do ye hold me, for a cypher? Do I sit here above in vain, and to no purpose? You shall therefore know, that I will turn your accounts quite contrary, and will make them all false reckonings.

*That Pilate was an honest temporal Man.*

PILATE (said Luther) was more honest and just than at this time any prince of the empire (except those that are Protestants).

I could nominate at this time many popish princes that are not comparable to Pilate; for he held stiffly over the Roman laws and rights; he would not that the innocent (and such as were not openly convicted in an offence) should be executed and slain without hearing of the cause; therefore he propounded all manner of civil conditions, to the end he might have released Christ; but when they threatened him with the emperor's disfavour, then he was dazzled, and forsook the imperial laws; thought, it is but the loss of one man, who is both poor, and therewithal contemned; no man taketh his part; what hurt can I receive by his death? Better it is that one man die, than that the whole nation be against me.

Dr. Mathesius and Pommer debated about this question, why Pilate scourged Christ, and said, what is truth? For the one alleged, that Pilate did it out of compassion; but the other said, it was done out of tyranny and contempt. Whereupon Luther said, Pilate was a worldly man: he scourged Christ out of great compassion, to the end, that thereby he might still the insatiable wrath and raging of the Jews. And in that he said to Christ, what is truth? He would therewith give us to understand thus much, as if he had said, what wilt thou dispute concerning truth in these wicked times? Truth is here of no value, &c. But thou must think upon some other trick, and upon the lawyers quiddits, as then happily thou mayst be released.

*That God giveth away, and altereth Kingdoms.*

PHILIP Melancthon and myself (said Luther) have justly deserved as much riches in this world at God's hands, as any one Cardinal possesseth; for we have done more in the business than one hundred Cardinals. But God saith unto us, be ye contented that ye have me, *Sufficit tibi gratia mea*; when we have him, then have we also the purse; for although we had the purse, and had not God, so were we nothing holpen; therefore God saith, when thou hast me so hast thou enough.

What saith God to the prophet Ezekiel? "Thou son of man, Nebuchadnezzar caused his army to serve a great service against Tyre, yet he had no wages; what shall I give him? I will give the land of Egypt to Nebuchadnezzar, that shall be his wages."

Even so (said Luther) playeth God with great kingdoms : he taketh them from one, and giveth them to another.

*That the Love and Obedience of Subjects towards their  
Governors is the greatest Wealth.*

AT the Imperial Diet at Augspurg, certain princes in their discourse spake in praise of the riches and regalities of their countries and principalities. The Prince Elector of Saxony said, he had in his countries store of silver mines, which brought him great revenues. The Prince Elector Palatine extolled his vineyards that grew on the river Rhine, &c. Now when the turn came that Eberhard, Prince of Wirtemberg, was also to speak, he said, I am indeed but a poor prince, and not to be compared to either of you ; yet, nevertheless, I have also in my country a rich and precious jewel ; namely, that if at any time I should ride astray in my country out of my way, and were left all alone in the fields, yet I could be in safety, and securely sleep in the bosom of every one of my subjects, who for my service are ready to set up, and to venture body, goods, and blood. And indeed (said Luther) his people esteemed him as a *Pater Patriæ*. When the other two princes heard the same, they confessed, that in truth it was the most rich and precious jewel.

*That Princes ought to abandon Drunkenness in regard of giving  
Offences.*

I INVITED to my house (said Luther) at Wittenberg Prince Ernestus of Luneberg, and Prince William of Mecklenburg, to dinner, who much complained of the unmeasurable swilling and drinking kind of life at courts ; and yet they will all be good Christians. Whereupon Luther said, the potentates and princes ought to look thereinto. Then Prince Ernestus answered, and said, ah ! sir, we that are princes do even so ourselves, otherwise the same would have gone down long since : signifying that the intemperance of princes was the cause of the intemperance of the people ; for when the abbot throweth the dice, then the whole convent will play. The examples of governors have influence upon the subjects.

## CHAPTER LI.

## OF POTENTATES AND PRINCES.

*Of Joachim Prince Elector of Brandenburg.*

THIS prince (said Luther) became a gracious Lord unto me after this manner following : In the year 1532, a certain mathematicus, named Cauricus, came from Rome to the said Prince Elector's court, and related to the prince the words of Pope Clemens ; namely, the Pope (being in my writings hit in the teeth that he was a Florentine bastard), said, what then ? Christ was also a bastard. At which words the Prince Elector was so vehemently moved to anger, and hated the Pope in such sort, that he wrote unto me, earnestly admonishing me stedfastly to remain by my begun divine resolution. But (said Luther) I neither began, nor intended to proceed in any thing touching the same, thereby to please princes' humours ; neither do I put trust in my own master, the Prince Elector of Saxony, much less in others, but my trust is only in God.

*Of Philip Landgrave of Hesse.*

THIS prince (said Luther) is a wonderful man, and hath a particular fortune. If he would forsake the gospel, then he might obtain of the emperor and Pope what he pleased ; but God hitherto stedfastly hath preserved him. The emperor offered to set him in peaceable possession of the earldom of Katzenelbogen. Also George Prince of Saxony would make him heir of all his countries and people (which the emperor promised to confirm), if he would forsake his religion ; but he confesseth the doctrine of

the gospel, otherwise he should be the well-beloved son of the Pope and emperor. He hath a Hessian brain, and cannot be idle.

It was a great boldness in him, that anno 1528, he over-run the bishop's countries; but it was a greater act, in setting the Prince of Wirtemberg in possession, and hunted king Ferdinand out of the land of Wirtemberg.

He sent for me (said Luther) and for Philip Melancthon to Weymar, demanding our counsel and advice touching his intended wars; but we in the highest manner endeavoured to dissuade him from his enterprises: we made the best use we could of our rhetorick, and intreated him, not with wars to bring a blow or stain upon the gospel; not to infringe and trouble the public peace of the empire; whereupon he grew very red and vexed, although otherwise he was of an upright mind.

In the Colloquium at Marpurg, 1539, his highness went disguised in mean apparel, insomuch as no man knew him to be the Landgrave; he had at the same time high cogitations; then he asked Philip Melancthon's advice in his affairs, and said, loving Philip! shall I endure this, that the bishop of Mentz by force driveth away my preachers of the gospel? Philip Melancthon said, if the jurisdiction of those places do belong to the bishop of Mentz, then your highness may not resist him. Then the Landgrave replied, and said, I hear your advice, but I will not follow it. At that time (said Luther) I asked Beimelberg (one of his nearest counsel) why he dissuaded not the Landgrave from his stratagems. He answered me, and said, our admonition helpeth nothing: what he intendeth, from that he is not to be dissuaded. When he was upon the march, resolving to set the prince of Wirtemberg again into possession, then every body desired him not to bring an utter ruin upon the land of Hesse. But he said unto them, be contented; let me go on; I will not bring it into any ruin at all. The same he also performed. He shot into a castle three hundred and fifty shot, and won it.

At the day of the assembly, held at Caden, in Bohemia, by king Ferdinand, and other princes, from whence an answer was to be given to the Landgrave, then George Prince of Saxony said to king Ferdinand, if, in the space of two or three days, you can levy an army of soldiers to resist him, then I advise to make no peace with him, otherwise peace is the safest course. Likewise

Severus John Hoffman, and other counsellors, seriously advised the king in any wise to make peace with the Landgrave.

Anno 1530, at the Imperial Diet, the Landgrave by king Ferdinand was cited, together with other princes of the Augustanian confession; where the Landgrave openly said to the bishops, make peace I advise you, for we desire it. If ye will not, I will sacrifice at the least half a dozen of you to the devil. At which time the bishop of Saltzburg said to Albrecht, bishop of Mentz, I much marvel that ye so sorely fear the Landgrave of Hesse, he being but a poor Prince? Then the bishop of Mentz answered him, and said, loving Lord bishop! If you dwelt as near him as I do, then you would talk otherwise.

God (said Luther) hath set the Landgrave in the midst of the empire; for he hath four princes electors inhabiting about him, and also the Prince of Brunswick, yet they are all afraid of him; the reason is, he hath the love of the common people, and withal he is a valiant soldier. Before he set the Prince of Wirtemberg into possession, he went into France, and the French king lent him much money towards his wars.

#### *Of the Duke of Bavaria.*

THE Dukes of Bavaria have always been haughty princes, and fierce enemies to the house of Austria, insomuch that Emperor Maximilian said, if these two bloods (Austria and Bavaria) should boil in one pot together, then one of them would leap out; for they grudge the empire to be continued in the Austrian blood.

Ever since the first two Emperors (Charles the Great, and Otho) the Bavarians have been proud and haughty. This present empire is now come to the fourth generation. Likewise Franconia and Swevia kept the empire unto the fourth generation. The German Emperors have been excelling champions, they were not such brands of hell as the Romish and Italian Emperors.

#### *Of George, Prince of Saxony.*

Anno 1530, George Prince of Saxony wrote a great decretal, before the Imperial Diet at Augspurg, how the spirituality ought to be reformed; the same he took with him to the Diet. I would

wish (said Luther) that the emperor made him Pope, I think he would talk with the Popish bishops about their bishopricks otherwise than I do. All the Papists would rather have me than Prince George to be their reformer, I would wish there were already a reformation, for the Pope's decrees reprove the bishops much more than I do. Prince George would willingly reform the Pope, as a reformer of the church; then the bishop of Mentz should have but one bishoprick, and ride but with four horses; the bishop of Mersburg only with three; the Pope also, then, should desist from simony and not drive on such spiritual usury, &c. All the Papists do acknowledge, that the reformation of the Popish bishops is highly necessary; but the priests dare not venture to give consent thereunto. Before the revealing of the gospel, Prince George was a great enemy to the Popish religion, so that he thoroughly plagued the bishops, the abbots, the prebends, and friars, insomuch as there went a proverb of him, whereas he was of the Bohemian blood, descended from king Gersich, for his mother was daughter to that king, saying, he drank it not, but sucked it. He is by nature an enemy to the clergy; but when the gospel was brought again to light, and that the emperor, the Pope, the king of England and France, together with all the bishops, hung themselves upon him, then, by their flattering letters he was so puffed up, that he now undertaketh a reformation of the spirituality; he hateth the Pope, yet nevertheless he can finely grease the bishops' mouths; he setteth them upon the ice, promiseth them much, and more than he is able to perform.

I oftentimes bewailed his blindness and blasphemy against Christ, in resisting the known truth, and sinning against his own conscience. When I was yet in the monastery, I believed not that such wickedness could be in people; but now I learn by the bishop of Mentz and of Prince George, what the world for a weed is; therefore I fear them nothing at all, that in such sort are scared and singed in their consciences.

#### *Of the Death of Prince George.*

ANNO 1539, the 17th of April, Prince George died suddenly of a plenrisy, whereas the day before he was exceeding jocund among the ladies. He was buried at Meissen without any Popish state or ceremonies. It was very strange, that he, who so highly

had held over the mass and vigils, should not thereof be partaker at his last end.

This Prince and enemy of Christ (said Luther) died in good time, for thereby the tinder or match was smothered and quenched, out of which a great fire might have risen. All the designs and resolutions of the Papists are directed to this point, if they might but only suppress and destroy the Protestant wretches (as they term us), then the church with ease would be brought to sink and go down. But God breaketh their devices and frustrateth their designs, for he can put down the mighty from their seat, and exalt the humble and meek; he can scatter the nations (as the Psalm saith) that delight in war; he also knoweth how to confound the confidence that is put in human creatures and princes, to the end we may learn to put our trust in God and follow him. And hereby we may see God's works of wonder, that he is able to frustrate human designs and practices; for Prince George and his confederacy intended war at Whitsuntide against the Protestants. But now cometh God and taketh him away through death. In his will were written these words, if I could enjoy thus much, that out of the revenue of my land and country, war might be made upon the Protestants in Germany, so I would bequeath all my lands and treasure to the emperor.

It is a far more miserable case (said Luther) when a prince dieth, than when a mean person departeth that hath no repute. A prince must be forsaken of all his lords, his friends, and at last must combat with the devil; but they think not hereon, otherwise they would live less prince-like.

*Of King Alphonsus, and how great Princes should love their Subjects.*

WHEN king Alphonsus of Arragon besieged Caieta, and a poor harmless multitude of women, children, and weak people, were driven out of the city, to the end the besieged might be able the longer to endure the siege. The king was then advised by his captains to cause those unweaponed multitude to be fallen upon and cut in pieces, that thereby the besieged might be moved the sooner to yield. Whereupon the king said, God preserve me from so doing, I would not practise such tyranny for the whole kingdom of Naples, no, although it were worth ten times more

than it is. Frederick that laudable Prince Elector of Saxony, when by some he was advised to besiege Erfurt intimating the taking thereof would not cost above five men's lives, said, to lose the life of one man therewith were too much. But in these times great Potentates regard not much their subjects nor soldiers; as yonder roaring captain said, the mothers of soldiers are yet alive: likewise he said, many soldiers may be brought up with a barrel of butter-milk.

*Of the Roman Empire.*

THE Romish empire (said Luther) continued not much above two hundred years by the Roman race without bloodshed; afterwards it fell to the Gauls or French; at last it came wholly to the Germans; they have held it above eight hundred years together.

*Of William Prince of Saxony.*

WILLIAM Prince of Saxony married Anne, daughter of the king of Hungary; whom he evilly entertained, contemned, and caused her to be walled up, and lecherously dallied with another, with whom he also lay in the sight and presence of his queen. At last she died by reason of grief of heart. Then he went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, to do penance for his sins; and after that he married the other. Now he had a gentleman in his court, whom he intended to force to marry his concubine; but the gentleman, marking the same, prevented him by marrying another gentlewoman: refused to follow his master's example. These things (said Luther) may go on a while, our Lord God looking through the fingers; but at last he cometh and payeth soundly.

*Of Emperor Charles the Fifth.*

ANNO 1521, at the Imperial Diet at Worms, emperor Charles (said Luther) caused a fierce edict to be published against my doctrine, whereupon certain learned and godly men, in the beginning of the very first line of his edict, wrote these words, some hitherto have had good hope and confidence in this emperor, but how sorely this tyrannical edict hath estranged and affrighted

the hearts of many good and godly people from him, the same cannot be imagined, much less uttered with words.

*Of Emperor Maximilian.*

WHEN emperor Maximilian made a league with the Venetians, he said, three kings are in the Christian world; himself, the French king, and the king of England. Himself (he said) was a king of kings; for what he imposed upon his princes, if they were pleased therewith, then they accomplished his will; otherwise they let it alone; thereby shewing, that the princes never were in obedient subjection under the emperors, but did what they pleased. The French king was a king of asses, for they did every thing that he commanded them. But the king of England was a king of people; for what he laid upon them, the same they did willingly, and loved their king like obedient subjects.

*Of the Banishing of Christierne King of Denmark.*

It is reported (said Luther) that this king governed tyrannically; yet he raged not so much as the bishops maliciously exclaim of him; he was banished more out of malice and envy of the bishops, than for any just cause; therefore he now hearing that the bishops lie captivated in prisons, lifting up his hand, said, God be praised that I live to hear of my adversaries' shame and confusion, now I am content to endure my imprisonment with a willing mind. In chastity produced also great hurt to that king; for in chastity spoileth and devasteth countries and people, nothing but evil cometh thereof.

*Of Emperor Maximilian's Mildness.*

As the king of Denmark sent a stately ambassador to the emperor Maximilian, who in the behalf of the king his master took high honour upon himself, insomuch as the ambassador would deliver his message sitting; when the emperor marked the same he arose, and gave him audience standing, so that the ambassador for shame could not remain sitting.

Likewise at another time, when an ambassador in the beginning of his speech was astonished and amazed at the emperor's

presence, stood mute, insomuch that he could not proceed; then the emperor began to discourse with him touching other affairs, giving the ambassador time to recover his spirits, and deliver himself with a degree of courage.

*Of John Prince Elector of Saxony.*

ANNO 1530, John Prince Elector of Saxony, at the Imperial Diet at Augspurg, said to his divines, Loving friends! If ye be not confident to preserve and maintain the cause, then take heed that ye bring not the people and country into danger. The divines answered and said, will your highness stand by and assist us, then leave the cause to us to maintain the same before the emperor. Whereupon the prince said with great zeal, and with an Abraham's faith, God forbid; would ye exclude me? I will also with you confess and acknowledge Christ.

*Of the King of England.*

ANNO 1535, the first of May, I received letters (said Luther) out of England, touching the Popish traitors against the king. The Pope had corrupted cardinal Pool, the king's near kinsman, and through large promises had engaged him, that on Easter-day he should cause the king to be killed; on which day, the emperor intended to take possession of Calais, and of all the English ports. But this secret God in a miraculous manner discovered; for he had made the secretary frantick, who in his sickness opened the design. Whereupon the cardinal was apprehended as a traitor, and presently all the ports and landing places were strongly guarded and fortified, insomuch that on that day the citizens and townsmen went in armour to receive the communion. Luther said, they will not cease; the Pope day and night will endeavour to humble this king, like as he also would humble us Germans.

I am lately informed that Henry king of England is fallen from the gospel again, hath commanded upon pain of death that the people shall receive the sacrament only under one kind, and that spiritual persons, friars, and nuns, shall perform their vows, and tear in pieces their marriages, whereas before he had done quite the contrary. At this the Papists will jeer, and boast:

indeed (said Luther) it is a great offence, but let it go: that king is still the old Hintz, as in my first book I pictured him; he will surely find his judge: I never liked his resolutions, in that he would kill the Pope's body, but preserve his soul; that is, his false doctrine.

ANNO 1539, the tenth of July, Luther gave thanks to God that he had delivered our church from that offensive king of England, who with highest diligence desired and sought a league with those of our part, but was not accepted; doubtless, God out of special providence hindered the same; for that the king was always unconstant and of a wavering mind.

*Whether Thomas More was executed for the Gospel's sake,  
or no?*

LUTHER answered, no, in no wise; for he was a notable tyrant: he was the king's chiefest counsellor, a very learned and a wise man: he shed the blood of many innocent Christians that confessed the gospel, those he plagued and tormented with strange instruments like an hangman or an executioner; first he examined them in words under a green tree, afterwards with sharp torments in prison. At last he leaned himself against the edict of the king and kingdom, was disobedient, and so was punished.

*Of unequal Fortunes of two Brethren, great Potentates.*

ANTHONY de Leva, and Andrew de Doria, the emperor's chief captains and counsellors of war, advised the emperor that he should go in person against the Turks, and leave king Ferdinand at home, for he had no fortune.

Whereupon Luther said, it is a marvellous thing that two brethren have such unequal, so manifold, and contrary fortunes; every thing steppeth from Ferdinand to Charles: Ferdinand's designs vanish away and are frustrated; Charles's fortune proceedeth happily, for he is not stained nor fouled with blood. Ferdinand is a wise prince, and every thing goeth according to his choice and election (as Aristotle teacheth) not according to God's counsel; the reason is, he will accomplish every thing through his own wisdom, council, and choice. I wish and pray

that Charles may prevail against the Turks, yet when I pray, then our sins and unthankfulness do cry against my prayers, and cause them to recoil back. These two mighty Potentates and brethren have altogether contrary effects and fortunes; one hath lust to war, the other to peace, the one is fortunate, the other unhappy, the one is beloved of every man, the other nothing regarded. Spaniards (said Luther) are strange soldiers, they live by robbing and filching, which Millain hath well found; how pitifully the same is devastated by the Spaniards, who ought to protect them against the Pope and French. One citizen in that place was forced to nourish and maintain twenty soldiers in his house, and the city hath endured such devastation, as almost Jerusalem endured.

*That the Emperor kisseth the Pope's Feet.*

LUTHER was informed that the emperor once again had kissed the Pope's feet, and desired of him, that a council might be held, and that France and England were fallen from the Pope. Then Luther said, the Pope well understandeth the emperor's mind; namely, that the emperor now kisseth the Pope's feet, to the end in requital thereof, the Pope shall kiss the emperor's backside.

*Of France and England.*

THE kings of France and England are Protestants in taking, but not in giving.

*Of Emperor Charles, his Virtues.*

ANNO 1544, shortly before the French wars began, emperor Charles V. went through France, and lay in some cities, the French king made him a great feast in a castle, and at night he caused a very beautiful and noble damsel to be led into the emperor's bed-chamber, and secretly laid into his bed; but when the emperor laid himself down (knowing nothing thereof), the virgin was sorely affrighted, so that with fear she trembled and quaked; the emperor caused his counsellors to be called, and diligently enquired from whence she came, and who were her

parents? The virgin thereupon plainly and modestly related the whole business; then the emperor, with fair presents, sent her to her parents unstained, and without spot of dishonour, and gave her a convoy of horsemen to bring her safely home; the virgin with weeping eyes gave to the emperor most humble thanks, and so departed. But in the wars not long after, the emperor caused the same castle utterly to be destroyed.

*Of Emperor Charles's Coronation.*

EMPEROR Charles was elected by the Princes Electors at Frankfurt. At Ach he was anointed, and at Bononia he was crowned by the Pope. To which ceremony he cited none of the electors, nor princes of the empire, but had about him other Italian and Spanish dukes and dons, who carried before him the electorate ensign, ornaments, and weapons. Of this particular (said Luther) I gave a touch in my little book, many thousands whereof being printed, they were soon bought up in every place.

*Of Emperor Charles, his Humility.*

THEY of Antwerp (said Luther) caused to be wrote in a fair and rich piece of arras, the battle fought before Pavia, in which the French king was taken captive: which piece of arras they offered (as a present) to the emperor, but he refused to accept thereof, saying unto them, that he rejoiced not at the misfortunes and miseries of other princes and people.

*Of Emperor Charles, his warlike Preparations against the Turks.*

ANNO 1538, Luther being advised of the great preparations which the emperor made against the Turks, said, what if emperor Charles's fortune should be similar to the following event? Not long since (on hunting) he pursued a great stag, but in the pursuit a wolf met him, then he left the stag, and swiftly pursued the wolf, fell from his horse, and wounded his leg. How if in this expedition he left also the stag (the Turk) and fell upon the wolf (Germany) to his own danger and hurt? God grant peace, and

resist that blood-thirsty devil. The same year Luther continued his discourse, and therein at large remembered the rights, laws, and ordinances of the empire, where the emperor (according to the golden bulla) is to be elected by seven princes electors, and giveth unto them the jurisdiction of the sword, and of judgments, which they have authority and power to use; also that the voice of one or two electors abolished the considerations of the rest, as was shewed by Frederick Prince Elector of Saxony, anno 1519, who was elected king of the Romans, but he refused it, rather wished the same to be conferred upon his nephew, Albrecht Prince of Meckelburg, or upon Charles king of Spain, of whom they made choice accordingly, not as king of Spain, but as of a German Prince, and Arch-duke of Austria. If (said Luther) instead of the three spiritual electors, there might be chosen three temporal, then it were much better and convenient. But now one prince elector alone must bear the hatred of all the other, and if the people were not inclinable towards him (as Jacob against the Sichemites) he would not be able to digest it, unless God preserved that prince in a wonderful way.

*Of the Archbishop of Mentz, his Government.*

It is evident (said Luther) that the raging of the Archbishop of Mentz against the Gospel is abominable; he is a poor prince, and as it were, the Pope's captive; he thinketh the Turk cannot be suppressed, except Christ and his gospel be destroyed. He doth like king Ahaz, who when he intended to fight with Syria, he then called upon the God of the Syrians and Damascenes, the God of Israel with him was of no value. I much marvel (said Luther) that the Papists are so bold, yea so mad and foolish as to dare to put that sentence in execution, which as yet is not pronounced nor uttered. But (God be praised) we have this advantage, no counsel hath condemned us for hereticks: for the rights, the laws, and ordinances of the empire do define, describe, and say, He is an heretick who obstinately maintaineth errors, &c. which we of our part have never done, but have shewed and produced witnesses out of God's Word, and the Holy Scriptures; we willingly do hear the opinions of others, but we neither may nor will endure the Pope to be judge: we will make him a party.

King Ferdinand printed a proclamation, in which he earnestly

forbad that no man should entertain the new Protestant doctrine, was shewed unto Luther at Wittemberg, whereupon he said, This is the wages of the world ; this king will banish Christ, the King of all kings, against whom Cain, all false prophets and teachers, monarchs, emperors, kings, and others have dashed themselves to shivers. King Ferdinand must and shall be glad to suffer this King Christ to be in peace ; let us watch and pray against him. This king is a very unfortunate man, and hath been in great dangers ; he was lately almost drowned in the river Danaw : for coursing with slides upon the ice, his forerunner, or visier, went swiftly under the ice, and was drowned, and if, by great chance, they had not taken hold on the king, so had he likewise been destroyed. His misfortunes are not as other champions used to be, as king Lodowick, who was slain in the wars, or as Francis king of France, who in the battle before Pavia was taken captive, but this king Ferdinand hath common clownish mishaps ; at Augspurg he almost brake his neck, in another place he was in danger to be consumed with fire, now lately almost drowned. I hold (said Luther) the depending on his own wisdom is the cause of his misfortunes ; he will govern every thing with his own wit and understanding ; but this he taketh not to heart, neither is he moved by God's punishments ; and although he hath now and then a fit of repentance, yet it is only the repentance of Esau, who wept not because he had sold his birth-right, and was fallen into God's wrath, but because he had lost the birth-right. Our Lord God regardeth not such repenting, as when one is sorry that he hath lost his lascivious mistress ; so the ungodly are not properly affected, neither do they uprightly and truly repent.

### *Of the Turkish Preparations.*

LET us truly repent (said Luther), let us pray and attend the Lord's will, for human defence and help is too weak. Five years since, the emperor was well able to resist the Turks, when he had levied a great army of horse and foot out of the whole empire, Italians and Germans. But then he would not ; therefore in the mean time, alas, many good people were butchered and lamentably slaughtered by the Turks. Ah, loving God, what is in this life more than to die, nothing else than death even from the

cradle unto old age. I fear all things go not right, for the tyranny and pride of the Spaniards, doubtless, will give us over to the Turks, and make us subject to them, the treachery is great, I doubt the twenty thousand men, and the fair costly pieces of double cannon are wilfully betrayed to the Turk. It is not usual to carry such great pieces of ordnance into the fields. Emperor Maximilian kept them safely at Vienna. It seemeth to me, as if he should say to the Turk, Take these pieces of ordnance for a present, slay and destroy all that cannot escape. This expedition hath an aspect of treachery, for those on our part are all in a slumber: but the Turk with all diligence watcheth, he attempteth all he can both with open power, and secret practices.

If the Turk shall cause proclamation to be made, that every man shall be free from taxations and tributes for the space of three years, then the common people with joy will yield themselves unto him. But when he hath gotten them into his claws, then he will make use of his tyranny (as his custom is), for he taketh the third son from every man; he is always father of the third child. Truly it is a great tyranny, which chiefly concerneth the princes of the empire themselves. I ever held the emperor suspected (said Luther) yet he can deeply dissemble. I have almost despaired of him, as he that opposeth the known truth, which often he heard at the Imperial Diet at Augspurg. The verse in the second Psalm will not cease, "Why do the heathen so furiously rage together, and why do the people imagine a vain thing? The kings of the earth stand up, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord, and against his anointed," &c. David complained thereof, Christ felt the same, the Apostles lamented it, we also feel it likewise. Therefore St. Paul saith, "Not many wise even after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called," &c. Let us call upon God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, let us pray, for it is high time.

*Of the Constancy of John Prince Elector of Saxony.*

THE admirable great constancy of John Prince Elector of Saxony (said Luther) is worthy of everlasting memory and praise; who personally and stedfastly held over the pure doctrine of the gospel at the Imperial Diet at Augspurg, 1530. And

when the Emperor's final will and meaning was shewed unto him, he said, Here are two ways, either to deny God, or the world. Now therefore let every one consider which were best.

It was a miraculous thing and special gift of God, that only one prince so stiffly stood against all the rest; yea, against the Emperor himself. Therefore (said Luther) the acts and proceedings in the Augustinian confession may not be easily described; for they are high things, large and spacious. This John Prince Elector of Saxony, had attending upon him, continually, in his chamber, six pages of honour; these every day read unto him six hours, out of the bible. Likewise, in hearing, he always had in his pocket writing-tables, and with his own hand wrote the sermons out of the preachers' mouths.

This prince alone, among the electors assembled at Coln, opposed the election of the Roman king, Ferdinand, *anno* 1531; for they proceeded therein contrary to the ancient rule and custom of the Golden Bulla. Touching which, Emperor Charles the Fifth took a corporal oath; and as he was elected Roman king at Frankfurt, he then promised, and with his hand subscribed, that during his life no choice should be made of a Roman king besides himself. Therefore John Frederick, the son of John Prince Elector of Saxony, by his father was sent to Coln, to make a speech, and to set himself against that election, in the behalf of the Prince Elector his father, both in words and actions. And immediately when the young prince had accomplished his father's command, he rode post haste away; but he was scarcely gotten out of the gates of Coln, when certain were dispatched to take and bring him back.

*Of Emperor Charles's Censure concerning the Augustinian Confession.*

As Emperor Charles read our confession at Augspurg, he openly spake these words, I would wish that this doctrine were taught throughout the whole world. Likewise said Prince George, I know very well that many abuses are in the church; if the same were by the Pope abolished, then I would willingly entertain and receive this doctrine; but I will not receive it of a run-away friar, meaning me. If (said Prince George) God caused his word to be preached through great potentates and

princes, then we would entertain it. Yea (said Luther) standeth the case so? But God thought it more fitting to make use of poor fishermen, of Peter, of Andrew, &c. God had need of Amos the shepherd, he will none of your approbations. At the Imperial Diet at Augspurg, Emperor Charles had eight and thirty chancellors attending on him.

*Of John Prince Elector of Saxony.*

As John Prince Elector of Saxony was in his last hunting, he could have no sport or game at all, for the deer would neither stand nor stay, nor come in as they always were wont to do; whereupon the Prince Elector said, This presageth something, that our game, contrary to their custom, fly away. Luther said, The deer will acknowledge him no longer to be their master, it is a sign of his death, which happened within the space of five days after.

*Titulus Joannis Frederici Electoris, Ducis Saxonice, Sub Cruce militantis, ab Ecclesia sibi inditus, 1548.*

JOANNES Fredericus Dei Gratia, Electus Martyr Jesu Christi, Dux Afflictorum, Princeps Confessorum Fidei, Comes Veritatis, Signifer Sanctæ Crusis, Exemplum Patientiæ et Constantiæ, Hæres vitæ æternæ, obdormiscens in Christo, migravit ex hac miserrima vita, in cœlestem patriam Vinarie, in mense Aprili, anno 1553.

CHAPTER LII.  
OF DISCORD.

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*Luther's Discourse of Discord.*

ANNO 1546, the 10th of February, John Prince Elector of Saxony said, A matter in controversy were easily to be settled, if but the persons or parties might be made to agree. Whereupon Luther said, We would willingly have concord, but no man seeketh after *Medium Concordiæ*, which is *Mutum charitatis*. Likewise we seek also riches, but no man seeketh after the right and true means how to be rich; namely, through God's blessing. Moreover we all desire to be saved, but the world refuseth the means whereby we might be saved; as, *Mediatorum Christum*, the same we will not have.

In former times (said Luther), potentates and princes referred their matters in controversies to faithful people, and would not so soon thrust them into the lawyer's hands. When people intend to be reconciled and come to an agreement, then the one party must yield and give way to the other. If God and mankind should be reconciled and agreed, then God must give over his right and justice, and must lay aside his wrath; and we (mankind) must also lay down our own righteousness, for we also would needs be gods in paradise; we thought ourselves wise (as God) through the serpent's seducement; then Christ was fain to make an agreement between us; he interposed in the cause, and would be a mediator between God and man; therefore this mediator for his pains got the portion of a peace-maker thereby; namely, the cross (as we used to say), the parter commonly getteth the best knocks by his parting. Even so Christ suffered and

presented us with his passion and death ; he died for our sakes, and for the sake of our justification he arose again. Thus the generation of mankind became reconciled with God.

*That for the Sake of Peace, the one must yield to the other.*

WHEN it falleth out (said Luther) that two goats meet upon a narrow plank or bridge that is laid over a deep water, how do they behave themselves ? neither of them can turn back again, neither can they pass the one by the other, because the bridge is too narrow ; if they should thrust one another, then they might both fall into the water and be drowned ; nature hath taught them, that the one layeth himself down and permitteth the other to go over him, so that thereby they both remain without hurt. Even so people should rather endure to be trod upon, than to fall into debate and discord one with another.

*Why Christ curseth so sorely in the 109th Psalm, whereas he forbiddeth to curse, Matt. viii.*

A CHRISTIAN for the sake of his own person neither curseth nor revengeth himself ; but faith curseth and revengeth itself. To understand the same rightly, we must distinguish God and man, the person and cause. What concerneth God and his cause, we must therein have no patience, neither must we bless ; as for example, when the ungodly persecute the gospel, the same toucheth God and his cause, as then we are not to bless, nor to wish thereunto good success, but rather we ought to curse and maledict the persecutors and their proceedings. These (said Luther) are called faith's cursing, which, rather than it would suffer God's Word to be suppressed, and heresy maintained, wisheth that all creatures went to wreck ; for through heresy we lose God himself, Numbers, xvi. But the persons ought not to revenge themselves, but to suffer all things, and according to Christ's doctrine and the nature of love, to do good to our enemies.

## CHAPTER LIII.

OF SICKNESSES, AND OF THE  
CAUSES THEREOF.

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*From whence all Sickneses and Plagues do proceed.*

WHEN young children do cry lustily, then they grow well; for through crying the members and veins are stretched out, in regard they have none other exercise to be moved. Ah! the devil is strong and powerful, of whom every sickness and plague cometh. If the loving angels defended us not, so were we in the twinkling of an eye dashed in pieces and utterly spoiled: the devil would cut us down like trees, with religion and policy, both church and temporal government.

*Of the Cause why Sickness doth come.*

A QUESTION was put forth to Luther, How these two sentences in scripture might be reconciled together; first, concerning the sick of the palsy, where Christ saith, "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins be forgiven thee," &c. Here Christ sheweth, that sin was the cause of the palsy; yea, of every sickness. Second, touching him that was born blind, where John saith, "That neither he nor his parents had sinned." Luther answered, and said, In these words Christ witnesseth that the blind had not sinned: therefore sin is not the cause of blindness; for only active sins (which one committeth personally) are the cause of sicknesses and plagues, not original sin: therefore the sins which the sick of the palsy committed himself were the cause of his palsy. But original sin was not the cause of the blindness of him that was born blind, otherwise all people must be born blind, or be sick of the palsy.

God sendeth no sicknesses into the world but by the devil; for all melancholy or sicknesses do come of the devil, not of God. The devil is our Lord God's executioner; for my part (said Luther) I am a Lazarus, in sicknesses well practised.

The cramp is the lightest or smallest sickness, and I believe the falling sickness is a piece of the cramp; as that which is in the head, the other in the feet and legs, when one quickly moveth himself or runneth, then it vanisheth.

The fever in Germany is a physick; for people would feed and swill themselves to death, if the fever were not, the same maketh them more moderate. Luther being told that Dr. Sebald and his wife were dead (as was supposed) of the plague, said, They died rather by reason of trouble and sorrow, than of the plague. And when after their death Luther took their children into his house, some hit him in the teeth, saying, That thereby he tempted God; yea, said he, I have gotten fine masters to teach me what is called, tempting of God.

*Infirmitas Lutheri Schmalcaldicæ, Luther's Sickness at Schmalcald.*

AT Schmalcald Luther was grievously tormented with the stone, insomuch that he was near unto death; for all men despaired of his recovery. No man could cure him, but God helped him in wonderful wise; for he had heard that he should be carried away from Schmalcalden, to the end he might not die and be buried there in the eye of that monster the Pope's messenger. They carried him from thence to Thambach; when he came into his lodging and drank a little red wine, then he was relieved again so that he was able to deliver his urine, which in many days before he could not.

The physicians in sicknesses (said Luther) consider but only *causas naturales*, out of what natural causes and from whence a sickness cometh, the same they will cure with their physic, and they do right therein; but they see not that oftentimes the devil casteth a sickness upon one's neck, when it hath no natural causes; therefore a higher physic must be required to resist the devil's diseases; namely, faith and prayer, which physic may be fetched out of God's Word. As then the 31st Psalm is good and necessary thereunto, where David saith, "Into thine hand I com-

mit my spirit." This place I now learned in my sickness, and will correct the same in the Psalms ; for in the first translation I drew it only upon the hour of death : but it should be said, "*In manibus tuis tempora mea, omnis vita mea, omnes dies, horæ et momenta vita mea ;*" that is, " My health, my happiness, my life, misfortune, sickness, death, &c. stand all in thy hands." Experience also witnesseth the same ; for when we think now we will be joyful and merry, easy and healthy, then God soon sendeth that we find quite the contrary.

*Of Frailty and Mortality, that a Human Creature is like a Glass.*

LUTHER, shortly before his death, sent a fair glass for a present to Dr. Justus Jonas, and therewith he wrote these words following :

*One glass presenteth a glass to another glass, guess what it is ?*

*Dat vitrum vitro Jonæ vitrum ipse Lutherus,  
Se similem ut fragili noscat uterque vitro.*

That is,

Frail Jonas, glass from brittle Luther has,  
That each may know he's like to brittle glass.

CHAPTER LIV.  
OF DEATH.

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*Of Luther's Discourse of Death.*

IN the midst of life we are in the midst of death, for we are subject to manifold and mortal sicknesses and misfortunes; here one stabbeth himself, there another falleth and bleedeth to death; therefore every hour we have need to call upon God to keep and preserve us.

*Why St. Paul did not fear Death.*

WHEN the prophet Agabus declared to St. Paul at Cesaria that he should be bound of the Jews, and delivered over to the Gentiles to be slain, yet nevertheless, he disregarded death, and took no heed to himself, but willingly went towards Jerusalem, and feared death nothing at all. The reason was, the Holy Ghost revealed the same, through which Paul was strengthened to die.

*To die for Christ's Sake.*

To die for the sake of Christ's word, is esteemed precious and glorious before God; for we are mortal, and must die for the sake of our sins. But when we die for the sake of Christ and his word, and freely confess the same, then we die an honourable death; we are thereby made altogether holy relics, as then we have sold our hides dear enough. But in that we (Christians) pray for peace and long life, the same is not for our sake, to whom death is merely gain, but for the sake of the church and posterity.

*Of Luther's Mourning, Countenance, and Speech, which he shewed and declared at the Death and Burial of his loving Daughter Magdalena, of the Age of fourteen Years, 1542.*

*Epitaph of Magdalena Lutheri, Daughter of Martin Luther, made by the Father himself.*

Dormio cum sanctis hic Magdalena Lutheri,  
Filia et hoc strato tecta quiesco meo.  
Filia mortis eram peccati semine nata,  
Sanguine sed vivo Christe redemta tuo.

I Luther's daughter Magdalen am dead,  
I sleep with saints' rest covered here in bed.  
A child of death born of the seed of sin,  
By thy life giving blood O Christ redeem'd.

The fear of death is merely death itself: whoso abolisheth death out of the heart, the same neither tasteth nor feeleth any death. A human creature that lieth and sleepeth, is very like to one that is dead, from whence the ancients said, sleep is the brother of death. In like manner, life and death is pictured to us by the day and by the night, and in the change and alterations of the seasons.

My dream (said Luther) which I had lately, will be made true; for I dreamed, that I was dead, and stood by my grave covered with small rags. Thus am I long since condemned to die, and notwithstanding yet I live.

*Of the Sentence, John the 8th, Whoso keepeth my saying, shall never see Death.*

LUTHER expounded the same thus: We must die and suffer death; but this is wonderful, that whoso holdeth himself on God's Word, shall not feel death, but shall depart as in a sleep; and concerning him it shall no more be said, *Morior, sed cogor dormire*: that is, I die, but I am forced to sleep. But whoso findeth not himself furnished with God's Word, the same must die in anguish; therefore, when thou comest to that point to die, then make no dispute at all, but from thy heart say, *Credo in*

*Jesum Christum Dei filium, plus nolo scire*; I believe in Jesus Christ the Son of God: I will know no more.

The thirty-eighth year (said Luther) is an evil and a dangerous year, it bringeth many heavy and great sicknesses; naturally, by reason (happily) of the comets and conjunctions of Saturn and of Mars, but spiritually, by reason of the innumerable sins of the people. Now this life is nothing worth, let us not depend thereon, but trust and believe in God who giveth everlasting life, God give us a happy hour, as then we have been well done by here.

Pliny, the heathen writer, saith, libro xx. cap. 1, The best physic for a human creature is, soon to die; Julius the Emperor contemned the signs of death, was careless of danger; he said, It is better once to die than continually to be full of care, and to take heed of himself; this was enough for an heathen (said Luther), yet we ought not to tempt God, but to use the means which he giveth, and then to commit ourselves to his mercy.

*That the Death of a Christian is different from the Death of an Heathen.*

It were a light and an easy matter for a Christian to suffer and overcome death, if he knew that it were not God's wrath; the same title maketh death bitter unto us. But an heathen dieth securely, he neither seeth nor feeleth that it is God's wrath, but thinketh it is the end of nature, and is natural. The epicure saith, It is but to endure one evil hour.

Cicero saith, Hereafter we shall be made either nothing, or saved, as if he should say, No evil hereafter can be done unto us.

*That the Death of a godly and an upright Christian is a Sign of God's Wrath.*

WHEN I hear (said Luther) that a good and godly man is dead, then I am affrighted, and fear that God hateth the world, who taketh away the upright and good, to the end he may fall upon, and punish the evil and wicked. Although I die, it maketh no great matter, for I am in the Pope's curse and excommunication; I am his devil, therefore he hateth and persecuteth me. At Coburg I went about, and sought me out a place for my burial;

I thought to have been laid in the chancel under the table, but now I am of another mind, I know I have not long to live, for my head is like a knife, from which the steel is wholly whetted away, and is become merely iron, the iron will cut no more, even so likewise it is with my head. Now loving Lord God, I hope my time is not far, God help, and give me a happy hour, I desire to live no longer.

*To taste of Death.*

RIGHTLY to taste of death (said Luther) is directly to despair; a God-fearing Christian shall not taste of death (as Christ saith), for he never feeleth complete despair, although sometimes a Christian is very near thereunto, but he is drawn back again, and preserved by the Holy Ghost.

*Of the contemning of Death.*

WE read of St. Vincence, who being ready to die, saw death standing at his feet, and said, Death! what wilt thou? Thinkest thou to gain any thing of a Christian? Knowest thou not that I am a Christian? Even so (said Luther) ought we to learn to contemn, to scorn, and to deride death. Likewise it is written in the history of St. Martin, that being near his death, he saw the devil standing at his bed's feet, and boldly said, *Quid tu hic stas horrenda bestia? nihil habes in me*; that is, Why standest thou here thou horrible beast? thou hast nothing to do with me. These were right words of faith. Such and the like ought we to cull out of the legends of the saints, and leave other fooleries which by the Papists are stuffed therein.

*That we ought to drive away the melancholy Thoughts of Death.*

LUTHER, at Wittemberg, discerning a very melancholy man, whom formerly he well knew, said unto him, Ah! human creature, what doest thou? Hast thou nothing else in hand but to think of thy sins, on death, and damnation? Turn thine eyes quickly away, and look hither to this man Christ, of whom it is written, "He was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered, died, buried, descended into hell, the third day arose again

from the dead, and ascended up into heaven," &c. Wherefore dost thou think that all this was done *nunquid*? That thou shouldest comfort thyself against death and sin; therefore forbear, be not afraid, neither do thou faint, for truly thou hast no cause; for Christ suffered death for thee, and prevailed for thy comfort and defence, and for that cause he sitteth at the right hand of God his heavenly Father to deliver thee.

*Fidelis animæ vox ad Christum.*

Ego sum tuum peccatum, tu mea justitia; triumpho igitur securus, quia nec meum peccatum obruet tuam justitiam, nec tua justitia sinet me esse aut manere peccatorem. Benedictus Dominus Deus meus, miserator meus et Redemptor meus, in te solum confido, nunquam crubescam.

That is,

*The Voice of a faithful Soul to Christ.*

I AM thy sin, and thou art my righteousness; therefore I triumph securely, because neither my sin shall overwhelm thy justice, nor thy justice will suffer me to be or remain a sinner. Blessed be my Lord God, my pitier, and my Redeemer; in thee only I trust, and shall never be ashamed.

*Precatio Lutheri.*

SUM tuus in vita, tua sunt mea funera Christe,  
 Da precor imperii Sceptra tenere tui.  
 Cur etenim moriens tot vulnera sæva tulisti?  
 Si non sum regni portio parva tui.  
 Cur rigido latuit tua vita inclusa sepulcro,  
 Si non est mea mors, morte fugata tua?  
 Ergo mihi certam præstes O Christe salutem.

That is,

*The Prayer of Luther.*

I AM thine O Christ in my life; thy death is mine. Grant me part in thy kingdom; for why by thy death didst thou endure such grievous wounds, if I am not a small portion of thy king-

dom? Why was thy life inclosed in the sepulchre, if my death be not abolished by thy death? Therefore, O Christ, give me sure salvation.

*Of the Mortality of a Human Creature.*

*Quot membra sunt in nobis, tot sunt et mortes*; that is, So many members as we have, so many deaths we have. Death peepeth out at every member. And we are subject to death in the midst of life; for the devil, who is a causer, and a lord of death, is our adversary, and hunteth after our life; he hath sworn our death, and we have deserved it; but the devil will not gain much by strangling of the godly; for therein he will crack a hollow nut. Let us die (said Luther), that so the devil may be at quiet. I have deserved death two-fold; first, in that I have sinned against God, for which I am heartily sorry. Secondly, I have deserved death at the devil's hands, whose kingdom of lying and murdering, through God's assistance, grace, and mercy, I have destroyed; therefore he justly in requital wisheth my death.

*Of Luther's Censure touching the Sentence, Matt. xxiv., There shall rise false Prophets, insomuch that if it were possible they shall deceive the very Elect.*

THIS sentence (said Luther) was fulfilled, and made true on the holy fathers; as on St. Jerome, Austin, Gregory, Basil, Cyprian, Bernard, and others; they were seduced into those errors, but they remained not therein. St. Bernard wrote many evil and ungodly things, especially concerning the Virgin Mary; but when he was near his death, he said, *Perdite vixi*, I have lived wickedly. But thou loving Lord Jesus Christ hast a two-fold right to the kingdom of heaven; first, it is thine inheritance, for thou art the only begotten Son of the Father; but that affordeth me no comfort or hope of heaven. Secondly, thou hast purchased the same with thy suffering and death, thou hast stilled the Father's wrath, hast unlocked heaven, and presented the same unto me as thy purchased good. Of this have I joy and comfort. Therefore (said Luther) he died well and happy. Likewise when St. Austin was to die, then he prayed the seven

penitential psalms. But when these fathers were in health, then they thought not on this doctrine; but when they were upon their death-beds, then they found in their hearts what they were to trust unto; then they felt it high time to abandon human fopperies which formerly they held and taught, and to betake themselves only to Christ, and to rely upon his rich and precious merit, &c. Then they took hold on such comforts, confessed this doctrine, and so were made happy and saved.

*Of a Comfort in our last Hour described by Luther.*

ALMIGHTY, everlasting God, merciful heavenly Father, who art a father of our loving Lord Jesus Christ, I know assuredly, that every thing which thou hast said thou wilt and canst perform, for thou canst not lie, thy word is upright and true. In the beginning thou hast promised unto me thy loving and only begotten Son Jesus Christ; the same is come, and hath delivered me from the devil, from death, hell, and sin. Out of his gracious will he hath presented unto me the sacraments, which I have used in faith, and have depended on thy word; wherefore I make no doubt at all, but that I am well secured, and settled in peace; therefore if this be my hour, and thy divine will, so am I willing to depart from hence with joy.

*Schola Fidei*, 1 Cor. xv.; The school of faith is said to go about with death.

*Absumta est mors in victoria*; Death is swallowed up in victory.

*Si mors, ergò peccatum*; If death, then sin.

*Si mors, ergò omnes morbi*; If death, then all diseases.

*Si mors, ergò omnis miseria*; If death, then all misery.

*Si mors, ergò omnes diabolo vires*; If death, then all the power of the devil.

*Si mors, ergò omnes mundi furæ*; If death, then all the fury of the world.

But these things do not appear, but rather the contrary, therefore there is need of faith; for an open appearance of things followeth faith in due time, where those things which are now invisible will then be seen. Moreover Luther further said:

*Absorpta est mors in victoria*; Death is swallowed up in victory.

Isaiah xxv. *Præcipitavit mortem in æternum* ; He hath thrown down death for ever.

When Adam lived (said Luther), that is, when he sinned, then death devoured life ; but when Christ died, *id est, Justificatur*, then life (which is Christ) swallowed up and devoured death ; therefore God be praised, *Quod Christus moritur*, that Christ died, and hath gotten the victory.

CHAPTER LV.

OF THE RESURRECTION FROM THE  
DEAD.

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*Luther's Discourse of the Resurrection from the Dead, and  
Everlasting Life.*

ANNO 1544, on Easter Sunday, Luther made an excellent sermon touching the resurrection from the dead, out of the epistle appointed for the same day, and handled this sentence, "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die." When Abraham intended to sacrifice his son, he believed, that God out of the ashes would raise him again, and make him a father of children. The faith of Adam and of Eve preserved them, because they trusted and believed in the promised seed. For to him that believeth everything is possible. The conception and birth of every human creature that proceedeth out of a drop of blood, is no less a miracle and wonder-work of God, than that Adam was made out of a clod of earth, and Eve out of a fleshy rib. The world is full of such works of wonder, but we are blind, we cannot see them. The whole world is not able to create one member, no not so much as a small leaf. The manner of the resurrection consisteth in these words, "Arise, come, stand up, appear, rejoice ye which dwell in the dust of the earth." I shall arise again (said Luther), and shall speak with you; this finger wherewith I point must come to me again: to conclude, everything must come again, for it is written, "God will create a new heaven and a new earth wherein righteousness shall dwell;" it shall be no waste nor idle government, there shall be all joy and happiness, for

heaven and earth shall not be a barren or unfruitful sand. Heaven and earth shall be renewed, and we the faithful shall be altogether in one company; if we were all one, then we should have peace among ourselves, but God ordereth it otherwise, to the end we may yearn and sigh after the future paternal home, and may be made weary of this troublesome life. Now if there be joy in the chosen, so must the highest sorrow and despair be in the damned. Whoever heard (said Luther) that the rushing of a leaf struck a hole in one's head? Yet, nevertheless, an ungodly and a faithless person is affrighted even at the rushing of a leaf, but with a true Christian it is not so, for he hath peace in Christ; on the contrary, the ungodly have no peace.

*Of the Life Everlasting.*

ANNO 1538, the 7th of August, Luther discoursed concerning the life to come, and said, in my late sickness I lay indeed very weak, and committed myself to God, but nevertheless many things fell into my mind in the time of my febleness, concerning the everlasting life, what the same might be, what joys we there shall have: well I am assured, that everything shall be revealed which through Christ is presented unto us, and is already ours, seeing we believe it. But here we shall not know how the creation of the new world will be, for we are not able to comprehend nor understand the creation of this temporal world nor of the creatures therein, which are visible and corporal. To conclude, the joys that are everlasting are beyond the comprehension of any human creature. As Isaiah saith, "*Exultabitis usque in sempiternam letitia glorificata:*" that is, "*Ye shall be everlastingly joyful in glorious joy.*" But how cometh it, that we cannot believe God's Word, whereas all things are accomplished which the Scripture speak, touching the resurrection of the dead. This proveth original sin, the same is the cause of it. The ungodly and damned at the last day shall be under the ground, and in some measure they shall behold the great joys and glory of the chosen and saved, but thereby they shall be so much the more pained and tormented.

Hath our Lord God created so fairly this vanishing and temporal kingdom; namely, heaven and earth and all that is therein, how much more fair and glorious will he then make and create yonder celestial everlasting kingdom.

*Of the Everlasting Life.*

As I lay sucking at my mother's breasts (said Luther) then I knew nothing, how I should afterwards eat, drink, and live. Even so do we as little understand what the life to come will be.

CHAPTER LVI.  
OF DAMNATION AND HELL.

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*What Gnashing of Teeth is.*

I HOLD (said Luther) gnashing of teeth to be the extremest pain which shall follow an evil conscience; that is, despair; namely, to know that one everlastingly must be separated from God.

*That we may surely Censure out of God's Word, who is Damned.*

I WISHED (said Luther) and would willingly from my heart that Zuinglius were saved, but I fear the contrary, in regard Christ commandeth, that we should so judge and censure, those that know not God, or those that deny him before the people, that such are already damned. God's censure and judgment is sure and certain, which we safely may pronounce over all the ungodly, unless God reserveth unto himself a peculiar privilege and dispensation, which hath its scope. Even so David from his heart wished that his son Absalom might be saved, when he said, "Absalom my son, Absalom my son," &c. yet, nevertheless, he certainly believed that he was damned; therefore he bewailed him, not only in that he died corporally, but was also lost everlastingly; for he knew that he died in rebellion, in incest, and that he had hunted his father out of the kingdom.

In this life (said Luther) are many different degrees of tribulations, according as persons are also manifold and different. If another should have had those tribulations which I

have suffered, so would he long since have died; neither could I have endured or held out under the angels buffetings as St. Paul did, no less had St. Paul been able to undergo and endure the tribulations which Christ suffered. The greatest and heaviest grief is, when one dieth in the twinkling of an eye, and departeth from hence. But hereof we ought not to dispute, but to refer the same to God's judgment; we ought to deal with that which in the Word is revealed unto us.

*Touching four Sorts of Degrees of Punishments after this  
Life.*

THE ancients made four sorts of differences of hell. 1. The fore-front, wherein (they say) the Patriarchs were until Christ descended into hell. 2. The feeling of pain, yet only temporal, as purgatory. 3. Where the unbaptized children are, but feel no pain. 4. Where the damned are, which feel everlasting pain, the same is the right hell; the other three (said Luther) are only human imaginations. In Popedom they sang an evil song, "Our sighs called upon thee, our pitiful lamentations sought thee," &c. This was not Christian-like, for the Gospel saith, "They are in Abraham's bosom." Isaiah saith, "They go into their chambers," and Jesus Syrach saith, "The righteous is in the Lord's hand, let him die how he will, yea, although he be overtaken by death." Therefore there are no sighings nor lamentations, the poor ignorant people drew the hearty sighing of the prophets, which in their life they had after Christ the Messiah whom they expected, upon the dead. What hell is, we know not (said Luther), only we know, that there is a sure and certain place, as is written of the rich glutton, when Abraham said unto him, "There is a great space between you and us. For if we knew it, or that the Scripture had shewed any thing of this place, then there would have been no end in disputing, therefore let us remain simple by the children's creed.

*Of the Sentence, Isaiah the xxviii. "Be ye not mockers lest your bands be made strong."*

THAT is, will ye not believe? so shall ye not remain; our Lord God's things are incomprehensible, yet nevertheless, in yonder life, he saith, he will show us all things, and will give us an account why he made it so. We Christians (God be praised) have a great advantage, in that our faith is grounded so powerfully in the Holy Scripture, and always accorded therewith: this the Turks, Jews, and Papists have not.

CHAPTER LVII.  
OF THE LAST DAY OF JUDGMENT.

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*Luther's Discourse of the last day of Judgment.*

AH! loving God (said Luther) come once; I wait continually for that day, when early in the morning in the spring, the day and night are alike long, I see a very clear morning sky. For I think, that swiftly out of the morning redness, will come a thick black cloud, out of which will issue three flashes of lightning, afterwards there will come a clap, and in a moment will strike all on a heap, heaven and earth. The name of the Lord be praised, who hath taught us to sigh and yearn after that day, and in truth we ought to desire the speedy approach thereof, in Popedom they are all afraid thereof, as they sing, "That day is a day of wrath," &c. I hope, truly, that day is not far off. Christ saith, "At that time, he shall scarcely find faith on the earth, let us make our account, and we shall truly find, that we have the gospel now only in a corner: Asia and Africa have it not, the gospel is not preached in Europe, in Greece, Italy, Hungary, Spain, France, England, nor in Poland," &c. And sure I am, that this little corner where it is (the house of Saxony) will not hinder the coming of the last day of judgment. It is come already so far as to the white horse in the Revelations, the world cannot stand long, the Lord deliver us from evil. Amen.

When the Turk (said Luther) beginneth a little to decline, then certainly the last day will come, for then it must be; in consequence of the testimony of the Scripture. The loving Lord will come, as the Scripture saith, "For thus saith the Lord of Hosts, yet a little while and I will shake the heavens

and the earth, and the sea and the dry land : and I will shake all nations, and the desire of all nations shall come. At the last there will be great alteration and commotion ; for then all the elements shall be melted to ashes, the whole world shall be made a vast lump again, as in the begining. Then there shall be a new heaven and earth, and we shall be changed, but the devil shall remain as he is, for he hath nothing of the elements as St. Paul showeth, who had great revelations from God.

*Of Luther's Considerations touching the last Day, about what Time it will come.*

ABOUT the time of Easter in April, when they least of all feared the rain, Pharoah was destroyed in the Red Sea, and the nation of Israel led again out of Egypt. Even about the same time (said Luther) the world was created, at the same time the year is changed, and Christ arose again, and the world renewed ; even so (happily) will the last day come about the same time. I am of opinion, after or about Easter, when the year is at the finest and fairest, and early at the rising of the sun (as at Sodom and Gomorrah), the element will be gloomy with earthquakes and thunderings about an hour or little longer, then the secure people shall say, " Look thou fool hast thou never heard it thunder ? "

*That the last Day will separate the Righteous from the ungodly.*

The upright art of alchymy (said Luther) I like very well, and indeed, it is the philosophy of the ancients ; I like it not only for the sake of the profits which it bringeth in melting of the metals, in excocting, preparing, and extracting, also in distilling herbs, roots, and in subliming. But I like it also for the sake of the allegory and secret signification, which is surpassing fair ; touching the resurrection of the dead at the last day. For like as in a furnace the fire extracteth and separateth that which is the best out of the matter, yea it carrieth upwards the spirit, the life, the sap, and strength, so that it possesseth the uppermost part of the still, it cleaveth thereon, and then trickleth downwards ; insomuch, that the fat swimmeth above, and the

best thereof hovereth always uppermost ; but the unclean matter, or the dregs is left at the bottom like a dead carcass and worthless thing. Even so likewise, God will deal at the day of judgment, therewith he will separate all things through fire, will separate the righteous from the ungodly, the Christians and righteous shall ascend upwards into heaven, and therein shall live everlastingly, but the wicked and the ungodly, as the dross and filth, shall remain in hell, and therein be damned.

CHAPTER LVIII.

OF ALLEGORIES.

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*Luther's Discourse of Allegories and Spiritual Significations  
of Scripture, and how we ought to deal therewith.*

ALLEGORIES and spiritual significations (said Luther), when they are directed upon faith, and seldom used, then they are good and laudable; but when they are drawn upon the life and conversation, then they are dangerous, and I am an enemy unto them, for when men make too many of them, then they pervert and spoil the doctrine of faith. To conclude, allegories, or spiritual significations, are fine ornaments, but they are not of proof, we ought not lightly to make use of them, except the principal cause be first sufficiently proved with strong grounds and arguments, as we see St. Paul did in the fourth Chapter to Galatians; the body is the logick, but allegory is the rhetorick; now rhetorick which at length finely and amply adorneth and enlargeth a thing with words, is of no value without logick, which round and briefly comprehendeth a matter. When with rhetorick, men will make many words without ground to no purpose, then it is but only a trimmed thing and a carved idol.

*What Allegories are.*

AN allegory is, when a thing is signified and understood otherwise than the words do express. *Allegoria in sententiis*, and whole speeches is *Metaphora*, in words and vowels that are coloured. Among all languages none is so rich in allegories as the Hebrew: the German tongue is full of metaphors, as when we say, He hangeth the cloak according to the wind: Katherine

of Borne is the morning star at Wittemberg, &c. These (said Luther) are metaphors, that is, coloured words. Allegories are, as when Christ commandeth that one should wash another's feet, of baptizing, of the sabbath, &c.

We must not hold and understand allegories as they sound; as when Daniel saith, concerning the beast that had ten horns, we must understand the same to be spoken of the Roman Empire. Even so circumcision in the New Testament is an allegory, but in the Old Testament it is no allegory: we ought to observe them in the scantest measure. The New Testament frameth allegories out of the Old; as it maketh two nations out of Abraham's sons, and in the Old Testament it was even so: it is neither seemly nor fitting for us to make allegories, as the sectaries imagine; for (God be praised) now all hearts are brought forth in a most clear and complete way; but alas, the same are sorely contemned, as the world sorely contemned Christ their own Saviour, whom they held for the most despised, yea, they hanged him on the gallows.

*Of the Knight Saint George.*

THE legend of St. George hath a fair spiritual signification concerning temporal government and policy. The virgin signifieth the policy; she is vexed and persecuted by the dragon the devil, who goeth about to devour her. Now he plagueth her with hunger and dearth, then with pestilence, now with wars, then he spoileth and devasteth her, till at length a good Prince or Potentate cometh, who helpeth and delivereth her, and restoreth her again to her right.

*Of the insolent Boldness of the Sophist's in trifling with Allegories.*

To play with allegories in Christian doctrine is dangerous, the words now and then are acceptable, and enter fine and smoothly, but they are to no purpose; they serve well for such preachers as have not studied much, who know not rightly how to expound the histories and texts, whose leather is too short, and will not stretch, as then they lay hold on allegories, wherein

nothing certainly is taught, on which a man may build ; therefore we should accustom ourselves to remain by the clear and wholesome text. Philip Melancthon asked Luther what the allegory and hidden signification was, that the eagle, during the time he broodeth and sitteth upon the eggs, hunteth not abroad, he keepeth but one young, the other he thrusteth out of the nest, and casteth them away. Likewise, why the ravens nourish not their young ones, but forsake them when they are yet bare, and without feathers? Luther answered, and said, " The eagle signifieth a monarch, who alone will have the government, and suffer none besides himself to be his equal. But the ravens are the harsh and hard-hearted swine and belly-gods the Papsts.

*Of Sophistical Allegories.*

THE allegory of a Sophist is always screwed ; it croucheth and boweth itself like a snake, which is never straight, whether she go, creep, or lie still, only when she is dead, then she is straight enough.

*Of Allegories, and when Luther disburthened himself of the same.*

WHEN I was a Friar (said Luther) I was a master in spiritual significations, then I was altogether in my allegories ; but afterwards, when through the epistles to the Romans, I came a little to the knowledge of Christ, I saw that allegories were vain, not what were signified by Christ, but who and what he is. Before that time I allegorized and spiritually signified every particular thing ; yea also, the *cloaca*. But afterwards I considered the histories, how difficult and heavy a matter it was that Gideon fought with the enemy in that manner as the Scripture showeth ; those were no allegories, nor spiritual significations : but the Holy Ghost saith, " Faith only, with three hundred men, beat so great a multitude of the enemies." St. Jerome and Origen (God forgive them) were the means that allegories were held in such esteem. In Origen is not so much as one word of Christ.

*Of Luther's best Art.*

I CAN neither labour nor discourse any more (said Luther) when I was young then I was learned, and especially before I came into divinity, then I dealt altogether with *Allegoriis*, *Tropoligiis*, *Anagogiis*, there was nothing with me but altogether art. If one had now the same, he would carry it about with him for an holy relick; but I knew it was not worth a sir-reverence: now I have shaken it off, and my best art is, *Tradere Scripturum simplici sensu*; that is, *to deliver the Scripture in the simple sense*, the same doth the deed; therein is life, strength, doctrine, and art; in the other is nothing but foolishness, let it shine how it will. When men will aim at that scope, and will make tropes, then we that are Christians have lost.

Muntzer in that manner troped with the third chapter of John, "Unless one be born again of water," &c. and said, water signifies tribulation; as in that place, "Many waters entered into my soul:" the meaning therefore is, that by tribulation we must enter into the kingdom of heaven. Thus did Muntzer, but St. Austin gave a rule, "that figures and allegories prove nothing at all, but history, words, and grammar."

## CHAPTER LIX.

## OF THE LEGENDS OF THE SAINTS.

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*Of St. Elizabeth.*

ST. Elizabeth was born *Anno Domino* 1207, when Emperor Otho and Philip were at debate, and tore themselves about the Roman Empire. She lived not above four-and-twenty years. After she had been dead five years, then she was canonized by Pope Gregory the ninth, and proclaimed a saint: she was invoked by many which knew her, and lived in her days.

Ah! (said Luther) how fast asleep were the Bishops, how negligent were they in permitting such errors to come into the church. It was a time of God's anger; for seeing they forsook the Bible, therefore such things were taught: but now (by God's grace) we have the Word, and where God's Word is pure and unfalsified, there must also be the Holy Ghost.

Few of the legends are pure; the legends of the martyrs are least suspected, as they who proved their faith, and sealed the same with their blood. The legends of the Friars, especially of the Hermits, which dwell all alone from people, called Anachorites, are abominable; for they have many strange, horrible, and lying miracles and fooleries, touching wonderful moderation, chastity, and nurture. I hold much of those saints which are not particularly known, which do live after a public way like other people, without hypocrisy; they boast not, neither do they permit themselves to be noted.

*Of St. Anna.*

CONCERNING St. Anna, they say, she had three husbands.

They say Anna bare to her three husbands three Mary's; Mary the mother of the Lord Christ by Joachim, Mary Solome, by Solome, and Mary Cleophe by Cleophas; whereas Solome is the name of a woman. Even so they say, John the Evangelist was the bridegroom of Magdalena, as they sing of him in the Sequents, "Thou hast forsaken the loving breasts, or thy sweetheart, and wentest after the Messiah."

We read also in a Missal (said Luther) of innumerable many Masses, which were prepared and instituted by the Pope, for the sake of money. The whole week after Michaelmas, every day they observe Vigils and Soul-masses for the dead; then they sprinkled and perfumed the houses or places wherein the bones of the dead lay, the same, they believed, either should ease their pain, or deliver them thereout; all this they steadfastly held and believed contrary to God's Word.

*Of the Virgin Tecla.*

IN the legends of the Virgin Tecla, who (as they say) was baptised by St. Paul, "That she awakened in him carnal lust." Luther, laughing at such lies, said, Ah! loving Paul, thou hadst't another manner of thorn in thy flesh than carnal lust and desire. The Friars who live securely at ease, and have good days, do dream according to their lecherous cogitations, that St. Paul also was plagued with the like tribulations as those belly-gods are.

*Of the Legends of St Christopher.*

THE legends of St. Christopher (said Luther) is no history; but the Grecians (as wise, learned, and sensible people) feigned the same; to show how a true Christian should be, and how it went with him; namely, a very great, tall and strong man, who carried a little child (Jesus) upon his shoulders, which was heavy, insomuch as he was constrained to bend and bow under him (as the name Christopher, that beareth Christ, showeth)

through the raging and boisterous sea, the world; where the waves, the tyrants, beat upon and persecute him, would willingly bereave him of body and life, of honour and wealth: but he holdeth himself on a great tree as upon a staff; that is, on God's Word. On the other side of the sea standeth an old man with a lanthorn, in which a candle burneth, the same are the prophets. Afterwards he lifteth himself up, and so arriveth safely on the shore, where he is secure; that is, into everlasting life. But at his side he hath a tash, wherein is fish and bread; to show, that God here on earth will also nourish and take care for the bodies of his Christians in such persecutions, crosses, and misfortunes which they must endure, and will not suffer them to die of hunger, as the world willingly would have. It is (said Luther) a fair and a Christian-like imagination; as also that of St. George, for George in the Greek tongue is called a builder, that buildeth countries and people with justice and righteousness, that hindereth and resisteth the enemies that intend to assault and hurt them.

*Of the Legends of the Saints.*

It was one one of the devil's proper plagues (said Luther) that we have not so much as one legend of the saints pure and true, they are stuffed so full with lies, that without heavy labour they cannot be truly corrected. The legend of St. Katherine is opposite to all Roman histories. For Maxentius was drowned in the Tiber at Rome, and never came to Alexandria, but Maximus had been there, as we read in Eusebius, since the time of Julius Cæsar (and long before) there had been no king in Egypt. Doubtless a despairing wicked wretch it was, that jeered Christendom with such lies, surely he sitteth deep in hell. Such fopperies did we believe in Popedom, but we understood them not, therefore let us give God thanks, that we are freed and delivered from the same, and let us pray, that one day or other we be not forced to believe such, yea, more ungodly things.

## CHAPTER LX.

## OF SPIRITUAL AND CHURCH LIVINGS.

*Luther's Discourse of Spiritual or Church-livings.*

MY advice is (said Luther) that the bishopricks of the Protestant Bishops may be permitted to remain to the profit and use of poor students and for the schools ; and when a Bishop, a Dean, or Provost, cannot, or will not preach himself, then he shall at his own charge maintain other students and scholars which are fitted thereunto, and permit them to study and to preach. But when Potentates and princes rend and tear spiritual livings to themselves and will famish poor students and scholars, then the parishes of necessity must be devastated, as is done already, for we can get neither ministers nor deacons. The Pope (although he be our mortal enemy) must maintain us, yet against his will, and for which he hath no thanks.

*Of the Robbing of Church-livings.*

LUTHER lamenting the robbing of Church-livings by great Princes and Potentates, said, these times are evil, in that the church is so spoiled and robbed, they give nothing, but take and steal ; in former times, kings and princes gave liberally and richly to her, but now they rob and devast her. The church is more torn and tattered than a beggar's cloak ; nothing is added to the stipends and wages of the poor servants of the church. Those that bestow them to the right and true use, are persecuted ; it goeth with them as with St. Lawrence, who against the Emperor's command, parted the Church-livings among the poor.

The spiritual livings in Popedom, are unworthy that Christian use should be made thereof, for they are the wages of whores (as the Prophet saith) and shall return to whores again as their wages. The Pope is fooled (said Luther) in that he suffereth the Emperor and other Princes to take possession of spiritual livings, he hopeth thereby to preserve his authority and power by them. For that cause, he wrote also to Henry King of England, that he would be content that the king took possession of spiritual livings, so far as that he (the Pope) might but be acknowledged by the king to be the chief bishop. For the Pope thinketh thus, I must now in these times of trouble and danger court the beast; I must yield in some things, &c. Therefore (said Luther) I rejoice, that I have lived to see the Pope humbled, he is now constrained to suffer his patrons, his protectors, and defenders, to take possession of Church-livings, only thereby to preserve his power and authority, but so long as God's Word standeth, so long will the Pope stand like a tottering wall, until he be quite overthrown. But how will it be with the monasteries and churches which are fallen down, decayed, and destroyed? They shall never be erected, and the prophecy is now fulfilled, Revelations xvii. "That kings shall hate the whore, and shall make her desolate and naked," &c. Popedom hath been and will be a prey. Twelve years since, the Pope suffered one prince to take possession of divers bishopricks, who were constrained to redeem themselves. But afterwards at the Imperial Diet at Augspurg, that prince was compelled to restore them; but now the Pope giveth him leave again; the same prince and his retinue may well forsake the Gospel, seeing the Pope yieldeth and appointeth so much unto him. It is now a very strange time, of which we little thought twenty years past, for the Pope, that grizzly idol, of whom all people stood in fear, must now permit princes to contemn and scorn him, which the Emperor dared not to have done thirty years past, no not with one word to have touched him. To conclude, the Papists do intend very wicked practices; God resist them; let us but only diligently pray, and remain by Christ and his word, which is pure.

*Whereto Spiritual Livings might well be used.*

A POOR student (said Luther) may well have spiritual livings to maintain his studying, only that he bind not himself with ungodly and unchristianlike vows, nor consenteth to have communion with the errors of the Papists. Ah, that we might enjoy but only the seventh part of the gown (the livings of the church) to maintain poor students. I am sorry that our Princes have such desire to bishopricks, for I fear they will be their bane, and that therewith they will lose what is their own.

When at the Imperial Diet it was handled, that the monasteries should be surrendered up to the Emperor, that he might billet his captains therein; then (said Luther) I myself advised, and still will advise, that all monasteries rather should be pulled down and destroyed, for who will suffer an Imperial captain in his country? This is merely the stratagem of the Bishop of Mentz, those fellows fain would have kept the upper hand over the monasteries, as the Pope in Italy hath devoured all the monasteries and abbies.

*Of the Expounding of that Sentence: The Mother-church hath brought forth Riches, and afterwards the Daughter hath destroyed the Mother.*

THIS sentence (said Luther) is true; for although the church hath made riches and wealth, yet such make use thereof as are unworthy: touching this we have a fair example in the tribulations and temptations of the Lord Christ, Matt. iv. First, The church is plagued with hunger, with poverty, &c. As under the Roman Emperor; Secondly, She is vexed with heresies, for the devil did not lead our Lord Christ into the temple, but upon a pinnacle of the temple, that is, over the Holy Scripture; Thirdly, She is tormented by riches and power, the same is affected among the Popes, where they only feed, swill, and work all manner of villainy, and withall they forget the Bible and Holy Scripture.

*That spiritual Livings ought to be employed towards the maintaining of the Pulpit.*

CHRISTIANUS, king of Denmark wrote lately unto me (said Luther) that he had displaced all the Popish bishops in his kingdom, and in their stead had ordained superintendants, doctors, and Christian-like ministers and teachers, and had appointed competent stipends for them, wherein his Majesty desired my further advice and counsel. But the king had put one article into the draught; namely, that all the income, rents, and tributes of the bishopricks should be brought under the crown.

I wrote again to his Majesty that, *sua quærere, male olet*; that is, It favour's ill, for a man to seek his own interest, and that I feared the crown might be removed too far from the poor ministers, so that they might be constrained to suffer hunger.

CHAPTER LXI.  
OF WARS.

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*That through Treachery much is atchieved in Wars.*

AMONG all the strong cities which I have seen (said Luther), I must give Brunswick the praise, which in a sort is invincible, yet nevertheless no city is so strong, but if an ass loaden with money can but make way thereunto, it may be won, meaning through treachery. I hear say, that the French King spendeth as much upon intelligence, as upon the whole army besides, and hath atchieved and gained much by treachery; for a few years past, having wars against Pope Julius, and the Venetians, he put to flight and routed twenty thousand of the Pope's army, with four thousand men; the same was done by treachery. But victories, fortune, and good designs in war, are given by God, as we find in Hannibal, that most famous captain: he tugged the Romans thoroughly, he hunted them out of Africa, Sicilia, Spain, France, and almost out of all Italy. I am persuaded (said Luther) he was a surpassing valiant man, if he had had a scribe to have wrote the history of his wars; then, doubtless, we should have understood many great and glorious actions of him.

*Of faithless Dealing among great Princes, and of the Wars against Millain, and of the manly Actions of the German Soldiers.*

EMPEROR Maximilian, and King Lodowick of France made a league, wherein they willingly would have had the Pope; now as he consented thereunto, and for confirmation of the

same, each one apart took the sacrament, then the Pope soon after brake the league, and joined with the Venetians. When the Emperor was informed thereof, he said, "We three, who are held to be the heads of Christendom, are the most despairing and perjured villains under the sun; we are become faithless, not only one towards another, but also towards God." On Easter-day following, the Pope was beaten, overcome, and humbled by the French, but afterwards, he sent secretly the Cardinal, Matthias Long (now Bishop of Saltzburg) to the Emperor, who made them at an union again against the French, insomuch that the French King lost Millain through the Switzers. About this bride Millain (which yieldeth yearly ten hundred thousand of florins) such shedding of blood hath risen, and continueth to this day, as is beyond man's cogitation; for she is very rich, and a key to Italy; the French King desired this city again of the Emperor Charles, promised to pay him a yearly tribute; but the Emperor intended to give the same to the middle son, not to the Dauphin, or eldest, nor the youngest, yet so that it should not be an inheritance: from hence the war proceeded. And so long as the French King had Germans with him, so long he held the victory and the field; for high Germany yieldeth the best and most trusty soldiers who are content with their wages, and do defend the people: they are not like the Spaniards that take away money, wealth, wife and children, with great infidelity and in chastity; they will be host in the house, and have the keys at their girdles, will cleanse chests and trunks, will use women and maidens according to their wilful pleasure, &c. Therefore nobody desireth their protection. From hence Anthony de Leva (a Spaniard born, and the chiefest captain about the Emperor) at his last end admonished the Emperor to make much of the German soldiers, and in any case not to lose their good affections, for they held together as one man.

*That War is God's greatest Punishment.*

THE Papists have wars in their minds against Germany. I believe not (said Luther) that our posterity shall enjoy peace, God turn his anger graciously from us; for war is one of the

greatest punishments; as that which devasteth and taketh away religion, temporal and domestic government, it layeth all in the dust; dearth and pestilence are fox-tails, yet nothing in comparison of war. Pestilence is the most gracious and easiest punishment; therefore David among the three punishments made choice of pestilence.

The year that the Princes of the Empire were assembled at Frankfurt, Luther said, There is no hope of peace, seeing the Papists thus rage and swell; they surpass us far in riches, in number, and in power; but it is not good to war against God, for he hath this privilege and advantage, that with a few he can defeat a great multitude, and make them faint and full of fear. How many examples in Holy scripture do witness the same. Ah! that we were not so evil; we have, God be praised, a just cause; but alas! we are unthankful and wicked, insomuch that God will visit, and punish the good with the bad.

#### *Of News from Frankfurt.*

ANNO 1539, the 10th of April, Luther received letters from Frankfurt, signifying, that the state of peace stood very doubtful: for the adversaries made very crafty, deceitful, unequal, and impertinent propositions, as if they jeered those of our part. The Emperor's legate also undertook to treat further in the business then he had commission to do; but our people were of good spirits, whether it would end in peace or war. Then Luther said, These letters must be read *Dialectice, non Grammaticæ*, we must understand them much otherwise than the words do sound, for they eclipse the consequence; we have no hope of peace with these adversaries.

#### *Of Julius Cæsar's Battles.*

JULIUS Cæsar fought two-and-fifty battles in person; in the same were destroyed above eleven hundred thousand men. that army (said Luther) which is furnished with a just cause, and then giveth a valiant onset when they join in battle, the same party surely hath the advantage.

When the cause is not good, then a man is ashamed to defend

himself. I make no doubt there will be a lusty threshing betwen them ; they are devilish brains, and have been spinning thereon a long time. The prayers of good and godly Christians will much avail, as David saith, " But I prayed," &c. Let us but only pray (said Luther), for this alarm will not be stilled and smothered with weapons, nor with human strength and wisdom, but only with prayer. This alarm already is known at Rome ; the Pope will write thereof to the Emperor, will salute him, and make himself jocund thereat ; the king of England will also have notice thereof ; in the French court likewise they will discourse of it, how, and in what manner, the house of Saxon falleth of itself, and spoil one another, &c. The devil will not be idle, he hath carried the news long since to Rome : the Papists will jeer thereat, they will say, " Behold these are our Gospellers, these are the good fruits of their doctrine," &c. There will be a tumult and *Quassatio* of the church, but God will well preserve her.

## CHAPTER LXII.

OF SURPASSING WARLIKE CAPTAINS  
AND CHAMPIONS.*Luther's Discourse of warlike Captains and Champions.*

ANDREW de Doria, one of the chief captains and commanders under Emperor Charles, being surrounded by the Turks, was forced with a small number of soldiers to break through the whole Turkish camp and army, and flew into Italy, where he strengthened himself, returned, and once again brake through them, and encamped himself in the place where he lay before. Truly (said Luther) it was a valiant act, and work of a great champion, in that sort twice to break through so mighty an enemy and army.

*Of Tamerlane.*

TAMERLANE king of the Tartarians, beat the Turks with two hundred thousand men, took the Turkish Emperor captive, set him like a bird in an iron cage, and carried him about therein for a scornful spectacle. When he laid siege to a city or fort, he first erected a white flag, thereby offering to them peace; the second time a red, to signify blood; Thirdly, he showed them a black ensign, denoting devastation and destruction. He was a great tyrant: he boasted that he was God's burning wrath, and the devaster of the world.

*Of Alexander the Great.*

THE like brave champion was king Alexander, who lived a short time, and in the space of twelve years brought under his

power almost the whole world. Julius Cæsar intended to imitate him, but he was only his ape; for he confused and destroyed the government, and the public good; one sword oftentimes keepeth another in the sheath.

When Darius king of Persia propounded peace to Alexander, he refused to accept thereof; then Parmenius his chief counsellor, said, "If I were Alexander, so would I accept of it;" whereupon Alexander said, "If I were Parmenius, so would I do it;" as if he had said, "Thou art not the man that I am."

*That Great Champions are God's Gifts.*

GREAT people and champions (said Luther) are special gifts of God, whom he giveth and preserveth; they carry their business, and achieve great acts, not with vain imaginations, cold and sleepy cogitations, but are specially moved thereunto, and driven on by God, and so do accomplish their course and acts. Even so likewise did the Prophets, St. Paul, and other excelling people accomplish their actions by God's special grace. The Book of Judges also showeth, how God wrought great matters through one single person, and took it away again. The blindness of the Papists is the greater, in that they think, this doctrine cometh and is revealed by a human creature, as though the prophet Elias, one single man, did not also great things against so many of Baal's priests; likewise John the Baptist being but one man, in a short time overcame the Pharisees with a glorious victory. It is not said only one man, but God's man, for a great Potentate and champion is not one man.

*That every great Champion is not qualified to be a Monarch, or to rule alone.*

LUTHER continuing his discourse touching the great virtues and acts of champions, said, every great champion is not fitted to be a monarch, and to govern alone; for he that is a soldier, looketh but only after victories, how he may prevail, and keep the field; they look not after government, how people and country may be well governed. Yet, notwithstanding, Scipio, Hannibal, Alexander, Julius and Augustus Cæsars, looked also

upon the government, to the end good rule and discipline might be observed.

*Of the Office of a great Champion and Soldier.*

A VALIANT and brave soldier, seeketh rather to preserve one citizen and man, then to destroy a thousand enemies, as Scipio the Roman General said, therefore an upright soldier beginneth a war not lightly without urgent cause. Upright and true soldiers and captains make not many words, they are discreet, they discourse not much, for they have seen people, when they speak, then the deed is therewith.

*Of the Insurrection at Coln.*

COLN (said Luther) is a great city in Germany, bigger than Nuremburg, or Augspurg. The inhabitants of Coln lately made an insurrection; they assaulted the cathedral church, hunted out the priest's whores, and drove away above two hundred Friars and Nuns, and, as Spalatine writeth, "they buried the holy relicks." I like not such doings (said Luther) in taking such forcible actions in hand, they give therewith a great blow to the Gospel; they give offence to many people, they fish before the net, &c. The prophet Isaiah, and St. Paul do say, "I will grind him (the Antichrist) to powder with the rod of my mouth, and will slay him with the spirit of my lips," &c. With such weapons we must beat the Pope. Popedom can by force, neither be destroyed nor preserved, for it is built upon lies, therefore such a kingdom must be turned upside down and destroyed with the word of truth. I am an enemy to those (said Luther) that fall in by force; it is said, "Preach thou, I will give strength," &c.

CHAPTER LXIII.  
OF CONSTRAINED DEFENCE.

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*Whether we may resist the Emperor.*

THIS question (whether with God and a safe conscience we may defend ourselves against the Emperor, if he should take in hand to overcome us?) is to be brought before lawyers, not before divines. If the Emperor beginneth a war against us, he intendeth either to destroy the office of preaching, and our religion, or else he aimeth it against the policy and economy, against the temporal government to confuse and disturb the same. As, then, he is no more to be held for an elected and lawful Romish Emperor, but directly for a tyrant. Therefore it is altogether needless to demand, whether we may strive for the upright, pure doctrine and religion. We ought and must strive for wife, for children, servants, and subjects, yea we are bound to defend them from wrongful power. If I live (said Luther) I will write an admonition to all the states of the Christian world concerning forced defence, that every one is obliged to maintain and defend him and his against wrongful power. First, the Emperor is the head in the temporal kingdom and of the body, of which body every subject and private person is a piece, and a member, to whom the right of a forced defence is permitted, as to a temporal and civil person, for if he defend not himself, then he is a slayer of his own body. Secondly, The Emperor is no monarch nor sole lord in Germany, but the Princes Electors, together with the Emperor, are temporal members, each of which is charged and commanded to take care of the Empire, to further the good thereof, and to resist such as would injure and prejudice the same, yet not as the principal

head the Emperor. For although the Princes Electors are with the Emperor in equal power, yet they are not in equal dignity and worth. But the Princes Electors and other Princes of the empire ought to resist the Emperor, if in case he should take anything in hand that might tend to the hurt of the empire, or against God and legal right. Moreover if the Emperor should proceed to depose any one of the Princes Electors, then he deposed them all, which neither ought nor must be permitted. Wherefore, before we answer, conclusively to this question, whether the Emperor may depose the Princes Electors, or whether they may depose the Emperor: we must first rightly thus distinguish; a Christian carrieth two kinds of persons, namely, a believing or a spiritual person, the other a civil or temporal person. The believing or spiritual person ought to endure and suffer all things; he neither eateth nor drinketh, he begetteth no children, nor hath no share and part in and about such temporal doings and actions. But the temporal and civil person is subject to temporal rights and laws, and is tied to obedience, he must maintain and defend himself and his, according as the laws and rights do command. Now if in my presence, a wicked wretch should presume to force my wife or my maid, as then truly, I would lay aside the spiritual person, and would slay him in the act, or call for help. For in absence of the magistrate, and when they may not be had, then the law of the nation is in force, which alloweth to call upon the neighbour for help, for Christ and the Gospel do not abolish temporal rights and ordinances, but they confirm the same.

To conclude, forasmuch as the Emperor is no monarch, nor governeth alone, but that the Princes Electors with him are in equal power, therefore he hath neither power nor authority alone to make laws and ordinances, much less hath he power, right, or authority to draw the sword thereby to oversway the subjects and members of the Empire without the acknowledgment of the law, or without the knowledge and consent of the whole Empire. Therefore Emperor Otto dealt very wisely in ordaining seven Princes Electors, who with and besides the Emperor should rule and govern the Empire, which otherwise thus long could not have stood and endured. This politick

government (as Aristotle writeth) hath many different degrees and points, as, First, *Monarchia*, when one alone is lord and ruleth, as in France: Secondly, *Aristrocratia*, when the chiefest and best have the government, who above others are endued with understanding, with honours and virtues, as in Germany, the Romish Empire, and at Venice, &c. Thirdly, *Democratia*, when many of the common people do govern, as in Swissia, and in Dittmars. Fourthly, *Oligocratia*, when few in a place have the government, as at Erfurt, &c. Lastly, we ought to know, that when the Emperor intendeth to make war against us, then he doth it not of and for himself, because of his office, but he doth it for the sake of the Pope, to whom he is a sworn leigeman, and undertaketh to maintain and defend the Pope's tyranny and abominable idolatry, for the Pope regardeth the Gospel nothing at all. Therefore when the Pope raiseth war against the Gospel, then he intendeth to defend and preserve his authority, power, and tyranny, through the Emperor. Therefore we ought therein not to be silent nor to sit still. But here one may object and say, Although David of God was chosen King, and by Samuel was anointed, yet he would not resist king Saul, nor lay his hand upon him, therefore neither ought we to resist the Emperor, &c. *Answer.* David at that time had but only a promise of his kingdom, he had it not in possession, that is, he was as yet not settled therein, he was not in the government. But here in this case, we strive not against Saul, but against Absalom, against whom David made war, and the rebel by Joab was slain. I would willingly (said Luther) dispute touching this case, whether we may resist the Emperor or no? And although the lawyers, with their temporal and natural rights, do approve thereof, yet by us divines it is a question of danger, in regard of these sentences, "Whoso smiteth thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also. And servants be subject to your masters with all fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also the froward," &c. We must beware that we take nothing in hand against God's Word, and afterwards in our consciences be plagued and tormented in such a dangerous case. But we are sure of this, that these times are not like the times of the martyrs, when Dioclesian reigned and tyrannized against the Christians; now there is

another manner of kingdom and government. The Emperor's authority and power, without the seven Princes Electors is of no value. The lawyer's have made the Emperor an evil game, he hath parted with the sword, and given us possession of that sword, *Gladium traditum possessorium*, the Emperor over us hath but only *Gladium petitorium*, he must seek and desire it of us when he intendeth to punish, for by right he can do nothing alone. If his government were a Dioclesian, then we would willingly yield unto him and suffer. I hope that the Emperor, for the Pope's sake, will not make war upon us; but if in case he should play the part of an Arian, and openly fight against God's word, not like a Christian, but as a heathen, then we ought to give place, to depart from him and to suffer. To conclude, I (said Luther) do ungirt the sword from the Pope's side, not from the Emperor's; for the Pope ought to be neither governour nor tyrant.

*Of Luther's concluding Speech concerning forced Defence.*

FIRST, Princes are no slaves.

Secondly, The Emperor ruleth upon certain parts and conditions.

Thirdly, He is sworn to the empire, to the Princes Electors, and other Princes.

Fourthly, He hath by oath bound himself unto them, to preserve the empire in its dignity, honour, royalty, and jurisdiction, and to defend every person by that which justly and rightly belongeth unto him; therefore it is not to be tolerated that he should bring them into servitude and slavery.

Fifthly, We may well use the benefit of the laws.

Sixthly, He ought to yield to Christian's laws and rights.

Seventhly, Our Princes by oath are bound to the empire, truly to maintain the privileges and jurisdictions of the same in politick and temporal cases, and not to permit that anything touching the same be taken and drawn away, nor to yield thereunto.

Eightly, These cases are among equals where one is neither more nor higher than another: therefore, if the Emperor with tyranny dealeth contrary to equity and justice, then he maketh

himself equal with others; for thereby he layeth aside the person of a governor and justly looseth his right over the subjects, *Per naturum relativorum*, i. e. *By the nature of relatives*; for Princes and subjects are equally bound the one to the other, and the Prince is obliged to perform what he hath sworn and promised, according to the common proverb, Faithful master, faithful servant.

Ninthly, The laws and rights are above and more than a prince and tyrant; for the laws and ordinances are not wavering, but always sure and constant: on the contrary, a human creature is of a wavering mind and unconstant: he for the most part mindeth and followeth his lusts and pleasure, if by the laws he be not restrained; therefore we are more bound to follow the laws and rights, then to follow a tyrant.

*Of Forced Defence.*

IF (said Luther) a robber on the highway should fall upon me then truly I would be judge and Prince myself, I would with joy use my sword, because no body were with me that were able to defend me; I would thereupon take the holy sacrament, that I had accomplished a good work, But if one fell upon me as a preacher for the Gospel's sake, then with folded hands I would lift up mine eyes to heaven, and say, My Lord Christ! here I am, I have confessed and preached thee, &c. is now my time expired? So I commit my spirit into thy hands, and in that way I would die.

## CHAPTER LXIV.

## OF THE NOBILITY.

*That Noblemen are Contemners of good Arts.*

NOBLEMEN conceive themselves to be wise, from whence they contemn God's ministers: well! on (said Luther) God will contemn them again. A nobieman thinketh he understandeth the Gospel better than St. Paul.

*That true Noblemen do carry themselves nobly.*

THE Lord Marshall (said Luther) is a great Thraso, a roarer and boaster, who balleth and crieth with high prancing words whereas great, upright and true noblemen and brave captains do carry themselves far otherwise; they are silent, they neither brag nor boast, but make a matter good with the deed; as Lord Bernard of Mila, who is an excellent man, he hath a lion in his heart, yet nevertheless he is bashful and modest with words. Our nobility are ashamed to study, therefore they are not able to govern; their greatest diligence and study is to ride great palfreys, to feast, to play, to hunt, and with unnecessary taxations to vex and trouble their subjects. They would willingly rule, but they understand not how to govern.

In some measure I have seen the court at Rome, and I find it is the kingdom of Satan, who ruleth powerfully; the Bishop of Mentz is the chiefest piece and member of this body, who now is past repentance; he is accustomed to robbing and murdering; he dareth to take in hand any mischief whatsoever without all fear or shame.

CHAPTER LXV.  
 OF LAWYERS.

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*Luther's Discourse of Lawyers.*

Before my time (said Luther) that is, before I wrote against the abominations of the Pope, no lawyer knew what was right and just before God; what they have, the same they have of me. Before the world I will permit them to have right, but before God they shall be under me. Am I able to censure Moses, and to cast him under me; of what value then are the lawyers? I will do the lawyers no harm (said Luther,) I will take but only the little catechism, and will therewith so bustle among them, and make them so afraid, that they shall not know where to remain with their laws. I will not so much as once touch the Gospel, but will keep that for a stab. If the Lawyers will not pray for the remission of sins, nor fall before the cross, then I will make them err and confused, insomuch as they shall not know which way to wind themselves. I understand not the law, but I am a master in those laws that concern the conscience. The Lawyers say, It is a dangerous thing to define, to describe, and to shew a thing properly, uprightly, and briefly; but the Divines say, it pertaineth to them to teach always that which is sure and certain without doubting; otherwise, what course should a poor trembling conscience take that seeketh peace and comfort, if we produced and shewed not unto him a sure and certain doctrine out of God's Word, but left a trembling, quaking conscience, hanging between heaven and earth.

*Of Luther's earnest Dispute with the Lawyers.*

Two Doctors in the Law came to Luther at Wittemburg, whom he received and saluted in this manner, O ye Canonists! I could well endure you, if ye meddled but only with Imperial, and not with Popish Laws. But ye Doctors of both Laws do maintain the Pope and his canons. I would give one of my hands, on condition, that all Papists and Canonists were compelled to keep the Pope's Laws and Decrees, I would wish them no worse a devil.

The Bishop of Mentz cannot boast, that with a good conscience he hath three bishopricks; but ye maintain it to be lawful and right. I prove that ye Doctors which meddle with Popish laws are nothing, for the Papistical laws are nothing; therefore a Doctor in the Popish laws is nothing; he is a *chimeræ*, a monster, that is, a fable, nothing. A Doctor in the Imperial laws is half lame, he hath had a stroke on the one side; but the Pope's laws and decrees do altogether stink, and smell of ambition, of pride, of own profit, covetousness, superstition, idolatry, tyranny, and of such like blasphemies; for the Pope is but a Doctor of ceremonies, which he only teacheth, and which God hath not commanded, yea, he hath forbidden human toys.

*That an honest Lawyer is a strange Beast.*

LAWYERS oftentimes (said Luther) are enemies to Christ; as they used to say, A right lawyer an evil Christian: for he applauded the righteousness of works, as if we were justified thereby, and saved before God; but if it chance that he be enlightened and regenerate, that is, if he be a true Christian, then he is like a monster among the lawyers: he must be a beggar, and by other lawyers be held rebellious. Ye lawyers take heed that ye tread not us Divines under your feet, if ye do, then be assured that we will sting your heels. If I intended to study but two years in the laws, I would be better learned therein than Dr. Jeronymus Schurf; for I would discourse touching causes, as in truth they are and ought to be understood of

themselves either uprightly, or unjustly; but he contesteth only about words, he goeth not upon the ground to speak of the plain truth, but he resteth upon a *Quos*, which he may screw every way: they talk much, and make many words, but without understanding. Dr. Schurf may justly be called Dr. *Quos*. The doctrine of the lawyers is nothing but merely a *Nisi*, that is, unless this or that; *Nisi* must be in every case: but divinity goeth not about with *Nisi*, but it is certain, and hath a constant and sure ground which neither faileth nor deceiveth. Lawyers have need of the help and assistance of Divines, but we have no need at all of their voice and part-taking.

*That the most Part of the Lawyers are the Pope's Servants  
and Creatures.*

ALL those (said Luther) that serve the Pope are damned: for next the devil, no worse human creature is, than the Pope with his lying and deceivable human traditions, as those which directly are against Christ. The greatest part of the Lawyers (especially of the Canonists) are the Pope's servants, and although they will not have the name, yet they approve it with the deed; they would willingly rule the church, and would trample upon her true and faithful servants, therefore they are damned.

*What Lawyers are.*

A LAWYER is wise according to human wisdom, but a Divine is wise according to God's wisdom; Many (said Luther) are more learned than I am, but that they should be more learned than I am in God's Word which I preach and teach, that is impossible.

When a lawyer knoweth no more than *Terminos juris*, that is, the term of the Law, he is a mere idiot. A wise lawyer saith, If one before a judge be accused, and the judge knew that the accused were innocent, and notwithstanding he be convicted by witnesses, yet the judge must pronounce the censure according to the testimony of the witnesses; for the Scripture saith, "In

the mouth of two or three, every witness shall stand ;” therefore (say the lawyers) the judge must condemn the innocent, because there are two or three witnesses.

The gross asses (said Luther) know not what the sense of Scripture is. What must the judge do in this case? He knoweth the innocency of the accused, must he condemn the innocent party upon the evidence of such witnesses against his own conscience? In this case, the worldly-wise lawyers give comfort to the judge in this manner, and do say, Forasmuch as thou judge knowest that wrong is done to the accused, the same thou knowest as a private person, not as a judge, who must pronounce *Secundum allegata et probata*, according to the evidence and proof. Moreover it concerneth thee (as a judge) nothing at all, thou art not called to be a witness, &c. And they cheer up, and comfort also the accused in this sort, Forasmuch as thou knowest thou receivest wrong, so yield thyself with patience to the seat of justice, and suffer wrong, &c. But (said Luther) were I the judge in such a case, so would I open my mouth, yea, would cry out, and say, I bear witness that this person is innocent, and although ten thousand witnesses should arise against him, yet I know his innocency for certain, therefore I neither can nor will condemn him. Then cometh the lawyer again with his profound wisdom, and saith, Thou (judge) doest herein against the emperor’s laws, &c. I answer that lawyer, and say, A sir-reverence on such a law which doth a man open wrong. But saith the lawyer there are so many witnesses against him. *Answer.* How many false witnesses have been from the beginning of the world? Christ by false witness was slain; Stephen was stoned, &c. Witnesses may be false and suborned, and with money may be corrupted; many examples are extant, that false witnesses have risen, &c. To conclude, the lawyers have no consciences; a lawyer will take ten dollars, and serve in an evil cause under colour of right, therewith they trim the same; the lawyers make their clients noses of wax, though the cause be lost, yet they have deserved the money.

This I speak (said Luther) to you young fellows that intend to be lawyers, not to discourage and affright you, but to admonish you that ye would deal justly, and be honest and upright

lawyers ; follow not your preceptors in abuses and evil points ; flutter not in wrongful causes, as if a man could not be a lawyer except he practised such evil customs. God hath not given laws for that end, to make out of right wrong, and out of wrong right, as the unchristian-like lawyers do, which study in law only for the sake of gain and profit. Let not this dismay you, but study diligently.

*Faithful Admonitions and Warnings, especially to the Lawyers, and how they may study well and happily.*

THE lawyers are sorely vexed at me (said Luther) because I preach so harshly against them, but what shall I do? I as a preacher, must reprove what is wrong and evil, under the loss of my soul and salvation (as God earnestly commandeth in the prophet Ezekiel), “ I must give an account for thee, and if by reason of thy vices and sins I reprove thee, wilt thou then be angry with me ?” If I reprovèd thee (as Martin Luther), then thou needest not to regard me, but forasmuch as I do it, as a servant of Christ, and speak unto thee by God’s command, thou oughtest justly to hearken unto me ; for if thou repentest not, nor amendest thyself, thou shalt everlastingly be damned ; but I, when I have declared thy sins and reprovèd thee, shall be excused. If I were not constrained to give an account for thy soul, believe me I would leave thee unprovèd ; moreover in any case I truly admonish you, that ye take heed of the Pope (the Antichrist) for many are still found in every place, that hold his filth and stink for holy relick : therefore ye lawyers ought to bless yourselves from him, and be obedient to Christ ; him only we ought to hear.

*That Equity must be in every Cause.*

ANNO 1546, February 15, Luther continuing his discourse concerning lawyers, said, Aristotle wrote no better book than *Quintum Ethicorum*, i. e. the fifth book of Ethicks, and he describeth a fine definition, *Quad justitia sit virtus consistens in mediocritate, prout sapiens eam determinat* ; that is, That justice is a virtue consisting in mediocrity, as a wise man de-

terminated it. There he casteth in a Greek word, and saith, *Legislator rudi materia rem determinat; & si omnes prævidisset, tum eas signasset; ergo prout sapiens determinat, &c.* i. e. A lawyer determines a thing by the rude matter; if he had foreseen all, he had determined all; therefore as the wise man determines it. This (said Luther) is very finely spoken. But the lawyers now will have short and roundly, *Quod justitia sit virtus consistens tantum in medeocritate; they will not permit, prout sapiens determinat.* But what is *Bonus magistratus, vel bonus princeps?* *Respondeo, est viva lex:* i. e. But what is a good magistrate, or a good Prince? I answer, He is a living law. If he will be *Mortua lex*, a dead law, and do only according to that which on the parchment is written, then oftentimes ensueth an evil government; therefore we must have equity.

Baldus wrote, That he was a beast who would suffer himself to be an arbitrator, because he suffered that burthen to be transferred on himself, which otherwise would be left to be consulted of by many wise men. Whereupon Luther said, It is better that one man be a beast, than that many be beasts. What are evil Lawyers else but beasts? *Mantuanus vocat jurisconsultos legem tyrannos, cum dicit, legumque tyrannri abulæ forenses:* i. e. *Mantuanus* calls lawyers the tyrants of the law, when he saith, "the tyrants of the law, the court brablers."

#### *Of a strange case.*

ANNO 1546, A case in Law was related to Luther; namely, that a miller had an ass which ran out of his yard and came to a river side, where he went into a fisher's boat that stood in the river, and would drink thereout. But as the boat was not tied fast by the fisher, it swam away with the ass; insomuch that the miller lost his ass, and the fisher his boat. The miller thereupon complained of the fisher, in that he neglected to tie his boat fast: again, the fisher accused the miller for not keeping his ass at home, and therefore desired satisfaction for his boat: *Nunc sequitur quid sit juris?* i. e. Now it is a query what the law is? Took the ass the boat away, or the boat the ass?

Whereupon Luther said, These are called *Casus in jure*: *ambo peccaverunt*: i. e. Cases in law: they both were in an error; the fisher, in that he tied not fast his boat; the miller in not keeping his ass at home. *Culpa est in utraque parte, est casus fortuitus, uterque peccavi negligentia: tales casus & exempla illudunt summum jus juristarum: non enim practicandum est summum jus, sed æquitas. Omnia sunt gubernanda secundum æquitatem. Ita theologi quoque prædicare debent, ne homines omnino ligent aut solvant*: that is, There is a fault on both sides: it is a chance medley: there was negligence in both: such cases and examples waive the rigour of the lawyers: for the extreme rigour is not to be exercised, but only equity. All things are to be governed by equity. And so Divines ought to preach, that they neither bind nor loose men.

*Æquitas habenda non summum Jus: Equity must be used, not the rigour of the law.*

*LUTHERUS aliquando dicebat, qui litigant ad æquitatem debent confugere, non ad summum Jus, quia debet esse remissio peccatorum*: that is, Luther said, They that go to law must fly to law must fly to equity, not to *Summum Jus*, not to the rigour, because there ought to be forgiveness of offences. Rather than we should fall at debate, we should suffer half our right to be taken from us. *Æquitas enim præcedit*, for equity precedes. *Summum Jus, est summa injuria*: item, *Summa medecina, summa infirmitas: & summum theologus, est summus peccator*: i. e. The extremity of the law, is extreme injury: likewise, the sharpest physick, is the greatest disease: and the highest bishop is the greatest sinner.

CHAPTER LXVI.

OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES.

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*From whence Preachers and Ministers must be had.*

SCHOOLS (said Luther) must yield preachers and ministers; but what cometh to cathedrals and vicarages, the same is lazy stuff in Popedom, and doeth no good. Preachers and ministers must edify and preserve the church. Schools and ministers are better than the councils; therefore in my little book *De Conciliis*, I have preferred them before and above the councils, which will sorely vex the Papists.

The youth have now good and convenient times to study; for every art is taught fine, orderly, and uprightly, insomuch as they may soon and easily comprehend the same, except they be blockheads. Neither are the boys now held so strict and harshly as in former times, so that they were called martyrs of the schools; especially, they were plagued with the *Lupus*, with *Casualibus*, and with *Temporalis*, which were altogether unprofitable, very irksome and displeasing, wherewith they consume time, and spoiled many a fine and expert brain.

*Of the University at Erfurt.*

THE University at Erfurt (said Luther) hath been in such esteem, that in comparison thereof all others were termed but only but small-shot schools. But now this majesty and fame is gone, and the University is dead. Truly it was a great glory and majesty when they promoted *Magistros*, and carried torches before them; I hold no temporal joy was comparable thereunto. They held also a very great and pompous ceremony when they

made *Doctores*, then they rode about the city in brave apparel and trim vestments, all which is now gone, but I would wish the same were still observed.

Woe be unto Germany (said Luther) that thus forsaketh the schools, and suffereth them to decay and fall. Woe to the Bishop of Mentz, who suffereth the Universities at Erfurt and Mentz to be devastated, whereas with one word he is able to preserve them; woe unto him in that he suffereth so many head churches and foundations to be spoiled. He will in time have leisure to build up the sheepfolds, when the wolves have devoured the sheep.

### *Of the University at Paris.*

PARIS in France (said Luther) is the most famous and surpassing school, wherein are above twenty thousand students. The divines have the most pleasant place in the city, a particular street, at both ends are strong gates, called the Sorbona; named, as I take it, of the Sorbis apples that grow on the dead sea, which on the outside are very fair to behold, but within they are full of ashes. Even so is the University at Paris, where a multitude of scholars are, but she is the mother of many errors. When they dispute, then they cry confusedly among themselves like drunken country clowns at a May-game, Latin, Italian, and French, one through another. Afterwards they stamp with their feet, to the end silence may be kept. No man may be made a doctor in divinity except he hath studied ten years in their unprofitable sophistry. The respondent must sit a whole day, from six in the morning until six at night, and attend the disputation; must answer every one. When they publickly promoted doctors of divinity at Burgis in France, they gave to each of them a fish angle, therewith to catch people. I believe (said Luther) that universities and schools were first founded by the Saracens; as, at Alkair was a famous school; afterwards our emperors, potentates, and princes, followed them therein; the monasteries are the ancient schools.

*Of the University at Wittemberg.*

Ah, (said Luther) how bitter an enemy is the devil to our church and school here at Wittemberg, which in particular he opposeth more than the rest, tyranny and heresy do encrease and get the upper hand by force, in that every member of the church are against one another, yea also we, which are a piece of the heart, do vex and plague one another among ourselves. I am verily persuaded, that many wicked wretches and spies are here, which do watch over us with an evil eye, and are glad, when discord and offences do arise among us, therefore we ought diligently to watch and pray, it is high time, pray, pray. This school (said Luther) is a foundation and ground of pure religion, therefore she ought justly to be preserved and maintained with lectures, and with stipends against the raging and swelling of Satan. Anno 1539, an Italian of Senis dined with Luther, discoursed much with him, and remained there certain weeks; he came to Wittemberg on purpose to inform himself, whether such filthy and wicked things were done and committed by us, as was divulged and reported about. Luther said unto him, We entertain you willingly, for we deal openly and shun not the light.

*Of Luther's earnest Discourse touching the Authority of the University at Wittemberg.*

WHOSO after my death (said Luther) shall contemn the authority of this school here at Wittemberg, if it remaineth as it is now, both church and school, the same is an heretick and a perverted creature; for in this school God first revealed and purified his Word. This school and city, both in doctrine and manner of life, may justly be compared with all others, nevertheless we are not altogether complete, but are still faulty in our kind of living. The highest and chiefest divines in the whole empire do hold and join with us, as Amsdorf, Brentius and Rhegius, they all desire our friendship, and salute us with there loving and learned letters. Few years past (said Luther) nothing was of any value, but the Pope. The churches mourned, cried, and

sighed; these awaked our Lord God in heaven, as in the Psalm God saith, "For the trouble of the needy and the groans of the poor, I will now arise." Our nobility do now exhaust people and countries with usury, insomuch that many poor people are constrained to starve for want of food, and as the cry goeth, I would willingly take a wife, if I knew but how to maintain her, so that a forced *Celibatus*, single life, will hereout ensue. This is not good; these wicked courses, will cause the poor to cry and sigh, will rouse up and awaken God and the heavenly Host, wherefore I say, Germany take heed. I oft make my account, and always find, that I come nearer and nearer to forty years, then I think with myself, now cometh an alteration, for St. Paul preached not above forty years; likewise also, St. Austin; and always, when forty years were expired, wherein God's Word was purely preached, then it ceased and great calamity ensued thereupon.

*What Dialectica is.*

DIALECTICA is a high art, it speaketh simply, upright, and plainly, as when I say, Give me to drink. But *Rhetorica* adorneth it, and saith, Give me of the acceptable juice in the cellar, which finely frotheth and maketh people merry. *Dialectica* is, when one declareth a thing distinctly and significantly with short words. But *Rhetorica* consisteth in counselling and advising, persuading, and dissuading, she hath her *locos* and fountain head from whence a thing is taken; as, this is good, honest, profitable, easy, necessary, &c. These two arts St. Paul fastened briefly and taught where he saith, "That he may be able by sound doctrine, both to exhort and to convince the gainsayers." (Tit. 1.) Therefore (said Luther) when I should teach a farmer concerning the tilling of his land, then I define and describe briefly and plainly his kind of life; his house-keeping, fruits, profits, and what belongeth to the being of his life, *Dialectice*; but, if I intended to admonish him according to *Rhetorica*, then I must council and advise him, and must begin to extol and praise his kind of life in this manner; namely, that it is the most quiet, the richest, securest, and most delightful kind of life, &c. Again, if I intend to chide or to

find fault, then I must shew and highly blame his misconduct, evil impediments, failings, gross ignorance, and such like defects which are in the state of farmers. Philip Melancthon hath illustrated and declared good arts, he teacheth them in such sort, that the arts teach not him, but he the arts ; I (said Luther) bring my arts into books, I take them not out of books. *Dialectica* is a profitable and necessary art, which justly ought to be studied and learned ; it sheweth how we ought to speak orderly and uprightly in causes, what we should acknowledge, judge, and censure to be right or wrong ; as if I intended to maintain this proposition, Faith only justifieth and saveth ; herein I must proceed *Dialectice*, according as that art teacheth and showeth ; namely, that no man is justified before God through the Law, or good works, for no man keepeth nor accomplisheth the Law ; therefore faith justifieth which dependeth on God's promise, and taketh hold thereof, and which God giveth and offereth for nothing, but merely out of grace, without all merits and deserts, for Christ's sake, his loving Son ; this faith, which the Holy Ghost alone worketh through the Word, justifieth and saveth, and maketh a joyful conscience. This justification is most sure and certain.

*Dialectica* is not only necessary in schools, but also in consistories, in courts of justice, and in churches ; and there she is most necessary. For oftentimes a plain and simple argument casteth a mist before the eyes ; but when it is rightly looked into, punctually, and in particular, then errors and deceits are easily seen and prevented. As that argument which Demosthenes, the most eloquent Grecian, alledged against Philip of Macedon, father to Alexander the Great, and although the same had a great lustre and painted colour, yet it was hurtful to those of Athens, and to all Greece, namely this, Whoso hath an evil cause, the same hath no good fortune : Philip King of Macedon hath an evil cause, therefore he shall have no good fortune. This argument made them of Athens secure and presumptuous, for they knew not, that the ungodly wretches commonly are most fortunate and happy in this world, according to the common proverb, " The greater knave, the better luck." Therefore we cannot want *Dialecticam*, for it produceth great profit to the youth, when they are well practised therein.

CHAPTER LXVII.  
 O F M U S I C .

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*Luther's Discourse of Music.*

MUSIC (said Luther) is one of the fairest and most glorious gifts of God, to which Satan is a bitter enemy, therewith many tribulations and evil cogitations are hunted away. It is one of the best arts, the notes give life to the text; it expelleth melancholy, as we see on King Saul. Kings and Princes ought to preserve and maintain music, for great Potentates and Rulers ought to protect good and liberal arts and laws; and although private people have desire thereunto and love the same, yet their ability cannot preserve and maintain it. We read in the Bible, that the good and godly Kings maintained and paid singers. Music is the best solace for a sad and sorrowful mind, through which the heart is refreshed and settled again in peace, as is said, by Virgil, *Tu calamos inflare leues, ego dicere versus*: Sing thou the notes, I will sing the text. Music is a half dicipline and school-mistress, that maketh people more gentle and meek, more modest and understanding. The base and evil fiders and minstrels serve thereto, so that we see and hear, how, fine an art music is; for white can never be better known, than when black is held against it. Anno 1538, the 17th of December, Luther invited the singers and musicians to a supper, where they sung fair and sweet *mutetæ*; then he said with admiration, Seeing our Lord God in this life scattereth abroad and presenteth unto us such precious gifts, what then will be done in the life everlasting, when every thing shall

be complete, and in the most delightful manner: here is only *materia prima*, the beginning. I always loved music (said Luther); whoso hath skill in this art, the same is of good kind, fitted for all things. We must of necessity maintain music in schools; a school-master ought to have skill in music, otherwise I would not regard him; neither should we ordain young fellows the office of preaching, except they have been well exercised and practised in the school of music. Music is a fair gift of God, and near allied to divinity; I would not for a great matter be destitute of the small skill in music which I have. The youth ought to be brought up and accustomed to this art, for it maketh fine and expert people.

#### *Of Singing.*

SINGING (said Luther) is the best art and practice; it hath nothing to do with the affairs of this world, it is not for the law; neither are singers full of cares, but merry, they drive away sorrow and cares with singing, I am glad (said Luther) that God hath bereaved the country clowns of such a great gift and comfort, in that they neither hear nor regard music.

#### *Of David's Music.*

LUTHER, upon a time, bade his harper play such a lesson as David played. I am persuaded (said he) if David now arose from the dead, he would much admire how this art of music is come to such great perfection. She never came higher than she is now. How is it that in carnal things, we have so many fine poems and verses, but in spiritual things, we have such cold and rotten compositions? and he rehearsed some German songs. I hold this to be the cause, as St. Paul saith, "I see another law in my members."

#### *That we ought not to contemn Music.*

WHOSO contemneth music (as all seducers do), with them (said Luther) I am not content; next unto *Theologica* I give

the place and highest honour to *Musica*. For thereby all anger is forgotten, the devil is driven away ; in chastity, pride, and other blasphemies by music are expelled. We also see how David, and all the saints brought there divine cogitations, contemplations, their rhymes and songs into verse. In the time of peace music reigns.

CHAPTER LXVIII.  
OF LANGUAGES.

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*Luther's Discourse of Languages.*

THE wisdom of the Grecians, in comparison of the wisdom of the Jews, is altogether bestial, for without God no true understanding nor wisdom can be. The wisdom of the Grecians consisteth in an external virtuous and civil conversation; but the end of the wisdom of the Jews (such as are upright and godly) is to fear God and to trust in him. The wisdom of the world is the wisdom of the Grecians: hence Daniel nameth the kingdoms of the world (according to their kind) ignorant beasts. The Grecians have good and pleasing words, but not sentences; their language is amiable, and of a courteous kind, but not rich. The Hebrew tongue, above other languages, is very plain, but withal it is majestic and glorious: it containeth much in few and simple words, and therein surpasseth all other languages. The Hebrew tongue is the best and richest in words; it is a pure language, which neither beggeth nor borroweth of others. She hath her own proper colour; Greek, Latin, and the German tongue do beg of others; they have many *Composita*, that is, words set together, or compounded words; as for example, where the Germans have one single, or simple word, so have they at the least twenty compounded words issuing thereout, as *Luffen* (in English, to run) they have, *belauffen*, *inlauffen*, *ablauffen*, *weglauffen*, *umblauffen*, *entlauffen*, &c. But the Hebrew hath no compounded, but a proper word for the same; the Hebrew tongue, after the Babylonian captivity, fell away in such sort, that never since it could again be brought to perfection, but for the most part they speak the Chaldean language,

yet corrupted, mingled, and unpure, as the Walloons speak Latin. Languages of themselves make not a divine, they are only helps unto him; for when one intendeth to speak of a thing, he ought to know and understand the business before. For my part, I use the common German tongue, to the end both high and low country people may understand me; I speak according to the Saxonian chancery, which is imitated in the courts of all German princes, insomuch that it is the general German language. Maximilian the emperor, and Frederick Prince Elector of Saxony, drew the German tongue into the Roman empire. I learned more Hebrew (said Luther) when, in reading, I compared one place and sentence with another, than when I directed the same upon and towards the grammar. If I were young, I would contrive a way and means for the perfect learning of the Hebrew tongue, which is both glorious and profitable, and without which the Holy Scriptures cannot rightly be understood; for although the New Testament be written in Greek, yet it is full of the Hebrew kind of speaking, from whence it is truly said, "The Hebrews drink out of the fountain, but the Grecians out of the springs that flow from the fountain; the Latins out of the pits." I am no Hebraist according to the grammar rules, for I permit not myself to be tied, but go freely through. Although one have the gift of languages and understandeth them, yet he cannot so soon bring one into another well to translate them. To translate, is a special gift and grace of God. The seventy Grecian interpreters that translated the Hebrew Bible into Greek, were unexperienced and unpractised in the Hebrew language; their translations are very doltish and impertinent, for they contemned the letters, the words and manner of speaking, insomuch that the translation and interpretation of Hieronimus is to be preferred before them: yet nevertheless whoso nick-nameth Hieronimus, and calleth him an Hebrew, the same doth him much wrong. I am persuaded (said Luther) that if Moses and the prophets should now rise again, they would not understand their own words and language, as now the same are screwed. Even so the Latin tongue was spoiled by the Goths, insomuch that Cicero, and others who lived in their times, would not understand their own mother tongue, if now they were alive.

Lyra (said Luther) above all others was the best Hebraist, and a diligent translator of the Old and New Testaments. He that will study in the Hebrew tongue, let him take the purest and best *Grammaticos*, as, David Kimchi and Moses Kunckey which are the best and purest; afterwards let him read Moses, in regard he speaketh altogether properly concerning things; then let him read also the Psalter and the Proverbs of Solomon; and at last, let him read the Prophets, who use many coloured speeches and words.

*That the Tongue is the Instrument of speaking.*

THE tongue of man is a wonderful work and creation of God, which is able to shew the words significantly, distinct and apprehensively. Every country hath its particular kind of language and speaking; the Grecians pronounce the letter R only in the throat, with an H; insomuch as it was a very difficult and hard matter for Demosthenes, the most eloquent speaker in the Greek tongue, to pronounce this R without rattling in the throat, yet at last practice overcame nature, so that he was able to pronounce it plainly. For the superfluity of the moistness of the brain hindereth the tongue, as we see on the drunken. Thus God gave to his creature, man, a working tool.

No language (said Luther) hath so many coloured and figured words as the Hebrew. In St. Peter's Epistle is almost no proper word. Moses and David wrote plain and simply; Solomon doth quite contrary. The Grecians have many *propria*, that is, own significant words.

As I took in hand to translate the Bible into high Dutch, I prescribed and laid down these rules for my help; First, The Holy Scripture speaketh of divine works and things; Secondly, When a sentence and meaning agreeth with the New Testament, then to accept thereof; Thirdly, That the grammar be well regarded.

## CHAPTER LXIX.

## OF ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY.

*Luther's Discourse of Astronomy and Astrology.*

*ASTRONOMIA*, and to know the courses of heaven, is the most ancient art; especially it was very common among the Hebrews, for they diligently regarded and noted the course of heaven, as God said to Abraham, "Behold the heavens; canst thou number the stars?" &c. Heavens motions are threefold; the first is, *primi mobilis & raptus*, that the whole firmament moveth so swiftly, insomuch as even this moment it runneth certain thousands of leagues, which, doubtless, is wrought by some angel. It is wonderful that so great a vault or building should run and go about in so short a time. If the sun and stars were composed of iron, steel, silver, or gold, they must needs soon and suddenly melt in so swift a course, for one star is greater than the whole earth, and yet they are innumerable. The second motion is, of the planets, which have their particular and proper motions. The third is, a quaking or a trembling motion (as they call it *trepidantem*, which is lately thought of, the same is merely uncertain. I applaud (said Luther) *Astronomiam & Mathematicam*, which consist in demonstrations, or in sure proofs. As touching astrology, I hold nothing at all thereof.

*How far we ought to allow of Astrology.*

*ASTRONOMIA versatur circa materiam et genus, non circa formam et specimen*, It dealeth with the matter, and with what

is general; not with the manner, nor what is particular, how it will weather, &c. God himself shall and will be alone the Master and Creator; he will be only Lord and Governor, although he hath ordained the stars to be signs. And so long as astronomy remaineth in her circle whereunto God hath ordained her, so is she a fair gift of God: but when she will step out of her bounds, that is, when she will prophecy, and speak of future things, how it will go with one, or what fortune and misfortune one shall have (as the Astrologers use to say,) as then she is not to be justified. But Palmestry, that is, to look in one's hands, and to tell what shall happen, we ought utterly to reject.

True it is, the soothsayers and star-peepers are able to make known to an ungodly person, what death the same shall die; for the devil knoweth the cogitations and enterprises of the ungodly, and hath them in his power, ruleth, and driveth them as he pleaseth, he being a Prince of the world. Therefore the signs are two fold, of the time, and of the event, what weather shall happen, and how it shall fall out with one. I am now informed (said Luther), that a new astrologer is risen, who presumeth to prove, that the earth moveth and goeth about; not the firmament, the sun, moon, nor the stars: like as when one sitteth in a coach, or in a ship, and is moved, thinketh he sitteth still and resteth, but the earth and the trees go, run, and move themselves. Therefore thus it goeth, when we follow our own foolish fancies and conceits. This fool will turn the whole art of astronomy upside down: but the Scripture showeth, and teacheth him another lesson, where Joshua commanded the Sun to stand still, and not the earth.\* In the stars (said Luther) is neither strength nor operation.

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\* Joshua, commanding the Sun to stand still (Josh. x. 12, 13), expressed his desire that the Sun might not change his situation towards the earth. Thus the Scripture is to be reconciled to the true course of nature. For the system of *Tycho de Brahe*, who taught that the earth stands in the centre, and that all the heavenly bodies move round it, has, in modern times, been universally rejected by all the astronomers who have adopted the system of *Copernicus*, which is, that the Sun is placed in the centre, and that the planets move round him. The phænomena, and motions of the heavenly bodies, can be more easily explained by the latter system than by the former.

they are but only signs. Therefore they have just cause to complain of astrologers and star-peepers (the soothsayers,) who attribute unto them a particular strength and operation, and bind on them that which God hath not given and attributed unto them. The astrologers commonly ascribe the worst to the stars, which they ought to attribute to the planets that signify only evil events, except that star which appeared to the wise men in the East, the same showed, that the revelation of the Gospel was at the door. In the year 1542, the 8th of December, one named Minckwitz had a public declamation in the school, wherein he extolled the art of astronomy, but therewithal he opposed the sentence in the Prophet Jeremiah, chap. x. "Be not dismayed at the signs of heaven," &c. as if that sentence were not against the astrologer, but that it spake only touching the images or pictures of the Heathen. Luther having gotten notice thereof, said, Sentences may well be opposed and contradicted, but they are not so soon convinced and overthrown. This sentence in Jeremiah speaketh touching all the signs on heaven, on earth, and in the sea, and so doth Moses likewise; for the Heathen were not so silly, as to be afraid of the sun and moon, but they stood in fear of the miraculous signs and horrible visions, which they worshipped and honoured out of fear. Moreover astrology is no art, for it hath no principles nor demonstrations whereupon we might ground, and take sure footing; the astrologers direct themselves according as haps and chances fall out. They speak much of that which once or twice happeneth, and thereout conclude, that it must of necessity always happen so; but touching those things that fail, thereof they are silent and mute.

Philip Melancthon holdeth strictly over astrology; but (said Luther) he never was able to persuade me thereunto; for he confesseth himself, and saith, the event is indeed extant, and at hand, but no man hath obtained the same, for it hath neither experience nor sure grounds, except they intend to call *eventum*, experience. But experience is this, when we conclude out of particular and single points, and proceed to the general, *Ex singularibus ad universalia*; as when I say This fire burneth, that fire burneth, and so on, therefore every fire burneth; but Astrology hath not this ground and experience, but it cen-

sureth only according to casual events, and as now and then it happeneth. I am come so far into astrology (said Luther), that I believe it is nothing. For Philip Melancthon, against his will, confesseth unto me, that the art is extant or at hand, but there are none that understandeth it rightly. But they will be sure in their almanacs to teach and show, that we shall have no snow in summer time, nor thunder in winter, and this the country clowns know as well as the astrologers. Philip Melancthon saith, That such people as are born in *ascendente Libræ*, in the rising of the scales towards the south, are unfortunate people; Whereupon Luther said, The astrologers are silly unhappy creatures, who dream that their crosses and mishaps proceed not from God, but from the stars, therefore they are not prepossessed of patience in their troubles and adversities. Astrology is uncertain; and like as the *predicamenta* are feigned words in *Dialectica*, even so astronomy hath feigned astrology; and like as the ancient and true divines knew nothing of the fantasies and divinity of the school-teachers, even so the ancient astronomers knew nothing of astrology. The nativities of Luther, of Cicero, and of others (printed at Nuremburg,) being brought before Luther, he said, I hold nothing thereof, neither do I attribute any thing unto them; but I would willingly, that the astrologers answered me this argument, Esau and Jacob were born together, of one father and one mother, at one time, and under equal planets, yet, nevertheless, they were wholly of contrary natures, kinds, and minds. Therefore what is done by God, and is his work, the same ought not to be ascribed to the stars. The upright and true Christian religion opposeth and convinceth all such riddles and fables. The world, without religion, is Lucianical and full of Epicurism, as Erasmus Rotterodamus hath been: he disputed, whether a philosopher and learned man profitably might be advised to undergo the yoke of matrimony and take a wife? Well is he (said Luther) that in faith hearkeneth to God's Word. Astrology hath need of good expositions and consideration, as now our Prebends at Meysen do; they will maintain and defend all their things with construing, expounding, and with significations. When the nativity (as they call it) was showed unto him, he said, It is a fine fantasy, and acceptable to natural sense

and reason. The way and manner to make nativities and to cast these accounts, is like the proceedings in Popedom, where the outward ceremonies and pompous ordinances are pleasing to human wit and wisdom; as the hallowed water, torches, organs, cymbals, singing, ringing, &c. But there is no right nor certain knowledge in these knacks. Likewise such do very sorely err, that endeavour out of these fantasies to frame a certain art and an acknowledgment, when as there is none; for astrology (as they call it) proceedeth not out of the nature of astronomy, which is an art, but it is merely a human tradition. Neither Philip Melancthon, nor no man living (said Luther) shall make me believe, that astrology is a sure acknowledgment and an art: the whole business concerning astrology is opposite to philosophy. I oftentimes have discoursed with Philip Melancthon, and in order have related unto him the course and manner of my whole life, and how I have lived. I am the son of a farmer; my father, my grandfather, and great-grandfather, were farmers; but my father left his farm, and went towards Mansfield, and there he became a miner in the silver mines, one mile from which place, at Eisleven, I was born and bred. But insomuch as I became a *Baccalaureus*, a Bachelor in Arts, a *Mogister*, a Master, a Friar, &c. the same was not written in the planets. Did not I (said Luther) purchase great shame, in that I laid aside the brown bread and became a nasty Friar, which much vexed my father, and it was very grievous unto him; yet, nevertheless, I fell to buffets with the Pope, and he again with me; I took a wife (a fled Nun), and on her I begat certain children; now I demand, who saw these things in the stars? Who told me before, that thus and thus it should happen with me. An astrologer and a star-peeper, is to be likened to one that selleth dice, and saith, Behold here I have dice that always run upon twelve; the rest of the fifty casts, they run upon two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven. Even thus it is with the astrologers; when once or twice their conceit and fantasies do hit, then they cannot sufficiently extol and praise the art; but touching the other so often failing, of the same they are altogether still and silent. I accept of astronomy (said Luther), it pleaseth me well for the sake of her manifold profits. David, in the 19th Psalm remembereth

the wonderful works and creatures of God in the firmament of heaven, he taketh therein his delight; Job also remembereth Orion, which they call Jacob's staff, the seven stars, &c. To conclude, the example of Esau and Jacob maketh astrology merely a juggling and confounded work, therewith the astrologers always have enough to do to plaster themselves.

*Concluding arguments against Astrology.*

FIRST, that doctrine which dealeth and handleth a matter is uncertain; for *materia est informis*, is without shape and form, without any quality and fitness; the doctrine of the astrologers and star-peepers dealeth and handleth touching matters, therefore astrology is uncertain. Secondly, General prophecies and declarations, when they will declare a thing generally before what in future shall happen, neither do accord nor draw themselves upon singular and particular things or persons; *non competent specialibus & individuis*, they agree not to specials and individuals; but the astrologers and star-peepers do teach general predictions and presages which cannot be directed to and upon particular things and persons, therefore the astrologers and star-peepers do wrong, in drawing and directing there predictions to and upon particular and certain persons and things. Thirdly, When at one time many are slain together in a battle, are shot, struck dead, &c. No man can truly affirm, that they were all born under one planet, yet they die altogether in one hour, yea oftentimes in one moment, especially before the mouths of great cannon and ordnances.

*Against Astrology.*

FOR the first, astrology is valued at such a rate, as that of the Sophists, *de decem predicamentis realiter distinctis*, of the ten words which they call *predicamenta*, substantially to distinguish; whereas all is false and feigned: howsoever, such fopperies accord with arguments, *solutionibus*, and with other cases, insomuch that for the space of many hundred years among so many sects, as the Thomists, Albertists, Scotists, &c. they held nothing so true as the same. Secondly, they teach not what

chiefly we ought to know, but they speak touching the time of one's life, how long he shall live, yet nothing certain neither of time nor place, only they point at the persons, and oftentimes they fail therein. Thirdly, God hath appointed a certain and sure end, otherwise Babylon might have said, I will remain and stedfastly continue; Rome would say, To me is the government and rule given without ceasing and intermission. To Alexander and others were given empires and kingdoms; astrology taught nor showed nothing of these things, namely, that such great kingdoms were to be raised, nor how long they were to last and continue. Fourthly, Astrology is found out and feigned by the devil, to the end people might be scared and affrighted from entering into the state of matrimony and from every divine and human office and calling; for the star-peepers presage nothing that is good out of the planets, they affright and terrify people's consciences in regard of misfortunes to come, which notwithstanding is altogether uncertain, and standeth in God's hand, and through such mischievous and unprofitable cogitations they vex and torment the whole life. Fifthly, Great wrong is done to God's creatures through the same, for God hath created and placed them in the firmament, to the end they may give light to the kingdoms of the earth, that is, to make people glad and joyful in the Lord, and to be good signs of years and seasons, as is written, "And God saw that it was good," &c. And which the Lord thy God did ordain and appoint to all nations under the whole heaven. But these star-peepers do falsely feign that those creatures, of God created, do darken and trouble the earth and are hurtful; for all creatures of God are good and by God created only for good uses, but mankind maketh them evil by abusing them. The eclipses indeed (said Luther) are monsters and like to strange and untimely births. To conclude, to believe the stars, to trust thereon, or to be affrighted thereat, is idolatry, against the first commandment.

## CHAPTER LXX.

## OF SIGNS IN THE AIR.

*Luther's Discourse concerning Signs and Weathers.*

ANNO 1517, when the Gospel arose, there was seen at Weymar a fair and bright crucifix in the moon by the Prince Elector of Saxony, &c. Anno 1516, John Prince of Saxony saw, at Weymar, a great red star, which was changed first into a clear and bright star, afterwards into a crucifix, thirdly into a yellow star, at last it became again a common and an accustomed star.

This fell out the year before the Gospel went on, Luther signified the same upon the Gospel: the same at the first went up red, afterwards it burned and produced the cross, for it was eclipsed and darkened through rebellion and sects; but (said Luther) I hold nothing certain of such signs, for commonly they are devilish and deceitful signs. Anno 1536, the 16th of September, on Saturday evening, between six and seven of the clock, it lightened very much, and thereupon came a fierce thunder-clap, whereas eight days before it had been very cold; the *Mathematici* called it *Chasma*, and said, that it signified great drought in the air. Luther heard and saw the same at home; and said, It is wonderful, and not far from the seven stars towards the North, it were enough, if it had been done in Africa, Asia, and in the hot countries under the Tropic of Cancer. It is merely devilish, I hold the devils intended to pre-

pare a disputation, and that it was hindered by an angel through *Chasma*, who tore a hole through the proposition. Anno 1539, the 18th of April, towards evening, about four of the clock, was an eclipse of the sun, which Luther beheld to the end, sighed and prayed, that God would give a better event than is feared, and that through these and other signs all people may be stirred up to pray.

CHAPTER LXXI.  
 OF STUDYING.

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*Luther's Discourse concerning Studying.*

LUTHER advised all that intended to study in what art soever, that they should betake themselves to the reading of some sure and certain sort of books over and over again, for to read many sorts of books, produceth rather confusion than anything certain and perfect, like as those that dwell every where, and remain in no place, such do dwell no where, nor are no where at home. And like as in company we use not daily the community of all good friends, but of a select few; even so likewise, we ought to accustom ourselves to the best books and to make the same familiar unto us, to have them (as we use to say) at our fingers end. Anno 1538, a fine expert student fell into a frenzy, laboured, and made himself faint with continual watching and talking; the cause of his disease was, that he laid himself out too much upon books, and was in love with a maid. Luther dealt very mildly and friendly with him, expected an amendment, and said, Love is the cause of his sickness, studying brought upon him but little of his disorder, in the beginning of the Gospel it went so with myself.

*Of artificial Pieces and Handicrafts.*

AT Wittemberg certain hand-writings of the Augustian Fuggers, written with strange kind of letters and cyphers which

no man there could read, being shewed to Luther, he said, These are invented by high, sharp-witted brains, they are signs of very evil times.

We read of Julius Cæsar that he wrote such kind of letters. Likewise, Emperor Charles the Fifth used in important affairs to write two sorts of letters and writings, by reason of the infidelity of his clerks, with contrary senses and meanings; the one sort to be sealed unknown unto them.

CHAPTER LXXII.  
OF LEARNED MEN.

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*Luther's Discourse of Learned Men.*

IN a few years (said Luther) such want will be of learned people, that they would willingly dig them nine ells deep out of the ground if they could but get them; but all is in vain, we too sorely provoke God to anger.

*That the World cannot be governed without learned People.*

WISDOM, understanding, learning, and the pen, these do govern the world. If God were angry, and took out of the world all the learned, then all people would become merely like wild and savage beasts; for without wisdom, understanding, and laws, neither the Turks nor Tartars were able to subsist.

*That there are few Writers of Histories.*

WHO could be so mad (said Luther) in these evil times as to write histories, and the truth? The brains of the Grecians were subtle and crafty; the Italians are ambitious and proud; the Germans rude and boisterous. Livius described the histories and acts of the Romans, not of the Carthaginians. Blandus and Platina only flattereth the Popes. Before the Italians came to the government they were more civil and modest; but after they came to be monarchs, they then altered there condition and nature; and they being now again humbled, they gaze again after the Empire: for the Pope not in vain permitted Charles and Ferdinand to take possession of spiritual livings.

*Of Cicero and Aristotle.*

CICERO (said Luther) far excelleth Aristotle in philosophy and teaching. *Officia Ciceronis* are far better than *Ethica Aristotelis*. And although Cicero lived in great care, and had upon him great burthens, labour, and pains in the government, yet he was far above Aristotle; who had money, wealth, and easy days.

Cicero handled the best and finest questions in philosophy; as, Whether there be a God? What God is? Whether he dealeth with human affairs? And that there must be an everlasting mind, &c. Indeed Aristotle was a good and crafty logician, who handled touching the method and upright orderly way in teaching; but he taught not the business, the case, nor the kernel, so exquisitely as Cicero did. Whoso intendeth to learn upright philosophy, let him read Cicero.

Cicero was a very wise man, he wrote more than all the philosophers, and read all the Grecian books through. I marvel that he was able to read and write so much in so many great dealings and businesses. No man rightly understandeth Cicero's Epistles except he hath been exercised in government twenty years. Cicero, a wise and diligent man, suffered and performed much; I hope (said Luther) God will be merciful unto him and to such as he was, howsoever it is not our duty to speak certainly touching that point, but to remain by the word revealed unto us; namely, "Whoso believeth and is baptized, the same shall be saved." Yet, nevertheless, God is able to dispense and to hold a difference among the nations and heathen, but our duty is not to know nor to search after time and measure. For there will be a new heaven and a new earth, much more extensive than now they be: God can give to every one according to his pleasure.

*Of the Strength of God's pure Word.*

EXPERIENCE showeth (said Luther) how powerful God's truth is, the more we read the same, the more it worketh; yet Cicero with all his wisdom and eloquence was not able to com-

prehend this, who notwithstanding was a very high surpassing man in human wisdom, but that will not ascend upwards, it must remain below.

*Of Strabo.*

THE histories and writings of Strabo are very good, for he lived in the time of Cæsar Augustus, and had seen all the actions and exploits in the camps and wars. But he wrote touching Moses that he was a conjuror who invented much idolatry: indeed (said Luther) the land of Canaan lieth between Egypt and Syria, the inhabitants were superstitious people and full of idolatry, therefore Canaan, doubtless, was also fouled and stained with witchcraft.

*Of Writers of Histories and Poets.*

It is a pity that so many great and excellent acts and deeds are sunk which are not described; only the Grecians and Romans have writers of histories. Of Livius is scarcely left a small parcel, the others are darkened, lost, and destroyed. Sabellicus intended to imitate and follow Livius, but fulfilled nothing. Ovid was an excellent poet, he excelled all the rest with fair sentences, which, master-like and sweetly, he fastened in verse, as,

*Nox, amor, vinumque nihil moderabile suadent.*

Night, love and wine lead to excess.

Virgil surpasseth all other in glory and agility; *Heroica gravitate*, in heroick gravity, he is prince-like and seriously important.

*Of Lucanus.*

LUTHER reading Lucan, said, I know not whether he be a poet or a writer of histories; for they are thus distinguished: a writer of histories saith what is true, an orator and he that is eloquent saith what is like to truth; but a poet writeth neither what is true, nor what is like to the truth. Therefore Aristotle saith, The poets do lie much, for when they have a small rea-

son and ground, then they make a thing very great, and stretch it high and far; thereunto must needs belong touch lying, like a painter who pictureth a person much fairer than she is. Julius Cæsar said, When I read the writings of Brutus, then I take myself to be eloquent; but when I read the orations of Cicero, then I am uneloquent, I draw like a child.

*Of Æsopus.*

As Luther read his preface upon Æsop, he extolled that book exceedingly, and said, it is full of good doctrine, manners, nurture, and experience. Whoso can speak well, the same is a man; for to speak well is wisdom; and wisdom is, to speak well. Speaking is derived of counselling, *a consilio*, otherwise it is called prating and not speaking. So Æsop spake, he prated not, he produced the truth of a thing under another shape and form, as fables, yet he was persecuted by reason of the same.

*What Books ought to be rejected.*

It were very necessary (said Luther) that the books of Juvenal, of Martial, of Catullus, and *Priapeia Virgilii* were cashiered, banished, and rejected out of the land and schools, for they write such gross and shameless things, that without great offence to the youth they may not be read.

*Of certain particular Speakers.*

LICENTIAE Amsdorff (said Luther) teacheth upright and purely, he delivereth his mind sincerely. At the princely assembly at Smalkalden he made a sermon, and said, This Gospel belongeth to the sick, weak and poor sinners, but here are none; for great, rich, and powerful Princes and Potentates are not sensible of their sicknesses and weaknesses, &c. Even so he proceedeth uprightly in his disputations; he is a divine by nature. Dr. Crutziger, and Dr. Justus Jonas, are made and conceived divines. Anno 1536, Luther wrote upon his table these words following: *Res & verba Philippus; verba sine re*

*Erasmus ; res sine verbis Lutherus ; nec res, nec verba Carolostadius ;* that is, what Philip Melancthon writeth, the same hath hands and feet, the matter is good, and also the words are good ; Erasmus Roterodamus maketh many words, but to no purpose ; Luther hath good matter, but the words are not good ; Carlstad hath neither good words nor good matter. Philip Melancthon unawares coming to Luther at that time, reading the same, he smiled upon Dr. Basil, and said, Touching Erasmus and Carlstad it was well judged and censured, but too much is attributed unto me also ; good words ought to be ascribed to Luther, for he speaketh exceeding well, and hath substantial matter.

*What and how we ought to preach before young Christians.*

LUTHER reproveth Dr. Maior, in that he was faint-hearted and discouraged by reason of his simple kind of preaching in comparison of other divines, as in himself he conceived, admonished him and said, Loving brother, when you preach, as then behold not the Doctors and high-learned, but behold yourself and the common people, have regard that you teach and instruct them uprightly. For in the pulpit we ought to draw out the teats and feed the common people with milk, for every day a new church increaseth and groweth up, who stand in need of plain and simple sincere informations uprightly in the children's doctrine ; therefore we ought to drive on the catechism and distribute the milk ; but our high, subtle, and neat reasonings, and the strong wine, we will keep and preserve for the witty.

*That simple and plain Preachers are the best.*

THAT famous painter, Albrecht Durer used to say, He took no delight in such pictures which were painted with many colours, but in those that were made most plain : even so (said Luther) I likewise take delight in those sermons that enter fine and simply, so that they may be well understood and comprehended of the common man.

*Of Brentius.*

No divine in this our time (said Luther) declareth and handleth the Holy Scripture in such sort, as Brentius inso-much that I often very much admire his spirit, and despair of my ability; I verily believe none among us were able to perform what he did, in the exposition of John's Gospel, howsoever now and then he somewhat hangeth upon his opinions, yet he remaineth in the true and upright sense and meaning, and strideth not over the plain simplicity of God's Word, therefore he is to be borne with, and in no wise to be upbraided.

*Of Bucer.*

To translate my books into Latin (said Luther) no man is better, more dilligent and well qualified, than Dr. Bucer, he giveth my meaning and understanding so properly, if therewith he mingled not his buzzing concerning the sacrament, that I myself were not able to show my heart and mind nearer nor better.

*Of Ammerbach.*

OUR disputing with Dr. Ammerbach (said Luther) is like to that of our Saviour Christ's with Nicodemus, for Ammerbach saith, My meaning, yea my opinion is, that mankind shall be acceptable, justified, and saved before God, for the sake of good words.

*Of the Differences of Gifts.*

DISCOURSE was held how great differences were amongst the learned, whereupon Luther said, God very finely hath divided his gifts, in that the learned serve the unlearned, again the unlearned must humble themselves before the learned in what is needful for them. If all people were equal, then we could not subsist, nobody would serve another, neither would there be any peace. The peacock complaineth because he wanteth

the nightingale's voice, therefore God with the inequality hath made the greatest equality; for see, when one is excellent and hath more and greater gifts than another, so is he proud and haughty, will rule and domineer over others, and condemn them. God therefore very finely showeth by the members of the body, human society, and that one member must reach out the hand to the other and help, none can be without the other: in the face are the most honourable members, yet the nose, notwithstanding, is placed above the mouth and under the eyes. If but only two people in the world had noses, they would be held for monsters, but forasmuch as we are all snivelings, therefore the nose humbleth us; and so on with respect to several others parts of the body.

Therefore St. Paul saith, "Those members of the body which seem to be more feeble, are necessary; and those which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour."

*Of Aristotle and Cicero.*

ARISTOTLE (said Luther) is altogether an Epicure; he holdeth that God careth nothing for human creatures, neither regardeth how we live, he permitteth us to proceed according to our pleasure, he meddleth nothing at all therewith; he alledgeth God ruleth the world like as a sleepy maid rocketh a child. But Cicero attained to a further scope, I believe that he collected and brought together what he found to be good in the books of all the Grecian writers. For this is a very good argument, which often moved me much and went near my heart, where he proveth, there is a God, in that the living creatures, beasts and mankind, beget on one another their own likeness. A cow always produceth a cow; a horse, a horse, &c. Therefore it undeniably followeth, that some Being exists which ruleth everything. We may justly acknowledge God to be the unchangeable and certain motion of the stars of heaven; we find the sun every year to rise and set in his place, also by the certainty of time, we have winter and summer, but seeing the same is done continually, therefore we neither admire nor regard it.

## CHAPTER LXXIII.

## OF THE JEWS.

*Luther's Discourse of the Jews.*

THE Jews do boast that they are Abraham's children, and indeed (said Luther) it was a high honour and praise unto them, as the rich glutton in hell said, "Father Abraham, &c." and he saith again to him, "My son, &c." But our Lord God well and fitly can distinguish and separate these children, for to such as the glutton was he giveth them their wages here in this life, but the rewards and wages for the other he reserveth until the life to come.

*Of the Trading and Superstition of the Jews.*

THE Jews are the poorest people among all nations on earth, they are plagued everywhere, scattered to and fro in all countries, they have no certain place, they sit as on a wheelbarrow, have no country, people nor government; yet they attend with great desire, they cheer up themselves and say, It will soon be better with us. In such a way are they hardened, that in the highest shame they dare presume therewith to brag and boast. But (said Luther) I advise them to know assuredly, that there is none other Lord nor God, but only he that already sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. The Jews are not permitted to trade nor to keep cattle, they are only usurers; they maintain themselves by horse-coursing and brokery; they eat nothing of what the Christians kill and touch, they drink no wine; they have many superstitions, they wash the flesh

most diligently, whereas they cannot be cleansed through the flesh, for flesh is nothing else but a piece of livered blood, how diligently soever they wash it, neither did God speak touching the same, but only concerning bloodshed. And even under that colour of worshipping, they neither eat milk nor flesh, for God said, "Thou shalt not boil the young kid in his mother's milk." Such superstitions proceed out of God's anger. For they that are without faith, have laws without end, as we now see by the Papists and Turks; but they are even just and rightly served, for seeing they refused to have Christ and his Gospel, therefore instead of freedom they must have servitude.

*Of the stiff-necked Boasting of the Jews.*

IT must needs be a great wrath of God (said Luther) that the Jews in such sort go scattered to and again in countries, and are driven from one place to another; they lead a poor and miserable kind of life, and they expect, attend and gape after Messias; they boast of their glorious prerogative where-with God graced them above other nations. Against this St. Paul striveth with great pains, where he saith, "Behold thou art called a Jew, and retest in the Law, and makest thy boast of God, and knowest his will, &c." and Romans ix. he saith, "To whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the service of God, and the promises, whose are the Fathers, and of whom (as concerning the flesh) Christ came."

Truly this was great honour and glory; it was a hard task, for St. Paul to let go, and to reject the same. For we see, and find by experience, how heavy and hard a matter it is to assault Popedom, and to thunder against the same out of God's Word which notwithstanding is sure, and saith, "He is called to the Gentiles." If I (said Luther) were a right Jew, the Pope should never persuade me to his worshipping; I would rather suffer myself ten times to be racked. Popedom with their abominations and false worshippings, have given to the Jews innumerable offences. I am persuaded if the Jews heard our preaching, how and in what manner we handle the sentences in the Old Testament, that many of them might be won, but

through disputing they are made but more stiff-necked and angry, for they are too haughty and presumptuous. If but one or two of the Rabbies, and chief of them, fell off, then we should see a falling of one after another, for they are almost weary of expecting.

*That the Jews are poor People.*

AT Franckfurt on the Main are very many Jews; they have a whole street in possession, where every house is filled with them; they are compelled to wear little yellow rings on the outsides of their coats and garments, thereby to be known; they have neither houses of their own, nor grounds, only they have moveable and sitting goods; they dare not to lend any thing upon houses or grounds, but only at great hazard.

*Touching Sentences of Scripture against the Jews.*

I HAVE the chief sentences of Scripture, and which are the grounds upon which the Jews bring against us as where God said to Abraham, "I will make my covenant between me and thee, and with thy seed after thee, in their generations, for an everlasting covenant," &c. Here the Jews start up and brag, like as the Papists do upon that sentence, "Though art Peter," &c. I would willingly (said Luther) bereave the Jews of this bragging, in rejecting the Law of Moses, insomuch that they should not be able to gainsay it. We have against them the Prophet Jeremiah, where he saith, "Behold the time cometh, saith the Lord, when I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah, not as the covenant which I made with their fathers," &c. "But this shall be the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel; after this time, saith the Lord, I will give my laws into their hearts, and will write it in their minds," &c.

Here the Jews must needs yield, and say, The law of Moses continued but for a while, therefore it must be abolished. But in the covenant of the circumcision (which was given before Moses's time, and was made between God and Abraham, and his seed Isaac in his generation) that must and shall be an ever-

lasting covenant; the same they will not suffer to be taken from them.

And although Moses himself rejecteth their circumcising of the flesh, and presseth upon the circumcising of the heart, yet, nevertheless, they boast of that everlasting covenant out of God's Word; and when they yield that the circumcision justifieth not, yet, nevertheless, say they, it is an everlasting covenant, thinking that it is a covenant of works; therefore we must leave unto them their circumcision, and let us truly rejoice, and be thankful to God for this new covenant of his grace.

I for my part (said Luther), as also all God-fearing Christians, have this sure and strong comfort, namely, that the circumcision was to continue but for awhile, until Messias came; but now seeing he is come, so hath that commandment also an end, and ceaseth. Moses was wise, he kept himself within his bounds, for in all his four books after Genesis, he wrote nothing of circumcision, he only presseth upon the circumcising of the heart in his fifth book. In the first book he relateth only the histories; he presseth not thereupon, as upon a commandment, whereas he presseth hard upon the Sacrifices, upon the Sabbath, and upon the show-bread; he leaveth this covenant of circumcision quite out, maketh no mention thereof, as if he would say, It is not much to be regarded. If it had been of so great importance and weight as the Jews make it, he would doubtless have pressed more fiercely thereupon. To conclude, Christ another Prophet will come; in his mouth will I lay my word, him shall ye hear.

Afterwards in the Book of Joshua mention is made again touching the circumcising of the heart. The Papists as blinded people who know nothing at all of the Scriptures, are not able to confute so much as one argument of the Jews, it is in them a fearful blindness.

*That the haughty Boasting of the Jews concerning God's Word is cast down.*

THE verse in the 115th Psalm is uttered exceedingly master-like by the Holy Ghost, where he saith, " He shall bless them

that fear the Lord both small and great." For the Holy Spirit is a fierce thunder-clap against the proud, boasting Jews and Papists, who brag that they alone are God's people; will allow of none, but of those that are of their church. As if the Holy Ghost should say, The poor, contemned people are also God's people, for God saved many of the Gentiles without the law and circumcision, and also without Popedom; but these presumptuous people cease not to torment and plague the Christians, would force them to be circumcised as the Jews in Moravia, the Sabathees.

I am angry (said Luther) with Ferdinand, who will not suffer the Gospel to come into the church, whereby he utterly devasteth it. The pride of the Jews is great, who boast that they are justified only and alone, because they be circumcised; they see not that Abraham was declared justified only through faith; Abraham believed God, and that was imputed unto him for righteousness. God with circumcision intended to confirm his covenant with this nation but only for a certain time, namely, until Messiah should come. True it is, the circumcision of the Jews before Christ's coming had a great majesty; but in that, without the same, they will have none other to be God's people, the same we utterly deny; for the Jews themselves in the circumcision were of God rejected, and no more his people. If fifteen hundred years ago the Jews had not been of God rejected, and Jerusalem not destroyed, then no man had been able to bereave the Jews of such their ridiculous boasting; they have merely a painted, or a seeming colour to uphold the same, therefore the Ebonites (who were the poor Jews, after Jerusalem was devastated, and they scattered and hooted into all countries) observed both Testaments, the Old and New, the circumcision, the baptism, and what else therein is written.

*By what Authority Christ drove the Buyers and Sellers out of the Temple.*

CHRIST drove the buyers and sellers out of the Temple, not by any temporal authority, but by the jurisdiction and power of the church; which authority every High Priest in the Temple had, to whom it was appropriated. The glory of this

Temple was great, that the whole world must worship there. But God out of special counsel caused this Temple to be destroyed, to the end, the Jews might be put to confusion, and no more should be able to brag and boast thereof.

*Concerning the Destruction of Jerusalem, and of the Secure-  
ness and Presumption of the Jews.*

THIS fair and glorious city was besieged by Titus Vespasian with a powerful army, and taken by an assault, laid in the dust, and destroyed. This vexed the Jews very sorely, for thereby they would needs make God a liar. The Jews understood all the promises of God in a carnal manner, as this sentence in the Prophet Jeremiah, "The holy relick of the Lord shall never be rooted out." Upon this, and many more sentences, the Jews boasted, and depending thereupon, slaughtered the Prophets; but at last they saw, yea, found by experience, that their security and presumption was turned to confusion.

*That Germany and Italy in former Times were full of Jews.*

CICERO, the eloquent Gentile, complained of the superstition and multitude of the Jews in Italy; we see likewise their footsteps throughout Germany, there is not a city nor village but it hath names and streets of the Jews. The Jews (said Luther) inhabited Ratisbon a long time before the birth of Christ. It was a mighty nation.

*That the Jews are Blasphemers.*

THE Jews (said Luther) at this time do read our books, and thereout do raise objections against us, it is a nation that do scorn and blaspheme, even like as the lawyers, the Papists, and other adversaries do, in taking out of our writings the knowledge of the cause, and use the same as weapons against us. But (God be praised) our cause hath a sure, a good and stedfast ground, namely, God and his Word.

*The Jews cannot endure to hear the name of Jesus crucified.*

Two Rabbies of the Jews (said Luther), named Schamaria and Jacob, came to me at Wittemberg, desiring of me letters of safe-conduct, which I granted unto them. With the same they were well pleased, only they earnestly besought me, that I would leave out the word *Tolo*, that is, Jesus crucified; for they cannot forbear, but must needs blasphemie the name Jesus; they exceedingly hate that song which we used to sing in the church, "Christ is risen from the dead." They said, It is most wonderful that so many thousands of innocent people have been slaughtered, touching whom there is no mention made, only Jesus, the crucified, must always be remembered; his death cannot be forgotten.

*Of powerful Arguments against the Jews.*

THE JEWS (said Luther) must be encountered with strong arguments, as where Jeremiah speaketh touching Christ, "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that I will raise unto David a righteous branch, and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth, in his days Judah shall be saved, and Israel shall dwell safely, and this is his name whereby he shall be called, THE LORD OUR RIGHTEOUSNESS." This argument the Jews are not able to solve; and forasmuch as they refuse to grant that this sentence is not spoken of Christ, therefore of necessity they must give and show unto us another King descended from David, who should govern so long as the sun and moon endure, as the promises of the Prophets do sound.

*Another Argument against the Jews.*

EITHER God must deal unjustly, and be an unrighteous God, or else the Jews must be wicked and ungodly; for ye have been thrust into misery, hunted and scared longer than ye were in the Land of Promise, where ye continued not above three hundred years as the Temple of Solomon yet stood; but ye

have been hunted into misery above fifteen hundred years. The example of the Babylonian captivity can yield no comfort unto you, for during the appointed time of seventy years, ye had both Prophets and government, yea more was accomplished and performed by you at Babel than at Jerusalem. For Daniel was a greater and more powerful Prince at Babel than either David or Solomon were at Jerusalem. Therefore the Babylonian captivity was unto you but only a fatherly rod, but this last punishment was the upshot, it was your utter extermination. The two aforesaid Rabbies (Schamaria and Jacob) hearkening with attentive ears to this discourse of Luther, and therewith struck to the heart, put to silence and convinced, they forsook their errors, instantly were converted, and the day following, in the presence of the whole University at Wittemberg, were baptized and became-Christians.

The Jews (said Luther) do hope, that we intend to join with them in their opinions, in regard we teach and learn the Hebrew language, but their hope is merely vain, they must be constrained to accept of our religion and of the crucified Christ, and overcome all manner of offences, especially in that the Sabbath is removed, which sorely startleth them: the same was ordered by the Apostles to the honour of the Lord's resurrection.

*That the Jews imagine they do observe the Law.*

THE poor blind and hardened Jews do boast of the righteousness of the law, whereas they are not able to fulfil the same; yea, such is their zeal for the law, they really blaspheme God, for out of the Land of Promise they were not to observe the Law. To conclude, inasmuch as the Jews have been forsaken now above fifteen hundred years; a nation without government without laws, without Prophets, and without temple. This argument they are not able to solve, it striketh them to the ground like a thunder-clap; they are able to show none other reason nor cause for the same than their sins.

*That the Destruction of Jerusalem was the greatest and most fearful Wrath.*

THE destruction of Jerusalem was altogether horrible, most lamentable and fearful; insomuch as the plagues and punishments of all other monarchies, empires, and kingdoms, as the Deluge, that of Sodom, of Pharoah, &c. was nothing in comparison of that desolation: for this city was God's habitation, his garden and bed, as the Psalm saith, "Here will I dwell, for I have chosen her, &c." There was the Law, the priesthood, the Temple, that is, David, Solomon, Isaiah, &c. many prophets were there interred, insomuch that the Jews had just cause to boast and brag of such privileges. What are we poor miserable Gentiles and Rome, in comparison of Jerusalem? Did God give over and forsake that glorious Jerusalem, which in such sort was adorned with his Word, with his laws, with his blood, friends, and consanguinity, &c. Truly, let us make that reckoning, it will also light upon us. This destruction of Jerusalem was more horrible and fearful than all the plagues that ever happened on earth or that shall happen. And indeed (said Luther) it was too much that God's own nation should lead out of the city his only Son and crucify him.

It is enough to break one's heart to see the Jews scattered and dispersed up and down the whole empire, insomuch that almost all the blood-kindred of Christ burn in hell, they are rightly served, and even according to there own words which they spake to Pilate, "We have no King but Cæsar, &c." The Jews have haughty prayers, wherein they praise and call upon God, as if they alone were his people, they condemn all other nations, whereunto they use the 23d Psalm, "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall lack nothing, &c." As if that Psalm were written chiefly and properly concerning them. The poor people are not to be helped, they refuse to hear God's Word, but only follow their own cogitations and conceits. They flatter themselves that they are holy by nature and kind, like as the Gentiles, out of the will of the flesh. But the Papists dream of a middle way, they are neither Jews nor Christians, they will be justified neither out of the will of the flesh, nor by

nature and kind, but by reason of the name and title, Catholic. But all this is rejected and damned, as St. John saith, "They are God's children and justified, which are born of God."

*That the Jews know no more their Descent.*

IT is merely a vain boasting which the Jews make, in regard they have been bereaved of their privileges above fifteen hundred years. For, during the time of the seventy years, when they were captives at Babel, they were in such sort devastated, confused, and mingled together, that at the same time they hardly knew out of what tribe one were descended, what then should now be in so long a time, when they have been so often hunted and captivated by the Gentiles? When the soldiers spared neither their wives nor daughters? Insomuch that now they are in a manner all bastards, none of them knowing out of what tribe he is. Anno 1537, I being at Frankfurt, a great Rabbi said unto me, My father (said he) was a chief Rabbi, he read very much, and waited for the coming of the Messiah; but at last he fainted, was out of hope, and said, If Messiah came not, within the term of fifteen hundred years and more, which now are expired, then (said he) most certainly, Christ Jesus must be the Messiah.

*That the Jews had great Privileges.*

THE Jews above all other nations had great privileges, they had the chiefest promises, the highest worshipping of God, the same was more pleasing to human nature, than God's service of faith in the New Testament. The Jews agree better with the Turks than with the Christians, for both Jews and Turks confess and agree in one, that there is but only one God; they believe not, that three persons are in one divine substance, they also are at an union touching bathing and washing, circumcising and other external worshippings and ceremonies.

Truly the nation of the Jews had excellling men, as, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, Daniel, Samuel, Paul, &c. Who (said Luther) would not grieve that so great and glorious a nation, so lamentably should be destroyed and lost? The Latin

church had no excellent men and teachers, but only Austin; neither the churches towards the east, but Athanasius; however, he was nothing particular, therefore we are twigs grafted into the right tree. The prophets call the Jews (especially those of the line of Abraham), a fair switch or a little twig out of which Christ himself came. Comparatively, we Gentiles are no more *Orthodoxi*, upright believers, we are only talkers.

No stronger argument is against the Jews than David's seat, nothing dazzleth them more than the same, for during the space of fifteen hundred and thirty-five years, they have had neither government nor priesthood.

*Of a baptized Jew, who in former time was Dean at Coln.*

IN the cathedral church at Coln standeth a Dean cut out in stone-work, who in the one hand holdeth a cat, in the other hand, a mouse; this Dean had been a Jew and caused himself to be baptized, and gave himself to Christendom; he would show by this picture, that so little as a cat could be good to a mouse, even as little could a Jew be good to a Christian.

*That the Jews boast they are God's People, and yet have slain their Messiah.*

THE Jews knew well that the Messiah should come, and that they were to hear him, but they could not be persuaded that this Jesus was the Messiah; indeed they desired the presence of the Lord Christ their Messiah, they knew he was at hand, but they thought that all their things should so remain as formerly they had them in possession. And forasmuch as they saw, that Christ took another course contrary to their expectation, therefore they crucified him; yet, nevertheless, they boast of themselves and dare presume to say, They are God's people.

The greater part of the Jews have blasphemed God and murdered the righteous Prophets. Also the loving fathers had blasphemers in their houses; Abraham had Ishmael, Isaac had Esau, &c.

*Of a Jew who desired to be baptized, but would first go to Rome.*

ANOTHER Jew repaired unto me at Wittenberg (said Luther), and told me, He was very desirous to be baptized, and made a Christian, and said, He would first go to Rome to see the chiefest head of Christendom. From this his intention, myself, Philip Melancthon, and other Divines, laboured to frustrate and hinder in the strongest measure: for we feared, when he should behold the offences and knaveries at Rome, that he might thereby be scared from Christendom. But the Jew went to Rome, and when he had sufficiently seen abominable things acted there, he returned unto us again, desiring to be baptized, and said, Now I will willingly worship the God of the Christians, for he is a patient God. Can he endure and suffer such wickedness and villainy at Rome, so can he suffer and endure all the vices and knaveries in the world.

*Of the Jews Arguments.*

THE Jews and Turks hold one only argument; namely, cursed are all those that worship more than one God; the Christians worship more than one God, therefore they are cursed; the minor (say they) is proved herewith, for they believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, &c. Let us say what we will (said Luther), yet cannot they believe that three are one.

## CHAPTER LXXIV.

## OF THE TURKS.

*Luther's Discourse of the Turks.*

THE Turks (said Luther) have not been much above two hundred years; the Saracens ruled near eight hundred years according to Daniel's prophecy. I should be very glad to see the great Turk marching towards Rome, for the Prophet Daniel writeth thus, "He shall bear his bow and shall encamp between two seas, upon the Holy Mount:" now Rome by reason that many saints lie buried there, is called holy; the same hitteth right, for the abomination of desolation (the Pope) must place himself upon the holy Mount; therefore when the Turk marcheth towards Rome, than the last day is not far.

Christ delivered at the first our souls, he will also deliver our bodies; for the Turks must give Germany a clap, me thinketh I see him marching through and through: I often meditate thereupon, and thinketh on the great misery which will happen, I sweat thereat. Nevertheless, Germany goeth on in sin, it refuseth to be helped. No human creature beateth the Turk, but only that man who is named Christ, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed; as for the Emperor King Ferdinand and the Princes they will accomplish nothing. I lately received news (said Luther) that the Turk caused four of his sons to be circumcised, and held a great and pompous feast, to which he invited the great Elias, Prester John, the King of Persia, and the Venetians; he is held of his people in great reverence, for whoso hath the Turks sign or letters of safe-

conduct, which they call Viet, written with letters of gold, the same may safely pass through all territories.

He holdeth Christ for a great Prophet, yet that his Mahomet is greater and higher, for (he saith) Christ committed a sin against God, when he said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life."

A man named Smalts, a citizen of Hagenaro, who by the Emperor had been sent to the Turk in a legation, said, The great Turk demanded of me what manner of man Luther was, and of what years? I answered him, Luther was about eight-and-forty years of age; the Turk said, I would wish that he were younger, for he shall have of me a gracious lord; this being signified to Luther, by the Prince Elector of Saxony, he said, God preserve and bless me from that gracious lord. The Turk is a crafty and subtle enemy, who warreth not only with great power and boldness, but also much more with craft and deceit; he maketh his enemies faint and weary, he keepeth them waking with often skirmishing, he seldom fighteth a complete battle except he have assured hope of the victory, he giveth only for the sake of advantage; he hath a musical and singing brain; when a battle is offered unto him, then he trot-teth away, he dependeth only upon deceitful stratagems; therefore he is named a fox, who sneaketh and swipeth out of the hole *Caucaso*. The power of the Turk is great, who is able to maintain and pay two hundred thousand soldiers, which requir-eth at the least fifteen millions of rix dollars yearly.

The Turks are very haughty and proud, they always boast of their fortune and victory in overcoming Constantinople, thirty years past they swallowed up the Saracens, the Sultan being slain. They have cogitations like the Papists, namely, they think they are only and alone God's people; they say, Abraham offered Ishmael not Isaac; they are the seed of Isaac, to them belong the kingdoms of the earth, as to whom it was promised; they call us Idolaters, by reason of the article of the Holy Trinity; they also say, there is but one God, at whose left hand Christ sitteth, but Mahomet at his right hand. Christ's doctrine and laws were too heavy and impossible, therefore Mahomet gave more mild and tolerable, as not to condemn evil lust and desire. They have strict worshippings,

they esteem much of Christ, they honour the mountain Horeb, but they will not re-edify Jerusalem. Anno 1536, the 21st of December, Marquis George of Brandenburg came to Wittemberg, made report to Luther of the lamentable defeat and horrible slaughter which the Turks had given our armies in Hungary, wherein the best soldiers were betrayed and slain, threescore brave captains taken prisoners, and with great joy and triumph carried away; the poor Christians pitifully plagued, their noses slit, and used in most scornful and base manner; whereupon Luther said, This concerneth us Germans; God's anger is before the door; we may hasten to repentance while the time of saving health is at hand; we ring after mischief, and it will also happen unto us. The Turk hath mightily increased within the space of one hundred years; by degrees he suppressed the Saracens, who before were Lords in Syria, in Asia, Jerusalem, in the Land of Promise, in Africa and Greece.

In this manner God playeth with kingdoms, as in Isaiah it is said, "I the Lord am a strong God over kingdoms, whoso sinneth I destroy." This (said Luther) God hath well made good and fulfilled; for, first, he destroyed Ninevah and Assyria, the kingdom of the Chaldeans; afterwards Ninevah devoured Babylon, Assyria swallowed it up. Likewise when the Persians thought that they were *fac totum*, then came Alexander the Great, and conquered them. And afterwards Alexander was brought to nothing by the Romans. The Roman Empire (which was most powerful), through intestine war, was devoured by the Saracens, Goths, the Vandals and Huns; thus our Lord God can pay great Monarchs, Kings, and Princes. I hope (said Luther) the world draweth towards an end, for Charles and Solyman are the dregs of the Empire, which cannot stand many hundred years longer. The Turk never yet brought it so far and high as the Roman Empire, which in the space of fifty years arose and increased exceedingly. Christ approacheth, for we have no Scripture more; also the signs are at hand. The great Turk boasteth that he is descended from the stock and blood of Ottoman; the Roman Emperors never had any such line and descent, for Emperor Julius left no male heir. Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius following after him, were descended but only of women, and yet had the

Empire in possession ; but the Turk hath his male stock from Ottoman. The Germans now are Roman Emperors, and Kings only in title ; in the mean time, the Pope taketh possession of Italy, and other parts. The great Turk Selim murdered his brethren, to the end he might rule alone ; it is fearful that one brother destroyeth another, because he is a brother ; it is too tyrannical. I hope that government of the Turk, which rises so powerfully by tyranny, must fall ere long.

The Turks deride and scorn our Christian religion ; they use this sentence of Scripture, where Christ saith, " I am come in my Father's name, if another shall come in his own name, him ye will receive, &c." Upon this word (*alios*) they rest and depend.

Luther receiving letters from Vienna, informing him that the Emperor's General in Hungary had received fourscore thousand ducats of a Jew, to betray the Christian army to the Turk, and promised to deliver the King into the enemies' hands, sighed deeply, and said, Ah ! where will not covetousness drive the heart of a human creature ? This traitor everlastingly must burn in hell ; I would not betray a dog. I stand much in fear of Ferdinand's proceedings, who hath caused so great a multitude to be thrust into the throat of the Turk, through a perjured Malmaluck, who heretofore fell from the Turk to the Christians, and doubtless will fall again from the Christians (when he findeth opportunity), and will become a Turk.

Ah ! (said he) Princes and Rulers ought otherwise to be qualified and armed against so powerful an enemy, and march themselves in person into the field, and not to encounter him with so small a heap, for the Turk ought not to be slighted and contemned. Daniel saith, " It is given unto him to go against the Saints of God : " therefore his fortune and victories are so great, and hath an aspect as if he were a God. He maketh three thrones and seats of God ; he placeth Christ at God's left hand, and Mahomet at the right, who followed upon Christ's kingdom, and now is come ; therefore the Turks take their oaths by God, who created heaven and earth, by Mahomet his servant, and by the fourscore-and-four Prophets sent from heaven. The Turk in the space of thirty years hath increased so powerfully, that he is become a Lord in Egypt, in Arabia,

Persia, Asia, and in all Greece. I fear it will go with Germany (which hitherto hath been held and esteemed for the best country) as it went with Troy, insomuch as it will be said, It is out, *fuimus Troes, jacet Ilium ingens*. Let us pray to God that he would preserve our consciences by the pure doctrine in such calamities, necessities, and misfortunes.

The Turkish kingdom was shewed in the Prophet Daniel, and in the Revelation of St. John, to the end, godly and upright Christians should not be affrighted at his great power and tyranny. Daniel's prophecy is an excelling chronicle continuing to the world's end, he clearly describeth the kingdoms of Antichrist and of the Turk. In the Revelation of St. John is written, "And it was given unto him to make war with the saints, and to overcome them," Rev. xiii. Which directly soundeth of the Turk, not of the Pope; for the saints overcome not through their sanctity, but by patience, and in overcoming through faith their bodies are murdered. Daniel saith further, "It shall be for a time, times, and half a time." If time signifieth a year, as it needs must, then it maketh three years and a half, and hitteth just upon Antiochus, who raged and tyrannized three years and a half in the nation of Israel.

This wicked wretch Antiochus was given for a pledge to Rome, but he fled away from thence and took the kingdom of Israel in possession, but he tyrannized over the Jews only three years and a half, at last he miserably rotted and died in the stink of his disease, insomuch that nobody was able to remain about him: thus he was struck and slain without hands. Even so (said Luther) shall it go with the Pope, he shall also be destroyed without hands or of the sword, he shall famish himself, for he hath not used great and powerful armies, but he hath thus long subsisted by lyings and superstition, cloaked and trimmed with Scripture, as, "Thou art Peter, Feed my lambs, &c." Upon such deceitful grounds he increased, and so shall fall again; therefore this prophecy, "He shall fall without power," belongeth chiefly and properly to the Pope; for all other Potentates and tyrants proceed with power and force: howsoever, this prophecy comprehendeth both Pope and Turk, for they began almost at one time under Emperor Phocas, which is now about nine hundred years since, and then the

Pope began to rule spiritually, and Mahomet began to encrease; but the Pope's temporal kingdom hath continued scarcely three hundred years, I mean since he began to rule over Emperors and Kings.

The Turks say, True it is, Isaac was the right son of the promise, but when he should have been sacrificed, he fled from his father, as if he would go and fetch a slaughter knife, in the mean time Ishmael came and freely suffered himself to be sacrificed, from whence he became a child of the promise. This (said Luther) is as gross a lie as that of the Papists concerning one kind in the sacrament. Luther in his discourse greatly complained of Emperor Charles, his negligence in suffering the Turk always to take one place after another, whereas an Emperor should not have peace, as in history we see, that the Romans continually maintained a certain force and army which always lay in the field, like as at this day the great Turk hath his Janizaries, the best and most tried soldiers. But we assemble and gather together a heap of base, despairing, insolent wretches, that do mischief to, and destroy those whom they ought to defend and protect. Anno 630, Mahomet arose, therefore this year maketh nine hundred and twenty-three years since he stood up.

*Luther's Admonition, how we ought to War against the Turks.*

LUTHER at that time wrote a letter to the Emperor's great general in Hungary, diligently admonishing him to consider, that he had against him four powerful enemies, he had not to do only with flesh and blood, but with the devil, who was the first; Secondly, with the Turk; and Thirdly, with God's wrath; Fourthly, with our own sins; therefore he should remember to humble himself and to call upon God for help. Luther got news, that Emperor Charles sent into Austria eighteen thousand Spaniards to defend the same against the Turk. Whereupon he sighed and said, These are horrible designs, when that abominable nation (the Spaniards) shall come to defend us Germans, I would rather have the Turks for enemies, than the Spaniards for protectors, who tyrannize in the highest measure, the greater part of the

Spaniards are Moranes, baptized Jews, that believe nothing at all. The greatest hope I have (said Luther) is, that the Turkish Empire will be brought to confusion and fall *per intestinus dissentiones*, by homebred dissentions, for in that manner all the kingdoms of the world have fallen and been destroyed, as the Persian, the Chaldean, the kingdoms of Alexander and of the Romans, all these thereby went to the ground, discord and dissention have been their poison, and so it will go with Germany, for our Princes of the Empire will not agree among themselves. Whoso climbeth high, is in danger to fall, cunning swimmers may lightly be drowned; and although the Turk is climbed very high, yet when his time cometh, it is done as in a moment, that our Lord God layeth his kingdom in the ashes.

CHAPTER LXXV.  
 OF COUNTRIES AND CITIES.

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*Luther's Discourse of Countries and Cities.*

CORNELIUS Tacitus (said Luther) described Germany very well, he highly extolled the Germans, by reason of their constancy in keeping promise, especially in the state of matrimony, touching which particular they excelled all other nations. In former times it stood well with Germany, but now, alas! those and the like fine good people are much decreased, are fallen from the kind, and become rude, proud, and insolent. The best time and days were before the Deluge, when the people lived long, carried themselves moderately in eating and drinking, they beheld God's creatures with diligence, both celestial and terrestrial without wasting, without warring and debate, then a fresh cool spring of water was more sweet, acceptable, and well relished, than costly wines. Germany in time past was a fair country and nation; I hold the H, is turned into G, for heretofore they were called *Hermani*. Anno 1539, the 8th of January, in the evening, about six of the clock, a comet was seen here at Wittemberg which was eclipsed, but very long in twenty degrees, it stretched the tail after the sign of the Fish from the west towards the north, and the rising of the sun when it standeth at the highest. This comet was beheld of Luther, of Philip Melancthon, Justus Jonas, and of Erasmus the Mathematician, with great admiration. Then Luther said, I will prophecy over Germany, not out of the Planets, but I will declare unto her God's anger out of the Divine Word, for it is

impossible that Germany should escape unpunished, she must receive a great scourge, there is no remedy, for God is daily provoked to destroy us, the godly with the ungodly must be visited and taste of the rod. But let us pray without ceasing, for the Lord doth the will of those that fear him, and heareth their prayers, &c. This he hath thoroughly approved, how long hath peace hung as it were, even upon a silken thread against so many great practices and bloody consultations of our adversaries, and against all hope hath been preserved? God hath resisted and hindered them, he hath broken their power and frustrated their designs.

*That Germany wanteth a good Governor.*

GERMANY (said Luther) is like unto a brave and gallant horse that hath provender to the full, but wanteth a good rider; now like as a strong horse runneth here and there astray, except he hath a rider to rule him; even so Germany is also a powerful, a rich, and brave country, strengthened sufficiently with able people, but it wanteth a good head and Governor.

*What Alteration of Apparel signifieth.*

THESE often altering of apparel (said Luther) and these new fangled fashions, will produce also an alteration of government and manners, we seek too much thereafter. Emperor Charles frequently saith, The Germans learn of the Spaniards to steal, and the Spaniards learn of the Germans to feed and swill.

*Of Jerusalem.*

ON St. Lawrence's day the 10th of August, the Temple at Jerusalem was burned; afterwards on the nativity of Mary, the 8th of September, the other, inward, best fortified, and strongest part of the city was devastated and taken in. And forasmuch as Jerusalem was the most glorious city, from whence the holy Scripture and the original of the Christian church proceedeth, therefore the devastation thereof is placed before our eyes, as a picture, to show how it will fare with the Christian

church, for the Christian church is that spiritual Jerusalem wherein God still daily walketh.

*Of England.*

I BELIEVE (said Luther) England is a piece of Germany, I hold the Germans in former time were transferred and set therein; for to this day, the Bishop of Coln stileth himself, Prince of Angaria, or Engern, where now Breme and Ham-borough lie, sometimes it was named Britania, afterwards Angaria, of the nation which were carried thither.

*Of Swisserland, or Helvetia.*

SWISSIA, is a dry and mountainous country, from whence many of them are constrained to seek their maintenaince elsewhere. Dr. Jonas read the Swissers complaint at Lurich, against the forcible intentions of the other Papists, wherein at last they concluded, that they no longer would endure the same, but intended to be revenged, as God should help them. Whereupon Luther said, I like not their argument and ground on which they boast and depend, namely, they who have a good cause, may justly raise a war; they, the Swissers, have a good cause, therefore they may begin a war. Both the precedent sentences (said Luther) *major & minor* are false and doubtful, for the first permitteth not every man to begin a war, but only the necessity or constrained defence. The other proposition, *minor*, is uncertain and doubtful, namely, whether they have a good cause or not; therefore followeth there-out also an uncertain and doubtful conclusion.

*Touching Differences of Languages.*

THE High Germans are simple, and do more affect the truth than the French, the Italians, Spaniards, English, &c. which their languages do also show, in that they pronounce and utter their speech in a hissing and lolling kind of manner; therefore it is said, The French write otherwise than they speak, and otherwise than they mean. But the High German tongue is

the most complete, and hath much community with the Greek tongue; Latin is small and thin enough, not regulated, for she hath not double letters; next after Greek followeth High Dutch.

*Of Walloons and Italians.*

THE Italians (said Luther) are very crafty and subtle people: they ought justly to be made ashamed, and to have their filthiness discovered, to the end they might be made to blush: they comtemn all other nations, as if they only, were wise. My advice is, and always hath been, that young fellows, when they thoroughly have learned their catechism, and are well instructed in God's Word, should visit Italy, should know their tricks and knaveries, to the end afterwards they may take heed of them.

Italy is a very good and fruitful pleasant country, especially Lombardy, a valley of twenty miles in breadth, through the midst of which the Eridanus floweth, an exceeding pleasant water, so broad as from Wittemberg to Breta, on both sides are the Alps and the Appennine mountains.

*Of the Roman Empire.*

THE Roman Empire (said Luther) began to be rich and to increase in the Apostle's time, it came to the Germans under Charles the Great, seven hundred and fifty years since, for Charles had three sons, to the first born he gave Germany; to the second, France; to the third, Italy; but Germanicus, the Dutchman, remained Emperor. If (said Luther) the present Emperor had France in possession, then he would be able to anger the Turk. The Roman Empire flourished not long, the Romans had it not two hundred years, afterwards it came to the French, at last the Germans wholly possessed it, who have had it above eight hundred years together, so much as concerneth the title. The greatest, the richest, and most powerful cities, as Antioch, Nineveh, and Babylon, &c. are now nothing but little cottages, like to old decayed walls and heaps of stones. Thus the kingdoms of the world do vanish.

Our Lord God (said Luther) dealeth with countries and cities, as I deal with an old hedge-stake, when it displeaseth me, I say I will pluck thee up and burn thee, and will stick another in thy stead. The English have had France in possession, so far as Burges, and built many cities and houses therein, but at last, they were driven out again by Monheri, between Paris and Orleans. But notwithstanding, they have still in possession the best port in France, Calais, where all the inhabitants must be English people, and at certain hours, must speak English, and not French, under pain of a nominated punishment.

*Of the Venetians.*

VENICE (said Luther) is the richest city above all others; she hath two kingdoms, Cyprus and Candia, but Candia or Crete sometimes was full of robbers; for six hundred ruined or bankrupt merchants fled thither. But insomuch as this island is very hilly, they were not able by force to keep it clean from robbers and pursers, therefore the Venetians caused a public proclamation to go forth, that they would secure and receive all the robbers again to favour, upon condition that each robber should bring unto them the head of another robber. By which means one wretch being snapped by another, the island was cleansed of those vipers, which was a good and wise council. Venice, the richest city, regardeth neither modesty nor civility, they seek only after their own profit; they always are neutrals; they carry on both shoulders; they hang the cloak according to the wind; they are no soldiers, but pepper-sacks. Now they hold with the Turk, ere long they will be for the Emperor; what party hath victory, therewith they do hold. They regard nothing more than costly and stately houses, apparel, and covetousness.

CHAPTER LXXVI.  
 O F R O M E.

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*Luther's Discourse of the City of Rome.*

FORASMUCH (said Luther) as God hath brought me into this evil-favoured business and game, I would not take a hundred thousand ducats that I had not seen Rome, otherwise I should always stand in fear that I much wronged and abused the Pope; but what we see and know, the same we speak. Bem-bus, an exceeding learned man (as he thoroughly had beheld Rome, and considered her), said, Rome is a filthy, stinking puddle, full of the wickedest wretches in the universal world, and wrote as followeth:

*Vivere qui sancte vultis, discedite Roma;  
 Omnia hic ecce licent, non licet esse probum.*

He that would godly live, from Rome must haste and fly;  
 All things are set to sale, no room for honesty.

In this time of the Gospel, some have been at Rome who set their wickednesses and villainy abroad, and reprov'd the same, as Lodowick, a Capuchin Friar, and Egidius, an Austin Friar; also two other preaching Friars, which found fault with the errors of Popedom openly in their sermons. But the day following they were all found dead, their tongues cut out, and stuck in their tails. Whoso in Rome is heard to speak one word against the Pope, receiveth either a *strappercorde*, or is punished with death; for his name is *Noli me tangere*. Before the birth of Christ there were numbered in Rome forty hundred thousand citizens; but not long after were numbered above fourscore and ten hundred thousand.

At Rome are two families, which always are at enmity, and debate the one against the other, the Columnesers, and the Ursiners. The Columnesers are of the Imperial faction, and most powerful; the others are less in esteem and strength. Pope Paul is an Ursiner. No man well knoweth where old Rome stood; the theatre is yet seen, and the Thermes of Dioclesian, which is conveyed twenty-five Dutch miles from Naples into a fair glorious building. There have been the treasure and riches of the world, therefore they did what they pleased.

An ancient Minister supped with Luther, who spoke much of Rome; he had been there four several times, Luther asked him, Why he went thither so often? He said, First, I sought a knave there; secondly, I found him; thirdly, I brought him from thence; fourthly, I carried him thither again, and set him behind St. Peter's altar.

St. Peter's church in Rome hath stood above thirteen hundred years, a great sum of money hath been spent thereupon: for the Pope commanded the angels that they should immediately carry into heaven the souls of all those which died on the way going towards Rome to visit St. Peter's church. This gave John Huss ample occasion to write against the Pope, showing that he had no authority to command the angels. Anno 1511, a Capuchin Friar, in the presence of Dr. Staupits, and divers others, at Rome, related a dream which at that time he dreamed; namely, that a hermit should arise under Pope Leo the Tenth, and should fall upon Popedom: whereupon Philip Melancthon said, This hermit is Luther, for the Austin Friars are called Hermits. When I was at Rome (said Luther), they showed me, for a precious holy relic, the halter wherewith Judas hanged himself; which ought not by us to be forgotten, to the end we should consider in what ignorance our forefathers were.

Rome sometimes was a holy city, but now she is the spouse of the devil, and Christ's enemy.

CHAPTER LXXVII.

OF VOCATION AND CALLING.

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*Luther's Discourse of the Vocation and Calling.*

WHEN those that are in the office of teaching, have not joy and comfort from hence ; namely, that they have not regard to him that called and sent them ; so is it with such an irksome work. Truly (said Luther) I would not take the wealth of the whole world, that I should now begin the work against the Pope, which thus far I have wrought by reason of the exceeding heavy care and anguish wherewith I have been burthened. Again, when I look upon him that called me thereunto, so would I not for the world's wealth but that I had begun it.

It is a case much to be lamented, that no man is content and satisfied with that which God giveth him in his vocation and calling : other men's things please us more than our own : as the heathen said touching the same :

*Fertilior seges est alienis semper in agris,  
Vicinumque pecus grandius uber habet.*

That is,

My neighbour's corn more fertile is than mine ;  
None yield more milk than do my neighbour's kine.

Even so do we poor human creatures in our vocations and callings : no man is content with his condition. *Optat ephippia bos piger, optat arare caballus*, that is, "the slow ox would have a saddle, and the horse would go to plough." The more we have, the more we desire. To serve God (said Luther) is, that every one should remain in his vocation and calling, be it

ever so mean or simple; for first, it teacheth the hearing of God's Word in the church. Afterwards, it dependeth upon the word of the magistrate and of the parents, and to be obedient thereunto, this is to serve God aright.

*That we ought not to neglect Occasions or Opportunities.*

It is said, occasion hath hold before, but is bald behind. Our Lord in nature hath given plainly to understand the same in this manner. A country farmer or husbandman must sow out his barley and oats about Easter, if he deferred it unto Michaelmas, then it would be too late. When apples are ripe, then they should be plucked from the tree, if it be neglected, then they are spoiled and lost: procrastination is a contrary vice to overmuch hastiness. Like as my servant Wolfe doth, when four or five birds fall upon the bird-hearth; he will not then draw the net, but saith, O, I will stay until more come; then they all fly away, and he getteth nothing. Therefore (said Luther) occasion is a great matter. Terence saith well, I came to her in time, which is the chiefest thing of all; this the young boys in schools understand not, *Sunt seniles et imperatoriae voces*, that is, They are stayed and imperial words. Julius Cæsar was a man, he understood occasion; but neither were Pompey nor Hannibal such men. We are not able to express what *occasio* is, therefore we understand it not; in High Dutch it is not to be uttered, for this word opportunity is rather tied to place and persons than time; *occasio* requireth *plus temporis*, i. e., more time; neither have the Latins any word wherewith they could rightly express it, for the word *tempus*, i. e., time, is general; I hold the *etymologia est a cadendo*, that is, The derivation is of *cadendo*, falling out so; as when we say, an accident. The Grecians have but only one word, that is, *καιρός*; we may utter it in this manner, and say, Make use of the hour, and of what the hour bringeth or yieldeth.

It is a marvellous thing that we should neglect such an excellent thing, which was the first of all, viz., time; that we are not able to utter the same, and very few understand it, especially youth, therefore they must have *Patres ac Precep-*

*tores*, i. e., Fathers and Masters, who ought with the rod to hold them thereunto, that they neglect not the time, otherwise it is lost. Many a young fellow hath a stipend during six or seven years, then ought he diligently to study; then he hath his tutors, and other means, but he thinketh, O thou hast yet time enough, and mayest well attain thereunto. But I say, No, fellow; it is said, *Fronte capellata*, &c. What little Jack learneth not, the same neither learneth great John. Now the occasion saluteth thee, and reacheth the hair unto thee, as if she would say, Behold, here I am, take hold of me; but thou thinkest she will come again; then saith she, Well, seeing thou wilt not take hold of my fore-top, take hold therefore on my tail; and therewith she flingeth away.

Bonaventura (said Luther) was but a poor silly Sophist, yet he could say, He that neglects occasion is neglected of it, and we use to say, take hold while it is time, now, now, while this now is present. The Germans have very fair proverbs touching the same, and say, When one offereth thee a pig, then open quickly the mouth of the poak\*. Also, when our Lord God saluteth one, then he ought to thank him. This is very divinely spoken, that our Lord God giveth or sendeth the occasion and opportunity, but who understandeth it to be *donum Dei*, &c., The gift of God. Neither our Emperor Charles understood the occasion when he took the French King prisoner before Pavia, in the year 1525. Afterwards also, when he got into his hands Pope Clement, and had taken Rome, Anno 1527, and Anno 1529, when almost he got the great Turk into his hands before Vienna; then was *occasio* Occasion. But Emperor Charles refused to thank God who saluted him, therefore he is justly bereaved of all good fortunes. It was too much and great a negligence, that a monarch should have in his hands the three most powerful heads, and so negligently to let them go, therefore I say justly unto him, Occasion hereafter is bald behind. Luther, reciting a fable concerning this verse, "Give but little belief, keep thine own, and what is lost let it go," said, There was one that had caught a bird, the bird willing to be set at liberty, said, Let me loose, and I will shew thee a very fair and

\* There is a proverb of that kind in English: "We must make hay while the sun-shine."

precious jewel, worth many thousands; Yea (saith the man), thou intendest to deceive me; No truly, (saith the bird) thou shalt go with me and see the precious stone. The man let go the bird, which flew upon a tree, sat on the top thereof, and threw him down this jewel, *Crede parum, tua ~~serva~~, et quæ periere relinque*. As if the bird should say, When thou hadst me, thou shouldest not have believed me; *Tua ~~serva~~*, that is, What thou hast, the same keep; *Et periere relinque*, Hast thou lost it, so have thou patience.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.

OF DRUNKENNESS.

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*Luther's Discourse concerning Drunkenness.*

GERMANY (said Luther) would be much richer than it is, if such store of velvets and silks were not worn among us, nor so much spice used; we might also be without barley, and instead of beer, drink water. But young fellows without their liquor have no mirth at all; for gaming maketh not merry, neither lecherous sports do make people joyful, therefore they apply themselves to drinking. At the Princely copulation lately held at Torga, they drank at one draught a whole bottle of wine, which they called a good drink. *Sic inventa lege, inventa est et frañs legis*, that is, "The law being invented, the deceit of the law is invented." Cornelius Tacitus wrote that by the ancient Germans it was held for no shame at all to drink and swill four-and-twenty hours together. A gentleman in the court demanded, How long ago it was, that Cornelius wrote concerning drinking? Answer was made, about fifteen hundred years; then the gentleman said, Forasmuch as drunkenness hath been so ancient a custom and of so long descent; therefore let us not break nor bring down the same.

## CHAPTER LXXIX.

## OF THE COURT LIFE.

*Luther's Discourse of the Court Life.*

ANNO 1558, the 15th of November, Luther was sent for to Court by the Prince Elector of Saxony, about important business; At his return from thence with Philip Melancthon, Francis Burckhard, of Weymor, Vice Chancellor to the Prince Elector, in person gave him a convoy, and with three fair horses, which Henry King of England had given him, rode by his coach. Whereupon, Luther began to laugh, and said to Philip Melancthon, this man's fortune will raise unto him great hate and envy at Court, for the roaring courtiers must behold, that this man is made a living Cavalier of St. George: for so they say, when scribes or learned men are made knights. The king of England would willingly have kept Francis Burckhard in England, and have made him a Cavalier of the kingdom, but he refused it; at his departure, the king graced him with royal presents, and so dismissed him from thence.

*Of the Slanders of the Court.*

How went it (said Luther) with Daniel at Court? There the courtiers sought occasion, and willingly would have set on his skirts. Daniel was a wise man, therefore the King intended to place him over the whole kingdom. This the Princes in Persia could not endure, for whoso serveth well and uprightly at Court, the same very soon getteth haters and enviers.

*Of Court Verses, oftentimes recited by Luther, profitable for Courtiers to know.*

DA, capias, quæras, plurima, pauca, nihil.  
 Si te fucosis invitat honoribus aula,  
     Semper erunt conites cura dolorque tibi.  
 Seu foribus subito mutatæ excluderis aulæ,  
     Soliciti tangunt anxia corda metus.  
 Sed si pertuleris animo fastidia magno,  
     Non poterit longi temporis esse dolor.  
 Et musis post hac tranquilla mente vocabis,  
     Barbara quas numquam non vetat aula coli.

Give much, little take, nothing ask.

If the Court allure thee with her painted honours,

Care and sorrow will be thy perpetual companions;

Or, suddenly changing, if she shuts her gates against thee,

Then fear and anxiety will seize thy troubled soul.

But if you bear her disdain with a noble courage,

The grief can never be of long continuance.

And afterwards with mind at ease you may indulge the Muses,

When the barbarous court forbids to be adorned, or cultivated.

*Of the Court Life.*

PHILIP Melancthon discoursed with Luther touching the Court life, and said, The Court life is like books of tragedies, which without are adorned with gold and purple, but within are full of miseries, and contain a thousand miseries for one purple. Whereupon Luther said, Yet, nevertheless, every man striveth to be at Court, they would all be made rich, powerful and great, and many a one hath the luck to hit it; for a great Prince can soon make a poor fellow rich.



# A P P E N D I X .



DR. JOHN AURIFABER'S

## P R E F A C E

TO THE

FIRST ORIGINAL EDITION OF THIS WORK.

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THIS Preface is here subjoined as an Appendix, because it contains not only a short and concise view and description of the state of Religion before and after the time of the Reformation, but also many pious and pertinent remarks on this subject for Christians of all times and denominations. The Reader, who minds the *matter*, will not be offended with some obsolete *words* in this Preface as well as in Luther's Discourses; for even this simplicity in the manner of writing is characteristic of those ancient times, in which *truth* was respected for her inward natural beauty, not for her dress. We have given the whole in its original form, without any material alteration: because we were of opinion, that to polish the style and composition of such a work by the more refined taste of modern times, would be as unbecoming as to adorn an old Gothic temple with the decorations of a stage. The prophecies of Luther concerning a change of things after his time, have been fulfilled; and though arts and sciences, literature and theology, have made great progress in the world during that period, yet it must be confessed, that the fundamental doctrine of justifi-

cation by faith, which is the very basis of true practical Religion and Christianity, is slightly thought of at present in our Protestant church. In this, and many other respects, the light, which shone at Luther's time, has been eclipsed by a succeeding darkness in our *enlightened* times; and we have not so much to dread now the horrors and superstition of Popery, as the total overthrow of the authority of the Word of God by conceited *Critics, Atheists, Enthusiasts, and Infidels*. It is however, a great comfort to believers, what our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ said to Peter, That his church should be built upon his confession, that he was the Christ, and the Son of God, as upon a rock, and that it never should be overturned by all the powers of hell.

*To the Honourable and Right Worshipful the Head Governors, the Mayors and Aldermen of the Imperial Cities, Strasbourg, Augspurg, Ulm, Nuremberg, Lubeck, Hamberg, Brunswick, Frankfurt on the Main, and Regensperg, &c.*

Grace and peace from God the Father, through Christ Jesus our Lord.

THE holy and royal Prophet David, in the 78th Psalm, saith, "God made a Covenant with Jacob, and gave Israel a Law, which he commanded our fathers to teach their children, that their posterity might know it, and the children which were yet unborn. To the intent, that when they came up, they might shew their children the same. That they might put their trust in God, and not forget the works of God, but to keep his commandments.

In these words the great benefits of God are set forth and praised, in that he revealeth to mankind his holy Word, his covenants and laws, and maketh himself known; instructeth us of sin and righteousness, of death and life, of condemnation and salvation, of hell and heaven, and in such wise he gathereth a Christian church to live with him everlastingly; and the Prophet wills also, that we should learn God's Word with diligence, and should teach others therein, and should make it known to all people, and in no wise should forget the wonderful works of God, but should render thanks to him for the same.

Therefore, when God had suffered the children of Israel a long time to be plagued with severe servitude in Egypt, and thereby fall into idolatry and false serving of God, to suffer great persecutions, and many other miseries; then he sent unto them Moses and Aaron, who kindled the light of God's Word again, and drew them from the abominable idolatry of the Heathens, and opened unto them the knowledge of the true God.

Then he led them also with a powerful hand out of the bondage of Egypt, brought them through the Red Sea, and before their eyes he overthrew and drowned the tyrant Pharaoh, with all the Egyptians. He shewed unto them great goodness also in the Wilderness; namely, he gave his commandments unto them on Mount Sinai; he fed them with manna, or bread from heaven, and with quails, and gave them water to drink out of the rock; and moreover, he gave manifold victories unto them, as against the Amalekites, and other enemies.

Then he gave unto them strict charge that they should always remember those unspeakable benefits, that they should speak thereof unto their children, and should be thankful for the same.

For this cause they were yearly to observe and keep the feasts of Easter, of Whitsuntide, and of the Tabernacles, to the end they might always be mindful of God's goodnesses towards them; as is written in Exodus xiii., "Thou shalt shew thy son in that day, saying, This is done because of that which the Lord did unto me when I came out of the land of Egypt. And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial between thine eyes, that the Lord's Law may be in thy mouth; for with a strong hand hath the Lord brought thee out of Egypt. But the children of Israel, after their wonderful deliverance, gave no great thanks to God for so many and great benefits; for, not long after, they erected the Golden Calf, and danced about the same. As also at the Waters of Strife they murmured against God, angered him, and drew his punishments upon them.

We should also place before our eyes this admonition of the 78th Psalm, and should thoroughly consider the example of the children of Israel, who so soon forgot their deliverance out of

Egypt. For we may also well rejoice, that now, in our days, we have restored to us again God's Word gloriously bright and clear; so that we should show this inestimable treasure to our children's children, and how we are delivered and freed from the kingdom of Antichrist, the Pope of Rome, and from the traditions of men, which was a right Egyptian captivity, yea, a Babylonian imprisonment; in which our fore-fathers were worse tormented and plagued than the children of Israel were in Egypt. For God hath given also unto us in Germany a Moses, to be our captain and leader, namely, the much enlightened and famous man Martin Luther, who, through God's special providence, hath brought us out of Egyptian slavery, and hath unveiled and cleared all the chief articles of the Christian religion; and hath so powerfully protected and defended this doctrine of Luther, that the same (as God's Word) hath remained and stood fast against the gates of hell.

For although many learned men, Universities, Popes, Cardinals, Bishops, Friars, and Priests, and after them Emperors, Kings, and Princes, did raise their strong and powerful battery against this one man, Luther, and his doctrine, intending quite to suppress the same; yet, notwithstanding, all their labour was in vain. And this doctrine, which is the true and ancient doctrine of Christ, and of his Apostles, remains and standeth fast to this present day.

And we should look back, and consider, how, and in what a lamentable manner it stood with us fifty years past, concerning the religion and government of the church, and in what miserable bondage we have been in Popedom; for the same is unknown to our children, yea, we that are old have almost forgotten it.

And first in the temple of God sat the Man of Sin, and the Child of Perdition, namely, the Romish Antichrist, of whom St. Paul did prophesy, 2 Thes. ii., "Who exalteth himself above all that is called God," or that is worshipped; he altereth and perverteth God's Word, Laws, and Statutes; and on the contrary, he instituteth all manner of divine services, ceremonies, and ordinances after his own will and pleasure, and in manifold ways and meanings, yea, oftentimes the one contrary to the other; so that in Popedom no man could know what

was certain or uncertain, what was true or false, nor what was commanded or forbidden.

He sold all these for money; he forced all people under his yoke, insomuch that Emperors were constrained to kiss his feet, and from him to receive their crowns; no King or Prince dared to oppose him, nor once to frown at his commands or prohibitions.

From hence he boasted, in his decrees and bulls, that he was God's General Vicar on earth; that he was head of the church, supremest Bishop, and a lord of all Bishops and learned men in the universal world; that he was a natural heir and an inheritor of the Empire, and of all kingdoms when they fell void. His crown at Rome was named *Regnum mundi*, every man must bow to him as to the most holy Father and god on earth. And his hypocritical canonists, in their disputes, maintained that he was not only a man, but that he was both god and man together; who could not sin, and who had all divine and human wisdom in the cabinet of his heart; from whose stool or chair even the Holy Scriptures must have and receive their power, virtue, and authority.

He was the master of faith; and he only was able to expound the Sacred Writ, and to understand the same; yea, he was so sanctified, and so far from reproach, that although he should lead the third part of all the souls of mankind into the pit of hell, yet no man must dare to question or reprove him, or to demand why he did it. For every one ought to believe, that his sacred *celstitude*, and sanctified power, neither would, should, nor could err. He had authority to make void and to annihilate both the New and Old Testaments. The church was built upon him, he could neither err nor fail, from whence it followed of necessity that he was higher and more eminent than all the Apostles.

He had also power and authority to erect new articles of faith, which must be equal in value to the Holy Scripture, and which ought to be believed, if people intended to be saved.

He was likewise far above all councils and fathers, and to be censured by no terrestrial jurisdiction, but all must be subject only and alone to his judgments and decrees.

He made his Romish church the mother of all other churches, from whence it came that all the world appealed thither. He

was only and alone the governor of the church, as being far more able and fitter to govern than the Apostles themselves if they had been living.

He had power to command all people on earth, the angels in heaven, and the devils in hell. To conclude, the chair of Rome was so holy of itself, that although a wicked villain had been elected to be Pope, yet so soon as he was set upon that chair, then instantly he was altogether holy.

These boastings the Pope gave out himself; and also his dissembling trencher-chaplains, the recorders of his Decrees, Decretals, of his Clementines and Extravagants, propogated the same of him in writing; inasmuch that his gorged paunch was puffed up, and he became so full of pride (as by his acts he showed) that, as a Contra-Christ, he brought all into confusion. For it is apparent in what manner he raged in and about the doctrine of the law, or Ten Commandents, and how the same by him were demolished and taken away.

He utterly threw down the first three precepts; for he made a God of man's free-will, in that he taught, with his school-divines, That the natural strength of man, after the fall, remained sound and unspoiled; and that a man by his own human strength (if he did but that which only lay in his own power to do) was able to observe and fulfil all the Commandments, and thereby should stand justified before God. He taught also, it was not grounded in the Scriptures, that the assistance of the Holy Ghost, with his graces, was needful to accomplish good works; but that every man, by his own natural strength and ability, hath a free will, in divine duties, to do well, good, and right.

The other seven Commandments the Pope hath quite beaten down, and hath exalted himself above parents and magistrates, and above the obedience due unto them, and hath instigated and stirred up children against their parents, and subjects against their rulers (as it plainly appeareth by the Imperial histories); which are great and fearful sins and transgressions against the fifth Commandment.

He hath also usurped and drawn to himself the temporal sword, and taught, That it is right and lawful to resist and drive away power with power: and that it is not an absolute com-

mand (but only an advice) to love our enemies, to suffer wrong &c. Such doctrine is quite opposite to the sixth commandment.

Then, contrary to the seventh Precept he forbad his holy Friars, Priests, and Nuns to marry; and made way for them to live in whoredom, and in lechery, without reproof; yea, and moreover he received a yearly income and rent of such whorish wretches; and thereupon he dispensed with matrimonial causes, which God expressly hath forbidden.

Contrary to the eighth Commandment he hath also usurped to himself kingdoms, principalities, countries, people, cities, towns, and villages, and hath taken possession of the most delightful places and dwellings in the world; hath sucked out the sweat and blood of poor people, and filled his thievish purse in such manner, that those of his spiritual shavellings are richer than temporal princes.

He tore also in pieces, and made void all manner of solemn vows, promises, and covenants of peace, which were made without his Popish consent and authority, directly against the ninth Commandment.

Lastly, and against the tenth Commandment, he taught, that the wicked lusts and concupiscence of mankind were no sins, but proceeded only out of human weakness.

In such a manner, and out of a diabolical instinct, did the Pope throw down all God's commandments, and instead thereof did erect human laws and precepts.

The like course he took also touching the preaching of the Gospel. They preached nothing at all of Christ, of his person, works, precious merits, and benefits; neither did they any way comfort the distressed sorrowful consciences. And people were altogether ignorant how or where they might obtain true remission of their sins, eternal life, and salvation.

They declared also to the people, in their sermons, that the only Mediator between God and man, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, was a severe and an angry Judge; that he neither could nor would be reconciled with us, except we had other advocates and intercessors besides him.

By this doctrine people were seduced, and carried away to Heathenish idolatry; and they took their refuge in dead saints

that should help and deliver them, and made them to be their gods; in whom they put more trust and confidence than in our blessed Saviour Christ Jesus; and especially, they placed the Virgin Mary (instead of her son Christ) for a Mediatrix on the throne of grace.

From hence proceeded the pilgrimages to saints, where they sought for pardons and for remissions of sins. Also they sought for pardons of the Pope, of the Fraternities, of Friars, and of other Orders. And people were taught, that they must purchase heaven by their own making of satisfaction, by their own good works, strict kind of lives, by fastings, and such like works.

And whereas prayer is the highest comfort of a Christian, yea, his asylum, his shield and buckler against all adversities; therefore hath the Pope out of prayer made a naked work, a tedious babbling without spirit and truth. People prayed in Latin psalters, and books which they understood not; they observed in praying *Horæ Canonicae* (or the seven times) with garlands of roses, with so many Bridget prayers, and other collects to the dead saints; and thereby they wrought terrors of consciences, and from hence people received no hope, or true comfort at all, neither to be helped nor heard. Yet, notwithstanding, they were made to believe that such devilish prating should merit pardons and remissions of sins for the space of many thousand years.

Baptism, in Popedom, likewise hath almost lost its lustre, for it was not only foul'd and stained with human toys and additions, as with holy water, with salting, with lights, oil, or chrizume, but also it was celebrated in the Latin tongue; to the end the laity, standing by, neither should nor could understand it; and in its place they constituted Monkery as a second baptism, in equal value and operation, through which they took themselves to be as pure and clean as those that received Christ's baptism; from whence they gave to them new names (as they used to give to the Pope's in their elections) conceiving their first names to stink which they received in Christ's baptism.

The Lord's Supper, in Popedom, also was dishonoured, corrupted, turned into idolatry, and wickedly abused; for they

used the same not in remembrance of Christ, but it was made in the Mass the offering of some wicked Priest, and a self-merit of some despairing wretch that daily devoured the same without faith and the right use, and afterwards he sold it (as his breakfast) to others for money, to be imparted to the souls in purgatory, thereby to redeem them therefrom. Insomuch that out of the Lord's Supper they made merely a market or a peddling fair.

Moreover, the Pope treacherously stole away from the Laity the one part of the Sacrament, namely, the wine, and the other part (which was left) was closely shut up and preserved; and yearly, *in die Corporis Christi*, with great solemnity, was carried about and worshipped, and therewith they wrought fearful idolatry.

With confession the Pope likewise brought into confusion the consciences of the whole world, and the souls of many into despair, and imposed upon people full absolutions in regard of their own good works and merits; and thereby, instead of solace and comfort, he brought fearful frightings, disquietnesses, and discouragements, into the consciences of distressed and sorrowful people; and, instead of true keys, he made false thievish picklocks, of which he made use in all his wicked proceedings.

Now, when he had darkened and falsified God's Word, and the doctrine of the Law and Gospel; had made frustrate and annihilated the sweet and comfortable prayers and true devotion towards God; had dishonoured baptism, the Lord's Supper; then, at last, he proceeded to tread under foot the divine state and orders in the world; insomuch that, of the pulpit, and church government, he made a temporal discipline, where he (the Pope) sat as the head and monarch; and under him the Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Prelates, Abbots, Friars, Nuns, Priests, and an innumerable multitude of many other orders, all which must be styled holy Fathers, who lived in the state of accomplishing full satisfaction for sins. On the contrary, the poor Laity stunk altogether in their sacred noses; for they (as holy Fathers) served God day and night, early and late, with celebrating Mass, which, observing the canonical hours, they sung Latin in the churches, fasted and accomplished many

other good works ; therefore they sold to the Lay people good works and deserts (which they had in overplus) for money.

By this short relation a man may easily collect in what state and condition the Christian church stood in Popedom. Such fearful darkness did God suffer to go over the wicked unthankful world as a just judgment ; inasmuch that they refused to receive the light of the truth to salvation.

But God, who is abundant in grace and mercy, hath caused his Son and light of the Gospel again to rise in our time, and hath expelled such dark nights ; dispersed those gloomy clouds of human traditions ; for having awakened that most famous man of God, Luther, who, with his preaching and doctrine, joined battle with Popedom, and (through God's Word) threw the same to the ground, and thereby delivered us from the captivity of Popedom, led us again into the Land of Promise, and placed us in a paradise where God's Word is cleared, and (God be praised) the church cleansed from the cobwebs of men's traditions, and is purified and gloriously reformed, so that we never can be able to render sufficient thanks to Almighty God for the same.

For God, through Luther, hath brought forth the Bible, or the Holy Scripture, which formerly lay (as it were) under the bench, and clearly hath translated the same *ex ipsis fontibus*, out of the Hebrew into the High German tongue, which may easily be read and understood of young and old, rich and poor, clergy and laity.

And now a father or master may daily read the Holy Scriptures to his wife, to his children, and servants, and may instruct them in the doctrines of grace, and direct them in the truth and true service of God. Whereas before in Popedom, the Bible was known to none ; nay, the Doctors in Divinity themselves read not therein, as Luther oftentimes affirmed in my hearing, that Dr. Andrew Carlestad was a Doctor in Divinity eight years before he began to read in the Bible. And now we know the Pope to be that bear-wolf and devourer of people, and we know also how to take heed of him, and to warn our children and posterity of his tyranny.

Now, if we Germans were not blind like the moles, we should acknowledge these unspeakable graces and benefits of God ;

then should we justly consider these wonderful deliverances, that we are freed out of Popedom (as out of that miserable Egyptian servitude), and with bended knees should daily render hearty thanks to God for the same; and with the 34th Psalm we should say, "I will always praise the Lord, his praise shall ever be in my mouth: my soul shall ever make her boast in the Lord." And we should also cheerfully sing with the 103d Psalm, "Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name: Praise the Lord, O my soul, and forget not the good that he hath done for thee."

We should also pray heartily to God, that he would not extinguish this light of the Gospel, but would suffer the same long to shine, that our children's children and posterity might walk also in this saving light, and might in the same rejoice, and with us eternally be saved.

The devil is a great enemy to this treasure of God's Word and his holy Sacraments, he assaileth the same wonderfully in order to quench this light, as it plainly appeared after the death of this holy man of God, Luther: for first, strong attempt was made by the *Interim*, how and by what means the doctrine of justification by faith, of good works and a Christian kind of living, of the Sacraments and well ordered ceremonies in our Christian church, might utterly be overthrown.

Afterwards approached the conciliators, or the qualifiers, who intended to mediate and to decide the controversies between us and the Pope, and would undertake to qualify the same. They taught, that the nearer one kept himself about the Pope, the better it was: and therefore they intended to restore again the jurisdiction of the church to the Popish Bishops; and, with great offence, they endeavoured to erect the decayed ceremonies, and whoso refused to follow them therein, the same fell into great danger.

These would willingly have lifted the Pope into the saddle, and would have brought him again upon his legs, to have domineered over us with his Egyptian captivity.

Neither were slack herein the Antinomians, Swenckfelders, Enthusiasms, co-agents, and the maintainers of the doctrine, that good works are necessary to salvation, with other philosophical divines. These were very diligent to eclipse again the true

doctrines which Luther most excellently had cleared and brought again to light.

Now, here all that professed to be Christians and upright teachers and preachers should have resisted these false and wicked errors. But many of them were dumb dogs, that would not bark, nor set themselves against the ravening wolves to drive them from Christ's sheepfold, to feed the poor sheep, and to provide for them sweet and wholesome pasture. Neither were they any way careful of Joseph's miseries as the Prophet saith.

But others, who, like true and constant teachers, fought against those enemies of God, were reviled and held for rebels, for boisterous and stiff-necked; that would raise needless strifes and divisions, and would bring in *Bellum Grammaticale*, therefore they were hated of every one, persecuted and plagued.

In like manner the schools and universities began to fall again, and the pure doctrine of God's Word by them was not much regarded, but school divinity was held again in great repute, and many new phrases and other eloquent arts were brought into the church, which gave occasion to falsities and errors.

Thereupon the politicians, the lawyers, and courtiers sallied out, these would rule the church and pulpits, they would put in and put out ministers and churchwardens, would censure and determine causes of Religion according to their own fancies, as in temporal affairs; insomuch that, with grief, we plainly see the falsifying of the doctrine, and also the devastation of the well-disciplined orders of the church in Germany; so that the captivity and tyranny of the Pope is again hard at the door.

Of this Luther in his lifetime did often foretel, and highly lament, that after his death the Word of God would be again sophisticated and brought down by false brethren, by sectaries and seducers. For *anno 1546*, Luther being at Mansfield, in the time of Christmas, spake these words following to Philip Melancthon, to Justus Jonas, to Michael Cocleus, and to myself: I have (said he) with great pains and labour brought to light again the doctrine of God's Word, and all the articles of faith, out of the filth and mire of the school-divines, and out of

the Pope's decrees, and I give and leave the same to you, and you have them pure and clean; ye now reap and gather in what I have sowed. But it will cost you many a sour drop of sweat to keep what I leave you; yea, he will hardly keep it.

He was wont likewise oft times to say unto us: That as the doctrine of God's Word hitherto had grown and highly increased, so now again the same would lessen and decrease when it had run its course. He said also, That, *anno* 1530, at the Imperial Diet at Augspurg, the true doctrine of the Divine Word was at the highest, and in full flourish, but now it would decline again; for (said he) God's Word very seldom hath remained above forty years in one place, which he proved by many examples.

We read (said Luther) in the book of Judges, that commonly in the space of forty years happened an alteration of religion among the Jews. In like manner it so fell out in the times of the Kings and Prophets. Neither was the doctrine of the Gospel in the time of our Saviour Christ and his Apostles of longer standing, in the land of Judæa, in Greece, Asia, and in other territories, preserved pure and unfalsified.

St. Paul preached but little above thirty years, yet nevertheless in that short space, yea, and in his lifetime, the church (which by him was so well ordered and disciplined) was torn and in such sort devastated, at Corinth, at Thessalonica, at Ephesus and elsewhere, that he was constrained with great labour and pains to restore and to re-edify it again.

In the time of the holy Fathers it went even so likewise, for St. Austin did preach and write not longer than forty years.

In these Discourses is also showed that the holy man, Luther, did prophecy touching the declination of the true doctrine of the Divine Word; for in the title, That the Bible is the head of arts, &c. he spake these words following: So long as this people do live which have heard me, Philip Melancthon, John Calvin, Dr. Pommeru, and other upright and true preachers, so long (said he) the case may stand well; but when we are gone, and when this time is past, then there will be a fall; we have an evident example concerning this point in the book of Judges, where, in the second chapter, it is said: "When Joshua was dead, and all the elders that outlived him and had seen the works of the Lord, then arose another generation after them

which knew not the Lord, nor the works which he had done for Israel, and they did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baal;" and they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, which had brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods.

Therefore we ought to make good use of this light, and seriously to exercise ourselves in the doctrine of God's Word, as Christ commandeth and saith: "Walk in the light while ye have the light, that ye may be children of the light." And the holy Psalmist also prayeth, "That the divine Word may be a lanthorn to his feet and a light to his paths," that thereby he might direct his ways, and be preserved from darkness and stumbling. And St. Peter chargeth us, "That we should take good heed to God's Word, as unto a light that shineth in darkness."

God Almighty, the Father of our loving Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, grant his holy spirit, that Christian kings and princes, cities and towns, may acknowledge these unspeakable benefits of the revealing again of the Gospel, and the deliverance out of the Egyptian bondage, the kingdom of Antichrist; and to be heartily thankful to God for the same, and to live thereafter in holiness, and not to drive away God's Word by contemning thereof, and through sinful and wicked actions to bereave ourselves and our posterity of the glorious liberty of the Gospel, nor plunge ourselves into such distress and miserable captivity of Popish tyranny, wherein our forefathers and predecessors have been.

But that this treasure and *Depositum* of God's Word may remain in Germany, and that this begun work may be set forward, and proceed to God's glory, honour, and praise, and to the preservation and salvation of the Christian church, throughout all the world; which God of his infinite mercy grant for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen\*.

Your Honour's and Worship's

Most humble, faithful Servant,

And very loving Friend,

Anno 1569.

JOHN AURIFABER, D.D.

\* Here follows the testimony concerning Luther's Familiar Discourses, which is printed in this Edition, after Captain Henry Bell's Narrative.

THE  
 C A T E C H I S M  
 OF  
 DR. MARTIN LUTHER.

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I. THE FIRST HEAD.

THE HOLY TEN COMMANDMENTS OF GOD, OR THE DECALOGUE.

God spake these words, and said, I am the Lord thy God.

*The First Commandment.*

THOU shalt have no other Gods but me. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me: and shew mercy unto thousands in them that love me, and keep my commandments.

*What doth this Commandment teach?*

That we ought to fear and love God above all things, and to put our trust in him only.

*The Second Commandment.*

Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain : for the Lord will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain.

*What doth this Commandment teach ?*

That we ought to fear and love God, and to avoid profane cursing, imprecations, conjurations, lies and deceits, by his holy name ; and that in all our wants we must call upon that name, worship it, and praise it with thanksgivings.

*The Third Commandment.*

Remember that thou keep holy the Sabbath-day. Six days shalt thou labour, and do all that thou hast to do ; but the seventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God : in it thou shalt do no manner of work, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, thy man-servant and thy maid-servant, thy cattle, and the stranger that is within thy gates. For in six days the Lord made heaven and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day : wherefore the Lord blessed the seventh day and hallowed it.

*What doth this Commandment teach ?*

That we ought to fear and love God, and not despise godly preaching or his Word ; but that we account it holy, willingly hear and learn it.

*The Fourth Commandment.*

Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.

*What doth this Commandment teach ?*

That we ought to fear and love God, and not despise our

parents or superiors, neither provoke them to anger, but honour them, serve them, reverence them, love and highly esteem them.

*The Fifth Commandment.*

Thou shalt do no murder.

*What doth this Commandment teach?*

That we ought to fear and love God, and not to molest or damage the life of our neighbour, but that we assist him and serve him in every want or danger both of soul and body.

*The Sixth Commandment.*

Thou shalt not commit adultery.

*What doth this Commandment teach?*

That we ought to fear and love God, that we may live modestly and chastely both in word and deed; and that all who are married do love and honour each other.

*The Seventh Commandment.*

Thou shalt not steal.

*What doth this Commandment teach?*

That we ought to fear and love God, and not take away from our neighbour his goods or money, or obtain them by fraud or bad wares; but that we labour to preserve his substance, and better his circumstances.

*The Eighth Commandment.*

Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.

*What doth this Commandment teach ?*

That we ought to fear and love God, and not to distress, betray, or traduce our neighbour by any falsehood, nor bring any infamy upon him ; but that we excuse for him, think and speak well of him, and that we receive and interpret all things of him in a favourable light.

*The Ninth Commandment.*

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's house.

*What doth this Commandment teach ?*

That we ought to fear and love God, and not sieze by wicked cunning the inheritance or house of our neighbour, and under shadow of right or law annex them to our own ; but rather we ought to assist him, that his property may be kept entire.

*The Tenth Commandment.*

Thou shalt not covet thy neighbour's wife, nor his servant, nor his maid, nor his ox, nor his ass, nor anything that is his.

*What doth this Commandment teach ?*

That we ought to fear and love God, so that we do not alienate from our neighbour, or withdraw from him his wife, his man-servants, his maid-servants, or his cattle ; but that we exhort, urge and admonish them severally with all diligence to discharge their duty.

*What saith God generally concerning all these Commandments.*

I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and showing mercy unto thousands on them that love me, and keep my commandments.

*What do these words mean?*

God threateneth punishment to all that transgress and violate his commands; we ought therefore to tremble at and fear God's wrath, and to do nothing against his commands; again he also promiseth his grace, and all good things to all who keep his commandments; therefore we ought to love God and trust in him, and to frame earnestly and diligently our lives always according to his commands.

## II. THE SECOND HEAD.

## THE APOSTLES' CREED.

*The First Article.*

## OF CREATION.

I BELIEVE in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth.

*What meaneth this Article?*

I believe that God hath created me together with all creatures; that he hath given me a body, a soul, eyes, ears, and all my members, reason, and all my senses, and these he still preserveth. Moreover that he plentifully and daily giveth me food and raiment, an habitation, wife, children, lands, flocks, and all good things, with all the necessaries of life; that he protecteth me against all dangers, freeth and delivereth me from all evils, and he doth all these things out of his mere fatherly and divine goodness and mercy without any desert of mine, or any worth; for all which things I deservedly ought with all my might to thank, to praise, to worship and obey him. This is most assuredly true.

*The Second Article.*

## OF REDEMPTION.

AND in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under

Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried; he descended into hell; the third he rose again from the dead; he ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

*What meaneth this Article?*

I believe that Jesus Christ, the true God, and also true man, born of the Virgin Mary, is my Lord, who hath redeemed me a lost and condemned man, and hath delivered me from all sins, from death, and the power of Satan; not with gold and silver, but with his holy and precious blood, and by his innocent sufferings and death, that I might be wholly his, and might live under him in his kingdom, and serve him in everlasting righteousness, innocency, and happiness, in like manner as he himself rose from the dead, and liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. This is most assuredly true.

*The Third Article.*

OF SANCTIFICATION.

I believe in the Holy Ghost; the holy catholic church; the communion of saints; the forgiveness of sins; the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting. Amen.

*What meaneth this Article?*

I believe that I, by the strength of my own reason, can by no means believe in Jesus Christ, or approach or come unto him; but the Holy Ghost through the Gospel hath called me and enlightened me with his gifts, sanctified me by a true faith, and has preserved me; even as he is wont to call, to assemble, to enlighten, and to sanctify the whole church throughout the world, and to preserve them by Jesus Christ in the only true faith; in which church he daily doth most mercifully forgive all sins to me, and all Christians, and in the last day will raise

us all from the dead, and will give everlasting life to me, and to all that truly believe in Christ. This is most assuredly true.

### III. THE THIRD HEAD.

#### THE LORD'S PRAYER.

##### *Preface.*

OUR Father, who art in Heaven.

##### *What meaneth these words?*

God lovingly inviteth us, in this little preface, truly to believe in him, that he is our true Father and that we are truly his children, so that full of confidence we may more boldly call upon his name, even as we see children with a kind of confidence ask anything of their parents.

##### *The First Petition.*

Hallowed be thy name.

##### *What meaneth this Petition?*

The name of God truly is of itself holy, but we ask in this petition, that it may be hallowed by us.

##### *How doth that come to pass?*

When the Word of God is taught with purity and sincerity, and we, as becometh children of God, live godly according thereto; which, that it may be the case, vouchsafe us, O my Father, who art in heaven! But whoso teacheth and practiseth it otherwise than God's Word teacheth, he profaneth God's name amongst us; forbid this from coming to pass, O my heavenly Father!

##### *The Second Petition.*

Thy kingdom come.

*What meaneth this Petition?*

The kingdom of God truly cometh of itself without our prayers, but by this petition we pray also, that it may come unto us.

*How cometh that to pass?*

When the heavenly Father giveth us his Holy Spirit, who worketh by his grace so, that we believe his holy Word, and live a godly life both in time and eternity.

*The Third Petition.*

Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.

*What meaneth this Petition?*

The good and merciful will of God is done even without our prayers, but we ask in this petition, that it may be done by us.

*How cometh that to pass?*

When God breaketh and hindereth every evil counsel, will, and attempt, so working that we the less sanctify the name of God, and whereby the coming of his kingdom to us is prevented; such is the will of the devil, the world, and our own flesh; but comforteth and preserveth us steadily in his word and faith to the end of our life; this is the good and merciful will of God.

*The Fourth Petition.*

Give us this day our daily bread.

*What meaneth this Petition?*

God giveth indeed to all daily bread, though we ask it not, and that to wicked men; but we pray in this petition, that we may acknowledge this benefit, and so may receive our daily bread with thanksgiving.

*What do you mean by daily bread ?*

I mean by it every thing that belongeth to the want and supply of our life ; that is, meat, drink, clothes, dwelling, gardens, lands, flocks, money, wealth, happy marriage, virtuous children, faithful servants, upright and just magistrates, peaceful government, wholesome air, quietness, health, modesty, honour, true friends, faithful neighbours, and other things of the like kind.

*The Fifth Petition.*

And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us.

*What meaneth this Petition ?*

We ask in this prayer, that our Heavenly Father would not look upon and examine our sins, and reject our prayers upon that account ; seeing, we are worthy of none of those things which we ask, neither are we able to deserve anything, but that he would give us all things through his grace and goodness ; because every day we sin many times, and deserve only punishment : and on the other hand, that we may heartily forgive whatsoever others have done against us, and freely render good for evil.

*The Sixth Petition.*

And lead us not into temptation.

*What meaneth this Petition ?*

God indeed tempteth no man ; but yet we ask, in this petition, that he would keep and preserve us, lest the devil, the world, and our own flesh delude and draw us away from the true faith, and throw us into superstition, distrust, despair, and other grievous sins and wickednesses ; and that, if we should be

tempted therewith even to the highest degree, we still may conquer, and at last triumph over them.

*The Seventh Petition.*

But deliver us from evil.

*What meaneth this Petition?*

We beg in this prayer as it were the whole, that our Heavenly Father would deliver us from all evils and dangers of body and soul, of goods, and of honour; and that, when the hour of death cometh, he would give us a happy departure out of this world, and through his gracious goodness would receive us out of this valley of misery unto himself in heaven.

*Conclusion.*

For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever, Amen.

*What is the meaning of this word, Amen.*

Amen, meaneth assuredly, namely, that I am sure that petitions of this kind are accepted by my Heavenly Father, and heard by him, because he hath commanded us, that we should pray after this manner, and hath promised that he will hear us. Amen, Amen: that is, truly, certainly, so be it.

## LUTHER'S DAILY MANUAL.

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*When you rise in the morning, say devoutly :*

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

*Then say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and the following collect :*

I thank thee, O my Heavenly Father, by Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son, our Lord, that thou hast kept and preserved me this night from all evils and dangers ; and I beseech thee, that thou wouldst forgive me all my sins, wherein I have offended thee, and preserve me this day from sin, and keep me from all evils, that all my actions and so my whole life may please thee ; For I commend myself, my body and soul, and all things, into thy hands ; let thy holy angel be ever with me, to preserve me from the power of darkness. Amen.

*Afterwards cheerfully go to the employment of your calling, and sing according to time and opportunity a psalm or hymn, whereby your heart may be still more lifted up to God.*

*In like manner, at evening, when you go to rest, say devoutly :*

In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

*Then say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the following collect :*

I thank thee, O my Heavenly Father, by Jesus Christ, thy well-beloved Son, that thou out of free mercy and goodness hast kept and preserved me this day. And I beseech thee, that thou wouldst forgive me all my sins, which I have committed, and wherein I have offended thee, and that thou wilt this night by thy grace mercifully preserve me, for I commend myself, my body and soul, and all things into thy hands. Let thy holy angel be ever with me, to preserve me from the power of darkness. Amen.

*And then go calmly and quietly to rest.*

## GRACE BEFORE MEAT.

Psalm cxlv. 15, 16.

THE eyes of all wait upon thee, O Lord! and thou givest them their meat in due season.

Thou openest thine hand, satisfieth the desire of every living thing.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

Then say the Lord's Prayer, adding :

O Lord, our Heavenly Father, bless us and these thy gifts, which we receive out of thy great bounty through Jesus Christ, thy dear Son, our Lord. Amen.

## GRACE AFTER MEAT.

Psalm xvi. 1. Psalm cxlvii. 9, 11.

O GIVE thanks unto the Lord, for he is good : for his mercy endureth for ever.

He giveth to the beast his food, and the young ravens, which cry.

He delighteth not in the strength of the horse : he taketh not pleasure in the legs of a man.

The Lord taketh pleasure in them that fear him, in those that hope in his mercy.

Glory be to the Father, &c. Then say the Lord's Prayer, adding :

We thank thee, O Lord God our Heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ, our Lord, for all thy gifts and benefits, who liveth and reigneth for ever and ever. Amen.

RELATIVE DUTIES, EXPRESSED IN SCRIPTURE  
WORDS BY LUTHER.

I. *Clergy.*

A BISHOP must be blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, not a brawler, not covetous, one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity, not a novice, holding fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort and convince the gainsayers. 1 Tim. iii. 2. 6. Tit. i. 9.

II. *People.*

THE Lord hath ordained, that they, which preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel. 1 Corinth. ix. 14. comp. Luke x. 7.

Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived, God is not mocked. Gal. vi. 6, 7.

We beseech you, brethren, to know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you; and to esteem them very highly in love, for their works sake; and be at peace among yourselves. 1 Thess. v. 13. comp. 1 Tim. v, 17.

Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief, for that is unprofitable for you. Hebr. xiii. 17.

III. *Magistrates.*

Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation. For he beareth not the sword in vain, for

he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 4. comp. Psalm lxxxii. 3, 4. Psalm ci. 6, 8.

#### IV. *Subjects.*

RENDER unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's. Mat. xxii. 21.

Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. For, for this cause pay you tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing. Render to all their dues; tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour. Rom. xiii. 5, 6, 7.

I exhort therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men; for Kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty, for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2, 3.

Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well. 1 Peter, ii. 13, 14. comp. Tit. iii. 1.

#### V. *Husbands.*

HUSBANDS, dwell with your wives according to knowledge, giving honour unto the wife as unto the weaker vessel, and as being heirs together of the grace of life, that your prayers be not hindered. 1 Peter, iii. 7.

Husbands, love your wives, even as Christ also loved the church. Eph. v. 25. And be not bitter against them. Col. iii. 19.

#### VI. *Wives.*

WIVES, submit yourselfs unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord, Eph. v. 22. even as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling

him Lord ; whose daughters ye are as long as ye do well, and are not afraid with any amazement. 1 Peter, iii. 6.

### VII. *Parents.*

FATHERS, provoke not your children to anger, lest they be discouraged. Col. iii. 21. But bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Eph. vi. 4.

### VIII. *Children.*

CHILDREN, obey your parents in the Lord ; for this is right. Honour thy father and mother, which is the first commandment with promise ; that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on the earth. Eph. vi. 1, 3.

### IX. *Householders.*

MASTERS, forbear threatening, knowing that your Master also is in heaven ; neither is there respect of persons with him. Eph. vi. 9. comp. Col. iv. 1. Deuter. xxiv. 14.

### X. *Man-servants, Maid-servants, and Work-folks.*

SERVANTS, be obedient to them that are your masters, according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart as unto Christ. Not with eye-service, as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart ; with good-will doing service as to the Lord, and not to men ; knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free. Eph. vi. 5, 8. comp. Tit. ii. 9, 10. 1 Tim. vi. 2.

### XI. *Youth of both Sexes.*

YOUNGER, submit yourselves unto the elder ; for God resisteth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. 1 Peter, v. 5. comp. Prov. xii. 1. Eccl. ix. 1. Prov. xxiv. 14. Luke ii. 52.

XII. *Old Men.*

BID the aged men to be sober, grave, temperate, sound in faith, in charity, in patience. Tit, ii. 2.

XIII. *Old Women.*

BID the aged women that they be in behaviour as becometh holiness; not false accusers, not given to much wine; teachers of good things, that they may teach the young women to be sober, to love their husbands, to love their children, to be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good, obedient to their own husbands, that the word of God be not blasphemed. Tit. ii. 3. 5.

XIV. *Widows.*

SHE that is a widow indeed, and desolate, trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day. But she that liveth in pleasure is dead while she liveth. 1 Tim. v. 5.

XV. *General Duties.*

THOU shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. All the other commandments are briefly comprehended in this. Rom. 13, 9. And continue instant in prayers for all men. 1 Tim. ii. 1. comp. Philip. iv. 8, 9.

Let each with diligence his duty know,  
And in that dwelling happiness shall flow.

## GENERAL CONFESSION.

ALMIGHTY and most merciful Father; we have erred and strayed from thy ways like lost sheep; we have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts; we have offended against thy holy laws; we have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and have done those things which we ought not to have done; and there is no health in us. But thou, O Lord, have mercy upon us miserable offenders. Spare thou them, O God, which confess their faults. Restore thou them that are penitent. According to thy promises declared unto mankind in Christ Jesus our Lord. And grant, O most merciful Father, for his sake, that we may hereafter live a godly, righteous, and sober life, to the glory of thy holy name. Amen.

## ANOTHER.

ALMIGHTY, everlasting God, merciful Father in Christ Jesus, I a poor, miserable sinner, confess unto thee all my sins and iniquities, wherein soever I have offended thee, and deserved thy punishment in time and in eternity. But I sincerely mourn for, and repent of all my sins. And I beseech thee by thine infinite mercy, and by the innocent and painful sufferings and death of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, to be gracious and merciful unto me a miserable offender, and graciously to grant th powerful assistance of thy Holy Spirit to amend my life. Amen.

## BAPTISMAL VOW.

I RENOUNCE the devil, and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world; and I devote myself to thee, the Triune God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to continue in true faith and obedience until my life's end.

*Of Luther's Comfortable Prayer which he made at his last  
End.*

ALMIGHTY, everlasting, merciful Lord God, Father of our loving Lord Jesus Christ, I certainly know that all which thou hast said, the same thou art able to keep and perform; thou canst not lie, thy word is true; in the beginning thou promised me thy only begotten Son Jesus Christ, the same is come, and hath delivered me from the devil, death, hell, and sin; and for more security, out of thy gracious will, there are presented unto me, the holy Sacraments, the Baptism, and the Lord's Supper. I have made use of them, have received them, and steadfastly in faith I have relied upon thy Word. Wherefore I make no doubt at all, but that I am secured and delivered from the devil, death, hell, and sin. Is this my hour and thy divine will and pleasure, so am I willing from hence to depart in joy and peace according to thy word, and will go into thy bosom.

FINIS.

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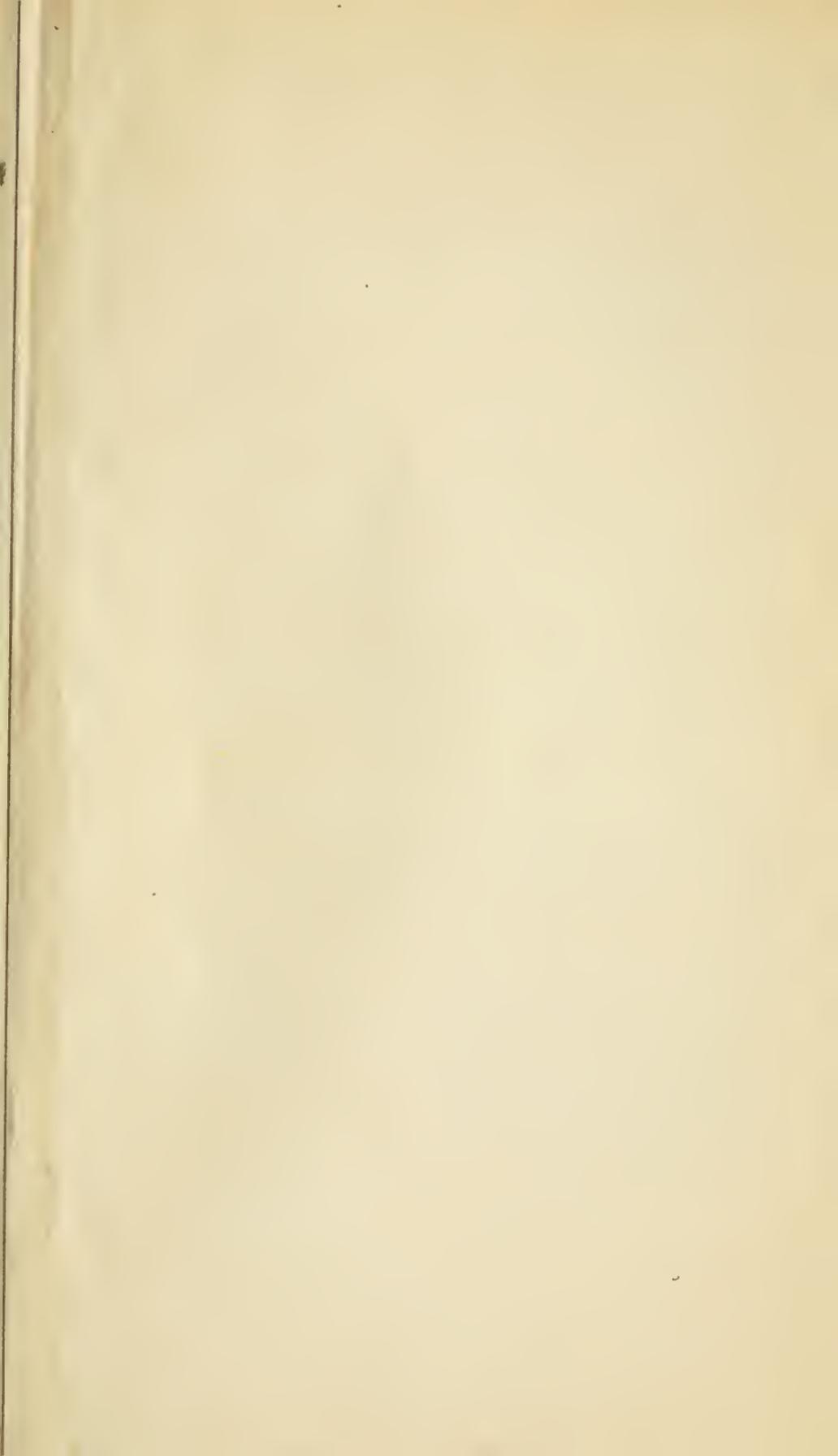
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