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## King Henry VIII Attacks Luther

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leit und die Tatsache des Sterbens Christi zugeben, so ist darauf zu antworten, daß Sterblichkeit nicht eine unbedingt wesentliche Eigenschaft der menschlichen Natur ist, sondern daß der Mensch erst infolge der Sünde dem Tode unterworfen ist. Hätte Adam nicht gesündigt, so wäre die Sünde nicht in die Welt gekommen und darum auch nicht der Tod, Röm. 5, 12. Dies Argument scheint zwar auch für die wesentliche Un-sündhaftigkeit der menschlichen Natur Christi überhaupt zu gelten. Aber die Schrift macht hier den Unterschied klar: Adam peccare potuit, *vel non potuit*; Christus peccare *non potuit*. Nach dem Sündenfall steht es so: Adam und jeder gewöhnliche Mensch ist kraft seiner Sündhaftigkeit dem Tode unterworfen; Christus, als sündloser Mensch, ist nicht dem Tode unterworfen, sondern hat sich freiwillig in den Tod gegeben; er gab stellvertretenderweise sein Leben in den Tod, Jes. 53, 12; Hebr. 2, 14 f.; Joh. 10, 18.

Wie haben wir uns dann aber die Möglichkeit und die Wirklichkeit der Versuchungen, die Christus erlitt, zu erklären? Antwort: Durch die Tatsache seiner vollkommenen Stellvertretung, kraft deren er sich mit dem Menschengeschlecht ganz und gar identifizierte, Hebr. 4, 15. Rachen (*The Virgin Birth of Christ*, 395) schreibt ganz richtig: "If we believe, as the Bible teaches, that all mankind are under an awful curse, then we shall rejoice in knowing that there entered into the sinful race from the outside One upon whom the curse did not rest, *save as He bore it for those whom He redeemed by His blood.*" Wie die Sünde, die Christus auf sich nahm, kraft seiner Stellvertretung nicht mehr unsere Sünde, sondern seine Sünde war, Ps. 69, 6, wie er an unserer Statt so furchtbar angefochten wurde, daß seine Seele betrübt war bis an den Tod, Matth. 26, 38, und sein Schweiß wie Blutstropfen zur Erde fiel, so ist er tatsächlich versucht worden allenthalben gleichwie wir, doch ohne Sünde. Darüber kommen wir nicht hinaus, und darum nehmen wir unsere Vernunft gefangen unter den Gehorsam Christi und glauben dem Worte Gottes.

P. E. Kreckmann.

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### King Henry VIII Attacks Luther.

"In the world ye shall have tribulation." That prophecy of Christ became history in England.

On October 31, 1517, Martin Luther posted ninety-five theses on indulgences.

Long before Luther the *Piers Plowman* of Langland and Chaucer in the *Canterbury Tales* had protested against these indulgences.

When crowned in 1509, young Henry VIII said: "It has been, and is, my earnest wish to restore Christ's religion to its pristine purity."



In 1512 Dean Colet of St. Paul's told Convocation: "The Church, the spouse of Christ, is become foul and deformed. The faithful city is become a harlot. She hath committed fornication with many lovers." He was charged with heresy [though not for this statement] at the instance of Bishop Fitz James of London, but Archbishop Warham saved him from burning, and Henry praised him.

On March 5, 1518, Erasmus sent the theses to Thomas More and to Dean Colet and complained about the impudence of Rome in spreading indulgences.

Thus began what Cardinal Gasquet correctly calls "the Lutheran invasion." The Reformation came, made in Germany.

On June 24, 1518, king Henry's secretary, Richard Pace, wrote Wolsey a letter, from which it appears the king was at work in writing against Luther. Bernard André, the poet, is credited with getting the king to go into this novel warfare.

On February 14, 1519, the famous Basel printer Froben wrote Luther his books were going to Italy, Spain, Brabant, and England. "We have sold out all your books except ten copies and never remember to have sold any more quickly."

"Blasius Salmoneus, the bookseller of Leipzig, at the last Frankfurt fair, made me a present of various treatises made by you. As they were approved by the judgment of all the learned, I printed them with my types and sent 600 into France and Spain. They are sold in Paris: they are read in the Sorbonne and approved there, as our friends assure me. Some very learned persons there declare that they had for a long time wished to see such a liberty in those who treated of sacred matters. Calines, a bookseller of Pavia, of very great erudition and fond of the Muses, carried a good part of these books into Italy to disperse them through all the cities. He does not aim at profit so much as to give sustenance to reviving piety and to do good as far as he can. He promised to send me the epigrammata written in your praise by all the learned of Italy. We have also sent your books into Brabant and England. We printed only 300 copies of the reply of Sylvester. The learned say that it cannot hurt you.

"Our bishop particularly favors you. So his suffragan, the Bishop of Tripoli. The Cardinal Sedunensis, when we offered him your lucubrations, said, 'Luther! You are truly Luther.' Some one sent him the Propositions of Eccius and said that he brought the news of his victory of Eccius over you. The cardinal answered, 'Eccius may dispute as much as he pleases; but Luther writes the truth.' We have sold all our copies but ten. We had never a more happy sale with any book before."

In May Erasmus wrote Cardinal Wolsey, England's most magnificent churchman and statesman: "The man's life is approved by the unanimous consent of all, and the fact that his character is so upright.



that even his enemies find nothing to slander in it must considerably prejudice us in his favor."

On the 30th he wrote Luther: "Dearest brother in Christ: Your epistle, showing the keenness of your mind and breathing a Christian spirit, was most pleasant to me. I cannot tell what commotion your books are raising here. In England there are men who think well of your writings, and they of the very greatest. I have looked over your commentaries on the Psalms, which pleased me very much."

One of "the very greatest" may have been King Henry's sister Mary, widow of King Louis XII of France, married to the Duke of Suffolk; at least one of Luther's books is decorated with the coat of arms of the duke.

John Dorne sold many books of Luther at Oxford in 1520. On March 3 G. Cowper wrote his father in London, "Of late ther was herytykes here which did take Luter's opinyons."

The Condemnation of Luther's books by Koeln and Louvain was published in February; in March came the Reply of Luther — quite Lutheresque.

"Luther's Reply wonderfully pleased me. . . . Almost all good men favor Luther. . . . Commend me to Luther. . . . It was decided that his books should be burned in England; but I stopped this by writing letters to Cardinal Wolsey," wrote Erasmus to Melancthon on May 15, 1520. The burning had taken place on the 12th, Henry, Wolsey, and 30,000 Londoners witnessing the fire. Fisher preached "Again ye pernicious doctryn of Martin Luther."

Now that he had the best chance to reform the corrupt Church, Henry, in July, 1520, at the famous Field of Cloth of Gold, spoke to Erasmus about his "writing against Luther." At the same time the learned Polydore Vergil, Italian bishop of Wells, wrote of the great number of "Lutheran books" coming into England.

"After the election of Charles Emperor, Tunstal was sent to be at the Diet of Wormbes."

January 21, 1521, he writes to Cardinal Wolsey that the Germans everywhere are so addicted to Luther that, rather than he shall be oppressed by the Pope's authority (who hath already condemned his opinions), the people will spend a hundred thousand of their lives. They have informed the emperor that he is a good and virtuous man, besides his learning.

"He offereth to make his defense and revoke those opinions which he cannot defend by Holy Scripture.

"He did openly in the town of Wittenberg gather the people and the university together and burn the decretals, etc., as books erroneous, as he there declared; which his declaration he put in print in the Dutch tongue and sent it all about the country; which declaration by some idle fellow hath been translate into Latin, which I send Your



Grace herein enclosed, to the intent ye may see it and burn it when ye have done, and also that Your Grace may call before you the printers and booksellers and give them a strait charge that they bring none of his books into England nor translate them into English, &c. . . .

"He hath written a book since his condemnation, *De Capt. Babylonica Ecclesiae*. . . . They say there is much more strange opinion in it, near to the opinions of Boheme. I pray God keep that book out of England."

Tunstal beseeches Erasmus "by Christ's Passion and glory, . . . yea, and the Church itself prays and desires you to engage in combat with this hydra . . . Proteus . . . atheist . . . hell-dog, . . . who will ask for the abolition of Jesus Christ."

In spite of Tunstal's warning, Luther's dreadful *Babylonian Captivity* did get into England. Prof. J. S. Brewer says: "The dispute with Tetzel might have been forgiven; the burning of the Pope's bulls might have been attributed to the rude and rough extravagance of the German; but Luther's attack on the cardinal doctrine of Sacrifice — interwoven, as it was, not merely with the accepted theology of the day, but with all that was lovely and attractive, in the self-abasement, loyalty, and devotion of the Old World — could not be mistaken or its purpose overlooked. The sentence had gone forth to the world that all sacrifice had been abolished in one great sacrifice, all action absorbed in one great suffering and satisfaction. It was more blessed to believe than do, to receive than to give; for the empty hands of faith were more acceptable in God's sight than the full hecatombs of charity. Christendom stood aghast; its deepest emotions were roused. Not only was the veil rudely torn away from the sanctuary it had hitherto regarded with distant awe and unquestioning reverence, but that sanctuary itself and its services were now held up to the world as no better than a whitened sepulcher, the court of Death, the stronghold of Antichrist."

Wolsey gave the book to Henry and urged the scholastic on the throne to refute it. "I will combat with the pen this Cerberus, sprung from the depths of hell, and if he refuses to retract, the fire shall consume the heretic and his heresies together."

The King of England had to get the Pope's permit to read Luther's book.

On April 21, 1521, Secretary Pace writes Wolsey: "At mine arrival to the king this morning I found him looking upon a book of Luther's. And His Grace showed unto me that it was a new work of the said Luther's. I looked upon the title thereof and perceived by the same that it is the same book put into print which Your Grace sent unto him by me written. And upon such dispraise as His Grace did give unto the said book I delivered the Pope's bull, and his brief brought in my charge opportune, and with the which the king was



well contented [the Pope's bull against Luther and his calling on Henry to root out the Lutherans]; here at length showing unto me that it was very joyous to have these tidings from the Pope's Holiness at such a time as he had taken upon him the defense of Christ's Church with his pen afore the receipt of the said tidings"; and had resolved to "make an end therein the sooner . . . and to send his book not only to Rome, but also to France and other nations, as shall appear convenient. So that all the Church is more bound to this good and vertuous prince for the vehement zeal he beareth unto the same than I can express."

About May 20, 1521, Henry wrote Duke Louis of Bavaria to go the limit against the German heretic, and he wrote Kaiser Karl, "begging, admonishing, and conjuring His Majesty to root up the poisonous weed of the heresy and extirpate both Luther and his pestilent books with fire and sword for the honor of Holy Church and the Papal See."

The Kaiser replied by sending his declaration of April 19 that he was ready to lay down his life and crown to hold up the religion of his fathers and root up the heresy so obstinately held by a single erring monk against all Christendom.

Henry wrote the *Pfalzgraf*: "This fire which has been kindled by Luther and fanned by arts of the devil is raging everywhere. If Luther does not repent, deliver him and his audacious treatises to the flames. I offer you my royal cooperation and even, if necessary, my life."

On May 21 Henry letters Leo his anxiety to suppress the Lutheran heresy and, to testify his zeal for the faith, intends to dedicate to the Pope this, the first offspring of his intellect, that all men may see he is as ready to defend the Church with his pen as with his sword.

*Assertion of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther by the Most Invincible King of England, France, and Ireland, Henry of that Name the Eight* was printed in London by Richard Pynson on July 12, 1521.

In September, Wolsey sent twenty-eight copies, autographed by the king, to the ambassador, and on the 21st he is told "the Popis Holynes this next weke will receive the King's booke from Your Grace is most humbyll Chapleyn and servant Jo Clerk prist."

On the set day the Pope "semyed to lyke veray well the tryme deckyng of the said bokis, opennyd the boke covered with clothe of gold, and begynning the prohem [introduction], redde thereof successyvely v. lefes with owt interruption; and as I suppose, if tym and place and other of no small importante busynes had not lett hym, he wold never a ceased tyll he had redd it over. His Holynes in redyng, at soche place is as he lyked (and that seemyd to be att every second line) mad ever some demonstracion, *vel nutu, vel verbo* [by



nod or word] whereby it apperyd that he had great pleasure in redyng. And when his Holynes had redd a great season, I assur your Grace he gaff the boke a great commendacion and sayd there was therein moche wytt and clerlykly convayance, and how that ther wer meny great clerkis that had wryten in the matter, butt this boke shold seem to passe all thers. His Holines sayd, that he wold nott a thought that soche a boke shold haue com from the Kyngis Grace, who hath been occupied necessarily in other feattis, seeyng that other men whiche hath occupied them selfis in stody all ther liffes, cannot bryng forth the lyke."

Clerk called the Pope's attention to Henry's verses, and the Pope "redd the sayd versis iij tymes very promptly to my great mervail, and commendyd them singlarly."

"The Englishmen's king Henry to Leo the tenth sends

"This work as a witness of faith and of friendship.

"HENRICUS."

". . . Seeyng that I had no bokys, his Holynes wylyd me to send hym v or vj mor, to the intent he myht delyver theym to sundry Cardynalls lernyd," etc., etc.

Clerk wished to make the presentation of the book a grand demonstration in a "publyke Consistorie"; but the Pope positively refused this; he did not wish to stir up the forgotten matters of Luther. "After commendacions of the said Booke his Holynes said that he wold" receive the book "Wednysday next followyng, whiche was the ij day of the monyth of Octobyr."

After hearing Mass, "his Holiness went into the place where consistories were accustomed to be kept. . . . The Pope's Holiness sate in his majesty upon a dais, three steps from the ground, underneath a cloth of estate. Afore him, in a large quadrant, upon stools, sate the bishops in their consistorial habits, to the number of twenty." After three obeisances Clark was caused to kiss the Pope's foot. "His Holiness took me by the shoulders and caused me to kiss first the one cheek and then the other." Knelyng apon my knees I mad myn oracion:—

"This Luther institutes sacraments after his own fancy, reducing them to three, to two, to one; and that one he handles so pitifully that he seems to be about the reducing of it at last to nothing at all. O height of impiety! O most abominable and most execrable villainy of man! What intolerable blasphemies, from a heap of calumnies and lies, without any law, method, or order, does he utter against God and His servants in this book! Socrates, a man judged by Apollo's oracle to be the wisest of men, was by the Athenians poisoned for disputing against the commonly received opinion they had of God and against that religion which was at that time taught to be the best on earth. Could this destroyer of Christian religion expect any better from



true Christians for his extreme wickedness against God! The glory of England is to be in the foremost rank among the nations in obedience to the Papacy." Having refuted Luther's errors with the pen, his master was ready to fight his followers with the sword.

"After myn Oracion I rose vpe, and with iij obeysanceis went vnto the Pope: and delyverd him the Kyng's booke, and immediately retornyd in to my place agayn wher vnto me knelyng, his Holynes said he accepted this book with all alacrity. He thanked his Creator for raising up such a prince as a defender of the Church and the Holy See, who wrote this book against this dreadful monster Luther, etc.

"And apon Saturday, the whiche was the v. day this monyth, I went vnto his Holynes agayn, and it lyked his Holiness att my fyrst comyng to vse veray good wordis vnto me concernyng myn Oracion, and the pronunciacion therof. . . . His Holynes answerd me that this See shold do as moche for the confirmacion of this booke as ever was done for the workys of S. Augustyn or S. Jerome. . . . The Gallican church in the condemnation of Luther and his teachings . . . seems to approve many opinions of Luther himself against the Roman church. . . . In the next Consistorye the Kynges Highnes shall haue his titil geyn him"—Defender of the Faith. At Rome, the x. day of October, 1521.

Campegi wrote he was overcome with joy at reading the golden book. Nothing could be better expressed or better argued. The king was inspired more by an angelic and celestial than by a human spirit. Cochlaeus says: "It was multiplied into many thousands by various printers and filled the whole Christian world with joy and admiration."

All readers of the book were given an indulgence for ten years and ten periods of forty days.

The glorious news reached England at the end of October. On November 4, Pace writes Wolsey: "Itt is to Hys Graces grete contentacion and comferte to have understonde att large . . . how lovingly the Popis Holynesse haith acceptide hys bokes wretyn agaynst Luther." On the 17th: "Whereas the King perceived the great honor, laud, and commendation he had attained by the writing of his book against the detestable heresies of Martin Luthern and that it had pleased the Pope's holiness, in memory of that Catholic work, to give unto him the high and most excellent title of Defender of the Faith, to the perpetual renown and glory of him and all his successors, his Highness saith that though God hath sent unto him a little learning whereby he hath attempted to write against the erroneous opinions and heresies of said Luther, yet he never intended so to do afore he was by your Grace moved and led thereunto. Wherefore his Highness saith that your Grace must of good congruity be partner of all the honor and glory he hath obtained by that act."



"His majesty would not exchange that name for all London and twenty miles round," said the vicar of Craydon.

The court fool asked the cause of all the joy. "The Pope has just named me Defender of the Faith."

"Ho! ho! good Harry, let you and me defend one another; but . . . take my word for it, . . . let the faith alone to defend itself." Wise fool!

The copies circulated in England after the presentation had Clerk's Oration, the Pope's Answer, the Bull of Approbation, the Pope's Indulgence to the readers of the King's Work, and another tract by Henry against Luther prefixed, and at the end *Epistola Regia ad Illustrissimos Saxoniae Duces Pie Admonitoria*. Englished in 1687 by T. W. Gent.

An edition was printed at Rome in 1521, and another was put forth by Leo himself in 1522. It was reprinted by Pynson in 1522. Other editions came out at Antwerp, Paris, and Rome; still others without place or date. In order that his good people might not miss the Pope's indulgence, the bearded Duke George had a German translation printed at Leipzig as early as 1522 and 1523.

Why did Henry write? "I cannot but think myself obliged to defend my Mother, the Spouse of Christ."

Henry Tudor was never troubled with an inferiority complex, but in this case he prayed, "Would to God my ability were equal to my good will!"

Whom did he fight? "This friarlet, doctorlet, saintlet, eruditelet. What pest so pernicious? What serpent so poisonous? What a wolf of hell is he! What a limb of Satan! How rotten is his mind! A mad and raging dog! A trumpeter of prides, callumnies, and schisms; turns the name of the most Holy Bishop of Rome to that of Antichrist; tries to tear the Christian members of Christ from their Head!"

How did Luther get that way? "Loss of faith comes from loss of morals."

Comes now a warning:—

"Beware of the track of the serpent; walk on tiptoe; fear the thickets and caves in which he lies concealed and whence he will dart his poison on you. If he licks you, be careful! The cunning viper caresses only that he may bite."

Follows a rousing bugle-blast to battle:—

"Be of good cheer! Filled with the same valor that you would display against Turks, Saracens, and other infidels. March now against this friarlet,—a fellow apparently weak, but more formidable through the spirit that animates him than all infidels, Saracens, and Turks put together."

After this preaching of the crusade against Luther, the learnedest



prince in Christendom saves the tottering Papacy by such arguments: "If indulgences are impostures, then all the Popes are impostors, and it is easier to believe that one friarlet is a diseased sheep than that all Popes of old were perfidious shepherds."

To-day candid Catholics deplore Tetzel's traffic in indulgences.

The royal paragon of chastity is at his best when he eloquently discourses on marriage. "The insipid water of concupiscence is turned by the hidden grace of God unto wine of the finest flavor. Whom God has joined together let no man put asunder. O wonderful word, such as no man could have uttered save the Word which was made flesh! . . . Who does not tremble when he considers how he should deal with his wife? For not only is he bound to love her, but so to live with her that he may return her to God pure and without stain when God, who gave, shall demand His own again."

We are amazed, amused, confused. "The proper study of mankind is man."

The proud Tudor upheld the divine authority of the Pope. More demurred — "I think it best that place be amended and his authority be more slenderly touched."

"Nay, that it shall not; for we are so much bounded to the See of Rome that we cannot do too much to honor it."

Lawyer More reminded the king of *praemunire* and the good old English doctrine that "the kings of England in times past never had any superior but God."

"Whatsoever impediment be, we will set forth that authority to the uttermost; for we receive from that See our crown imperial."

More stood as Luther stood against Eck at Leipzig in 1519.

Wolsey was not nearly as papal as the king and openly disapproved of the royal opus.

The Spanish declared, "All the learned men in England have taken part in its composition" — Fisher, Pace, Gardiner, Tunstall, Wolsey, More, and Lee. England's brain trust labored and brought forth this ridiculous gutter-snipe.

Brewer says the king "reproduced, without novelty or energy, the old commonplaces of authority, tradition, and general consent. The cardinal principles of Luther's teaching the king did not understand and did not therefore attempt to confute. . . . The royal controversialist never travels beyond the familiar round and reproduces, without force, originality, or feeling, the weary topics he had picked up, without much thought or research, from the theological manuals of the day. Even his invective is as mean and feeble as his logic. Even when discussing the papal supremacy, he puts on the blinkers with his harness and is as docile and as orthodox as if he had never opposed the publication of a papal bull or refused admission to a papal nuncio."

No friend of Luther, Erasmus had said to Cardinal-Archbishop-



Electoral Albrecht of Mainz, "I think it is their fault if Luther has written too intemperately."

In June 1522, the Saxon monk read the book of the Anglo-Saxon king, Brewer says: "To the man who has grappled with Apollyon in the Valley of the Shadow of Death any Goliath of Vanity Fair, however gigantic, must appear no better than an empty windbag. . . . The spirit of victory was strong upon him. In his reply, dated July 15, he shows the king no mercy. The king's book has been put forth to his everlasting disgrace. He was a fool for allowing his name to be abused by a parcel of empty-headed sophists and for stuffing his book with lies and virulence, reminding the world of nothing more than of Leo or his shadow and of such fat swine as are mewed in the sty of St. Thomas [Aquinas]. The Pharaoh of England, like the tyrant of old, is not without his false prophets, Jannes and Jambres. If the king had been guilty of error such as is common to men, he might have been treated with indulgence. Now that—damnable rottenness and worm as he is—he knowingly and wilfully sets himself to compose lies against the majesty of my King in heaven, it is only right that I, in the cause of my King, should bespatter his English majesty with his own mud and his own filth and tread under my feet that crowned head which thus blasphemes against Christ."

"The well-known Venetian," Paolo Sarpi, comments: "So great a name as that of the English Henry mixed up in the dispute and beaten, served to give *éclat*, to render it more curious, and to conciliate general favor towards Luther."

Force is the last reason of kings. The royal ruffian in rage wrote the rulers of Saxony: "I am compelled to admonish and exhort you that you give your attention at as early a date as possible to repressing that execrable sect of Luther, without the execution of any one if it can be done, or with blood if it cannot be otherwise accomplished."

The Saxon princes were very polite, very sorry if their monk had really been rude; but, strange to say, they made no move to please the Anglo-Saxon king by burning their Luther.

In 1523 Henry sent Edward Lee, the future Archbishop of York, with the Garter to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria to commend his zeal against the Lutherans.

A burned child dreads the fire, and Henry got More to reply to Luther. "The demigod of England, or rather of Europe," dipped his witty quill into the stink pot and under the pseudonym of William Rosse called Luther an ass, a liar, a cursed beast, a drunkard, an evil angel of Satan, a plain limb of the devil, a manifest messenger of hell, an apostate, an open incestuous lecher, and mocked at "Friar Luther and Cate Callate, his nun, luskung together in lechery." Luther and his counselors "disperse themselves throughout all the wagons, vehicles, and boats, the baths, the eating-houses, and barber



shops, privies, and houses of ill fame; in these places they diligently observe, and write down on tablets, whatever the wagon-driver has said basely, or the slave servilely, or the drunkard wickedly, or the parasite scurrilously, or the harlot petulantly, or the bawd vilely, or the bathman obscenely. . . . When they have done this for several months, they stuff the whole nasty mixture of reviling, scolding scurrility, jeers, petulance, filth, dirt, mud, mire, dung, into the fetid sewer of Luthers' breast,"—and more that cannot nowadays be printed. This from England's greatest wit and saint. More's dear friend Erasmus was deeply disgusted with the "gutterals" of the filthy vulgarian. Brewer is not fair to Luther and deeply in love with More, yet he is shocked and pained by More's "foul and scurrilous" language, his "vulgar and offensive raillery, destitute of all wit and humor."

In 1521 More's daughter Margaret was married to William Roper, who was deeply impressed by Luther's *Christian Liberty* and *Babylonian Captivity*, and it was only by More's utmost pains that Roper was in time weaned away from Luther. More's brother-in-law, John Rastell, lawyer and printer, had a controversy with John Frith and became a convinced Protestant.

On December 13, 1522, Thomas Hannibal wrote Wolsey: "Luther of late hath written against the King's Grace; whyche Book I send to you: the book is full of raylynge against the Kyngs Grace. I soght all Rome to know whether ther wer more, but I coulde fynde non. If any mo cumme, the Pope hath commaundyde that non shall cumme in lyght. I shall tak them all and pay for them and brent them."

Bishop Fisher, "a man of strict life," who "hated Wolsey for his vices" and fiercely denounced the vices of the clergy, had attacked Luther on May 12, 1520, and now attacks him again, this time in *A Confutation of the Lutheran Assertion*, 1523; a third time in a *Reply to Luther's "Babylonian Captivity,"* 1523; a fourth time in a *Defense of the Christian Priesthood*, 1524; a fifth time in a *Defense of King Henry's "Assertion of the Seven Sacraments,"* 1525. This ablest of bishops, according to the Catholic Lord Acton, had these arguments: "Now Luther is become a big fox. What do I say, a fox? He is a mad dog, a ravening wolf, a cruel bear, or rather all those animals in one; for the monster includes many beasts within him."

Thomas Murner of Strassburg, who had already attacked Luther, now also came to the defense of King Henry with a work entitled *Whether the King of England Is a Liar or Luther*, 1522. There is in the British Museum *Antwort de'Murnar vff seine frag, ob der König vō Engellant ein liögner sey oder der götlich doctor Martinus Luther. Datum ex Mithilena insula Anno xxiij.*

This "cleverest, wittiest, and coarsest" of Luther's opponents went to England looking for a great reward from the king. More wrote Wolsey on August 26, 1529: "He hath now bene here a good while.



430 Der Schriftgrund für die Lehre von der *satisfactio vicaria*.

Wherefore the Kynges Grace, pitying that he was so deceived, and having tendre respect to the goode zele that he bereth toward the faith, and his good hart and mynd toward His Highnes, requyreth Your Grace that it may lyke you to cause hym have in reward one hundred pownde, and that he may return home, wher his presence is very necessary; for he is one of the chiefe stays against the faction of Luther in that parties, agaynst whom he hath wrytten many bokis in the Almayng tong."

Milwaukee, Wis.

WILLIAM DALLMANN.

Der Schriftgrund für die Lehre von der *satisfactio vicaria*.

(Fortsetzung.)

## 4. Christus hat uns mit Gott versöhnt.

Röm. 5, 10. 11: Denn wenn wir, da wir Feinde waren, Gotte versöhnt wurden durch den Tod seines Sohnes, um wieviel mehr werden wir, da wir versöhnt sind, gerettet werden in seinem Leben! Nicht allein aber, sondern wir haben auch Ruhm in Gott durch unsern Herrn Jesum Christum, durch den wir nun die Versöhnung empfangen haben.

Schon im vorhergehenden Abschnitt hatte der Apostel ein Argument a maiore ad minus gebraucht. Die Hauptschwierigkeit im Erlösungswerk war diese: Wie konnte Gott ohne Verletzung seiner wesentlichen Heiligkeit und Gerechtigkeit einen Weg finden, um die gefallenen Sünder, die nichts als Feindschaft gegen ihn hegten, in den Zustand der Gnade zu bringen? Die Antwort von V. 9 war: Wir sind gerecht gemacht in dem Blut Christi, das gleichsam als reinigendes Bad dargestellt wird, und so sind wir gerettet worden von dem Zorn und der Verdammnis Gottes.

Wie aber hier die Liebe Gottes, menschlich geredet, der Schwierigkeit gewachsen war, so auch nun in der Versöhnung, die für uns hergestellt und bereitet ist. Die Partikel *γάρ* am Anfang des Satzes führt eine erläuternde Bemerkung ein, um den Gegensatz zwischen dem früheren Feindes- und dem jetzigen Versöhnungsverhältnis zu betonen. Die Menschen, wir, waren Feinde Gottes, wir lagen im Zustande der Feindschaft wider ihn, und deshalb eben lagen wir unter dem gerechten Zorn Gottes (*οργή*). Und während wir noch in diesem Zustande waren, wurden wir Gotte versöhnt (*κατηλλάγημεν*). Dies kann unmöglich im aktiven Sinne verstanden werden: „Wir haben unsere Feindschaft gegen Gott abgelegt“ oder: „Wir sind dazu bestimmt, dafür gewonnen worden, unsere Feindschaft gegen Gott aufzugeben.“ Das würde sowohl gegen den Kontext wie gegen den Sprachgebrauch verstoßen. Die subjektive Seite der Ablegung unserer Feindschaft gegen