



# LAW & GRACE

MARTIN LUTHER, LUCAS CRANACH,  
AND THE PROMISE OF SALVATION

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Pitts Theology Library

Louis Nebelsick, in collaboration with Ingrid  
Dettmann, Susanne Kimmig-Völkner, Franziska  
Kuschel, Robert Noack, and Armin Siedlecki

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## MARTIN LUTHER, LUCAS CRANACH, AND THE PROMISE OF SALVATION

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The Pitts Theology Library and four Central German museums are proud to bring you Lucas Cranach's famous image of the Reformation, "Law and Grace." Through this image Cranach illustrated the essence of Luther's message, that faith is the only way to receive God's gift of grace. With the help of highlights from German museums and the Pitts Theology Library's Richard C. Kessler Reformation Collection, this exhibition explores Cranach's masterpiece and explains its cultural and historic impact through the ages, up to the champions of costly grace, Berlin's Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Atlanta's Martin Luther King Jr. This exhibit bridges centuries and continents and provides a fitting prelude to the commemoration of the 500th anniversary of Luther's Ninety-Five Theses in 2017. The exhibition is sponsored by the German Foreign Ministry and The Halle Foundation in Atlanta.

### CASE 1:

## Law and Grace – Introduction:

### A PICTURE AND ITS PAINTER

#### The Picture

Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472 – 1553), a Saxon court painter and Martin Luther's close friend, developed a visual language to express the reformer's message. In the late 1520s, he broke down the concept of law and grace into allegorically-significant figures placed on either the left (law) or right (grace) of a tree. In this version painted in the 1550s, his son, Lucas Cranach the Younger, distils the image to its essence. Cranach the Younger follows the iconography of his father's version of "Law and Grace," realized on the Gotha Panel (Gotha Type) of 1529. However, he also includes variations that subtly entangle the messages on both sides of the image, reflecting the complexity of the reformer's message. Scriptural passages lie at the base of this painted sermon. The passages are in Latin, which may indicate the scholarly nature of the patron or his willingness to compromise with the Latin Church. Cranach has signed the central trunk of the tree with a winged, crowned serpent, brandishing a ring.

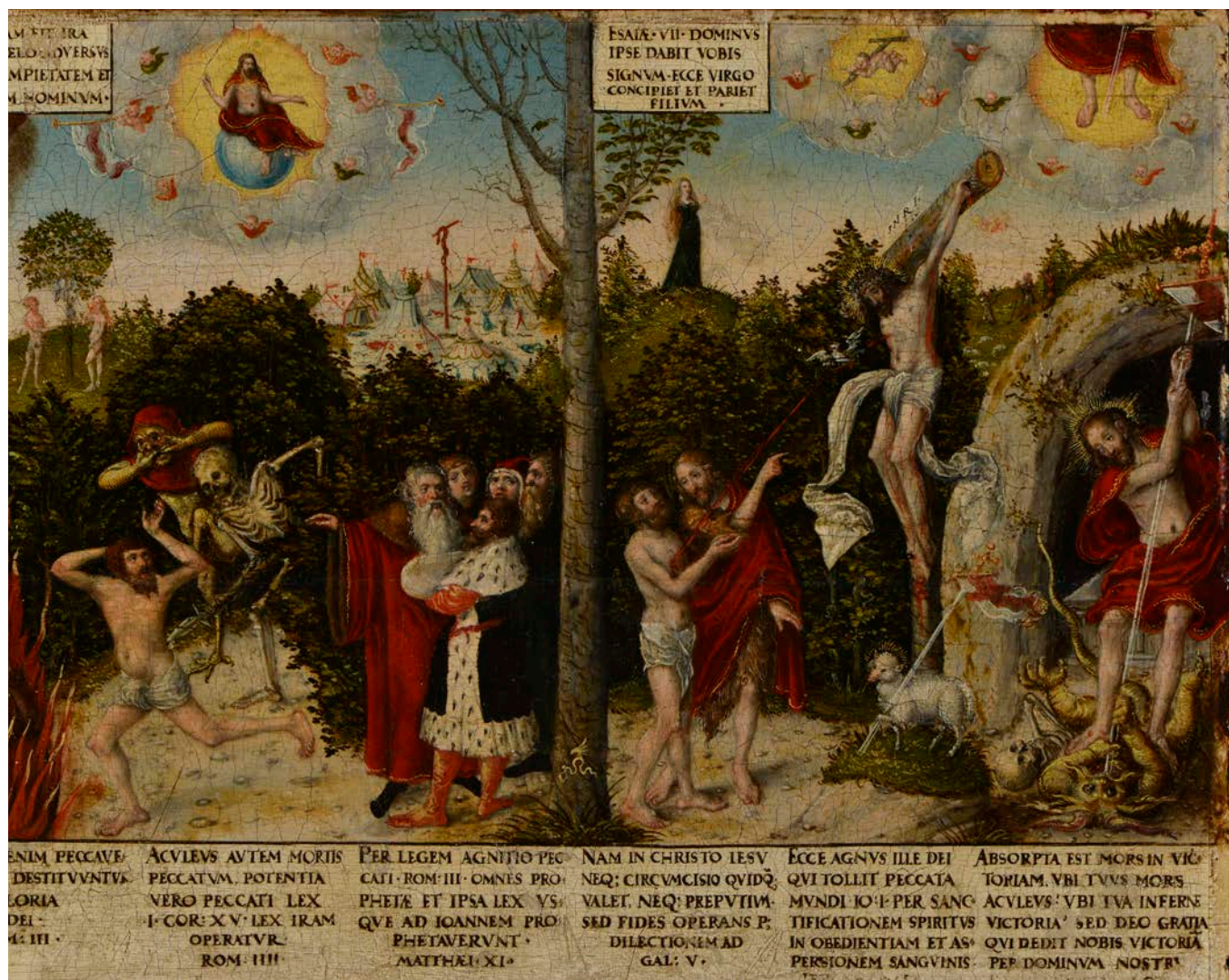
## Its Painter

Scholarship has not always been kind to Lucas Cranach the Younger (1515 – 1586), the creator of this version of “Law and Grace.” As his father’s heir, he would successfully lead the burgeoning Cranach workshop in the turbulent second half of the 16th century. It is difficult to attribute pieces from the vast output of the Cranach workshop to the father, the son, or their apprentices. Art historians of the nineteenth century, were eager to attribute masterpieces to the elder Cranach and to celebrate his genius as the father of Protestant iconography. In turn, they attributed the more flawed works to his son, presenting the younger Cranach as a second-rate producer of copycat imagery. In more recent times, revised attributions

and discoveries of forgotten masterpieces show the younger Cranach as an expert portraitist and a subtle interpreter of Protestant ideology, who developed persuasive imagery during the anxious period, which began with Luther’s death (1546) and the Protestants’ defeat by Emperor Charles V at Mühlberg (1547).

## Law and Grace

Lucas Cranach the Younger (after his father), c. 1550, Luther Memorials Foundation of Saxony-Anhalt. State Office for Heritage Management and Archaeology Saxony-Anhalt, photo: Juraj Lipták





## Lucas Cranach the Younger's Entry into the Ulrich Scholar's Album, Wittenberg

Masters of Theology, Abraham Ulrich and his son David Ulrich.

The Wittenberg scholars Abraham Ulrich and his son David maintained a scholar's album reflecting a newly found fashion of the time: collecting dedications and signatures from famous scholars, which in this case includes reformers such as Philipp Melanchthon and Johannes Bugenhagen. The dedication of Lucas Cranach the Younger includes a lively portrayal of the bat-winged serpent teething a golden ring, the Cranach family's coat of arms, granted to them by the Saxon princes. Like the Cranachs, the Ulrichs were originally from Bavarian Kronach (hence Cranach), and family ties were close.

DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM BERLIN, INV. NO. DO 92/71



REPRODUCTION OF LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER, PORTRAIT OF MARTIN LUTHER, 1528, OIL ON PANEL, KUNST SAMMULGEN DER VESTE COBORG.

## Martin Luther: Father and Icon of the Reformation

Martin Luther was father and icon of the Reformation. He wrestled with doctrine and Scripture, and challenged the established church's vision of salvation by good works and pious intercession. After his break from the church, following the Diet of Worms in 1521 and his New Testament translation in the Wartburg castle, he triumphed as leader of the Saxon Reformation in Wittenberg in 1522. His institutional and liturgical reforms cemented his role as the patriarch of a new independent church, which would bestow almost saintly status upon him after his death in 1546. It was Lucas Cranach the Elder's genius to create iconic portraits of Martin Luther, which reflected these changes in his role and status. Thanks to the Cranach workshop's countless reproductions of Luther, the message of the Reformation became intertwined with Cranach's standardized portraits.

## Portrait of Martin Luther

*Postil oder vszleg der Epistel vnd Evangelien durch den Advent Doctor Martin Luthers.*  
Strasbourg: Johann Schott, 1522.

Engraved portrait by Hans Baldung Grien (1484-1545) of the young Martin Luther in his Augustinian habit and with the Holy Spirit in the form a dove. Grien based this engraving on Cranach's portrait of Luther shortly before his crucial appearance at the Diet of Worms. Grien added the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove and the glowing halo around Luther's head, depicting him as God's holy witness. The picture, initially published as a single sheet, was an immediate and highly controversial success. Many Protestants saw Luther's disappearance to the Wartburg after being threatened by the papal ban as a sign of his martyrdom for the new faith and purchased and venerated the portrait. Catholics, of course, were appalled by this firebrand portrayal of a heretic as a saint. Controversy was so intense that its sale was prohibited in the imperial city of Nurnberg,

which was on a gradual path to Reformation. Later the portrait would illustrate many books by and about Martin Luther.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1522 LUTH A

## Martin Luther

*Einweyhung eines Newen Hauses ... durch Doct: Mart: Luther.* Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1546.

Woodcut portrait of Martin Luther, signed with the flying serpent of Lucas Cranach the Younger and dated 1546.

This image of the reformer, based on a portrait by Lucas Cranach the Younger, stands in stark contrast to the young idealistic monk shown by Hans Baldung Grien 25 years before. Luther is shown in this clearly defined woodcut as a stern patriarch dressed in a heavy professor's gown and grasping a book – perhaps a hymnal or prayer book – in both hands. It radiates constancy and authority in the year the reformer died.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1546 LUTH B

## Martin Luther

*Hortulus animae = Lustgarten der Seelen.* Wittenberg: Heirs of Georg Rhaw, 1550.

Woodcut portrait of Martin Luther by Lucas Cranach the Younger, dated 1546 but printed in 1550 in the first Protestant breviary of the Wittenberg Reformation. The work is richly illustrated with woodcuts by several artists, including 43 images by Lucas Cranach the Elder. This full-length presentation of Luther made two years after his death shows Luther as a patriarch replete with academic robe, heraldic emblem, and the Cranach monogram. It emulates the portraits of the political elites of the time. This Luther is seen within the context of highest political and religious dignity and authority.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1550 HORT



### CASE 2:

## Original Sin, Certain Death, and Eternal Damnation

Eve offers Adam the fruit from the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil (upper left), as Death prods a sinner towards Hell's fiery abyss. His pleading with the prophets of the Old Testament must go unheard as they lack the power to save him. The scriptures quoted at his feet (Romans 3:23; 1 Corinthians 15:56; Romans 4:15a) reinforce the picture of humanity's bleak fate without the grace of God.

### The Fall

Hans Reinhart the Elder (ca 1510 - 1581).

Silver medal showing the dichotomy of salvation: the Fall of humanity in Adam and Eve's sin (obverse) and salvation by Christ's crucifixion (reverse). This masterpiece was cast by the Saxon goldsmith and medalist Hans Reinhart the Elder (ca 1510 - 1581), who served the Saxon Prince Elector's court in Torgau in 1536.

FOUNDATION SCHLOSS FRIEDENSTEIN GOTHA, INV. NO.  
4.1./2300

## Expulsion from the Garden

*Imagines de Morte, et epigram[m]ata è Gallico idiomate à Georgio Aemylio in Latinu[m] translata.*  
Lyon: Jean & François Frellon, 1542.

The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden, one of 41 woodcuts from the *Totentanz* (Dance of Death), cut by Hans Lützelburger after the designs of Hans Holbein the Younger. Death gleefully mocks the first humans, illustrating the frivolous nature of earthly pleasures and vanities in light of the proximity death and God's judgment.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1542 IMAG



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## Ornamental Spear

Pole Arm (ornamental spear) of the Palace Guard of Emperor Ferdinand I, Germany, 1558. Iron, and wood, etched and painted.

As Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand I was protected by a palace guard equipped with ceremonial pole arms of this type, lavishly inscribed and decorated and symbolizing the authority of the state. In a caricature of justice in "Law and Grace" a demon hounds the hapless sinner toward Hell with a similar weapon.

DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM BERLIN, INV.  
NO. W410

## Nuremberg Chronicle

Hartmann Schedel, *Liber Chronicarum*.  
Nuremberg: Anton Koberger, printed for Sebald Schreyer and Sebastian Kammermeister, 1493.

This fine woodcut by the engraver Michael Wolgemut of the last trumpet call and the resurrection of the dead to stand before God is one of 1,809 in the *Liber Chronicarum*, an almanac/ encyclopedia presenting a variety of legendary, historical, geographical, scientific, and religious information, all arranged according to the seven ages of the world with a postscript describing the apocalypse soon to come.

LUTHER MEMORIALS FOUNDATION OF SAXONY-ANHALT,  
INV. NO. SS 2154 (INC. 33)

## Tile Fragment with a Depiction of an Angel

Wittenberg Cranachhof. Late 16th century, earthenware, green glazing.

Both Lucas Cranach the Elder and the Younger used cherubs and putti to convey the glory of God, and here one appears on the tile of an oven that once heated a room in the Cranach house. Identical angels decorated the top of an ornate stove from about 1570 in the Melanchthon house in Wittenberg.

STATE MUSEUM OF PREHISTORY (HALLE), INV. NO.  
51951259-79

## Judgment

*Das Plenarium oder Ewangelij buoch*. [Basel: Adam Petri, 1516].

Hand-colored woodcut depicting the judgment of souls in Hell, from a German *plenarium* or collection of biblical and other readings for use in the Mass, along with brief exposition and instructions. At least as far as Hell was concerned, Catholics and Protestants were in complete agreement about its horrors.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1516 CATH A





### CASE 3:

## Judgement without Grace CHRIST PANTOCRATOR

Christ as enthroned judge condemns the dead on the left but offers salvation to those on the right, thus illustrating Romans 1:16-18 and God's implacable opposition to evil, "God's wrath is being revealed from heaven against all the ungodly behavior and the injustice of human beings..." (CEB). Luther himself, though, condemned the traditional depiction of the Last Judgment as a "bad picture," since he thought it spread only fear and terror among the faithful.

### Christ as Pantocrator

*Des ... Herrn Georgen Fürsten zu Anhalt ... Predigten und andere Schrifften ....* Wittenberg: Hans Krafft, 1555.

Christ as Pantocrator presides over the Last Judgment, from a collection of writings and sermons by Georg III, co-regent of Anhalt-Dessau, who had studied theology and had assumed the responsibilities of a preacher in the Lutheran Church.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1550 GEOR:1

### Stove Tile with a Depiction of the Last Judgment

Wittenberg Arsenalplatz, Late 16th century, earthenware, black-brown glazing.

Image of a completely preserved tile

On this relief tile, Christ appears in the heavens as judge, flanked by the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, while the devil torments the pope below and St. Peter admits a woman to Paradise. The ornamented scroll above cites the Apostles' Creed: "*Er wird richten die Lebenden und Toten*" (He shall judge the quick and the dead).

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4100:749:314K



### CASE 4:

## The Prophets and the Ten Commandments

With Moses holding the Ten Commandments, several groups of prophetic figures from the Old Testament are gathered nearby, one pointing to the sinner hunted by Death and devil, whom none can help ("Law only brings the consciousness

of sin,” Romans 3:20b). The text at the base, Matthew 11:13 (“For all the prophets and the Law foretold things to come until St. John appeared”), is summative, binding the prophets of law to John the Baptist on the right: all foretold the coming of the Messiah.

## The Horned Moses and the Ten Commandments

Hans Gerhardt, *Schöne Frag und Antwort, Was ain warhafftiger Christen der recht Glaub*, Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1525.

Though the lettering of this print is indeed Hebrew and reflects the interest in recovering the Jewish Scriptures, the words are nonsense, and Moses’ horns attest a widespread but erroneous translation of the Hebrew קרן (*qaran*; “shone” or “sent forth beams”) in Exodus 34:29 with the Latin *cornuta* (“horn” or “halo”).

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1525 GERH

## Enchiridion: The Small Catechism for the Common Pastor and Preacher

Martin Luther, *Der kleine Catechismus für die gemeine Pfarherr vnd Prediger*. Leipzig: by Valentin Babst, 1545.

Moses receives the Law (upper right) but then breaks the tablets (lower right), after seeing the Israelites worshipping the golden calf. Israel’s idolatry was seen as analogous in Luther’s day to the veneration of sculptures and paintings in traditional churches, and Moses’ rage paralleled the righteous fury of Protestants who destroyed the icons.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1545 LUTH K:1



## Green Glazed Stove Tile with a Depiction of the Elector Maurice of Saxony

Wittenberg, Neustraße/Mittelstraße, between 1550 and 1570.

From Wittenberg and dating to the early to mid-16th century, this relief tile depicts a nobleman, probably Maurice, Margrave of Meissen (note the Meissen crossed swords crest). The Protestant Maurice joined the Catholic forces against Luther’s patrons and the rulers of Wittenberg, and after defeating the Protestants at Mühlberg in 1547, he became the new Saxon Prince-Elector.

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3220:116:46AJ

## Portrait of John Frederick I, the Magnanimous, Elector of Saxony

*Des durchlauchtigsten, hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Johans Fridrichen, Hertzogen zu Sachssen/About his majesty the highborn prince and ruler, Sr. John Fredrick, Duke of Saxony. 1541.*



Like his father, John the Steadfast, John Frederick I (1503-1554) supported Luther and was honored by the reformer as ordained by God. His sword has the imperial crest with the double-headed eagle. Though defeated by Emperor Charles V at Mühlberg in 1546, the strength of the Reformation in Saxony could not be reversed.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1541 JOHA A

## Habakkuk before the King

*Der Prophet Habacuc aussgelegt durch Mart. Luther / Exegesis of the prophet Habakkuk by Martin Luther.* Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner, 1526.

This woodcut from the Cranach workshop introduces Luther's interpretation of Habakkuk with its assertion, "the just shall live by his faith" (2:4), foundational for the reformer's doctrine of justification by faith alone. As supplicants approach the king, God and Christ signal their approval, while a demon slinks into the shadows.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1526 LUTH

## Moses and the Seven Deadly Sins

P. Vellei Paterculi, *Historiae Romanae duo uolumina, ad M. Vinicium Cos. progenerum Tiberii Caesaris.* Basel: In aedibus Ioannis Frobenii, 1520.

This chapter border for a Latin world history balances scenes of Moses' life (right) with the church's traditional listing of the seven deadly sins: *acedia*/sloth, *avaritia*/avarice, *superbia*/pride, *invidia*/envy, *ira*/wrath, *luxuria*/lust, and *gula*/gluttony). Despairing of anyone's ability to satisfy the legal demands of Moses and the church, Luther was driven to the grace of God.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1520 VELL

## Zechariah Speaks to the People about the Messiah's triumphal entry

*Der Prophet Sacharia, ausgelegt durch Mart. Luther / The exegesis of prophet Zechariah by Martin Luther.* Nürnberg: Jobst Gutknecht, 1528.

Zechariah was an important source of messianic prophecies for Christian writers, and here Luther's interpretation of the prophet is introduced by a woodcut from the Cranach workshop that shows Jesus' triumphant entry into Jerusalem, an explicit connection of the prophecy in Zechariah 9:9 with Matthew 21:8-10.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1528 LUTH M



### CASE 5:

## Nehushtan

### THE BRONZE SERPENT AS A PROMISE OF SALVATION

The Nehushtan (נְחוּשְׁתָן) was the bronze serpent lifted up by Moses in the wilderness so that all Israelites who repented of their grumbling and looked upon it would be saved from the plague of fiery serpents God sent among them (Numbers 21). Christians saw the Nehushtan as a prefiguration of the

crucifixion of Jesus (note the T-shaped cross), and Philipp Melanchthon adopted the symbol as his personal heraldic symbol.

## Melanchthon's Collected Works

*Philipp Melanchthon - Omnium operum pars prima [-quarta] / reverendi viri Philippi Melanthonis/ Melanchthon's collected works I/4*

Philipp Melanchthon, who led the Reformation after Luther's death and sagely urged compromise during the tense period after the Catholic success in the Schmalkaldic War, was widely revered and his heraldic emblem became widely known. Thus, this posthumous edition of his collected works would have been immediately recognizable through the emblem of the Nehushtan.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1562 MELA V1

## The Nehushtan on the Crest of Philipp Melanchthon

*Eine Heerpredigt widder den Tůrcken Mart. Luther.* Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz. 1529.

Illustrated title page of a sermon by Martin Luther with the crests of Luther (lower left) and Melanchthon (lower right). As a son of middle-class parents, Melanchthon was not entitled to a coat of arms but was granted the privilege of choosing one by the Saxon princes. Like the other reformers, Melanchthon chose a theological symbol, the Nehushtan on a hill. Illustrated title page with the crests of Luther (lower left) and Melanchthon (lower right).

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### CASE 6:

## Annunciation to Mary and the Shepherds

### GRACE COMES INTO THE WORLD

In the style of manuscript miniatures, the miniscule scene of the Annunciation in the right hand corner of the picture is developed on both sides of the crucifixion. Mary stands to receive the infant Jesus, surrounded by angels and already bearing the cross. Shepherds are with their sheep, when an angel proclaims the Savior's birth to them. Between these two scenes is Christ in the final throes of death on the cross. Isaiah 7:14 is appended, perhaps the most famous of the messianic prophecies in Christian tradition.



## Annunciation

Albrecht Dürer, Annunciation. Woodcut ca. 1510 from the small Passion series.

From Albrecht Dürer's *Small Passion* woodcut series (note the AD monogram on the bed), printed in 1511 at Nuremberg by Hieronymus Hölzel. As the Holy Spirit hovers above as a dove, the Virgin Mary's devotion with the missal on her lectern is interrupted by an angel announcing God's promise that she will bear the Christ.

FOUNDATION SCHLOSS FRIEDENSTEIN GOTHA,  
INV. NO. 48,18

## John the Baptist Preaching

Lucas Cranach the Elder's Workshop, John the Baptist preaching, 1525. In *Urbanus Rhegius, Vom hochwürdigen Sacrament des altars*.

An apt summary of the Law and Grace theme emerges in this remarkable book illustration from the Cranach workshop. John the Baptist preaches (*Anczeiger Cristi* or "he who points to Christ") and points toward the crucifixion (*Vnser Rechtfertigvng* or "our justification"), and legends in German appear above the Virgin Mary ("grace") and the baby Jesus ("God is with us").

LUTHER MEMORIALS FOUNDATION OF SAXONY-ANHALT,  
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## The Annunciation

*Les Heures de nostre dame*, Northern France, ca. 1480.

The Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descends upon the Virgin Mary, as the angel Gabriel announces that she will give birth to Jesus. The image is found in a Book of Hours, a richly illustrated devotional manuscript with twenty-seven miniatures.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION MSS 161

## Iconography at the Beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century

*Missale romanum nuper ad optatum commodum quorumcumque sacerdotum summa diligentia distinctum* ... Venice: Lucantonio Giunti, 1521.

An early printed missal, containing a calendar of saints' days, as well as a collection of altar chants. The Initial letter "D" and the historiated page border from the *Missale romanum* show the parallels between pre-Reformation iconography and the Lutheran pictorial theme "Law and Grace."

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1521 CATH A



#### CASE 7:

## Crucifixion and John the Baptist

In the complex crucifixion scene, John the Baptist is detached from the prophets and the sinner (left) and guides the sinner to Christ, alone on the cross with his blood streaming to the sinner—joining the two in the ultimate moment of sacrifice. The Holy Spirit as a dove has descended and its presence tosses Jesus' waistcloth and ripples the lamb's pennant. The appended scriptures (Galatians 5:6; John 1:29; 1 Peter 1:2) underscore God's grace, and the whole image affirms the sacramental union of believer and Christ and the Spirit's guidance through Scripture.

## Justus Menius with a Preface from Martin Luther

*Von dem Geist der Widerteuffer/ About the Spirit (doctrine) of the Anabaptists; Mit einer Vorrede D. Martin Luthers.* Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz, 1544.

The hand-colored frontispiece of this Anabaptist polemic and Luther's rebuttal of their creed aptly show the fate of John the Baptist. Revered in the Medieval Period as an innocent saint who would intercede for sinners, in Reformation iconography he leads sinners to acknowledge the Savior's grace.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1544 MENI

## A Lutheran Preacher Proclaims the Crucifixion

Martin Luther, *Deudsch Catechismus/ German Catechism*, Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1531.

This small image captures the essence of Lutheran doctrine. In a bare church hall standing and reclining figures concentrate on the preacher in his elevated pulpit. His inspired exegesis of Scripture evokes the vision of Christ crucified, the tragic essence of God's sacrificial grace.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1531 LUTH E

## Lucas Cranach the Elder, Crucifixion of Jesus

Martin Luther, *Von den guten wercken/On good works*, 3rd edition. Wittenberg: Melchior Lotter, 1520.

Lukas Cranach the Elder's powerful woodcut of the Crucifixion deftly contrasts the six accompanying figures and affirms Luther's doctrine of salvation by grace. The trio of soldiers gather to the right, as the Apostle John looks on and supports the Virgin Mary, and the repentant sinner Mary Magdalene embraces the foot of the cross.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1520 LUTH DDD





### John the Baptist Witnesses the Crucifixion

Light green glazed stove tile. Wittenberg, excavated from the garden of Luther's house, first half of the 16th century.

This stove tile depicts the baptism of Christ (strikingly old) in the Jordan River ("DR. IVRDAN") by John the Baptist. God blesses this, as does the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove. While Western reformers saw baptism as a symbolic act, Luther adamantly regarded it as a powerful and salvific sacrament.

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### Depiction of the Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and John the Evangelist

Front of a Box-Shaped Wall Fountain with a Depiction of the Crucifixion with the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist. Wittenberg, excavated from the garden of Luther's house, yellow-green glazed earthenware.

This green-glazed wall fountain shows the Crucifixion, but while the mocking inscription INRI on the cross is legible, the panels with Scripture in Luther's German are not. Adam's skull was at the base of the cross (now broken away), signifying that Adam's bones were washed clean of original sin by the blood flowing down from the Savior's wounds. Such wall fountains mounted on or near stoves supplied warm water for washing, and in Luther's house this was also a ready resource for mixing ink. Thus, the grace of Jesus would also metaphorically cleanse a sinner's hands or flow into the inkwell to inspire a pious author.

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#### CASE 8:

## Agnus Dei, Sacrifice Triumphant

The lamb's presence in the picture has deep implications for the Protestant understanding of God's grace. The triumphant lamb signifies the mystery of the crucifixion, the innocent sacrificial victim that triumphs by bearing the sins of all. Thus, the weakest of animals carries the pennant of triumph. The appended scriptures (Galatians 5:6; John 1:29; 1Peter 1:2) proclaim the unity of the biblical narrative and underscore God's grace.

### The Lamb of God

*Johann Bugenhagen: Von den vngedorn Kindern...* (Wittenberg: Veit Creutzer, 1557).

In this text written for baptismal sponsors, addressing the question of unborn children and defending the practice of infant baptism, the Lamb of God is displayed next to the cup of Communion and is shown carrying the banner of Christianity. The work is bound with

other Protestant tracts on the Eucharist and on Christian life.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1563 EBER: 2

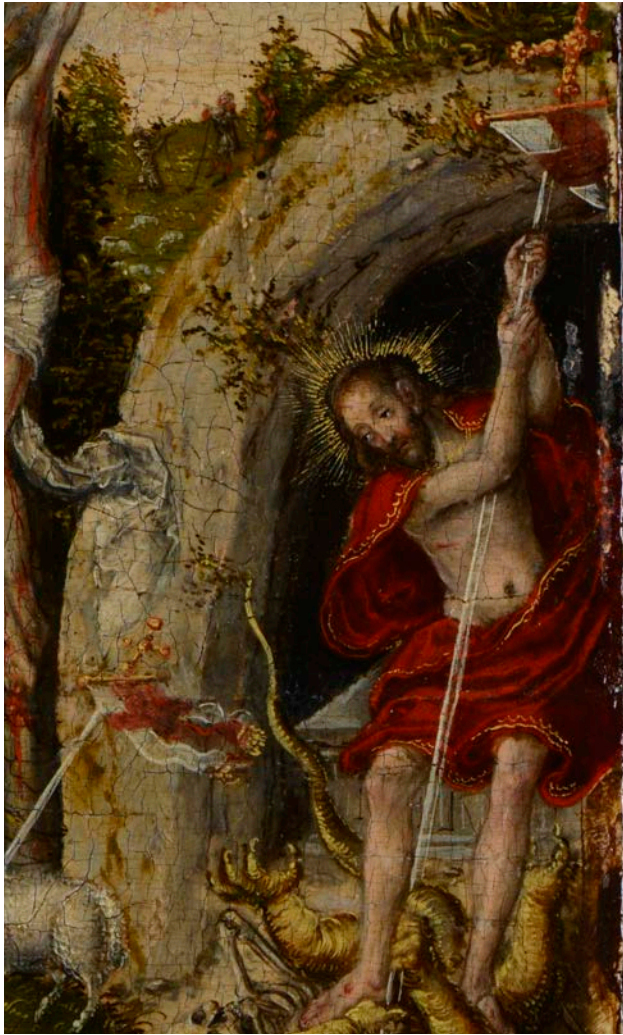
### Scriptum Apostoli et Euangelistae

Johannes Brenz: *Scriptum Apostoli et Euangelistae Matthaei De rebus gestis Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Tübingen: Morhart, 1566)

This device of the Tübingen printer Ulrich Morhart, who printed both Protestant and Catholic works, shows the triumphant lamb treading on a satanic dragon, a biblical motto ("Behold the Lamb of God that takes away the sins of the world," John 1:29), and at the corners the instruments of Christ's passion.

PITTS THEOLOGY LIBRARY, RICHARD C. KESSLER  
REFORMATION COLLECTION 1566 BREN





#### CASE 9:

## Resurrection and the Triumph of Christ

### OH DEATH WHERE IS THY STING

Bearing the marks of his martyrdom but clad royally, the risen Christ emerges from the tomb to vanquish the reptilian Satan (an allusion to the serpent that tempted Eve). His position at the lower right mirrors the abyss of Hell on the lower left, and the cavernous vault evokes the “Harrowing of Hell” motif. As noted in 1 Corinthians 15:55-57, God’s victory over death is through Christ.

## Christ Risen above Adam’s Tomb

Frontispiece of “A German Theology, that is, a noble little book from the correct understanding, what Adam and Christ are, and how Adam must die in us and Christ arise” \*As a book title should it be in italics and not in quotes?

Luther held this anonymous 14<sup>th</sup> century monastic text in such high regard as a manual for spiritual practice that he edited a manuscript copy of the work for publication in 1518. Lucas Cranach the Elder provided for it a woodcut depicting a triumphant Christ above Adam’s corpse, aptly evoking the subtitle of the work and its message. It saw 20 printings during Luther’s lifetime.

LUTHER MEMORIALS FOUNDATION IN SAXONY-ANHALT,  
INV. NO. 4° 1850

## The Resurrection

*Das New Testament nach lawt der Christliche kirchen bewerte text, corrigirt, vu widerumb zu recht gebracht.* Dresden: Wolfgang Stöckel, 1527.

Hieronymus Emser’s German New Testament was intended as a Catholic corrective to Luther’s translation. It includes woodcuts by Lucas Cranach the Elder and Georg Lemberger, such as this engraving of the resurrection.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1527 BIBL B

## The Resurrection

*Quinta pars operum Iohannis Eckii; contra Lutherum et alios declamatoria ...* Augsburg: Alexander Weissenhorn, 1533-1536.

A woodcut depicting the resurrection of Christ in a collection of sermons by Johann Eck, a master preacher in the Catholic tradition and a vehement opponent of Martin Luther.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1533 ECK V1

## Satan Bound

*Das Neue Testament Deutotzsch.*  
Wittenberg: Melchior Lotther, 1522.

Luther's *September Testament*, the first edition of his translation of the New Testament into German, was richly illustrated with woodcuts by Lucas Cranach the Elder. Here Satan has been bound and confined to Hell, where he would be imprisoned for a thousand years and unable to deceive humanity, a fine illustration of Revelation 20:1-3.

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## The Ascension of Jesus

Martin. Luther, *Kirchen Postilla, das ist, Auslegung der Episteln vnd Euangelien an Sontagen vnd furnemesten Festen* / Church postil, that is an exegesis of the epistles and Gospels on Sunday and the most pious holidays. Wittenberg: Peter Seitzen Erben, 1554.

This compact image shows a crowd of kneeling saints (Mary and the Apostles) witnessing the ascension of Christ from the Mount of Olives with Jerusalem at the upper left. Legends reported that Jesus left imprints of his feet on the slab where he stood before rising to heaven. These imprints are claimed to have survived in two places: the first on the Mount of Olives in the remains of the Ascension Chapel, originally built by Helen the mother of Emperor Constantine, and the second removed after the crusades to the al-Aqsa Mosque on the temple rock. Both imprints are revered by Christians and Muslims alike to this day.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1554 LUTH C:1

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### CASE 10:

## Ascension

### THE REIGN OF GRACE

Christ ascends to heaven, and all that remains on earth are his stigmatized feet and the butt of the pole of his victory banner. He is bathed in light and surrounded by a gloriole, as are the two other images of the Savior at the top of the picture. These three depictions--Christ judging the world, Jesus entering the physical world as an infant, and his departure after his crucifixion--summarize the essence of this remarkably concise and compelling version of "Law and Grace." Christ came into the world to replace the relentless judgment of sin with the gift of God's grace.





1522 LUTH A

## CASE 11:

### “Sola Fide”

## MARTIN BETWEEN AUGUSTINIAN TRADITION AND HUMANIST INNOVATION

Martin Luther entered the Augustinian Eremitic Monastery in Erfurt in 1505 and remained a monk until 1524. Much of what impassioned Luther was strongly influenced by his Augustinian training. Luther's strict rejection of good works as the path to salvation echoes St. Augustine's arguments. The humanist tradition also inspired Luther's commitment to original texts rather than scholarly tradition. It was this passion for reading and disseminating the original witness of Scripture

that drove Luther to reject the Latin Vulgate and translate the New Testament from the original Greek into German.

## Novum Testamentum Omne

*Nouum Testamentum omne* per Erasmum Rot. Basel: Froben, 1519.

Erasmus' translation of the Greek New Testament into Latin was one of the most important reference books that Luther had with him when translating the New Testament in his study at the Wartburg. Yet after a short period of mutual admiration, both deeply unhappy with the state of the church, tensions emerged between Luther and Erasmus that would finally lead to their complete estrangement in 1524. As a liberal-minded scholar Erasmus championed human freedom of choice, but also as a meticulous scholar he rejected the notion that any believer could interpret Scripture based on one man's translation. Interestingly, this printing of Erasmus' New Testament shows the Germanic warlord Arminius' crushing victory over Varus' Roman Legion in the Teutoburg Forest in 9 CE. This illustrates the rise of German consciousness and the concurrent anti-Roman sentiment so prevalent at the time, crucial factors in sparking the Reformation

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1519 BIBL V1

## Augustine of Hippo and his vision of the Christ child

Donald Lupton, St. Augustine of Hippo and his vision of the Christ child. From *The glory of their times ; Or, The lives of ye primitive fathers, containing their chieftest actions, workes, sentences, and deaths.*

In this popular introduction to the church fathers, written by the English curate Donald Lupton, Augustine of Hippo is shown being

instructed by the young Jesus, a miraculous vision Augustine was said to have had while wrestling with the problem of the Trinity. In many ways Luther's Reformation was based on Augustine's teachings and in particular his vision of God's grace. In addition, though, was the personal and emotional bond that Luther had with Christ, which contrasted strongly with the institutional approach to God, propagated by the church and seen as typically Augustinian in this portrait.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1640 LUPT

## Augustine of Hippo

*The glory of their times or, The lives of ye primitive fathers, containing their chiefest actions, workes, sentences, and deaths.*  
London: I. Okes, 1640.

Woodcut portrait of Augustine from a 17<sup>th</sup> century illustrated biography of early church fathers by Donald Lupton.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1670 LUPT

## Luther among the Fathers of the Church

*R.P. Doct. Martini Lutherii Augustiniani theologi Synceri lucubrationum ...* Basel: Adam Petri, 1520.

The first volume of a projected two-volume edition (the second was never issued) of an early collection of Martin Luther's major works. The title-page border, based on the design of Hans Holbein the Younger, features the symbols of the four Gospels, the Apostles Peter and Paul, and the four Great Western Fathers: Pope Gregory I, Saint Jerome, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Augustine.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1520 LUTH

## Faith Alone

*Icones catecheseos et uirtutum ac uitiorum illustratae numeris Iohannis Hofferi ...*  
Wittenberg: Johannes Kraft, 1558.

An angel, representing faith, holds a crucifix and a chalice and steps on a serpent with the Ten Commandments on the ground. The work appears in an illustrated catechetical work by Johannes Hoffer.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1558 HOFF



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**CASE 12:**

## Grace for Sale:

### INDULGENCES AS BARRIERS BETWEEN CHRISTIANS AND GOD'S LOVE

In the late Medieval Period attempts to secure grace by good works led to the founding of a vast range of charitable institutions, stimulated the patronage of splendid art and architecture, and filled the coffers of the peddlers of indulgence. It was Luther's strong doubt about this arbitrary dissemination of grace and mercantile salvation that initially elicited his critique of papal authority and led to the crafting of his *Ninety-five Theses*. He regarded the selling of salvation as a crude form of tax farming, skimming of the wealth of the German burghers to fill the coffers of greedy Roman clerics. His theses were based on his conviction that faith in Christ alone would bring salvation and that the grace of God could not be purchased.

#### Unused Indulgence

Leipzig: Melchior Lotter, 1515(?).

Indulgences were issued to defray the cost of building the basilica of St. Peter in Rome. Their distribution was often linked to the sacrament of penance, as believers were granted spiritual merits in exchange for financial donations. This particular indulgence, believed to be the only specimen of its kind thus far recovered, was issued specifically to clergy, granting them liturgical benefits in exchange for their contributions. The printing of this indulgence was probably ordered by Johann Tetzel himself and carried out by Melchior Lotter the Elder, who was also to print Luther's *Ninety-five Theses* two years later. John Tetzel was responsible for the printing of 11 indulgences, issued in 15 editions. This copy was found within a book binding dated 1530, serving as an end paper, by the German bibliographer and

Reformation scholar Fritz Beyer in 1937.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION MSS 085

### Martin Luther: Sermon on Indulgences and Grace

*Ein Sermon oder Predigt von dem Ablass und gnade durch den wirdigen doctorem Martinum Luther.* Basel: Pamphilus Gengenbach, 1518.

In this sermon from 1519, Luther summarizes his position not only on indulgence but the whole filigreed theological construct the traditional church had devised from the premise that God's grace could be earned by righteousness and good works. Luther's forceful arguments met with immediate and widespread approval and due to the printing press were quickly disseminated throughout German-speaking lands. What had begun as an academic spat among Saxon clerics would irrevocably change the face of western civilization.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1518LUTH I

### Luther Triumphant

*Lutherus triumphans.* Wittenberg: [n.p.], 1568?

The broadsheet "Luther Triumphant" reflects the tensions during the mid-16th century when military defeats and Protestant disunity after Luther's death threatened to end the Reformation. Facing an uncertain future, Protestants took heart remembering the steadfast courage of Martin Luther in 1517. As at the beginning of the Reform, Luther is cast as a grimly determined hero glaring at a host of enemies and brandishing the Bible. He stands firmly on a rock surmounting a phalanx of supporters led by Philip Melancthon, whose sharp pen holds the foes at bay. To the left, Pope Leo X grasps Peter's crumbling key and sits on a wobbly throne, propped up by a crowd of frantic clerics led by a noxious demon.

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#### CASE 13:

### Law and Grace:

#### THE IMPACT OF CRANACH'S IMAGE

The Cranach Law and Grace paintings were immediately adapted for print and soon became the iconic visual essence of reformed faith. Not surprisingly, versions of and excerpts from the painting could soon be found on everything from bookbindings and epitaphs to stove tiles and carved furniture. Even unlikely objects like fiance platters and domestic window panes could be encrusted with scenes from this painting. Particularly in the later 16th century during the period of “confessionalization,” when embattled Protestant factions were in the process of defining their dogmatic standpoints, the iconography of “Law and Grace” served Lutherans as a visual identifier but also as a reminder to stand fast in their beliefs.

### Erhard Altdorfer: Law and Grace

Prague type woodcut frontispiece for the Low German edition of Luther's *De Biblie*, 1534.

This magnificent frontispiece shows the “Prague” variant of “Law and Grace.” Named after Lucas Cranach the Elder's Prague panel (1529), the woodcut shows the emotionally more compelling but theologically problematic version of the painting, in which the sinner is seated at the base of the tree and mulls the decision whether to rely on law, which ultimately leads to death, as espoused by the prophet, or to follow John the Baptist in accepting the grace of the Savior's sacrifice and thus rise from the grave triumphant. The strictly symmetrical composition of the two sides of this etching pair: Moses receiving the commandments (upper left) with the annunciation (upper right); Adam and Eve's sin in the Garden of Eden (middle left) with the crucifixion of Jesus (middle right); and the corpse resting on a sarcophagus (lower left) with the resurrected Christ emerging from an opened sarcophagus and slaying Death.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1533 BIBL A

### Stove Tile Depicting Law and Grace

Excavated in the courtyard of the Prince Electors' Palace in Wittenberg.

Although it is badly damaged, the main elements of the imagery of this stove tile have survived. The tile shows an abbreviated version of Law and Grace, including a detail of Cranach's Prague variation on this theme, but there are certain details on this stove tile that deviate fundamentally from Cranach's iconography. The sinner is depicted kneeling in prayer, facing the crucified Christ. He has made his choice and is saved. John takes him by the arm, and Moses fades into the background. The triangular composition of the figures on this tile focuses on the Crucifixion with John's outstretched arm linking sinner to Savior. Cranach's original work



focuses on the sinner's choice, where he sits on a stone in the center of the picture, between Moses and John, and is in the process of making his decision. Our tile shows a saved soul that has made this crucial choice. Another important deviation is Adam's skull, which is shown at the bottom of the tile and tilted upwards, waiting to be washed free of sin by the Savior's blood. This traditional, comforting image, affirming God's all-embracing will to save errant humanity, in fact contradicts the message of Cranach's work and Luther's message, which focuses on the importance of the sinner's belief in Christ's gift of salvation (*sola fide*).

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INV. NO. 3500:9:27H

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#### CASE 14:

## A People of Law

### LUTHER AND THE JEWS

Luther's highly ambivalent attitude towards the Jews is probably the most difficult part of his legacy. In 1523 he wrote that Christ was a Jew and deplored the discrimination that Jews had to bear. He expected the Jews to convert to the Lutheran faith, which he believed had been purged of idolatry, false doctrine, and greed. Much to his disappointment – increasingly embittered – they did not. Twenty years later he wrote *On the Jews and their Lies*, a text full of vicious polemics against the Jews. In this work he advocated burning their homes, yeshivas, and synagogues, robbing them of their possessions, and forcing them to do menial labor. Luther's hostility toward Jews endured for the rest of his life, because he saw them as a people who refused God's grace and had no place in Christian society. In contrast to later antisemites, his prejudice was, however, wholly religious. If Jews converted, he argued, they should be warmly welcomed as brothers and sisters in Christ.

## Water Fountain Box

Fragment of a water fountain box with a crucifixion showing a caricature of a Jew next to the crossed legs of the crucified Christ. Found in the infilling of Luther's home garden.

This small but disturbing fragment of a green-glazed wall fountain was excavated in the garden of Luther's house. It shows the crossed feet of the crucified Christ and to their right the profile of a leering head with hawk-beaked nose, deeply sunk eyes and lips pulled back to jeer. A complete tile, cast in the same mold, survives in Nuremberg (fig. 12) and allows us to reconstruct the scene exactly. A specific variant of the theme of Law and Grace shown here depicts a crowd of demonic louts hurling insults at the martyred Savior. This detail, which Cranach never painted, is shown in late medieval Passion imagery and includes a mocking Jew. Our figure's pointed hood identifies him as a Jew, and his complicated costume may even identify him as a temple priest. In medieval iconography, Jews are only distinguished from Gentiles by the badges and headgear they were forced to wear or by devilish attributes such as horns and tails. Influenced by humanism, Renaissance artists increasingly focused on what they saw as a typical facial physiognomy. This involved capturing expressions of emotion but also including grossly stereotypical features of social outcasts, such as criminals, beggars, Turks, and Jews. Thus, this hideous face was meant to thoroughly vilify a Jewish witness to the Crucifixion. It can be seen in the context of the viciously anti-Semitic caricatures and tropes that haunt us to this day.

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667:243:260A

## The Crucifixion of Jesus

*Speculum adhortationis iudaice ad Christum.*  
Speyer: Konrad Hist, 1507.

Johannes Pfefferkorn (literally, “peppercorn”) was born “Josef” to a German Jewish family in 1469. He taught Talmud in Prague in 1490s and led an unstable life in southern Germany, before falling under the influence of the Dominicans in Cologne and converting to Christianity in 1504. He then began an intensive campaign slandering the Jews, calling for compelling their conversion and demanding the destruction of the Talmud and other rabbinical literature. Only the Old Testament was to survive his purge. Pfefferkorn’s influence was considerable. His plan to decimate Jewish libraries was only stopped due to the advocacy of a leading humanist, Johannes Reuchlin, who favored learning from Jewish scholarship instead of destroying it and convinced the emperor accordingly. Before his death in 1521, Pfefferkorn had written a glut of polemical tracts, including this exhortation that the Jews convert. Its title page bears crude defamatory images, including a circumcision directed by a demon. Another devil tries to stop a Jew from being baptized with water, mixed with blood spurting from the wounds of Christ.

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## The Fortress of the Church under Siege from Demons, Jews and Turks

Frontispiece to Hieronymus Dungersheim,  
*Dialogus ad Martinu[m] Lutherum...* Leipzig:  
Valentin Schumann, 1531.

This pamphlet by Hieronymus (Jerome) Dungersheim (1465 – 1540), an academic from Leipzig who was a passionate opponent of the Lutheran reform, illuminates the paranoid mentality of the Reformation period and the escalation of anti-Jewish sentiment. The title-page woodcut of this anti-Lutheran pamphlet

depicts the castle of Christ defended by angels and clergy against Jews, Turks, heretics, and demons. Indeed, Protestants of the day – including Luther – saw the Holy Roman Empire itself threatened by the Turkish advance through the Balkans, the fragmentation of Christianity, and the unwillingness of the Catholic Church to reform.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1531 DUNG A

## About the Jews and their Lies

Martin Luther, *Von den Juden und ihren Lügen.*  
Wittenberg: Johannes Lufft, 1543.

This volume conveys a message of undiluted hatred against the Jews and advocates, among other things, that their synagogues and yeshivas be torched, their Rabbis silenced under pain of death, and young Jews be forced to do hard labor. All this revealing the depth of Luther’s embittered disappointment that the Jews had refused his proclamation of the Christian faith. This volume is the first and in many respects the worst of his three attacks on the Jews in 1543.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1543 LUTH A

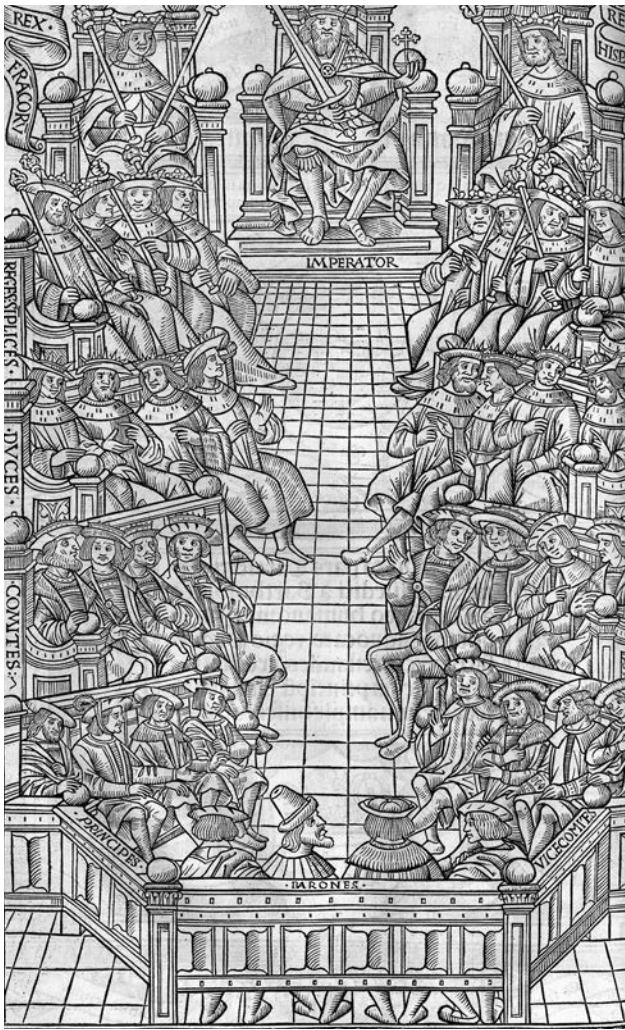
## That Jesus Christ was born a Jew

Martin Luther. *Das Ihesus Christus eyn geborner Iude sey.* Wittenberg: Lucas Cranach & Christian Döring, 1523.

In this tract Luther confesses that he believes that Jesus was born a Jew to the Virgin Mary and expresses his hope that his teaching will bring more Jews to convert to Christianity. In his view, the teaching and practice of many who came before him, as well as of his opponents, was the chief cause that most Jews did not convert.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1523 LUTH XXX





LUCAS CRANACH THE ELDER, PORTRAIT OF MARTIN LUTHER, 1528, OIL ON PANEL, KUNST SAMMULGEN DER VESTE COBORG.

### CASE 15:

## Luther, the Princes and the Peasants

St. Augustine had contrasted the kingdom of the spirit with the material world. Trained as an Augustinian monk, Martin Luther accepted this division, arguing that secular authority was given by God. Luther advised, cooperated with, and flattered the princes who protected both him and his reform agenda. The freedom of every Christian to accept God's grace, although it implied an equality among the believers, did not in Luther's mind have political consequences.

The landless farmers, who in the Middle Ages were little more than slaves, saw this differently. Supported by radical theologians, above all Luther's disciple Thomas Müntzer, the peasants were encouraged by Luther's promise of Christian freedom and rebelled. While Luther felt sorry for them, he saw the peasants' bloody revolt as a threat to the princely patronage, which had secured the success of his reformation. Therefore, he urged the princes to suppress the peasants' revolt mercilessly.

### Cat Before the Mouse King

Hans Weiditz the Younger's *Katze vor dem Mäusekönig*. Augsburg, ca. 1522. Text on the banner: Der katzen hab wir in vns phlicht. / her künig wir bringens fir gericht [...] (We have the cat in custody / we are bringing him to the king for trial [...])

The Augsburg artist Hans Weiditz the Younger made a name for himself as a satirist in the early 1520s with woodcut caricatures. This sheet shows a plump cat between two slender dogs, who are taking the cat to the mouse king. The king, replete with crown and scepter, sits high on a wicker basket. The mouse king, however, passes judgment on the cat for the suffering he had caused among mice. This is a typical image of the "reversed world," i.e., the fantasy where the norms of nature and society are inverted. The motif of the triumph of the mice over the cats had been popular since antiquity. Such images that reversed traditional power structures were as funny as they were provocative, especially during the early Reformation, and reflected the rebelliousness that would lead to the Peasants' Revolt in 1525.

FOUNDATION SCHLOSS FRIEDENSTEIN GOTHA,  
INV. NO. 40,40

### Catalogvs Gloriæ Mundi

*Catalogvs gloriæ mundi, laudes, honores, excellentias ...* Lyon: Dionysius de Harsy, 1529.

A woodcut depicting imperial hierarchy from an encyclopedia of the European nobility by

the French jurist Barthélemy de Chasseneuz (1480–1541). This illustration shows an idealized image of the hierarchical structure of the empire, with the emperor (IMPERATOR) at the head, flanked by kings (REX) of France and Spain, who surmount a ladder of viceroys, dukes, counts, viscounts, marquises, princes, and barons. This ideal of an immutable hierarchy was crumbling during Luther's time, as wealthy burghers of the burgeoning towns and cities began to amass wealth and power. Luther himself came from a family that had advanced from the peasantry to join the wealthy burghers of the mining town of Mansfeld.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1529 CATA

## Collected Works of Luther

*Tomus primus [-septimus] omnium operum / Reverendi Domini Martini Lutheri.*  
Wittenberg: Thomas Klug, 1558.

This title page, which closely follows paintings of the Cranach school, shows the Crucifixion, flanked by Martin Luther and his prince, John Frederick I, Elector of Saxony (also known as John the Magnanimous), kneeling in prayer. This motif, printed after the death of both protagonists, is all the more remarkable, as it shows Luther and his protector as equivalent pious Protestants, worshiping the sacrifice of Christ. In fact, the two were anything but equals. Luther remained a commoner, and although Prince John Frederick was his ardent if impulsive disciple, he remained a member of the high nobility and would not have associated freely with a man of lower rank.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1582 LUTH T.7

## A Sermon on Usury

Martin Luther, *Ain Sermon von de[m] Wucher.*  
Augsburg: Jörg Nadler, 1520.

This illustration of a sermon against usury by

Martin Luther, who in 1520 was still cast as an Augustinian monk. A patrician – with fur-trimmed hat and coat and with one hand firmly grasping his purse – gestures to a cowed peasant, who doffs his hat and will relinquish food and goods (including a duck) to his lord. Young Luther had a social agenda, which the older reformer would jettison for fear of losing the patronage of the mighty.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1520 LUTH TTTT

## Dance of Death

Hans Holbein the Younger, *Imagines de Morte, et epigram[m]ata / è Gallico idiomate à Georgio Aemylio in Latinu[m] translata.* Lyon: Frellon, 1547.

After their expulsion from the Garden of Eden, the primordial couple faced the stark realities of survival and the eternal cycle of birth and death. Eve, who is breast-feeding her son Cain, holds a distaff for spinning thread, while her husband Adam, dressed in rude rags, uses a digging stick to sow his crops. Both live the hard life of the peasants in Luther's day. While gleeful Death seems to help Adam, the hour glass (left) shows that he is just amusing himself before claiming his first victim.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1547 IMAG

## A Peasant

*Ein Sermon geprediget vom Pawren zü Werdt, bey Nürnberg, am Sontag vor Fassnacht, von dem freyen Willen des Menschen.* Nuremberg: Hieronymus Höltzel, 1524.

A title-page image with a man holding a flail, an agricultural tool used to separate grain from the husks. The image of the peasant here is not suggestive of the sermon's content (free will), but represents the author, Diepold Peringer, a renegade monk, who claimed to be a peasant and lay preacher.

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REFORMATION COLLECTION 1524 PERI

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## CASE 16:

## A New Era and a New World

Within twenty-five years at the turn of the 16th century Europeans begin their assault on the indigenous peoples of the Americas (1492), the Ottomans overwhelmed Constantinople (1453), Pope Julius began demolishing Old St. Peter's Basilica (1505), and Martin Luther initiated the ongoing schism of the Western Church (1517). While these events, which traditionally mark the beginning of the Modern Era, would seem to be unrelated, they are in fact closely linked. The wars with the Ottoman Empire impeded East-West trade, forcing Atlantic powers to look to the west for alternatives. The Turkish expansion into the Balkans and Mediterranean and Spain's plundering of the Americas focused the Empire's attention to the south and west, leaving it blind to German unrest. The drastic changes during this one generation had profound effects on the generations that followed.

## Neck of Vessel

Reconstructed from Fragments of a Faience Jug from Iznik. Wittenberg, Luther House, Collegienstraße 54, 1st-half of the 16th century. Faience, painted/glazed (reconstructed).

One of the most surprising discoveries made in the rubble in the backyard of Luther's house were these colorful, yet seemingly nondescript sherds from the neck of a polychrome jug, decorated with a floral pattern. They belong to a little jug made in Iznik, Turkey, which produced exquisite pottery for the ruling class of the Ottoman Empire between the 15th and 18th century. This jug, which is the first of its kind found in an archaeological excavation in Germany, dates to the early 16th century and was probably given to the reformer as a precious gift from one of his many wealthy supporters. One wonders whether Luther was aware of the origins of this piece, as he might have had mixed



feelings about it. On the one hand, Luther was writing polemical diatribes against the Turks. On the other hand, he would have been aware that Iznik was ancient Nicaea in whose basilica the Nicene Creed was promulgated in 325 CE. Luther saw this creed as a crucial early witness to the Christian faith and approved it for use in Protestant liturgy.

STATE MUSEUM OF PREHISTORY (HALLE),  
INV. NO. HK 667:106:45

### **Bellarmino Jug Wernigerode, Klinthügel, 1st-half of the 16th century, Stoneware.**

This vessel is referred to in German as a Bartman Krug (bearded man) jug, due to its decoration with a bearded face. This example is almost complete with the exception of the handle and the lid. This typical stoneware product of Rhineland pottery centers in the early-16th century has a molded, stern, male mask with wild eyes and an unkempt beard with vines sporting oak leaves and acorns swirling around its body. The rough-hewn, disheveled face on the jug's neck is derived from the medieval iconography of the wild or green men, conceived as hirsute, uncivilized inhabitants of the forest. Mummers disguised as wild men were a standard feature of late medieval carnival processions and burlesque.

This 3D printout is available online and can be downloaded and printed along with other exhibits from the Luther exhibitions in the USA with a 3D printer from the website

<http://www.here-i-stand.com/en>

ORIGINAL IN THE STATE OFFICE FOR HERITAGE  
MANAGEMENT AND ARCHAEOLOGY SAXONY-ANHALT,  
STATE MUSEUM OF PREHISTORY (HALLE), INV. NO. HK  
2003:1093C (3-D PRINTOUT)

## **Native American Gorget**

Carlos Museum

Shell gorgets are a beautiful reminder that complex societies thrived in North America during the Reformation period. Mainly carved from robust conch shells, they were worn in southeastern North America, from the 13th to 16th centuries. They were symbolically charged amulets, worn as necklace pendants and decorated with a highly differentiated iconographies. They are just one aspect of a highly complex, symbolic system made by peoples living in large urban settlements, such as in Etowah near Atlanta. These societies succumbed to the European's most lethal weapon, a cocktail of germs for which the Native Americans had no immunities.



Salzburgischer Emigranten Abschied von Leipzig den 3. Septemb. 1732.



Salzburgischer Emigranten Ankunft zu Königsberg in Preussen. J. Schönbauer.

1732 AUSF:1

## CASE 17:

# The Salzburger Immigrants:

## RELIGIOUS REFUGEES IN GEORGIA

In accordance with the peace formula adopted after Europe's Christian civil wars, "cuius regio, eius religio" (i.e., the ruler defines the religion of his subjects), the bishop of Salzburg expelled 20,000 Protestants from his territory in 1731. A small group of these Salzburgers accepted an invitation to settle in the newly established colony of Georgia in 1733, led by Pietist ministers from Halle. After difficult beginnings their settlement "Ebenezer" began to prosper, and their Saxon pastor, Johann Martin Bolzius, set out to realize a Christian utopia on the banks of the Savannah

River. While this ambition was never realized, the Salzburgers initially refused to participate in the system of plantation slavery, choosing instead to remain the self-reliant farmers and craftsmen they had been in the Alps. Their Jerusalem Lutheran Church (built in 1769) became the longest-lived Lutheran congregation in the Americas, and the biblical name "Ebenezer" ("the stone of help") was adopted also by other young, struggling congregations, most notably Martin Luther King Jr's Ebenezer Baptist Church, which was founded in 1886 in Atlanta.

## Expulsion from Salzburg

*An account of the sufferings of the persecuted Protestants in the Archbishopric of Salzburg.* London: J. Downing, 1732.

On October 31, 1731, the 214<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the beginning of the Lutheran Reformation, Count Leopold Anton von Firmian, Prince Bishop of Salzburg, expelled 20,000 Protestants from his ecclesiastical province for their refusal to return to the Catholic Church. Shown here is a contemporary report of their persecution and expulsion.

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## Salzburgers Arriving in Germany

*Ausführliche Historie derer Emigranten oder, vertriebenen Lutheraner aus dem Ertz-Bissthum Saltzburg ...* Leipzig: Teubner, 1732.

Frontispiece for a contemporary history of the Salzburger expulsion. The engraving depicts the arrival of the Salzburgers in the German cities of Leipzig and Königsberg (now Kaliningrad, Russia).

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## Salzburgers Arrive in Georgia

*Ausführliche Nachricht von den saltzburgischen Emigranten, die sich in America niedergelassen haben ...* Halle: in Verlegung des Wäysenhauses, 1735-

Contemporary account of the Salzburgers' arrival in Savannah, Georgia. The frontispiece engraving of this work depicts Tomo Chachi Mico, Chief of the Yamacraw, and Tooanahowi his Nephew. Tomo Chachi was taken to England in 1734 by the directors of the newly founded colony of Georgia and was presented to King George II.

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## The Salzburgers in Georgia

*The Salzburgers and their descendants: being the history of a colony of German (Lutheran) Protestants, who emigrated to Georgia in 1734 and settled at Ebenezer, twenty-five miles above the city of Savannah.* By Rev. P.A. Strobel. Baltimore: T. Newton Kurtz, 1855.

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## CASE 18:

## Inspired by Grace:

### THE PIETIST MOVEMENT IN GERMANY AND AMERICA

Pietism emerged in the late 17th century as a reaction to what was seen as a new inflexible orthodoxy within the Lutheran Church that stifled the individual's search for God. The acceptance of grace became an intensely personal concern for the followers of the movement's founder, Philipp Jakob Spener. Devotion to Christ was accompanied by an ascetic lifestyle dominated by private devotions and dedication to Scripture. Pietists were champions of charity to the unfortunate and missions to the unbelievers. Great Pietist figures include August Hermann Francke, who organized the charitable Francke Foundation, an orphanage in Saxon Halle, and who was involved in spreading the gospel and supporting Lutherans in the New World. The individual approach to spirituality advocated by the Pietists fit the spirit of the new American pioneers. Pietism can be still felt in America through its English offshoot Methodism and in congregations who celebrate Scripture and seek intense emotional bonds to their savior.

## Philipp Jakob Spener

*Die Evangelische Glaubens-Lehre, in einem Jahrgang der Predigten bey den Sonn- und Fest-täglichen ordentlichen Evangelien ... von Philipp Jacob Spener ...* Frankfurt am Main: Heirs of Johann David Zunners & Johann Adam Jung, 1717.

Frontispiece portrait of Philipp Jakob Spener, founder of Pietism, from a 1717 publication of a collection of his sermons. Philipp Jakob Spener (1635-1705) known as the "the father of Pietism," was a charismatic Alsatian pastor and philologist who had managed to gain access to Protestant courtly circles as a tutor. Despite this



successful career, he found established religion insipid and founded a fellowship of prayer/ *collegia pietatis* (hence his movement's name), which called formalized ritual and church authority into question. Much to the concern of the Lutheran hierarchy, he soon had an avid following. During a brief stint as court preacher in Saxony, he even went so far as to chastise the prince elector's flagrant sins and was promptly fired. While Spener would stress the value of bonding with God and an ascetic lifestyle, he understood that living God's grace also involved taking a public moral stand.

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## John Wesley and Pietism

*Nicomemus or, A treatise on the fear of man.*

Written in German by August Herman Franck. Abridg'd by John Wesley ... Bristol: Felix Farley, 1749.

John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was profoundly influenced by German Pietism and translated many Pietist works into English, such as this tract by August Hermann Francke, another influential figure in early Pietism and the founder of the Francke Foundation (Franckesche Stiftung) in Halle.

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## Gottfried Arnold

*Die erste Liebe, das ist, Wahre Abbildung der ersten Christen ...* von Gottfried Arnold. Leipzig: Samuel Benjamin Walther, 1732.

Title page of a biographical history of the early church by the Pietist theologian Gottfried Arnold. This book was formerly owned by Philipp Schaff, a Swiss-born theologian and church historian who taught in both Germany and the United States.

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## Reproduction of a View of the Francke Foundations (Franckesche Stiftungen) in Halle

18th century etching.

Plan of Wäysenhaus/Orphanage founded in Halle-Glauchau. August Hermann Francke, Segens-volle Fussstapfen des noch lebenden und waltenden liebeichen und getreuen Gottes : zur Beschämung des Unglaubens und Stärckung des Glaubens entdeckt durch eine wahrhafte und umständliche Nachricht von dem Wäysen-Hause und übrigen Anstalten zu Glaucha vor Halle / welche im Jahr 1701. zum Druck befördert, ietzo aber zum dritten Mal ediret, und bis auf gegenwärtiges Jahr fortgesetzt von August. Herm. Francken ... Pitts Theology Library 1709 FRAN

While the Pietist movement stressed the virtues of fervent individual devotion, the fact that Pietists were often marginalized by the religious and social elites of the late 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century made them sensitive to the needs of the poor and disadvantaged. The foundation of an orphanage on the northern edge of Saxon Halle by the Pietist theologian August Hermann Francke (1663-1727). Founded as an orphanage and school in 1695, it soon expanded to become a major center of practical education, the most important Pietist publishing house and the focal point for Lutheran missionary activities, which quickly reached global dimensions. An important aspect of this mission was tending to the needs of overseas Lutheran communities, which was galvanized by the steady increase of German immigration to the Americas.

REPRODUCTION FRANCKESCHE STIFTUNGEN HALLE

## Screen: The Heartland of the Reformation. Sites, Images and Objects from the Luther Sites in Central Germany

2017 marks the 500th anniversary of Martin Luther's posting the *Ninety-Five Theses* against the sale of indulgences in Wittenberg and the beginning of the Reformation. This exhibition and the parallel shows in Minneapolis and New York will be exposing Americans to a wealth of images and objects from Central Germany, most of which have never crossed the Atlantic. In this presentation we invite you to enjoy a selection of objects and images intimately connected with the life story of the reformer and the birth of the Reformation from the Central German Luther sites, which will be on view at the other venues contextualized with images of the Luther sites as they are today.

With this presentation we invite you not only to visit our exhibits at The Morgan Library & Museum in New York and the Minneapolis Institute of Art but also, of course, the Central German sites of the Reformation themselves, which will be celebrating 500 years of Reformation in 2017.

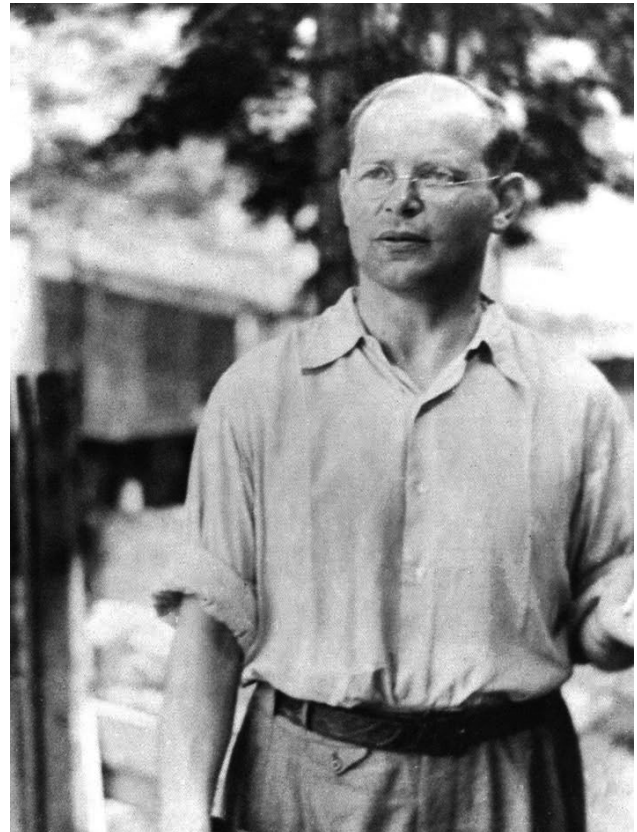


IMAGE OF DIETRICH BONHOEFFER IN TEGEL PRISON FROM RENATE BETHGE AND CHRISTIAN GREMMELS, EDS., *DIETRICH BONHOEFFER: A LIFE IN PICTURES* (MINNEAPOLIS: FORTRESS PRESS, 2005), 153.

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### CASE 19:

## The Cost of Discipleship:

### DIETRICH BONHOEFFER AND THE ETHICS OF GRACE

Dietrich Bonhoeffer (1906 – 1945), a Lutheran theologian who was murdered by the Nazis for his participation in the foiled plot to assassinate Hitler, continues to inspire those (particularly in the USA) who see resisting injustice as a Christian duty. The majority of Germany's Lutherans in the 1930s and 1940s saw themselves bound by Luther's vision of God-ordained governance to be loyal to the Nazi regime. The ideological Nazis within the

church, “German Christians,” as they called themselves, were opposed by the Confessing Church that joined Bonhoeffer in rejecting the Nazis’ attempt to instrumentalize the church. Accusing his opponents of advocating “cheap grace” (i.e., “grace without discipleship, grace without the cross, grace without Jesus Christ, living and incarnate”), Bonhoeffer made an eloquent and impassioned plea for a discipleship mandated by accepting God’s gift of grace, which included the duty to follow God-given law. Interestingly, Bonhoeffer was first exposed to the social ramifications of God’s grace during his stay in New York City. In 1930, A. Franklin Fisher, his friend who would later serve as the minister of West Hunter Baptist Church in Atlanta, introduced him to the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, where he regularly attended and taught Sunday school. He was electrified both by the passion of the believers and the ethical vision of Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, who had coined the phrase “Cheap Grace.”

## Medal Honoring Dietrich Bonhoeffer

Wilfried Fitzenreiter, “Medaille auf Dietrich Bonhoeffer”, ca. 1972, highly cupriferous brass.

This medal depicting the profile of Dietrich Bonhoeffer was cast in East Berlin and commissioned by the East German Christian Democrat Union, a political party in name only, which had been created by the East German communist regime in order to secure the support of their middle class Christian citizens. Besides automatically supporting the communist government’s policies, this party – in exchange for religious freedom – was able to honor Christians who were seen as positive historical figures but could not be celebrated by the strictly atheist communist authorities. These included, of course, Thomas Müntzer (the leader of the Peasant’s Revolt) and Martin Luther (regarded as a progressive, anti-imperialist force in German history). Bonhoeffer and others of the Confessing

Church were treated more ambivalently. On the one hand, they had suffered in the same prisons and concentration camps as the communists and were celebrated as antifascist allies, but on the other hand, the communists also knew that Bonhoeffer and his associates would have been just as opposed to the current totalitarian regime. When the German Democratic Republic was finally swept away in 1989, it was the Protestant Church, acting in the spirit of Bonhoeffer that galvanized the open protests.

DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM,  
INV. NO. N 2010/90

## Against the Tide

Adam Clayton Powell Sr., *Against the Tide: An Autobiography*. New York: R.R. Smith, 1938.

Adam Clayton Powell Sr (1865-1953) was born to a large, struggling family that farmed in the Appalachian Piedmont. He earned a college degree, though, and was called to lead New York’s Abyssinian Baptist Church. This was during the height of the great migration of disenfranchised African Americans from the agrarian South to the industrial hubs of the North. A congenial organizer and charismatic speaker, he transformed his parish into the largest Baptist congregation in the USA, but despite this dizzying success he never forgot his humble past nor the plight of the repressed and impoverished black community. With fiery sermons and highly developed political acumen he would become a founder and leader of the budding Civil Rights Movement. It was the combination of intense faith, expressive worship, and an unwavering belief that justice would prevail, if Christians would accept the burden of expensive grace, which would make such a profound impression on the young Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

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## Ludwig Müller

Reichsbischof Müller in Wittenberg, September 10th 1933: Repro DHM: F 52/8335537645 (9004817) Deutschland, Wittenberg am 10.09.1933.

Ludwig Müller (1883 -- 1945) was a lackluster army chaplain who had joined the Nazi Party in the early 1930s and was the leading figure of the nationalist “German Christian” movement. He was appointed by Goering to be the leader of German Protestantism and elected Reich’s Bishop after the Nazis grasped power in 1933. We see him here parading out the front door of Luther’s house in Wittenberg, flanked by a Nazi honor guard in that very year. A feckless coward, he was at pains to obey his Nazi bosses by excommunicating Protestants with Jewish heritage, forbidding the use of the Old Testament in churches, and forcefully integrating Protestant youth groups in the Nazi’s “Hitler Youth.” He gradually lost the support of both the church hierarchy and the anti-Christian Nazi leadership during the war and died (perhaps by suicide) just after the Russians conquered Berlin. In many ways Bonhoeffer’s struggle with Nazism in the church also reflected his patrician background, intellectual standing, and moral courage, which set him so utterly apart from the Müllers of his world.

REPRODUCTION DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM  
BERLIN, F 52/833 5537645 (9004817) GERMANY,  
WITTENBERG, 10.09.1933

## Bonhoeffer and King

J. Deotis Roberts, *Bonhoeffer and King: Speaking Truth to Power*. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005.

While Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Martin Luther King Jr never met, their strong faith in social and political justice and their courageous determination to implement God’s grace in the world linked the two. Both would pay for

their faith with violent deaths, and both would instill purpose and agency in the generations to come.

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### CASE 20:

## Martin Luther King Jr

*“I would even go by the way that the man for whom I am named had his habitat. And I would watch Martin Luther as he tacked his ninety-five theses on the door at the church of Wittenberg.”*

On the day before his assassination Dr. King expressed admiration for the courage and zeal of his namesake in his powerful “I’ve been to the Mountaintop” speech. While there are various versions of how he came to be named after the reformer, both theologians would change history by doing what they felt to be their God-given duty. Dr. King, who questioned the dichotomy between the earthly world of law and the spiritual world of grace, proclaimed that Christian freedom could only be enjoyed in a world of justice and that this could only be realized within the context of fulfilling God’s commandments. This thesis – coupled with King’s compelling charisma – would galvanize the struggle for social justice well beyond the borders of his own country. While there is a general awareness of Martin Luther’s impact on America, Americans know little of Martin Luther King Jr’s immense popularity and his crucial impact on the struggle for freedom in East Germany. King visited East Berlin spontaneously shortly before his assassination, and crowds surged to hear him. The campaign that initially sought to reform the Soviet-style “German Democratic Republic” in 1989 was led by Lutheran pastors inspired by the example of Martin Luther King Jr. Their courageous stand against injustice and their ability to mount huge nonviolent protests played a major role in the collapse of the East German regime.

## Weiss, Ernst, Martin Luther King Medal

Cast in East Germany after 1968.

Ernst Weiss (1898-1974), who was one of East Germany's top medallists and premiere craftsmen in the casting of medals, was very active in the 1960s, turning out likenesses not only of East German stalwarts such as Goethe, Schiller, Marx, Engels, and Lenin but also of Albert Einstein and even Martin Luther King Jr himself. While the Soviet-style German Democratic Republic paid lip service to the achievements of King, particularly in the context of stressing the hypocrisy of the US propagation of freedom, care was taken to limit his impact on the regime's repressive realities.

DEUTSCHES HISTORISCHES MUSEUM BERLIN, INV. NO. N 2010/93



## Martin Luther King visits the Berlin Wall

Martin Luther King Jr (left) and Ralph Abernathy (right) looking at the Berlin Wall, Bismarckstrasse, September 13, 1964

## Martin Luther King at the site of a failed escape from East Berlin

Martin Luther King preaches in East Berlin, September 1964 Reproductions, Landesbildstelle Berlin

Reproduction Landesarchiv Berlin

While there is no evidence that King was influenced directly by Bonhoeffer, the common roots of their fight against injustice and the martyrdom it entailed are more than clear. Both theologians readily acknowledged the influence of Reinhold Niebuhr on their understanding of religious ethics, and it is interesting to note that Bonhoeffer's student friend, A. Franklin Fisher, who had become pastor in a major Atlanta church, would join Martin Luther King Jr's campaign against bigotry and disenfranchisement in Georgia's capital in the late 1950s. While there is a general awareness that King's impassioned effort to cleanse the United States from the stain of racism has had an indelible, beneficial impact on the fabric of American society, Americans know little of his immense popularity in Germany (a number of churches, schools, and streets are named in his honor) generally and his crucial impact on the struggle for freedom in communist East Germany in particular. King had visited Germany in 1964 (fig. 19) and, responding to an invitation from an East Berlin pastor, included a surprise visit to East Berlin in his agenda. There he was received by enthusiastic crowds that packed the city's main church, St. Mary's, to hear him preach and boldly question the injustice of the city's partition, claiming, "Here on either side of the Wall are God's children and no man-made barrier can obliterate that fact." While the Soviet-style German Democratic Republic paid lip service to the achievements of King, particularly in the context of stressing the hypocrisy of the US propagation of freedom, care was taken to limit his impact on the regime's repressive realities. And indeed it was King's uncompromising stance against injustice and his exemplary use of effective nonviolent resistance that played a decisive role in

inspiring East German dissidents operating under the protection of the church to openly voice their opposition to state repression and organize vast non-violent protests that would play a decisive role in toppling the East German government in 1989.

## **Letter from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.**

Letter from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to a white community leader and Unitarian minister in Atlanta, the Rev. Eugene Pickett.

Pickett had been a staunch supporter of King's civil rights campaign from its beginnings and had just sponsored a fundraising dinner in King's honor. Martin Luther King Jr, a conscientious correspondent, thanks him for this. It is interesting that King stresses the Judeo-Christian values that the two men share and expresses his unbroken belief in American democracy's ability to overcome bigotry and segregation. The upbeat tone of this letter is all the more astonishing as civil rights marchers in Selma, Alabama – alluded to at the beginning of the letter – had been cruelly beaten to a halt by the Alabama police on “Bloody Sunday,” one week before the letter was written.

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