

davon ausgehen, daß dazu immer die Gnade Gottes nötig sei. Aus der Sicht Luthers sei vielmehr ein Management durch Sinnvermittlung gegenüber allem Omnipotenzwahn zu begrenzen. Denn ohne jede Begrenzung wären für die Mitarbeiter letztlich Vergewaltigung oder Gehirnwäsche zu befürchten. Management durch Sinnvermittlung müßte nach Luther als Überschreitung »weltlichen Regiments« qualifiziert werden. Denn jegliche »weltliche« Einflußnahme darf sich aus guten Gründen nicht weiter erstrek-

ken als »über leyb und güt und was eußerlich ist auff erden. Denn über die seele kan und will Gott niemant lassen regirn denn sich selbs alleyn« (WA 11, 262, 8-10).

Als Arbeitspapiere wurden die Beiträge »Die Rezeption vom Luthers Wirtschaftsdenken im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert« von *Ricardo W. Rieth*, »Beruf und Arbeit bei Luther« und »Zehn Thesen zu Ökonomie und Sinn« von *Andreas Pawlas* und »Universal significance of Luther's economic ethics« von *Lei Yutian* zur Kenntnis genommen.

Die Wittenberger Theologen und der Schmalkaldische Bund

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In Seminar 13 participated ten scholars from Germany (5), the USA (4), and Denmark (1), of whom seven contributed reports which served as the basis for the seminar's discussions. Although some brief attention was paid to the older literature going back as far as Leopold von Ranke (1795-1886), in general the reports and discussion proceeded within a framework defined by the literature published within the past quarter-century from Eike Wolgast's book »Die Wittenberger Theologie und die Politik der evangelischen Stände« (GÜ 1977) and Gabriele Haug-Moritz's book »Der Schmalkaldische Bund 1530-1541/42« (Leinfelden-Echterdingen 2002). Reports and discussions concentrated on three complexes of topics.

1. The Schmalkaldic League must be seen from two points of view. It continued, first of all, the traditions of late medieval associational (genossenschaftlich) politics, guarding the distinction between rulers and subjects but expanding its geographical scope far beyond the regional focus

of the Swabian League. Second, its innovative religious justification tended in the main to redefine and alter late medieval ideas and policies concerning the proper relations between ecclesia and politia, which Luther relegated principally to the jurists (Torgau Declaration, 1530). At times, the apocalyptic potential of the League's religious basis broke through the shell of its integration into Imperial political culture, which happened notably in 1538/39 and in the years from the Schmalkaldic War through the Interim to the resistance in Ernestine Saxony under Duke John Frederick II (1560s). Yet, on the whole, the political realism exercised by the jurists during and after the League prepared the way for the political reintegration of the Holy Roman Empire during the 1550s.

2. This tendency toward integration rather than irreconcilable difference can also be seen in Luther's and Lutheran treatments of the problem of resistance. On the whole, they continued late

medieval lines of discussion and avoided apocalyptic solutions to political crises. Pamphlets published during the Schmalkaldic War contain largely secular concepts of »fatherland« and »nation« of the common European kind. At least since the Torgau Declaration (1530), the Wittenberg theologians endorsed the treatment of resistance as belonging to the temporal sphere, basing their arguments on the right of self-defense that derives from the natural-law right of all householders to resist unjust violence. Luther's »Zirkulardisputation über das Recht des Widerstands gegen den Kaiser« (9. Mai 1539) seems to retract the Torgau Declaration by declaring that the magistrate becomes through wrong-doing a simple citizen, but the context-princely resistance to the emperor-blocked the development of this potentially revolutionary step. Moreover, his apparent endorsement in 1538/39 of a general right to resist was limited to a specific case, for he not only distinguished spiritual from temporal authority (the two kingdoms) but divided the latter into legitimate and illegitimate types. Both spiritual and temporal authority can be either legitimate or illegitimate. In 1538, therefore, the theologians took up the jurists' arguments, they did not overturn them.

3. Current research and discussion on the Schmalkaldic League's history is shedding much-needed light on its operations in and ties to the northern world, whereas the earlier literature and collections of published sources concentrated on the south. A report on Pomerania and the Interim fit into a broader project on three »non-royal« (kaiserferne) lands of the north: Pomerania, Mecklenburg, and Saxony. In Pomerania the cri-

sis of the Interim was the catalyst for the establishment of Christian rulership in the Reformation sense and the definition of a *politia christiana* in terms of »Notwehr, Gegenwehr«, and »Widerstandsrecht«. At Stralsund, leading city of the Pomeranian territorial diet, a notable popular-clerical party mobilized to oppose the dukes' and the magistrates' policy of accepting the Interim. In Denmark the process moved earlier and more decisively, even though King Christian III, like the Pomeranian dukes, refused to participate in the war of his Schmalkaldic allies against the emperor. Despite his decisive action on behalf of a Lutheran Reformation, the Danish king would not involve himself in a broader conflict justified by religion.

Seminar 13 produced unmistakable evidence of a growth of interest in the history of the Schmalkaldic League and its political and religious consequences. As against the older literature its offers:

1) a much clearer understanding of the roles of theologians and jurists with respect to the League's policies in general and of the actions of Luther and other theologians in particular;

2) an insistence on continuity between the League and the late medieval political culture of associations;

3) a clear recognition of both the apocalyptic possibilities contained in the League's religious justification and of the essential political realism of Protestant policies; and

4) an acknowledgement of the importance of the northern world, both in- and outside the Holy Roman Empire, to the history of the Schmalkaldic League.