

in die Theologie eingeführt hatte, ging Osiander mit seinem Bezug zur altkirchlichen Theologie noch dahinter zurück. Dementsprechend ist nicht Jesus Christus Träger des Geschehens am Kreuz, sondern Gott. Christus erscheint demgegenüber als gleichsam passiv. Christus ist der neue Isaak, der zwar passiv wie der biblische Isaak bleibt, aber im Gegensatz zu ihm von Gott tatsächlich geschlachtet wird.

Es wurde im Seminar deutlich, daß die Einheit Christi mit Gott auf der Grundlage ihrer gemeinsamen göttlichen Natur für die finnische Lutherschule ein theologisches Band zwischen Luther und Osiander bildet. Danach bestand Osianders Leistung darin, gewisse Züge von

Luthers Theologie, die von der melanchthonischen Imputationslehre verdrängt worden waren, zu revitalisieren. Schwer zu akzeptieren ist für diese Richtung, daß Osiander trotz der Belastung des nach ihm benannten Streits einen Konflikt mit den Gnesiolutheranern riskierte. Aber gerade sie, die als wahre Lutheraner firmierten, standen ja in bezug auf die forensische Rechtfertigungslehre auf der Seite Melanchthons. Osiander hatte dieses Thema bereits 1530 mit dem Entwurf zur brandenburgisch-nürnbergischen Kirchenordnung abgetan, indem er Gottes Wort gegen Menschensatzung setzte, womit die Auffassungen sowohl Melanchthons als auch der Gnesiolutheraner gemeint sein konnten.

Luther and the Anabaptists After 1530

Seminar Leader: Carter Lindberg

Reporter: Mark Tranvik

Carter Lindberg began the session with an overview of the material. He noted that Luther's main writing against the Anabaptists, his 1525 treatise, "Against the Heavenly Prophets", struck a theological theme that reverberated through the rest of his work against those he often labeled as "Schwärmer". For Luther, experience must be interpreted in light of the biblical text and not vice versa. When experience becomes primary there is a corresponding tilt toward a problematic subjectivity in theology that Luther found deeply troubling. Luther did pen occasional and brief pieces against Anabaptists in the 1530s and 1540s but one searches in vain for a sustained argument like those against Ulrich Zwingli (1484-1531) and Thomas Müntzer (um 1489-1525) earlier in his career. The later Luther's criticisms of the radical reformers can be found largely

in prefaces to works of colleagues and encompass concerns that Anabaptists confused law and gospel, spiritualized the sacraments and improperly mixed the earthly and heavenly kingdoms. Lindberg also pointed out that Philip Melancthon and Justus Menius (1499-1558) wrote significant tracts in the 1530s and 40s in the wake of the tragedy at Münster.

Mark Tranvik's paper showed how Anabaptism forced first and second generation Lutheran reformers to rethink their defense of infant baptism. The early Luther's "The Babylonian captivity of the church" (1520) reflects the fairly traditional view that children possess a *fides aliena*, one provided them by parents and sponsors. In response to the growing influence of Anabaptism we see him in later treatises and sermons make a much more explicit case for in-

fant faith. He roots the baptism of children in the living word of God, a dynamic force that creates faith in its object. Faith is indeed necessary for baptism but according to Luther it is a condition that God himself will meet. Wary of the subjectivism that seems to be implied in the Anabaptist view of faith and the sacrament, he asserts with new vigor that infant baptism is grounded in God's powerful Word.

Fellow reformers Philip Melanchthon and Johannes Wigand (1523-1587) – who studied at Wittenberg and was a Lutheran leader in Pomerania (an area in close proximity to groups of Anabaptists) – also defend infant baptism but on different grounds. By means of syllogistic reasoning both reformers attempt to marshal an argument for a *fides infantium*. For example: Christ says in Mc 16, 16 that one who does not believe will be condemned. In Mt 19, 14 Christ indicates that children are part of the kingdom of God – and thus not condemned. Therefore it must be concluded that children are able to believe.

Wigand also put a strong emphasis on the link between original sin and infant baptism. Not surprisingly, the Anabaptist affirmation of believers' baptism often leads them to reject the doctrine of original sin. Wigand sees the latter strongly emphasized in Scripture and suspects Pelagianism is lurking in those who deny the validity of infant baptism. Thus Wigand's argument for infant baptism includes extended references to original sin. He seems to think that if the Anabaptists can be discredited on this point of doctrine then their arguments for believers' baptism will also lose credibility.

Heribert Smolinsky's paper, »Luther und die Täufer in der Sicht der altgläubigen Kontroverstheologie«, showed how the controversialist polemicists of the sixteenth century used Flugschriften to advance their argument that heresy is the root of all social unrest. Writers such as Johannes Findling († 1538) used Luther's own ambiguous statements on the Peasants' War to make the Wittenberg reformer appear responsible for the rebellion. Johannes Eck's (1486-1543)

»Enchiridion locorum communium« (1525) linked the Peasants' War with the rise of Anabaptism and thus also made Luther responsible for the latter. Eck also acknowledges the role of other reformers such as Zwingli but says the original inspiration for Anabaptist movement is Luther.

Smolinsky demonstrated how the polemic connecting Luther with the Anabaptist »heresy« developed during the takeover of Münster in 1534. The long-time opponent of Luther, Johannes Cochlaeus (1479-1552), wrote his »XXI Artickel der Widderteuffer zu Munster ...« to show how Luther's theology led to the extreme behavior in the city. For example, the Anabaptist rejection of civil authority is a direct result of Luther's two-kingdom's doctrine, in which the reformer says that the true Christian needs no government. Similarly, Cochlaeus suggests the Münsterite practice of polygamy is inspired by a rejection of marriage as a sacrament. And finally, the Anabaptist rejection of infant baptism can be traced back to Luther's emphasis on the *sola fide*.

This trajectory from Luther to the excesses of Münster evidences a good deal of misinterpretation. However, its purpose as polemical literature was to simplify the wide variety of dissent against the sixteenth century church and put primary responsibility for the rift and disorder in Christendom on the shoulders of Martin Luther.

Scott Hendrix argued a provocative thesis that dissent in the Reformation be reconfigured under the rubric of »rechristianization«. Hendrix is searching for a category that would unify the wide variety of dissent that appeared in the sixteenth century. If one views the Reformation exclusively through a theological or socio-political lens it appears that there is little to link a Menno Simons (1496-1561) with Calvin or Luther. Hendrix doesn't dispute the reality of the differences but suggests there is an underlying unity between the magisterial and radical reformers that is often ignored. He suggests that a common agenda informed the dissent against Rome: a desire to uproot a religion that had become idolatrous and replace it with one that reflects genuine biblical faith.

In order to support his thesis Hendrix has to weaken two pillars of Reformation historiography: first, that the Anabaptists were separatists at heart and second, that the magisterial reformers compromised their ideals as they sought the cooperation of territorial political authorities and unwittingly began a process of secularization. With regard to the former, Hendrix suggests that at first the radicals did not aspire to create »separatist cells of serious Christians«. Their aim was more general; they hoped to reform society at large or, in the words of Hendrix, to »rechristianize« Christendom. To say that the radicals were isolated and insular is to ignore the original vi-

sions of Thomas Müntzer, Hans Hut (1490-1527) and Menno Simons. It was only when the civil authorities resisted their reforms that the radicals began to speak of separation.

Jeannine Olson's paper explored Calvin's views and critiques of the Anabaptists. And *Ye Ke* and *Xian-min Kong* of China gave brief overviews of the situation of the church in China with particular reference to the influence of Luther. Special attention was paid to the Marxist interpretation of Luther's role in the Peasants' War and the extent to which that view is still being taught in Chinese interpretations of the Reformation.

Luther's Writings on the Turks

Seminar Leader: John Tonkin

Reporter: John Tonkin

The seminar was designed to explore the significance of Luther's writings on the Turks against the background of the medieval inheritance and with a view to assessing Luther's impact on European perceptions of Islam.

The first day was devoted to setting the scene for interpreting Luther's writings. In the first session, *Armin Kohnle* presented a paper entitled »The Turkish menace: politics and images in early modern Germany«. Across a time span from the fall of Constantinople to the end of the 18th century, the paper explored three key questions – how contemporaries perceived the Turkish menace, what kind of images were spread about the enemy, and what reactions were expressed. By the second half of the fifteenth century, the Turks were characteristically seen as God's punishment for the sins of Christianity and this view remained unchanged until the mid 17th century. Images of

cruelty, murder, enslavement of Christians and defiling of holy places persisted alongside the first efforts to collect more and better information about the Turks. From the second half of the 15th century some more positive images appeared, emphasizing the Turks' capacity to create peace and order in their lands and their military prowess and showing by contrast how bad Christians were. In reaction to the menace, medieval concepts of crusade and Christian knighthood came to the fore, while pragmatism prevailed on a practical level, and western rulers were more preoccupied with conflicts among themselves than with common action in response to the threat. Traditional images persisted, but the fading of the political threat after 1683 and the influence of the Enlightenment helped to develop a new and more secularized view of the former enemy, with the Turk becoming a »normal« factor in European politics.