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### *Luther and women: The death of two Marys*

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God has created men with broad chests and shoulders, not broad hips, so that men can understand wisdom. But the place where the filth flows out is small. With women it's the other way around. That's why they have lots of filth and little wisdom.<sup>1</sup>

Women are created for no other purpose than to serve men and be their helpers. If women grow weary or even die while bearing children, that doesn't harm anything. Let them bear children to death; they are created for that.<sup>2</sup>

There is nothing better on earth than a woman's love.<sup>3</sup>

Oh how passionately I yearned for my family as I lay at death's door in Schmalkald. I thought I would never see my wife and little children again. How much pain that distance and separation caused me! Since by God's grace I have recovered, I now love my dear wife and children all the more.<sup>4</sup>

From just these four statements, one can easily understand the tremendous variation in assessments of Luther's opinion of women. His champions, from the sixteenth century to the present, have seen his attack on celibacy and stress on the positive side of marriage as rescuing women from the depths of scholastic misogyny and denigration.<sup>5</sup> In the words of William Lazareth:

The union of Martin and Katie was not cursed with the birth of the Anti-Christ. Instead it was blessed by God with the birth of the Protestant parsonage and the rebirth of a genuinely Christian ethos in home and community. Luther's marriage remains to this day the central evangelical symbol of the Reformation's liberation and transformation of Christian daily life.<sup>6</sup>

Elizabeth Ahme agrees:

Luther's appraisal of women was basically determined through the realization that she was also created by God and saved through Christ. With this Luther overcame all obstacles that stood in the way of her fulfillment as a woman, and opened the

way for a happy acceptance and affirmation of the role which God had given her.<sup>7</sup>

Luther's acceptance of male dominance and belittling of female ability is seen as simply a continuation of classical, Biblical, patristic, scholastic, and humanist misogyny, a tradition that even Luther couldn't break.

Those who emphasize Luther's negative views also range over centuries, from Counter-Reformation biographers to contemporary feminist observers. Sigmund Baronowski in 1913 cautiously noted:

His judgment of women is not exactly as ideal as some would have us believe. . . . We hear nothing from Luther about the personal worth and dignity of women. . . . The brutal openness with which he thrusts women into the 'natural' law of sexual life, the shocking ruthlessness with which he portrays the burning and sinful lusts of consecrated virgins, not out of his own experience but with alleged Biblical proof – all of this degraded female honor and dignity much more than simple vulgar satires did.<sup>8</sup>

Martha Behrens, sixty years later, was much more harsh:

His remarks indicate a basic, almost pagan and mythological fear of woman and her power. . . . Idealized by Luther, marriage was a masculine institution calling for complete self-abnegation by woman either as mother, wife or daughter. Rather than freeing her from the medieval ideal of celibacy, this idea chained her to a restrictive ideal of servitude. Moreover, Luther's teaching that God was pleased by this servitude served to spiritualize or hallow these biological roles, causing resistance against development in other areas.<sup>9</sup>

As usual with any area of Reformation scholarship, there are also those who take a middle view, pointing out the continuity between Luther's ideas and those of his predecessors, both humanist and scholastic. John Yost notes:

The Renaissance humanists, civic and Christian alike, emphasized marriage and family life as the best means for all social relations. . . . God had established marriage and family life as the best means for providing spiritual and moral discipline in this world. . . . In this way, civic and Christian humanists enable us to see more clearly the larger context for the revolutionary change in domestic life brought about by the Protestant reformers.<sup>10</sup>

Kathleen Davies also finds more continuity than change in pre- and post-Reformation attitudes toward married life as reflected in English sermons, pamphlets and conduct books.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the range of opinions on Luther's ideas about the position of women, and the impact of those ideas, is very broad. There is ammunition enough in his writings to support any position. Rather than simply adding my own interpretation of *what* Luther said, I want instead to retreat from that battlefield somewhat and explore *how* he said what he did. In other words, what kind of language, images and metaphors did he use when speaking to and about women? How does he use the female and the feminine?

One of the most important contributions of feminism to all disciplines has been to make us aware of just this point – that *how* we say things, the implicit and sub- or unconscious message which comes through our choice of words, may be as or even more important than what we are actually saying. There is no such thing as 'just semantics'. Language is power. Language is both a reification of power relationships in any society, and a way of exerting power over others. It rises out of social, political and intellectual structures, and then in turn affects those structures. And no one recognized this more clearly than Luther. He chose his words, images and allusions carefully, because they would evoke a certain response.

Though the two are related, I think it will be useful if we make a distinction between the female and the feminine in Luther's writings. By female, I mean his descriptions and discussions of actual women or 'woman' in the abstract. By feminine I mean his use of imagery, particularly when referring to God or Christ or the Church, which stresses qualities which were then, and are still, felt to be more 'feminine' than 'masculine' – gentleness, nurturing, undemanding love, submissiveness and so on.

The female image that occurs most often in Luther's writings is his ideal, the wife and mother:

What better and more useful thing can be taught in the church than the example of a godly mother of the household who prays, sighs, cries out, gives thanks, rules the house, performs the functions of sex and desires offspring with the greatest chastity, grace and godliness: What more should she do?<sup>12</sup>

The word that Luther uses again and again in his descriptions of this ideal woman is *natural*. It is natural for people to want to marry and have children, it is natural for women to be subject to the authority of men, it is natural for women to experience pain and even death in childbirth, and so on. What is 'natural' for

Luther comes both from what he views basic human nature to be, and from the order he feels God imposed on the world. Women's subjection to men is inherent in their very being and was present from creation – in this Luther essentially agrees with Aristotle and the classical tradition:

The man has been given so much dominion over the woman, that she must name herself according to him. For that reason, a woman adopts her husband's names and not vice versa. This has happened because of God's gracious will so that she stays under her husband's rule, because she is too weak to rule herself.<sup>13</sup>

This subjection was made more brutal and harsh, however, because of Eve's responsibility for the fall – in this Luther agrees with patristic tradition,<sup>14</sup> though he repeatedly admonishes husbands to rule their wives reasonably and gently: 'The woman is a weak vessel and tool, and must be used carefully as you use other tools.'<sup>15</sup> Wives were to accept this rule unquestioningly no matter how severe, even from husbands who were not Christians.<sup>16</sup> Luther realized this might be difficult or unpleasant. 'Women are generally disinclined to put up with this burden and they naturally seek to gain what they have lost through sin.'<sup>17</sup> Challenging this was a sin, however:

But if a woman forsakes her office and assumes authority over her husband, she is no longer doing her own work, for which she was created, but a work that comes from her own fault and from evil. For God did not create this sex for ruling, and therefore they never rule successfully.<sup>18</sup>

Obedience had replaced chastity as women's prime virtue:

It is the highest, most valuable treasure that a woman can have to be subject to a man and certain that her works are pleasing to him. What could be happier for her? Therefore if she wants to be a Christian wife, she should think: I won't mind what kind of husband I have, whether he is a heathen or a Jew, pious or evil. I will think instead that God has put me in marriage and I will be subject and obedient to my husband. For all of her works are golden when she is obedient.<sup>19</sup>

Marriage and motherhood, instead of virginity, was now a woman's highest calling, as Luther repeats over and over again. God has established marriage in the Garden of Eden, which made marriage the only institution present before the fall, the 'order' on which all other 'orders' – the economic, the political, etc. – were

based.<sup>20</sup> While Luther acknowledges that some women, because of physical ailments or a shortage of men, might be forced to act 'unnaturally', and not marry, in no case should a woman choose to do so.<sup>21</sup> Men choosing to remain celibate were going against their natural sexual drive, but Luther does allow that the ability to remain truly celibate, though rare, could be a gift from God. Women choosing to remain celibate, however, were not only fighting their natural sex drive, which Luther and everyone else in the sixteenth century felt to be much stronger than men's, but also the divinely imposed order which made woman subject to man. For Luther it was inconceivable that a woman would choose not to marry. He says at one point, when advising people how to console women in childbirth: 'Say, yes, dear lady, if you were not a wife, you would certainly wish to become one, so that you could do God's will by suffering and perhaps dying through these delicious pains.'<sup>22</sup> Marriage and motherhood was the only way for women to fulfil their God-given function.

Even a woman as prominent and respected as Margaretha Blarer, the sister of Ambrosius, was suspect because of her decision not to marry. Martin Bucer accused her of being 'masterless', to which she answered, 'Those who have Christ for a master are not masterless.' Her brother defended her decision by pointing out that she was very close to his family, and took care of the poor and plague victims; he compliments her by calling her 'Archdeaconess of our church'. Even Ambrosius limited his sister's role somewhat, however, for when Bucer encouraged her to learn Greek, he answered, 'I ask you not to encourage her, for she already pays too much attention to Latin. You know the ingenuity of women. They need to be reined in more than spurred on, so that they don't throw themselves into learning and neglect their more appropriate and worthy tasks.'<sup>23</sup> Even a woman who chose to remain unmarried was to be limited to appropriate, 'natural' female activities.<sup>24</sup>

Luther's supporters point to his idealization of the wife and mother as the best evidence for his positive view of women. The wife and mother was finally awarded her due place, and her labours in support of her husband and children appreciated. If we look more closely at some of the metaphors Luther uses to describe her, however, the view is not such a positive one:

The woman is like a nail, driven into the wall. . . . She sits at home. The pagans have depicted Venus as seated on a seashell for just as the snail carries its house with it, so the wife should stay at home and look after the affairs of the household.<sup>25</sup>

She enjoys staying home, enjoys being in the kitchen . . . does not enjoy going out . . . does not enjoy speaking to others.<sup>26</sup>

How was she to best serve God? Yes, certainly by faith and prayer, but primarily by obedience to her husband and carrying out her normal household tasks without complaint:

When a woman is in the kitchen or when she is making a straw bed, this is an everyday thing. This does not bother the Holy Spirit. . . . A wife is appointed for things that are very ordinary in the judgment of the flesh but nevertheless extremely precious in the eyes of God.<sup>27</sup>

For Luther, the ideal woman in the home is Martha, seeing to the preparation of food and overseeing the servants, not Mary, trying to understand Christ's teachings better. He belittles his own wife's efforts to understand or learn: 'There is no dress that suits a woman as badly as trying to become wise.'<sup>28</sup>

This ideal bothered at least one woman. Katherina Zell, the wife of Matthias Zell and a tireless worker for the Reformation in Strasbourg, worried that she was too caught up 'with the cares and service of Martha'. Luckily for Katherina, 'My dear husband has given me place and time, and always encourages me to read, listen, pray or study, allowed this day or night, yes, it gave him great joy, even when it led to neglect of his needs or harm to his household.'<sup>29</sup> Luther could perhaps have learned something from Zell on this point.

Women other than the ideal wife and mother appear occasionally in Luther's writings, but are usually depicted in a negative or belittling manner. Eve, of course, is given the harshest treatment:

The rule by women has brought about nothing good from the beginning of the world. When God set Adam up as Lord over all creatures, everything was good and right, and everything ruled for the best. But the woman came and also wanted to have her hand in things and be wise; then everything collapsed and became a complete disorder. We've got you women to thank for that.<sup>30</sup>

Women have inherited from Eve their tendency to believe lies and nonsense.<sup>31</sup>

This is certainly nothing new, for many writers since Jerome had laid the responsibility for the fall on Eve alone, but Luther's de-emphasis of the role of Mary weakened one side of the standard best woman/worst woman dichotomy, and thus stressed the negative side of all women's 'nature'.

The female saints and martyrs also receive somewhat ambiguous treatment. Luther felt that celibacy was so difficult to maintain, that only their early deaths had sent them to heaven still virgins:

God has not allowed many virgins to live long, but hurried them out of this world, as with Cecelia, Hagne, Lucia, Agatha and so on. He knows how precious their treasure (virginity) is and how difficult it is to maintain very long.<sup>32</sup>

Luther's opinion of the character and piety of most nuns and sisters is even harsher, as his scathing depictions of life in the convent point out.

Other than female religious and Biblical characters, prostitutes are the only kind of unmarried women that Luther refers to frequently. Most German cities, including Wittenberg, tolerated – and even licensed and taxed – some prostitution, provided women were discrete and lived either in city brothels or in certain quarters of the city. Luther saw prostitution as an abomination, and preached and spoke fervently against it, not because it was degrading and harmful to the women involved – though there are occasional cases of women in the sixteenth century even sold into prostitution to pay back their father's debts – but because the women corrupted and enticed his students. He describes them regularly as 'Stinking, syphilitic, scabby, seedy and nasty. Such a whore can poison 10, 20, 30, 100 children of good people, and is therefore to be considered a murderer, worse than a poisoner.'<sup>33</sup> They were the tools of the Devil, who had sent them to Wittenberg to bewitch his students. The power to bewitch men was not only held by prostitutes, however:

All women know the art to catch and hold a man by crying, lying and persuasion, turning his head and perverting him . . . it is often more difficult for him to withstand such enticements than to resist his own lust.<sup>34</sup>

All women, therefore, share the qualities of a prostitute to some degree.

Luther also uses the image of the whore symbolically. As Donald Kelley notes, 'Feminine epithets (next to scatology) were among the commonest forms of abuse. The equation of simony with prostitution made Rome a "whore" to Luther and the Sorbonne the "Pope's whoring chamber".'<sup>35</sup> 'The devil's whore' is Luther's favourite epithet for human reason:

Usury, drunkenness, adultery and murder can all be detected and understood by the world as sinful. But when the devil's

bride, reason, the petty prostitute, enters into the picture and wishes to be clever, what she says is accepted at once as if she were the voice of the Holy Ghost. . . . She is surely the Devil's chief whore.<sup>36</sup>

By extension, all women who attempt to act reasonably may also be seen as whores of the Devil.

Unmarried women in the abstract are almost never considered in his writings. When they are, it is as a problem to be dealt with, and Luther's solution is that which many cities adopted in the sixteenth-century – requiring them to live with a family, forbidding them to live on their own or with each other. They would thus fall under the 'natural' control of a male head of household.

This emphasis on marriage not only as the only ideal for women, but as their only natural vocation may have contributed to feelings of hostility toward unmarried women. This came at a time when the sex ratio in Europe was changing in favour of women, which meant fewer women could find a mate to carry out their 'natural' inclinations even if they wanted to. How much this contributed to witchcraft accusations, which were usually first directed at just such women, is difficult to say, but it certainly is a factor to be considered, as Erik Midelfort has pointed out.<sup>37</sup> Ian MacLean also noted recently, 'The prosecution of widows or single women as witches may be due to an unspoken fear of abandoning the traditional view of woman as a person married or destined for marriage.'<sup>38</sup>

Gerald Strauss has stressed the class bias in Luther's message, that it was 'pitched to the solid burger'. I would also emphasize its sexual bias. As Strauss comments, it did not appeal to 'the great multitude of men and *women*' (my emphasis).<sup>39</sup> Unmarried women certainly found little in Luther's message which was directed to them, and may have stayed with or gone back to their old, less formal beliefs and practices in which they did have a place, such as soothsaying and witchcraft.

Thus the image of the female which emerges from Luther's works is an ambiguous one. Yes, she was created by God, and yes, she could be saved through faith. Marriage was an order blessed by God, and a proper theatre for exhibiting Christian virtues. But as we have seen, the words used to describe even the woman who lived up to the ideal are hardly complimentary ones – a weak vessel, a nail, a tortoise – and those used to describe women who do not follow the ideal even harsher – burning with lust, stinking, tools of the Devil and so on. These are no harsher

than those used by medieval theologians, but in Luther they are not balanced by praise of the Virgin. As has been often pointed out, the cult of Mary may have been detrimental to women's actual position, as it set up an ideal to which no normal woman could hope to attain, but it did describe at least one woman in totally positive terms. Luther does refer to Mary occasionally when defending women against satirists and vulgar writers – as in his answer to the author of 'The Stinking and Putrid Female Bodily Parts' – but even in this he weakens his praise by going on to say, 'One should just as easily accuse and hate the nose, as it is the latrine of the head.'<sup>40</sup>

Mary was a symbol of women's chief reason for being – motherhood – 'Even Christ himself wanted to be called the seed of a woman, not the seed of a man', but this, too, was qualified:

Yet how great would the pride of the men have been if God had willed that Christ should be brought forth by a man. But this glory has been completely taken from the men and assigned to the women (who are nevertheless subject to the rule of the men) so that the men should not become vainglorious but be humble.<sup>41</sup>

Even the best woman was simply God's tool to teach men a lesson.

Along with a transformation and lessening in the role of Mary and a reduction of the female ideal from heavenly to housebound, one also finds a de-emphasis on what might be termed the feminine qualities of God and Christ.

Luther does use some maternal and nurturing images to describe Christ, particularly that of the brood-hen and her chicks: 'Look at the hen and her chickens and you will see Christ and yourself painted and depicted better than any painter could picture them.'<sup>42</sup> He also uses some emotional and ecstatic images to describe the believer's experience of faith, especially in the Magnificat: 'All the senses floating in God's love . . . saturated by divine sweetness.'<sup>43</sup>

The overwhelming image of both God and the believer in Luther's writings is a masculine one, however. True faith is energetic, active, steadfast, mighty, industrious, powerful – all archetypally masculine qualities in the sixteenth (or the twentieth) century.<sup>44</sup> God is Father, Son, Sovereign, King, Lord, Victor, Begetter, 'the slayer of sin and devourer of death' – all aggressive, martial and totally male images.<sup>45</sup> With the home now the centre of women's religious vocation, even the imagery of the Church becomes masculine, or at least paternal and fraternal. Instead of

'The Bride of Christ', we now have a brotherhood of believers, honouring divine paternity with the Lord's Supper. It was a supper, an *Abendmahl*, a domestic image, but no mother served the meal, not even 'Holy Mother Church'.

The late medieval period had been one rich in feminine images of God – Jesus our Mother who bears, comforts, revives, consoles, feeds and nurtures us. Not only Mary, but God as well offered unquestioning, accepting, 'feminine' love. St Anselm of Canterbury, Marguerite of Oingt, Julian of Norwich and numerous others use phrases like 'our tender Mother Jesus (who) feeds us with his blessed breast', or 'You on the bed of the Cross . . . gave birth in a single day to the whole world', or 'By your gentleness the badly frightened are comforted'.<sup>46</sup>

As Caroline Bynum has recently pointed out, these feminine images of God not only made the Divine appear more personal and imminent, but also allowed women to feel more Christ-like.<sup>47</sup> Female mystics, anchoresses, nuns or other holy women exemplified affectivity and love, i.e., the 'feminized' parts of God, and could gain authority and power through this. Their mystical union with or direct experience of 'Jesus our Mother', 'which was sometimes expressed in visions of themselves as priests, enabled them to serve as counselors, mediators, and channels to the sacraments – roles which the 13th century Church in some ways increasingly denied to women and the laity.'<sup>48</sup> 'The God of medieval piety was a Mother/Father, Sister/Brother, Lover/Child, a God of demanding *and* accepting love, a God who is born within each one of us and who bears us into life as a travailing mother.'<sup>49</sup> Women could thus not only identify with and emulate Mary, but could directly identify with the feminine side of God.

For Luther and most other Protestant theologians, this was impossible. God and Christ were male and transcendent, not androgynous and immanent. As Caroline Bynum notes:

I would say that we can see Luther, and much of Calvin and some of Catholic Reformation theology as an attempt to recover the sense of God's glory that was characteristic of the early middle ages, i.e., as a reaction against the emotional piety of the late Middle Ages that made God human and comforting and accessible to those in all walks of life, but thereby undercut in some sense man's ability to believe that salvation was done for him by a power infinitely other than himself.<sup>50</sup>

It was through that emotional piety, however, that some late medieval women had forged a link to God which gave them authority and power as acceptable as that provided by the priestly

office. 'Their spirituality sometimes even suggests that the combination of mystical authorization and a peculiarly female freedom from the power of office is a superior role (to the priestly role that theologians denied them).'<sup>51</sup>

Protestants also denied women a priestly role, and by stressing God's glory and power, archetypally male qualities, rather than God's accessibility and nurturing, made it more difficult for women to identify with God. 'One woman's proclamation that she was a female "Christ" was denounced as a "horrible thing" by the Protestants as much for its sexual impropriety as for its theological presumption.'<sup>52</sup> Christ was no longer 'Our Mother', so women could not be Christs for sexual as well as spiritual reasons.

Thus Luther established Martha, the obedient wife serving God through daily household tasks, as the ideal woman, belittling both Mary her sister who chose to devote herself to learning Christ's teaching, and Mary the Virgin Mother of Christ, who had almost become a female God in much late medieval Marian piety. By downplaying the feminine qualities of God and using paternal or fraternal imagery in describing the Church, he also placed religion clearly within the male sphere. The domestic, female realm was private, affective, immanent; the worldly, male realm, which included not only politics and education, but also religion, was public, rational and transcendent.

Luther was, of course, not the first or only one to differentiate sharply between male and female realms, to feel that woman's subjection to man was 'natural'. The Renaissance humanists had clearly felt this.<sup>53</sup> As Joan Kelley points out, women could never hope to achieve the Renaissance ideal of 'man', whereas they could achieve the medieval ideal of sanctity.<sup>54</sup>

On the level of popular opinion the matter may perhaps be summed up by saying that in the private world women represented the positive virtues of adornment, service and moral strength; in the public world they posed at best a threat to order and at worst a deformation of nature. In most ways, then the key to sixteenth-century social, religious and political structure – and change – was the principle of male domination.<sup>55</sup>

Luther added his voice, then, to widely accepted notions of the proper role of women, but the strength of that voice and the power of his language gave contemporaries and followers new ammunition. His metaphors and imagery were repeated for centuries; his words became Protestant dogma on the subject.

Women themselves have made various attempts to combat this, to reclaim the 'nurturing values in their religious heritage', from seventeenth-century pietists to the nineteenth-century women Ann Douglas describes in *The Feminization of American Culture*, to twentieth-century feminist theologians trying to go 'Beyond God the Father'.<sup>56</sup> So far, however, Luther's language has prevailed. Woman has become wife, the two Marys have been replaced by Martha. Luther did sanctify marriage – in this one may agree with his defenders – but by that sanctification feminized and domesticated women.

As Ian MacLean concluded, 'Marriage is an immovable obstacle to any improvement in the theoretical or real status of women in law, in theology, in moral and political philosophy'.<sup>57</sup> A woman fulfils her only God-given and natural function through marriage, but always remains, in Karl Barth's words, 'B, and therefore behind and subordinate to man'.<sup>58</sup> Barth is, of course, simply putting Luther in twentieth-century terms. The image is the same.

## Notes

### Abbreviations

- Erl.: *D. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke*, Erlangen and Frankfurt, 1826–57.  
 WA: *D. Martin Luthers Werke*. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Weimar, 1883–  
 WA, TR: *D. Martin Luthers Werke*. Tischreden, Weimar, 1912–21.  
 LW: *Luther's Works*, American edition, Philadelphia, 1955–

- 1 Erl. 61, 125.
- 2 Erl. 20, 84.
- 3 Erl. 61, 212.
- 4 WA, TR 4, 4786.
- 5 Karl Bücher, *Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter*, Tübingen, 1910, pp.68ff; Walter Kammerau, *Die Reformation und die Ehe*, Verein für Reformationsgeschichte, 1892; Emmett W. Cocke, Jr, 'Luther's View of Marriage and Family', *Religion in Life*, 42 (Spring, 1973), 103–16.
- 6 William Lazareth, *Luther on the Christian Home*, Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1960, p.vii.
- 7 Elizabeth Ahme, 'Wertung und Bedeutung der Frau bei Martin Luther', *Luther*, vol. 35, pp.63–4.
- 8 Sigmund Baranowski, *Luthers Lehre von der Ehe*, Münster, 1913, pp.198–9.
- 9 Martha Behrens, 'Martin Luthers View of Women', MA Thesis, North Texas State, 1973, pp.34 and 95.

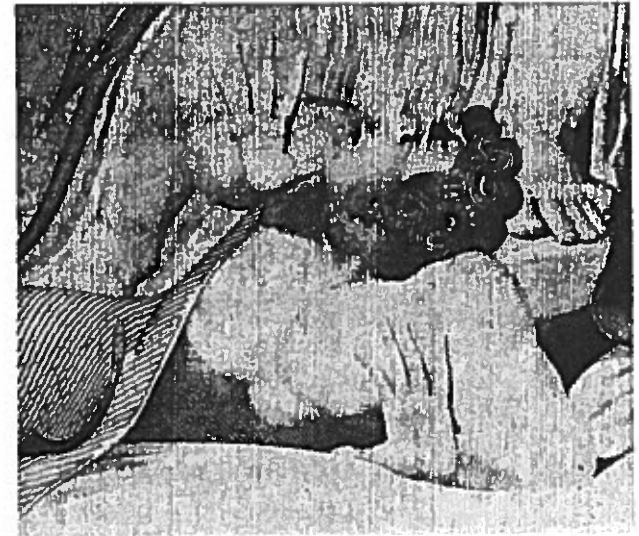
- 10 John Yost, 'Changing Attitudes toward Married Life in Civic and Christian Humanism', *ASRR Occasional Papers*, vol. 1 (Dec. 1977), 164. Similar ideas also in Yost, 'The Value of Married Life for the Social Order in the Early English Renaissance', *Societas*, VI/1 (Winter, 1976), 25–37.
- 11 Kathleen Davies, 'Continuity and Change in Literary Advice on Marriage', in *Marriage and Society: Studies in the Social History of Marriage*, ed. R.B. Outhwaite, New York, 1981.
- 12 LW 5, 331.
- 13 Erl. 33, 112.
- 14 WA, TR 1, 1046; WA 15, 419; 16, 218.
- 15 Erl. 51, 431.
- 16 Erl. 51, 46–7.
- 17 LW 1, 203.
- 18 LW 15, 130.
- 19 Erl. 51, 428.
- 20 Olavi Lahteenmaki, *Sexus und Ehe bei Luther*, Schriften der Luther – Agricola Gesellschaft, nr 10, Turku, 1955. Lilly Zarncke, 'Die Naturhafte Eheanschauung Luthers', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 25 (1935), 281–305.
- 21 WA 20, 149.
- 22 WA 17, 1, 25.
- 23 Maria Heinsius, *Das unüberwindliche Wort: Frauen der Reformationszeit*, Munich, 1953, pp.45–57.
- 24 It is interesting to speculate on how much effect this ideal had on Catholic Counter-Reformation leaders. As Ruth Liebowitz has pointed out, women in the late sixteenth century wanted to form active orders, working out in the world (comparable to the Jesuits) but were generally blocked by the Church, which wanted them strictly cloistered: 'Virgins in the Service of Christ', in R.R. Reuther (ed.), *Women of Spirit*, New York, 1979, pp.132–52. Thus although Catholic women still had the option of remaining unmarried, they were to be cloistered in the convent in the same way that Lutheran women were to be cloistered in their own homes. The ideal woman in all religions became increasingly similar, a woman who was 'chaste, silent and obedient': Suzanne Hull, *Chaste, Silent and Obedient: English Books for Women 1475–1640*, San Marino, 1982.
- 25 LW 1, 202–3; WA 42, 151.
- 26 LW 29, 56; WA 25, 45.
- 27 WA 25, 46; LW 29, 56.
- 28 Ahme, p.67. Even Luther did not go as far as Henry VIII in this matter, however. He did encourage his wife to read the Bible, while an Act passed in England in 1543 forbade Bible reading by 'Women, artificers, prentices, journeyemen, husbandmen and laborers . . . for

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the advancement of the true religion. Noblemen, gentlemen and merchants might read the Bible in their own families: noblewomen and gentlewomen might read it privately, but not to others.' This Act was repealed in 1547 when Henry's more enlightened son assumed the kingship. Hull, p.xii.

- 29 Heinsius, pp.20 and 24.
- 30 WA, TR 1, 1046.
- 31 WA 1, 431-5.
- 32 WA 10, 1, 708.
- 33 Erl. 61, 272.
- 34 WA, Tr 4, 4786; LW 7, 76.
- 35 Donald Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology*, Cambridge, 1981, p.75.
- 36 Er. 16, 142.
- 37 Erik Midelfort, *Witchhunting in Southwestern Germany 1562-1684*, Stanford, 1972, pp.184-6.
- 38 Ian MacLean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman*, Cambridge, 1980, p.88.
- 39 Strauss, *Luther's House of Learning*, Johns Hopkins, 1978, p.307.
- 40 WA, TR, 3, 2807b.
- 41 LW 1, 256-7.
- 42 WA 10/1/1, 280.
- 43 WA 7, 547, 549, 550.
- 44 WA 10/3, 285; WA 42, 452.
- 45 Ian Siggins, *Martin Luther's Doctrine of Christ*, New Haven, 1970, *passim*.
- 46 Eleanor L. McLaughlin, 'Male and Female in the Christian Tradition', in *Male and Female: Christian Approaches to Sexuality*, ed. Ruth Tiffany Barnhouse and Urban T. Holmes III, New York, 1976, pp.43-4.
- 47 Caroline Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. U. Cal. Press, 1982.
- 48 Bynum, p.185.
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## Revivalism