Protestants and the Cult of the Saints
Protestants and the Cult of the Saints
In German-Speaking Europe, 1517-1531

Carol Piper Heming
Contents

Preface .................................................. ix

Abbreviations ......................................... xiii

Chapter 1
   Presence of the Saints ............................. 1

Chapter 2
   Religion and the Saints ........................... 13

Chapter 3
   Society and the Saints ............................ 36

Chapter 4
   Reformers and the Saints ........................ 53

Chapter 5
   Virgin Mary among the Saints ................... 66

Chapter 6
   Ubiquity of the Saints ............................ 75

Chapter 7
   Persistence of the Saints ........................ 105

Appendix 1
   Disputations, Diets, and Colloquies ............. 111

Appendix 2 ............................................. 113

Appendix 3
   Key to Works Cited in this Appendix ............ 117
   Scriptural References Used against the Saints and Images ...... 122
The subject of the cult of the saints is likely to stir up immediate notions of icons, shrines, and relics—or of prayers and miraculous cures—but it is far less likely to be understood as the complex, multilayered belief system that it had become by the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. While the reformers’ responses to the cult of the saints are generally painted in pronouncements on _adiaphora_—or, more dramatically, in incidents of iconoclasm—less attention has been accorded the contemporary objections to the saints and their trappings as part of a fundamental reevaluation of appropriate expressions of Christian piety.

One of the aims of this study is to begin an examination of the framework underpinning the cult of the saints on the eve of the Reformation. Although much work has been done on the evolution of the medieval cult, historians have typically treated the cult of the saints during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as one aspect of the more inclusive topic of popular religion. It is clearly the case that customs and beliefs concerning the saints were part and parcel of the externalization of religion.

1The centrality of the issue of Christian piety to the Reformation is addressed prominently by Carlos M.N. Eire in _War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin_ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986; reprint, 1998). Luther’s concern with piety as expressed in his early vernacular publications aimed at the “simple folk” is stressed by Bernd Moeller, “Das Berühmwerdwerden Luthers,” _Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung_ 15 (1988): 65–92, esp. 73. The present study owes much to Eire’s examination of the issue of piety and to his interpretation of the cult of the saints.


which characterized popular expression around 1500. That the cult of the saints was, in addition, an intricate construct that reformers confronted over and over throughout the early Reformation era is one of the principal arguments of this study.

One reason this is so is that the cult of the saints stood at the intersection of many early modern byways. Linking the spiritual and the physical, the pagan and the Christian, the dead and the living, the cult of the saints penetrated numerous boundaries—the very boundaries that reformers were striving to reinforce. In the sample of Reformation-era pamphlets analyzed in this study, individual opponents of the veneration of the saints often began by placing emphasis upon a single issue—usually a point of Scripture. The topic of the saints, once introduced, however, almost invariably opened a floodgate through which a variety of related objections proceeded to flow.

One typical case is a piece by Lutheran reformer Johannes Brenz, *Sermon on the Saints*, preached at Swäbische Hall on the Feast Day of St. James, 25 July 1523, and published as a pamphlet in that same year. Brenz begins this sermon by noting that at times Scripture holds up the saints as examples. Citing passages from the Epistle of St. James, from Hebrews, and from Romans, he points to the powerful faith demonstrated by such figures as Abraham and Elias (or Elijah). Brenz then goes on to note: “Such good models are altered by perverse, selfish, foolish, indeed, godless people who no longer praise the faith of the saints, but the saints themselves. They hold them up as gods in whom we should place our faith, as helpers, as intercessors…. In short, the veneration of the saints today is idolatry.”

Later in the sermon, Brenz points out the paganlike qualities of contemporary saint veneration and devotes much of the rest of the sermon to the necessity of invoking Christ as the only intercessor and to the impropriety of venerating dead saints at the expense of the living: “One honors Saint Peter, Saint James, and the mother of Jesus Christ, all dead, not with fasts, sacrifices, pilgrimages, or fires. Rather, such honor belongs to the living.” While Brenz’s point of departure in the sermon is clearly an endorsement of what he sees as the scriptural model of honor due dead saints, his message concerns numerous examples of the rampant disregard of this very same model. He closes his sermon with a pointed condemnation of a piety that had overstepped what he considers appropriate boundaries: “This is a

---

4 For a more detailed discussion of this point, see chap. 3 below.
6 James 5:17–18; Rom. 4; Heb. 11. This and all other scriptural citations throughout the text and appendices are from the Authorized (or King James) Version of the Bible.
common model found in the invocation of saints. It is with God as it is with a prince; if you want something from the prince, you first must make friends with [him] through his chancellor or marshal. But this model is repudiated by Christ himself in Matt. 20 and Luke 22.”

A second critical element that helps explain the continuing intrusion of the cult of the saints into the reformers’ activities, sermons, and writings is the fact that the cult was intricately plaited into the elaborate tapestry of early modern piety. Carlos Eire notes, for example, that “the cult of the saints materialized in two forms: artistic representation and relics.” When reformers expressed concerns over the issue of “artistic representation” of the saints, they invariably pointed to the scriptural prohibitions of images. Frequently, however, they were also compelled to demonstrate the complexity of the pattern of saint invocation and veneration by taking up such related topics as the paganlike shrines that housed saints’ images, the unseemly pilgrimages to those shrines, the resources squandered upon such images, and so forth. Likewise, the issue of relics linked the cult of the saints to far broader concerns about the shrines where the relics were housed, the monastics who most commonly were the guardians of such relics, and the indulgences earned through their veneration. Eire, for instance, underscores the pervasive reach of the cult of the saints in the following observation: “Since relics were a source of indulgences when properly venerated, the relic-mania of the late Middle Ages was also intricately connected with indulgences. This relationship, in turn, helped intensify two types of devotion: the pilgrimage and the relic collection.”

Thus, the present study touches on a variety of aspects of early modern devotion in order to define the construct

10 Brenz, Sermon von den Heiligen, Biii. Scriptural references are to Matt. 20:25–28: “But Jesus called unto him, and said, ‘Ye know that the princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them. / But it shall not be so among you: but whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; / And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your servant: / Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many’”; and Luke 22:25–26: “And he said unto them, ‘The kings of the Gentiles exercise lordship over them; and they that exercise authority over them are called benefactors. / But ye shall not be so: but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.’”

11 Eire, War against the Idols, 13. Eire reiterates the intimate connection between images, relics, and the cult of the saints throughout the study, noting, for instance, that “the cult of images was principally an extension of the cult of the saints, and from its earliest days served as a physical reminder alongside the relic…” (18). In addition, he refers to the cult of the saints as the “theological foundation” of the “veneration of images” (59).

12 See, for example, Andreas Karlstadt, Von Abtuhng der Bylder und das keyn Betdlers unther den Christen seyn soll (Wittenberg: Nickell Schyrrentz, 1522), Köhler 434/1175. In this pamphlet, Karlstadt proceeds from biblical proscriptions of images to condemnations of such pilgrimage sites as Grimmenthal, Rome, and Wilsnack (Aiii).

13 Eire, War against the Idols, 15.

Carol Piper Heming © xi
that comprised the cult of the saints as well as to recognize more fully the reasons for the cult’s seeming ubiquity.

One of the numerous problems facing historians of the early Reformation era has to do with appropriate terminology. How does one refer to those who ultimately became Protestants in the period prior to the Second Diet of Speyer of 1529 when the term Protestant originated? This anachronistic term is used both in the title of the study and in the bulk of the text—despite reservations due to the historical inaccuracy—because the term Protestants is more understandable and less ambiguous than any other term available. The most likely alternatives are evangelicals or Evangelicals. I use the term evangelicals at times in the text, but only when no confusion would result.

I am grateful to the numerous colleagues, friends, and family members who helped see this project through to completion. First and foremost, thank you to Charles G. Nauert, professor emeritus from the University of Missouri–Columbia, who generously rendered advice and encouragement first throughout the writing of the dissertation and then during the preparation of the manuscript for publication. His patience, perseverance, and calm assurance were as important as his professional advice.

Thank you, Richard Bienvenu, Barbara Bank, Kerby Miller, and Mark Smith of UMC for advice, support, inspiration, and your scholarly example. Of the many individuals who helped facilitate my research, I am particularly grateful to Michelle Caver, Linda Naru, and Marilyn Grush at the Center for Research Libraries, Chicago; June DeWeese, Josephine Johnson, and Sue Halaweh at Ellis Library, Columbia; and Pat Downing and Lori Fitterling at J.C. Kirkpatrick Library, Warrensburg, Missouri. Thanks also to Brian Sebastian and Kevin Kile of UMC for their assistance with Latin texts.

To the professionals at Truman State University Press, many thanks for making this experience rewarding and pleasant. I am grateful to Ray Mentzer for his assistance in transforming a dissertation into a monograph, to Nancy Rediger for working minor miracles, and to Paula Presley for her consummate professionalism, enormous heart, and consideration and understanding when I needed them most.

Finally, thank you to my colleagues and friends at Central Missouri State University who supported my efforts, and to my wonderful family—thanks for being there, Dwight, Val, Raoul, and Jurgentje.

14 The most likely alternatives are evangelicals or Evangelicals. I use the term evangelicals at times in the text, but only when no confusion would result.
ABBREVIATIONS

CT

Köhler

LW

Plass

WA

WA-T

WA Br.
INDEX

A
Abtung (Karlstadt), xi n12, 43n38
Abuses in the church. See disputations, diets, and colloquies; indulgences
Acts of the Disputation (Bern Disputation, 1528), 10, 87, 87n50
Adler, Caspar, 4, 49
Adrian VI, pope, 78
Agricola, Johann, 99
Aland, Kurt, 108
All Saints' Day, 105, 106
Amsdorf, Nikolaus von, 13n1, 25
Anabaptists, 89n59
Annunciation, 33, 70, 105, 106
Ansbach visitation (1567), 103, 103n124
Answer to Valentin Compar (Zwingli), 10, 56, 59
Antichrist, 41, 43, 48
Antonites, 15, 18
Apology of the Augsburg Confession (Melanchthon), 91–93, 91n70
Appenzell Disputation (1524), 82–83, 83n29, 112
arrogance, 32–33
art, sensuality of, 46–47, 47n53
artistic representation of saints. See images
Ascension, 105
Assumption, 106
Augsburg Confession (Melanchthon), 12, 90–91
Augustine, 91
Ave Maria, 70

B
Baal, 42–43, 43n38
Backus, Irena, 84
Baden–Aargau Disputation (1526), 83–86, 85n40, 112
Bagchi, David, 13n2
Bainton, Roland, 54, 60
Bamberger, Peter, 96–97, 98
Basil, 91
Bauer, Martin, 96–97n89
Baxandall, Michael, 47n53
Beier, Leonhard, 75
Benedictines, 15
Bergendoff, Conrad, 101–2n113
Bernard, 91
Bern Disputation (1528), 10, 86–87, 112
Beyer, Christian, 90
Bible. See Scripture; specific books
Blickle, Peter, 52
Bonnkamm, Heinrich, 61n31
Bossy, John, 37n9, 41n29
Brenz, Johannes, 51
A Sermon concerning the Saints, 36
Sermon on the Saints, x–xi
Braggites, 15
Brown, Peter, 39n23
Bruegel, Pieter the Elder: Combat of Carnival and Lent, 41n30
Bucer, Martin
at the Bern Disputation, 86, 87
as a clergyman, 13n1
on pilgrimages, 37, 45
on saints' days, 44–45
on sinful behavior on holidays, 44
That Images Will No Longer Be Tolerated by the God-Fearing, 30
Bugenhagen, Johannes, 13n1
Bullinger, Heinrich: On the Origin of Errors, 14, 14n8
Bundsgenossen (Eberlin), 55
Burke, Peter, 6, 41n30
Index

C
Cajetan, Cardinal, 75–76
Calvin, John, 2
Campeggio, Lorenzo, 78, 91
Candletas, 105, 106
Capito, Wolfgang, 86
Catholics, 89–91. See also disputations, diets, and colloquies
celebacy, 67, 74
Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor, 90–91
Chieregati, Bishop, 78
Christ
as intercessor, 34–35, 86, 109
on veneration of Mary, 33
Christian Instruction, 49–51
Christianity, 73–74, 73n34, 89–91. See also Lutherans; Protestantism; Reformation
2 Chronicles, 126
Chrysostom, 91
church visitations, 101–2n113, 101–4, 104n124
Cistercians, 15
Clement VI, pope, 76
Clement VII, pope, 78
clergy, 48n59, 50. See also Erfurt, Pfaffensturm in; orders
Cling, Conrad, 98
cloister and saints, 3–4
Cochlaeus, Johannes, 91
colloquies. See disputations, diets, and colloquies
Colossians, 143
Combat of Carnival and Lent (Brueghel), 41n30
commandments. See First Commandment; Second Commandment
Commentary on True and False Religion (Zwingli), 10, 56
Concerning the Invocation of Saints (Oecolampadius), 86
Confutatio (Diet of Augsburg, 1530), 91
1 Corinthians, 24n43, 28, 141–42
2 Corinthians, 142
corruption. See disputations, diets, and colloquies; indulgences
Council of Trent (1563), 46–47
Cranach, Lucas the Elder: Passional Christi und Antichristi, 43n39
Cronberg, Hartmuth von, 6
Culsamer, Johannes, 13n1, 97, 99n104
Rebutation of the Sermon Delivered at Erfurt, 98
Curia, reform of, 78. See also disputations, diets, and colloquies
Cyprian, 91

D
Daniel, 133
Davis, Natalie Zemon, 45n44
the dead vs. the living, 38–39, 39n23, 85–86
Deuteronomy, 30, 123–25
Dialogue between a Monk and a Baker (Staygmeyer), 4, 5
Dialogue between a Prior, a Lay Brother, and a Beggar (Stanberger), 20
Dialogue between Peter and a Peasant (Stanberger), 99–100
Diepolt, Johann, 66
Diet of Worms (1521), 18, 77, 87, 111
diets. See disputations, diets, and colloquies
Diets of Augsburg (1518, 1530), 90–93, 111
Diets of Nuremberg (1522–1524), 78, 78n9, 87, 111
Diets of Speyer (1526, 1529), 87–88, 88n54, 89–90, 99n59, 112
disorder, 6–7
and the Antichrist, 41, 43, 48
and Baal, 42–43, 43n38
and holidays, 43–44, 44–45n44
and powerful, unmarried women, 47–48, 47n56
and prostitution, 47–48
saints as agents of, 41–42
and the verkehrte Welt, 41–42n34, 43, 43n38, 48
Disputation between a Shoemaker and a Canon (Sachs), 27, 79–80

160 ♦️ Protestants and the Cult of the Saints
disputations, diets, and colloquies
  Appenzell Disputation, 82–83, 83n29, 112
  Baden–Aargau Disputation, 83–86, 85n40, 112
  Bern Disputation, 10, 86–87, 112
  Diet of Augsburg, 111
  Diet of Augsburg, 90–93, 111
  Diet of Nuremberg, first, 78, 78n9, 87, 111
  Diet of Nuremberg, second, 78, 78n9, 87, 111
  Diet of Speyer, first, 87–88, 88n54, 112
  Diet of Speyer, second, 89–90, 89n59, 112
  Diet of Worms, 18, 77, 87, 111
  Düsseldorf Disputation, 88–89, 112
  Heidelberg Disputation, 75, 111
  Leipzig Disputation, 76–77, 111
  Marburg Colloquy, 89n59
  Riga Disputation, 80–81, 111
  Synod of Homberg, 88, 112
  Waldshut Colloquy, 83
  Waldshut Colloquy, 112
  Zurich Disputation, first, 9, 81, 111; second, 10, 81–82, 111; third, 81, 82, 111; fourth, 81, 82, 112

Dixon, C. Scott, 103n124
Dominicans, 15, 20–21, 20n24
Douglass, Jane Dempsey, 44n44
Düsseldorf Disputation (1527), 88–89, 112

E
early modern society, 39, 41, 41n29
Eberlin, Johann
  and the Bern incident, 20–21
  Bundgenossen, 55
  on the cloister, 3–4
  on the Franciscans, 22, 23–24
  Gespräch, 44, 44n42
  monastic background of, 13n1
  on monasticism, 17
  pamphlet in support of Luther, 16
  saints’ cult attacked by, 55, 55n8
  on saints’ days, 105–6
  on sola Scriptura, 25
  on superstition, 6
  Eck, Johann, 76–77, 77n4, 84, 85–86
  Economic waste, 48–52
  Edict of Worms (1521), 77–79, 87–88, 89–90
  Einsiedeln (Switzerland), 9
  Eire, Carlos, xi, xi n11, 2, 14n8, 72n32
  Engelhard, Heinrich, 82
  Ephesians, 28, 142–43
  Epistle or Instruction on the Saints (Luther), 98–99, 99n100, 101–2n113, 102
  Erasmus, 36, 36n1, 53
  Erfurt (Thuringia)
    evangelical movement in, 96–97, 97n91
    Pfaffensturm in, 93–101, 95n78, 95n81, 96n83, 96n87, 98n98, 99n100–101
  evangelicals
    fissures among, 89, 89n59–60
    origins/use of term, xii n
  Exodus, 30, 122
  Explanation of the Ninety-Five Theses (Luther), 76
  Ezekiel, 132–33

F
  Fabri, Johannes, 81, 84–85, 86, 91
  faith vs. works. See works righteousness
  feast days, 105–6. See also saints’ days/
  festivals
  “feeding upon the dead” (Totenfresserei), 4, 6, 36, 39
  Femelius, Johannes, 98
  A Short Sermon concerning God’s Saints, 96, 96n83, 96n87
  feminization of Christianity, 73–74, 73n34
  Ferber, Nikolaus, 88
  Ferdinand of Austria, 78
  Ferrarius, Johannes, 17–18
  festivals/saints’ days, 6–7, 43–45, 105–6
  First Commandment, 11, 11n51, 30n66, 56, 56n12
### Index

| First Reply (Zwingli), 85–86               | Heyden, Sebald, 28, 33, 33n81, 80 |
| Forchheim, Georg, 97, 98                  | Hofmeister, Sebastian, 82         |
| Franciscans, 15, 18, 20–21, 20n24, 22, 23–24 | holidays, 43–44, 44–45n44. See also saints’ days/festivals |
| Freisleben, Johannes, 71–72, 80           | Hosea, 133                        |
| Fritzhaus, Johannes, 13n1                  | Hubmaier, Balthasar, 83           |
| Froschauer, Christoph, 87                 | Hugo, bishop of Constance, 57     |
| Fuchs, Thomas, 83n29                      | Hunzinga, Johan, 1–2, 3n10, 103   |
| Fuggers, 77n4                             | Hus, Jan, 84n36                   |
| Gabriel, 70                               | Iconoclasm, 7–8, 8n35, 9–10, 54, 62, 81–82. See also Zurich Disputations |
| Galatians, 142                            | Idolatry, 47n54. See also images |
| Genesis, 122                              | abortion of, 82, 87               |
| Gegenbach, Pamphilus, 6                   | of female saints as prostitutes, 46–48 |
| Die Totenfessler, 39, 39n21, 40            | and iconoclasm, 7–8, 8n35, 9–10, 62, 81–82 (see also Zurich Disputations) |
| George, duke of Saxony, 76                | as idolatry, 10                    |
| Gespräch (Eberlin), 44, 44n42            | reformers’ criticism of, xi, xi n11 |
| Ein Gespräch mit einem frommen Altmütterlein von Ulm (Kettenbach), 46, 51 | scriptural prohibition of, 3, 9–10, 11n51, 30–32 |
| Goldschmidt, Sebastian, 44, 70            | sensuality of, 46                  |
| A Good Christian Sermon about the Exodus of the Children of God from the Antichrist’s Prison (W. Linck), 43 | Luther on, 46, 60–62 |
| good works. See works righteousness       | reformers’ criticism of, xi, xi n11 |
| Great Council, 10                         | scriptural prohibition of, 3, 9–10, 11n51, 30–32 |
| Gregory I, pope, 61, 61n35                 | sensuality of, 46                  |
| Greifenberger, Hans, 28, 29                | Luther on, 46, 60–62 |
| Gretzinger, Benedikt, 29, 32, 66n2         | reformers’ criticism of, xi, xi n11 |
| Grimmenthal, 21, 21n27                    | scriptural prohibition of, 3, 9–10, 11n51, 30–32 |
| Güttel, Kaspar, 13n1, 28, 29, 44           | sensuality of, 46                  |
| Immaculate Conception, 67, 67n8           | indulgences. See also Treasury of Merits and the Fuggers, 77n4 |
| Indulgences. See also Treasury of Merits   | Luther on, 62, 75, 76 |
| and the Fuggers, 77n4                      | relics as a source of, xi          |
| Instruction on Vows (Karlstadt), 22        | Treasury of Merits as underpinning, 39 |
| intercessor                                | Zwingli on, 63                    |
| In Praise of God through Mary              | In Praise of God through Mary      |
| (Oecolampadius), 54                       | (Oecolampadius), 54               |
| Heller von Korbach, Johann, 88–89         | Instruction on Vows (Karlstadt), 22 |
| Hess, Johannes, 85n40                     | intercessor                        |
| Hesse (Germany), 107                       | Christ as, 34–35, 86, 109          |
| Habakkuk, 133–34                           | Luther as, 109n22                  |
| Haller, Berchthold, 84                     | saints as, 34–35, 81, 85, 108–9 (see also saints, cult of) |
| Schriften, 86–87                           | Virgin Mary as, 71, 71n28          |
| Hätzer, Ludwig, 9–10, 30–31                |                            |
| Hausmann, Nikolaus, 6                      |                            |
| Hebrews, 38, 144                           |                            |
| Heidelberg Disputation (1518), 75, 111     |                            |
| Heimpel, Hermann, 2                        |                            |
| Heller von Korbach, Johann, 88–89          |                            |
| Hess, Johannes, 85n40                      |                            |
| Hesse (Germany), 107                       |                            |
Invocavit sermons (Luther), 7–8
Isaiah, 30–31, 128–30

J
Jackson, Samuel Macauley, 8–9
Jacobson, Grethe, 3n10
Jeanne de Jussie, 44n44
Jeremiah, 32, 32n75, 130–32
Jerome, 91
Jesus, See Christ
Job, 38
Johannites, 15
John, 33, 34–35, 136–38
1 John, 145
John of Saxony, 89, 101
Jonas, Justus, 94
Joshua, 125
Jud, Leo, 82
Jude, 145
Judges, 125
Jungfrawenspiegel (Porta), 67, 106

K
Karant-Nunn, Susan, 3n10
Karlstadt, Andreas
  on the Ave Maria, 70
  on Baal, 42–43, 43n38
  on holidays, 44
  iconoclasm of, 7
  on images, 30–31
  Instruction on Vows, 22
  at the Leipzig Disputation, 76–77
  on Psalm 150, 28
  on saints’ days, 6–7
  on the verkehrte Welt, 43
  Von Abtuhng der Bylder, xi n12, 43n38
  on the weak, 58n21
Katharina von Bora, 13
Kattelburger, Nikolaus, 22
Kettenbach, Heinrich von, 13n1
  on the Edict of Worms, 79
  Ein Gesprach mit einem frommen
  Almutterlein von Ulm, 46, 51
  on Luther, 79
  on saints as models, 66n2
  on waste/neglect, 51
1 Kings, 125
2 Kings, 125–26
Knopken, Andreas, 80–81
Kolb, Franz: Sclussreden, 86–87
Kolb, Robert, 105, 109

L
Lambert, Franz, 9, 9n38, 88
Lamentation of a Layman (Schwalb), 54–55
Lang, Johannes, 13n1, 94, 97, 98, 99n104
Langenzenn visitation (1553), 103n124
Lange Catechism (Luther), 11, 18, 38, 103
Leipzig Disputation (1519), 76–77, 111
Leviticus, 122
Linck, Heinrich, 85n40
Linck, Wenzeslaus, 13n1, 66
  A Good Christian Sermon about the
  Exodus of the Children of God from
  the Antichrist’s Prison, 43
Lindenau, Paul, 6
  living saints, as the poor, 51, 51n82
  the living vs. the dead, 38–39, 39n23,
  85–86
Locher, Johann, 13n1
Lohse, Barnhard, 13n2
Lonicer, Johannes, 13n1, 18, 20, 29, 45
Lotzer, Sebastian, 49
  Twelve Articles, 49n67, 52
Lucke, Wilhelm, 55
Luke, x–xi, xi n10, 33, 136
Luther, Margarethe, 14n6
Luther, Martin
  on Bishop Benno of Meissen, 25–26,
  61n32
  and Cajetan, 75–76
  on the commandments, 30n66
  death of, 108
  at the Diet of Worms, 77
  Eberlin on, 16
  Epistle or Instruction on the Saints,
  98–99, 99n100, 101–2n113, 102

Carol Piper Heming ◆ 163
Luther, Martin, continued
and the Erfurt incident, 94–95, 94n75, 98–99, 99n100–101 (see also Erfurt, Pfaffensturm in)
Erfurt letter of, 1, 6, 6n21, 8
in exile, 77–78, 90
Explanation of the Ninety-Five Theses, 76
on godly law, 56
on Gregory I, 61, 61n35
on holidays, 44
on iconoclasm, 7–8, 8n35, 62
on images, 7–8, 46, 60–62
on the Immaculate Conception, 67n8
on indulgences, 62, 75, 76
influence/popularity of, 78, 94
as intercessor, 109n22
Invocavit sermons, 7–8
Kettenbach on, 79
Large Catechism, 11, 18, 38, 103
at the Leipzig Disputation, 76–77
on living vs. dead saints, 55–56, 63
on the Magnificat, 68, 68n17
on marriage, 72
marriage to Katharina, 13
monastic background of, 13
on monasticism, 13–14, 13n2, 18, 23
Ninety-Five Theses, 62, 75–76, 75n (see also Heidelberg Disputation)
nominalism of, 21–22n29
and Oecolampadius, 53–54
On Monastic Vows, 13n2
on papal authority, 26, 26nn51–52
pilgrimage of, 58, 60
on pilgrimages, 45, 62
on the poor as saints, 58
Sachs on, 79–80
saintlike attributes of, 108
on saints, great vs. true, 64–65
on saints as believers in Christ, 6, 6n21, 38, 55, 58, 63, 65
on saints’ cult, 1, 3, 7, 55, 58, 61, 61n32
on saints’ legends, 65n55
saints venerated by, 58, 60, 60n23, 60n25, 61n31
on the Saxon visitation, 101–2n113, 101–3
Sermon on Penance, 76
Small Catechism, 11, 11n51
on sola Scriptura, 25–26
on St. Anne, 58, 60, 61
on superstition and saint worship, 6, 6n22
Tischreden, 67
on the Treasury of Merits, 94
on virgin martyrs, 67
on the Virgin Mary, 54–55, 68, 68n17, 73, 73n38, 74
on works righteousness, 34, 61–62, 63–64
Lutherans
vs. Catholics, 89–91 (see also disputations, diets, and colloquies)
Edict of Worms against, 77–79, 87–88, 89–90
influence of, 88
on traditional piety, 38
on the Virgin Mary, 67–68

M
MacKinnon, James, 88n54
Magdalene, Mary, 66
Magnificat, 68, 68n17, 70–71
Malachi, 134
Manuel, Nikolaus, 6
Die Totenfresser, 39, 39n21
Marburg Colloquy (1529), 89n59
Mark, 135–36
marriage, 72
martyrologies, 66–67
Mary. See Virgin Mary
mass, 82, 87
materialism, 48–49
Matthew, 134–35
on the keys of heaven, 26, 26nn51–52
and papal authority, 26, 26n51, 28
rock metaphor in, 28
on veneration of dead saints, x–xi, xi n10
on waste/neglect, 51
Carol Piper Heming  •  165

Index

Mayer, Sebastian, 13n1, 17
Mechler, Egidius, 96–97n89, 98, 99n104
medieval society, 39, 41, 41n29
Melanchthon, Philipp
   Apology of the Augsburg Confession, 91–93, 93n70
   Augsburg Confession, 12, 90–91
   at Diet of Augsburg, 90–91
   and the Erfurt incident, 99
   Offenbarung der allerheiligsten Heimlichkeit der jetzigen Baalspriester, 49, 50
   on pilgrimages, 49
   on prayers, 102
   on the Saxon visitation, 101, 102, 102n113
   on sola Scriptura, 92
Melhofer, Philipp, 32, 109
   Revelation of the Top Secrecy of Today’s Baal Priest, 42
Micah, 133
Miracle Book, 69
Mirisch, Melchior, 13n1
Moeller, Bernd, 2
monks/monasticism, 4, 5. See also orders
Musa, Antonius, 96, 98
Myconius, Friedrich, 88–89
Myconius, Oswald, 108

N
Nassau–Wiesbaden visitation (1594), 103n124
   Ein neues Büchlein von der löblichen Disputation in Leipzig (Rubius), 77, 77n5
   A New Disputation between Two Journeymen, 29
   Ninety-Five Theses (Luther), 62, 75–76, 75n1. See also Heidelberg Disputation
   Nothelfer (helper saints), 17n13
   Numbers, 123
   nuns, 48n59
   Nuremberg visitations (1560–1561, 1579), 103, 103n124
   O
   Oecolampadius, Johannes, 13n1, 53–54, 53n3
   at the Baden Disputation, 84, 85, 85n40, 86
   at the Bern Disputation, 86
   Concerning the Invocation of Saints, 86
   iconoclasm of, 54
   In Praise of God through Mary, 54
   on the Virgin Mary, 54, 54n6
   Offenbarung der allerheiligsten Heimlichkeit der jetzigen Baalspriester (Melanchthon), 49, 50
   On Monastic Vows (Luther), 13n2
   On the Origin of Errors (Bullinger), 14, 14n8
   order. See disorder
   orders, 13–24, 14n8, 17n10, 18n19, 20n24, 21–22n29, 21n27
   Antonites, 15, 18
   begging, 18, 18.19, 20
   Benedictines, 15
   Bern incident of 1509, 20–21
   Brigittines, 15
   Cistercians, 15
   criticism of, 4, 5, 17–18, 20–24, 21–22n29
   Dominicans, 15, 20–21, 20n24
   Franciscans, 15, 18, 20–21, 20n24, 22, 23–24
   fraudulent practices of, 17–18, 20–21, 21n27
   Johannites, 15
   Luther on, 13–14, 13n2, 18, 23
   as multiplying the objects of worship, 21–22n29, 21–23
   Polenz on, 17
   reformers as clergymen, 13n1
   representatives of, 15
   and works righteousness, 13, 17, 17n10
   Zwingli on, 14, 21–22
   Otander, Andreas, 71, 106–7
Ozment, Steven, 44n42
  on belief/practice related to the dead, 4, 6, 39
  on women’s labor/childbirth, 73n36
  on women’s status, 72n33

P
  paganlike qualities of saint cult, x–xi, 37–38, 37n8
  pamphlets: number of, 1. See also specific pamphlets
    on saints’ cult, 3, 3n11, 7
    on scriptural prohibition of images, 30–32
    on sola Scriptura, 24–35, 26n51–52, 31n71, 32n75, 33n81
  particularism, 88n54
  Passional Christi und Antichristi (Cranach), 43n39
  Peasants’ War (1525–1526), 4, 52, 95n78, 101
  Peringer, Diepold, 20, 28, 29, 79
  1 Peter, 144–45
  Pfaffensturm. See under Erfurt
  Philip, landgrave of Hesse, 88, 89, 107
  Philippians, 143
  pilgrimages
    criticism of, xi, xi n12, 4
    decline in, 37n9
    indulgences bought during, 49
    Luther on, 45, 62
    as satanic/pagan, 37
    sinful behavior during, 45
    waste/neglect from, 49–51
    Zwingli on, 63
  Polenz, Georg von, 17
  the poor
    duties to vs. neglect of, 50–52
    as images of God, 56
    reformers on, 56–57, 58, 63
    as saints, 51, 51n82, 58
    saints’ feeding of, 52n84
    Zwingli on, 56–57, 63
  pope
    authority of, 26, 26n51–52, 28, 106
    teachings of, 51
    as the “Whore of Babylon,” 47
  popular culture/religion, ix–x, 41, 41n30
  Porta, Conrad
    Jungfrauenspiegel, 67, 106
    on the Virgin Mary, 67–68, 74
  Potter, G. R., 9n38, 84
  prayers, 67, 70–71, 73, 73n36, 102
  Preuß, Horst Dietrich, 67n8
  priests/clergy, 48n59, 50. See also Erfurt, Pfaffensturm
  Probst, Jakob, 99
  prostitution, 47–48
  Protestantism
    Christocentric focus of, 72–73
    Lutheran, influence of, 88
    origins/use of term, xi
    Reformed, influence of, 88
    Virgin Mary marginalized in, 74. See also Lutherans; Reformation
  Protestation (Diet of Speyer, 1529), 89–90
  Psalms, 28–29, 31–32, 126–28

R
  Reformation: in Bern, 87.
    opposition to, 103–4, 104n125 (see also disputation, diets, and colloquies; saints, cult of)
    and women’s status, 72, 72n33
  reformers, 53–65. See also Luther, Martin;
  pamphlets; Zwingli, Huldreich; other specific reformers and issues, such as orders and pilgrimages
    on artistic representation of saints, xi, xi n11 (see also images)
    on church expenditures/waste, 56–58
    on the cloister, 3–4
    on cult of images, xi, xi n11
    on disorder, 6–7
    diversity among, 53
    humanist, 53
reformers, continued
  on images, 60–62, 63
  on indulgences, 62–63
  monastic background of, 13, 13n1
  on paganlike qualities of cult of saints, x–xi
  on pilgrimages, 62–63 (see also pilgrimages)
  on the poor, 56–57, 58, 63
  on relics, xi, xi n11
  on saints as superseding Christ, 4
  saint veneration gradually abandoned by, 54–55
  on scriptural authority, 55
  on shrines, xi
  on works righteousness, 61–62, 63–64.
Refutation of the Prophets of Baal (Reuter), 42
Reformation of the Sermon Delivered at Erfurt (Culsamer), 98
religion, 1, 89–91. See also Christianity; Lutherans; orders;
Reformation; sola Scriptura
Reuter, Simon, 13n1, 50
  Refutation of the Prophets of Baal, 42
Revelation, 32–33, 145–46
Revelation of the Top Secrecy of Today's Baal Priests (Melhofer), 42
Riga Disputation (1522), 77, 77n5
rock metaphor, 28
Roman Catholics, 89–91. See also disputation, diets, and
Romans, 35, 139–41
Römer, Johannes, 55
Roper, Lyndal, 3n10, 68, 72n33, 74
Rothkrug, Lionel, 2
Rubus, Johannes: Ein neues Büchlein von der löblichen Disputation in Leipzig, 77, 77n5
Sacramentarian Controversy, 89n59
saints. See also saints, cult of: specific saints
  as believers in Christ, 6, 6n21, 38, 55, 58, 63, 65
  and cloister, 3–4
great vs. true, 64–65
  intercession of, 34–35, 81, 85, 108–9
  (see also saints, cult of)
  legends about, 65n55
  as living images of God, 63
  Luther's veneration of, 58, 60, 60n23, 60n23, 61n31
  as models, 64, 65, 66–67, 66n2, 106, 107–8
  the poor as, 51, 51n82, 58
  prophecies of, 106–7
  sinfulness of, 64–65, 108
  saints, cult of
dismissal of/focus on, 1–3, 3n10, 7, 75, 79–80, 93
  (see also disputation, diets, and
  colloquies; pamphlets
  and the Erfurt incident, 9n104, 95–96, 95n81, 96n31, 96n87, 98, 99–101
  laity's acceptance of, 2
  Luther on, 1, 3, 7, 55, 58, 61, 61n32
  persistence of, 105–9, 107n13, 109n22
  presence of, 1–12, 3n10–11, 6n24, 6nn21–22, 8n35, 103–4
  rise of, 41
  and salvation, 72n32
  as satanic/pagan, x–xi, 37–38, 37n8
  Scripture on (see Scripture; specific books of Bible)
  as superseding Christ, 4
  in Switzerland, 8–11
  ubiquity of (see disputation, diets, and
  colloquies)
  women's involvement in, 2–3, 3n10
  Zwingli on, 1, 3, 7, 37n8, 55–58
saints' days/festivals, 6–7, 43–45, 105–6
saint worship/veneration. See saints, cult of
  salvation, 72n32
Salve Regina, 67, 71–72, 71n27, 80, 107
1 Samuel, 125

S
Sabbath, 44
Sachs, Hans, 24–25
  Disputation between a Shoemaker and a Canon, 27, 79–80

Carol Piper Heming  ◆  167
Index

2 Samuel, 125
Sargent, Steven D., 37n9
Sartler, Michael, 13n1
Saxon visitation (1527–1528), 101–2n113, 101–4
Schappeler, Christoph, 49
Schenck von Stauffenberg, Jakob, 33, 68
Schilling, Johannes, 21–22n29, 107
Schlußreden (Zwingli), 21–22, 38–39, 46, 56–57, 81. See also Zurich Disputations
Schmid, Konrad, 13n1, 66, 82, 87
Schriftprinzip, 84, 84n36
Schwalb, Hans, 52n84
Schriften der Reformationszeit, 18–19
Schwanhauser, Johannes, 37–38
Schwarzenberg, Johann von, 49
Schröder, Jochum, 36n14
Scripture, x–xi. See also sola Scriptura; specific books of Bible
on apocryphal vs. traditional saints, 3
on images, prohibition of, 3, 9–10, 11n51, 30–32
on saints’ cult, 3, 55.
Second Commandment, 11n51, 30n66, 56n12
Seibelsdorf visitation (1573), 103n124
sensuality, 45–47
A Sermon concerning the Saints (Brenz), 36
Sermon on Penance (Luther), 76
Sermon on the Saints (Brenz), x–xi
A Sermon on Worship, 29
The Shepherd (Zwinglei), 56
A Short Sermon concerning God’s Saints (Femelius), 96, 96n83, 96n87
Shrine of the Beautiful Maria (Regensburg, Germany), 62, 69
shrines, xi
Sickingen, Franz von, 22, 29
sinful behavior, 43–44, 45, 64–65, 108
Small Catechism (Luther), 11, 11n51
sola Scriptura (authority of Scripture alone), 3, 24–35, 30n66
Eberlin on, 25
Luther on, 25–26
Melanchthon on, 92
pamphlets on, 24–35, 26n51–52, 31n71, 32n75, 33n81
Spalatin, Georg, 88
St. Anne, 58, 60, 61
St. Anthony’s Brief, 18, 18n18
St. Benno, bishop of Meissen, 25–26, 61n32
St. Elizabeth, 107
St. Hildegard, 106
St. John the Baptist Day, 105, 106
St. Margaret, 3n10
St. Mary Magdalene Day, 106
St. Peter, 26, 26n51
St. Stephen’s Day, 106
Sts. Felix and Regula Day, 106, 106n4
Sts. Peter and Paul Day, 105
Stanberger, Balthasar
Dialogue between a Prior, a Lay Brother, and a Beggar, 20
Dialogue between Peter and a Peasant, 99–100
Stationierer, 18, 18.19
Staupitz, Johannes von, 75n
Staygmeyer, Hans, 52n84
Dialogue between a Monk and a Baker, 4, 5
Stifel, Michael, 13n1
Stör, Thomas, 51
Strauss, Gerald, 103–4, 104n125
superstition, 6n24
Brenz on, 36
Erasmus on, 36, 36n1
and “feeding upon the dead,” 4, 6, 36, 39
and the living vs. the dead, 38–39, 39n23
Luther on, 6, 6n22
Switzerland, 46
Synod of Homberg (1526), 88, 112

168 ◆ Protestants and the Cult of the Saints
Index

T
Terminierer, 18.19
That Images Will No Longer Be Tolerated by the God-Fearing (Bucer), 30
1 Thessalonians, 143
Thomas, Keith, 6n24
1 Timothy, 144
Tischreden (Luther), 67
Tithes, 52
Titus, 144
Die Totenfresser (Gengenbach), 39, 39n21, 40
Die Totenfresser (Manuel), 39, 39n21
Totentafelseri ("feeding upon the dead"), 4, 6, 36, 39
Treasury of Merits, 39, 65, 75–76, 94
Twelve Apostles' Day, 106
Twelve Articles (Lotzer and Schappeler), 49n67, 52

U
Ühlfeld visitation (1582), 103n124
Unigenitus, 76
Usingen, Bartholomaeus Arnoldi von, 91, 97–98, 98n98

V
verkehrte Welt (world turned upside down), 41–42n34, 43, 43n38, 48
Virgin Mary, 65–74
the Annunciation, 33, 70
and the Ave Maria, 70
celibacy of, 74
credulity of, 68, 70
cult of, 3n10, 68, 70, 73, 73n34
as an exemplar, 74
humility of, 68, 70, 71–72
Immaculate Conception of, 67, 71n28
as intercessor, 71, 71n28
Luther on, 54–55, 68, 68n17, 73, 73n38, 74
and the Magnificat, 68, 68n17, 70–71
marginalization by Protestants, 74
modesty of, 68, 70
motherhood of, 68, 73
Oecolampadius on, 54, 54n6
Porta on, 67–68, 74
prayers/songs to, 67, 70–71
and the Salve Regina, 67, 71–72, 71n27, 80, 107
scriptural references to, 33, 33n81
veneration of, 33, 33n81
Visitation to Elizabeth, 74
women's prayers to during labor/childbirth, 73, 73n36
Zwingli on, 70
visitations to churches, 101–2n113, 101–4, 104n124
Von Abtuhng der Bylder (Karlstadt), xi n12, 43n38

W
Waldshut Colloquies (1524, 1526), 83, 112
Wallmersbach visitation (1553), 103n124
Wandel, Lee Palmer, 47, 47n54, 48–49, 51n82
Warner, Marina, 73n34
waste/neglect, 49–51
Weber, Max, 6n24
Weidenbach visitation (1579), 103n124
Wiesner, Merry E., 73
Wilhelm, Graf von Isenburg, 29, 32n75, 33–34, 66n2
Wimpina, Konrad, 91
Würzburg visitation (1558), 103n124
Wolfgang, prince of Anhalt, 89
women
labor/childbirth of, 73, 73n36
physicality of, 47n53
powerful, unmarried, 47–48, 47n56
saint cult involvement of, 2–3, 3n10
silence of, 24, 24n43
status during Reformation, 72, 72n33
and the Virgin Mary, 73, 73n34
works righteousness
Luther on, 34, 61–62, 63–64
and orders, 13, 17, 17n10, 34
Wurm, Matthias, 22
Index

Z
Zeuleys, Ulrich, 32
Zeuner, Wolfgang, 6
Zili, Dominik, 85n40
Zurich, 46, 106, 106n4
Zurich Council, 57–58
Zurich Disputations (1523–1524), 9–10, 81–82, 111–12
Zwilling, Gabriel, 7
Zwingli, Huldrych
  Answer to Valentin Compar, 10, 56, 59
  on the Ave Maria, 70
  at the Bern Disputation, 86–87
  Commentary on True and False Religion, 10, 56
  death of, 10
  at Einsiedeln, 9
  First Reply, 85–86
  humanism of, 38
  on iconoclasm, 9
  on idolatry, 31–32
  on images, 1, 10, 46, 56, 56n12, 60–61, 63, 82
  on indulgences, 63
  influence of, 82
  on intercession of the saints, 81
  vs. Lambert, 9
  on living vs. dead saints, 55–56
  on monasticism, 14, 21–22
  music/worldly pleasures enjoyed by, 46
  and Oecolampadius, 54
  on pilgrimages, 63
  on the poor, 51n82, 56–57, 63
  on saints as living images of God, 63
  on saints as models, 66n2
  on saints’ cult, 1, 3, 7, 37n8, 55–58
  on the sanctified on earth, 38–39
  Schlüfiheden, 21–22, 38–39, 46, 56–57, 81 (see also Zurich Disputations)
  and the Schriftprincip, 84, 84n36
  The Shepherd, 56
  on sinful behavior, 43–44
  on the Virgin Mary, 70
  in Zurich, 8–9
  at the Zurich Disputations, 81–82

170  ♦  Protestants and the Cult of the Saints