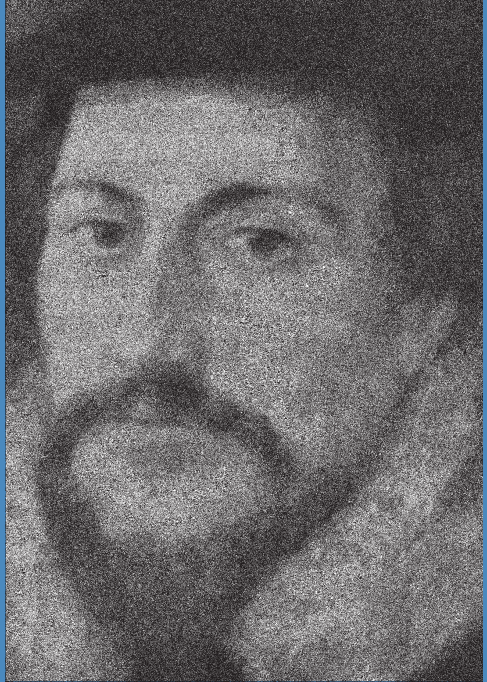


Juha Mikkonen

Luther and Calvin on Paul's Epistle to the Galatians

An Analysis and Comparison of Substantial Concepts in Luther's
1531/35 and Calvin's 1546/48 Commentaries on Galatians



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'He [Paul] prays not only that grace may be bestowed upon them freely, but that they may have a proper feeling of it in their minds. It is only really enjoyed by us when it reaches to our spirit. We ought therefore to ask that God would prepare in our souls a habitation for His grace. Amen.'

(*Calvin*, on Gal. 6.18)

'From the heart I pray that we may grow more and more in the knowledge of grace and of faith in Him, so that we may be blameless and beyond reproach until the day of our redemption. To Him, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be praise and glory forever and ever. Amen. Amen.

Gloria in excelsis Deo, Et in terra pax, Hominiibus bona voluntas.

Verbum Domini manet in aeternum.'

(*Luther*, on Gal. 6.18)

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Acknowledgements | i |
| 1. Introduction | 2 |
| 1.1. Previous Research | 2 |
| 1.2. Task | 8 |
| 1.3. Methodology | 11 |
| 1.4. Sources | 12 |
| 1.5. Delimitations and Scope of Research | 14 |
| 2. Preliminary Considerations for Understanding Luther's and Calvin's <i>Commentaries on Galatians</i> | 16 |
| 2.1. Historical Context of Luther's and Calvin's <i>Commentaries on Galatians</i> | 16 |
| 2.1.1. Historical Context of Luther's <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> | 17 |
| 2.1.2. Historical Context of Calvin's <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> | 21 |
| 2.2. General Remarks on the Style of Luther's and Calvin's <i>Commentaries on Galatians</i> | 27 |
| 2.2.1. Similarities and Differences in the Latin Translation of Galatians | 27 |
| 2.2.2. References to Greek and Hebrew | 32 |
| 2.2.3. Other Remarks on the Style of Luther and Calvin | 33 |
| 2.3. Brief Consideration of the Method of Interpreting Scripture in Luther's and Calvin's <i>Commentaries on Galatians</i> | 35 |
| 2.4. General Remarks on Preceding and Contemporary Theologians and Commentators on Galatians in Luther's and Calvin's <i>Commentaries on Galatians</i> | 42 |
| 2.4.1. Luther and Calvin on Patristic Commentators on Galatians | 44 |
| 2.4.2. Luther and Calvin on Mediaeval Theologians | 52 |
| 2.4.3. Luther and Calvin on Contemporary Theologians and Groups | 60 |
| 2.4.3.1. Luther and Calvin on Papists | 61 |
| 2.4.3.2. Luther and Calvin on Anabaptists | 65 |
| 2.4.3.3. Luther and Calvin on Erasmus | 70 |
| 2.4.3.4. Luther's Possible Influence on Calvin | 72 |
| 3. Theological Setting of Luther's and Calvin's <i>Commentaries on Galatians</i> in the Context of Luther's and Calvin's Own Theology | 80 |
| 3.1. Luther's <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> 1531/35 | 80 |

| | | |
|-----------|--|------------|
| 3.1.1. | Relationship of Luther's <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> 1531/35 to his <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> 1519 | 81 |
| 3.1.1.1. | Justification | 82 |
| 3.1.1.2. | Work of the Holy Spirit | 84 |
| 3.1.1.3. | Law | 85 |
| 3.1.1.4. | Good Works | 86 |
| 3.1.1.5. | Ministry | 87 |
| 3.1.1.6. | Church | 87 |
| 3.1.2. | Relationship of Luther's <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> 1531/35 to <i>Grosse Katechismus</i> 1529 | 88 |
| 3.1.2.1. | Salvation / Justification | 88 |
| 3.1.2.2. | Law and Good Works | 91 |
| 3.1.2.4. | Ministry | 92 |
| 3.1.2.5. | Role of the Devil and Suffering as a Christian | 93 |
| 3.2. | Calvin's <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> 1546/48 | 94 |
| 3.2.1. | Relationship of Calvin's <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> 1546/48 to <i>Institutio Christianae Religionis</i> 1539 and 1543/45 | 94 |
| 3.2.1.1. | Justification | 95 |
| 3.2.1.2. | Work of the Holy Spirit | 100 |
| 3.2.1.3. | Law | 101 |
| 3.2.1.4. | Good Works | 103 |
| 3.2.1.5. | Ministry | 105 |
| 4. | Substantial Concepts in Luther's <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> | 108 |
| 4.1. | Justification | 114 |
| 4.1.1. | Two Kinds of Righteousness | 115 |
| 4.1.1.1. | Passive vs. Active Righteousness | 116 |
| 4.1.1.2. | Faith Formed by Christ vs. Faith Formed by Love (Union with Christ) | 117 |
| 4.1.1.3. | Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works | 120 |
| 4.1.1.4. | Faith vs. Love / Works / Reason | 122 |
| 4.1.1.5. | Abraham of Faith vs. Abraham of Works | 126 |
| 4.1.2. | Role of Christ in Justification | 128 |
| 4.1.3. | Law and Gospel | 131 |
| 4.1.4. | Christian Liberty | 133 |
| 4.2. | Work of the Holy Spirit | 135 |
| 4.2.1. | Hearing of Faith | 135 |
| 4.2.2. | Assurance of Salvation | 137 |

| | | |
|-----------|--|------------|
| 4.2.3. | Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh | 138 |
| 4.2.4. | Regeneration | 141 |
| 4.2.5. | Genuine Deeds of the Spirit vs. Those of the Sectarians | 142 |
| 4.3. | Law | 143 |
| 4.3.1. | Abrogation of the Law | 143 |
| 4.3.2. | Misuse of the Law and the Third Use of the Law | 145 |
| 4.3.3. | Two Uses of the Law | 150 |
| 4.3.4. | Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life | 151 |
| 4.4. | Good Works | 152 |
| 4.4.1. | Relationship of Good Works to Justification and Christian Liberty | 152 |
| 4.4.2. | Genuine Good Works vs. Spurious Good Works | 154 |
| 4.4.3. | Love of One's Neighbour | 155 |
| 4.4.4. | Good Works in Practice | 156 |
| 4.5. | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian | 157 |
| 4.6. | Ministry | 159 |
| 4.6.1. | Call to Ministry | 160 |
| 4.6.2. | Authority and Purity of the Gospel | 160 |
| 4.6.3. | Task of Ministry | 161 |
| 4.6.4. | Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry | 163 |
| 4.6.5. | κενοδοξία (vainglory) in Ministry | 164 |
| 4.7. | Other Concepts | 165 |
| 4.7.1. | Church | 166 |
| 4.7.2. | Doctrine of the Devil | 167 |
| 4.7.3. | Theology of Hope | 168 |
| 4.7.4. | Lord's Supper | 170 |
| 5. | Substantial Concepts in Calvin's <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> | 172 |
| 5.1. | Justification | 175 |
| 5.1.1. | Justification by Faith, not Works | 175 |
| 5.1.1.1. | Christ's Righteousness vs. Human Righteousness | 177 |
| 5.1.1.2. | Role of Faith in Justification | 178 |
| 5.1.2. | Christian Liberty | 179 |
| 5.1.3. | Relationship between the Old and New Testaments | 182 |
| 5.1.4. | Role of Christ in Justification | 183 |
| 5.1.5. | Law and Gospel | 186 |
| 5.2. | Work of the Holy Spirit | 188 |
| 5.2.1. | Hearing of Faith | 188 |
| 5.2.2. | Regeneration | 189 |
| 5.2.3. | Assurance of Salvation | 190 |

| | | |
|-----------|--|------------|
| 5.2.4. | Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh | 191 |
| 5.3. | Law | 193 |
| 5.3.1. | Abrogation of the Law | 193 |
| 5.3.2. | First Use of the Law | 195 |
| 5.3.3. | Christ the Mediator of the Law and the Third Use of the Law | 196 |
| 5.3.4. | Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life | 198 |
| 5.4. | Good Works | 199 |
| 5.4.1. | Relationship of Good Works to Justification and Christian Liberty | 199 |
| 5.4.2. | Love of One's Neighbour | 201 |
| 5.4.3. | Good Works in Practice | 201 |
| 5.5. | Ministry | 203 |
| 5.5.1. | Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry | 203 |
| 5.5.2. | True vs. False Gospel in Ministry | 204 |
| 5.5.3. | Task of Ministry | 205 |
| 5.5.4. | Gentleness in Restoring the Fallen | 206 |
| 5.5.5. | Popularity in Ministry | 207 |
| 5.6. | Other Concepts | 207 |
| 5.6.1. | Predestination | 208 |
| 5.6.2. | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian | 209 |
| 5.6.3. | Church | 210 |
| 5.6.4. | Lord's Supper and the Sacraments | 211 |
| 5.6.5. | Human Depravity | 212 |
| 5.6.6. | Interpretation of Scripture | 213 |
| 6. | Comparison of Substantial Concepts in Luther's and Calvin's <i>Commentaries on Galatians</i> | 215 |
| 6.1. | Similarities and Differences on Justification | 217 |
| 6.1.1. | Similarities and Differences in the Contrast between Righteousness by Faith and Righteousness by Works | 218 |
| 6.1.2. | Similarities and Differences on the Role of Christ in Justification | 221 |
| 6.1.3. | Similarities and Differences on Law and Gospel | 224 |
| 6.1.4. | Similarities and Differences on Christian Liberty | 225 |
| 6.1.5. | Similarities and Differences on the Relationship between the Old and New Testaments | 226 |
| 6.2. | Similarities and Differences on the Work of the Holy Spirit | 227 |
| 6.2.1. | Hearing of Faith | 228 |
| 6.2.2. | Regeneration | 229 |
| 6.2.3. | Assurance of Salvation | 230 |
| 6.2.4. | Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh | 231 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| 6.2.5. Luther's Contrast of the Genuine Deeds of the Spirit with Those of the Sectarrians | 232 |
| 6.3. Similarities and Differences on the Law | 232 |
| 6.3.1. Abrogation and Misuse of the Law | 233 |
| 6.3.2. Uses of the Law | 234 |
| 6.3.3. Christ vs. Moses as the Mediator of the Law | 236 |
| 6.3.4. Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life | 237 |
| 6.4. Similarities and Differences on Good Works | 237 |
| 6.4.1. Relationship between Justification and Good Works | 237 |
| 6.4.2. Contrast between Genuine and Spurious Good Works | 238 |
| 6.4.3. Love of One's Neighbour | 238 |
| 6.4.4. Good Works in Practice | 238 |
| 6.5. Similarities and Differences on Ministry | 239 |
| 6.5.1. Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry | 239 |
| 6.5.2. Pure Ministry of the Gospel | 239 |
| 6.5.3. Task of Ministry | 240 |
| 6.5.4. Popularity and Tenderness in Ministry | 240 |
| 6.6. Similarities and Differences on the Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian | 241 |
| 6.7. Other Concepts | 242 |
| 7. Conclusion | 244 |
| 8. Bibliography | 249 |
| Appendices | |
| Appendix 1: Table of the Number of Differences between the Basel Vulgate (1509), Wittenberg Vulgate (1529) and the Latin Translation of Galatians in Luther's <i>Commentary on Galatians</i> (1535) | 285 |
| Appendix 2: Sample Comparison of Luther's and Calvin's Latin Translations of Galatians | 286 |
| Appendix 3: Table of Luther's and Calvin's References to Patristic and Contemporaneous Commentators on Galatians | 287 |
| Appendix 4: Substantial Concepts in the Weimarer Ausgabe and Calvini Opera (Corpus Reformatorum) editions of Luther's and Calvin's <i>Commentaries on Galatians</i> | 288 |
| Appendix 5: Sample Comparison of Identified Substantial Concepts in Luther's and Calvin's Expositions of Galatians 2 | 302 |
| Index of Persons | 307 |

Unless otherwise stated, all English quotations of Luther's writings are from Luther's Works. American edition. Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann (eds), 55 vols, PH: Fortress Press, St Louis, MI: Concordia Publishing House, 1955-67, CD-ROM, 2002.

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Unless otherwise stated, the English quotations of Calvin's Institutes are from Institutes of the Christian Religion. John T. McNeill (ed.); Ford Lewis Battles (trans.)1960. In: The John Calvin Collection: The Works of John Calvin, The Ultimate Christian Library, WI: Ages Software, DVD-ROM, 2000.

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The English quotations of Theodore Beza's Life of John Calvin are from Life of John Calvin Beveridge (trans.), Edinburgh, 1843. In: The John Calvin Collection: The Works of John Calvin. The Ultimate Christian Library, WI: Ages Software, DVD-ROM, 2000.

Introduction

1.1. Previous Research

Both Martin Luther and Jean Calvin are generally seen as the most significant theologians for their respective Lutheran and Reformed traditions in the 16th century. Both of them, furthermore, invested much of their time to comment on the Bible and saw the composition of Biblical commentaries as central to their vocation. Both Luther and Calvin composed a commentary on Paul's epistle to the Galatians,¹ which makes it exceptionally convenient to compare the two reformers' thought, and specifically those concepts within Galatians seen as substantial² by Luther and Calvin.

Luther's *Lectures on Galatians* on which the commentary *Galatians*³ is based, took place from July 3rd to December 12th in 1531 in a series of forty-one lectures. A printed version of these was published in 1535.⁴ Calvin's

¹There are a number of other biblical books on which both Luther and Calvin comment, including, for instance, the books of Genesis, Deuteronomy, a number of Psalms and Romans. There is a need for more comparative studies on the theology of Luther's and Calvin's commentaries on these books of the Bible as well, each one of which would certainly provide a unique perspective of its own into Luther's and Calvin's thought. There are some studies which have compared some aspects of Luther's and Calvin's biblical commentaries, but generally the studies have been brief and therefore limited. Thus this study may be seen as making a contribution towards a better understanding between the relationship of the theology of Luther's and Calvin's as expressed in their biblical commentaries.

²By 'substantial concepts' I mean major themes, or key issues in Luther's and Calvin's commentaries on Galatians.

³Henceforth, "*Galatians*" in italics is used to refer to Luther's and Calvin's commentaries on Galatians for the sake of brevity. It is indicated in each context which reformers' commentary is referred to.

⁴Luther had lectured on Galatians preceding this as well, but there are somewhat conflicting statements to be found on how many times. Theodore Graebner, in the preface to his abbreviated translation of Luther's commentary of 1531/35, states that Luther 'had lectured on this Epistle of St. Paul's in 1519 and again in 1523', whereas Jaroslav Pelikan, in his introduction to vol. 27 of *Luther's Works*, maintains that Luther had lectured on Galatians in 1516-1517, which he used as a basis for his written commentary of 1519. This commentary was edited and shortened by Luther, and published again in 1523. Compare Graebner 1949: iv-v and Pelikan 1964: Introduction to volume 27, *Luther's Works*, CD-ROM (no page number, see bibliography for bibliographical detail). The introduction to Luther's 1519 commentary in the *Weimarer Ausgabe* explains that Luther began his first series of lectures on Galatians on 27 October 1516 and perhaps started a new series of lectures in May 1518. A written commentary was published subsequently at the New Year in 1519. See WA 2: 436. It therefore appears that Luther lectured first on Galatians in 1516-1517, then probably again in 1518-1519, and published a written commentary based on his 1518-1519 lectures in 1519. This was edited into a shorter commentary by Luther in 1523. Following this, a German translation of Luther's commentary, translated by Vincentius Obsopoeus, appeared in 1525.

Luther lectured again on Galatians in 1531, and these lectures were published in 1535 (Latin), based on Luther's student George Rörer's shorthand notes of Luther's lectures. A second Latin edition was published in 1538. Further, a German translation of Luther's commentary by Luther's student Justus Menius appeared in 1539 in the Wittenberg edition of Luther's writings. See Graebner

Commentary on Galatians was written⁵ by Calvin during the period September – November 1546.⁶ It was published together with his commentaries on Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians in 1548.

The previous comparisons of Luther's and Calvin's theological thought have mainly dealt with aspects of their theology in general. However, there are only a few works which have attempted to compare the theology of the two reformers⁷ biblical commentaries, *Galatians*⁸ in particular. This is quite astonishing considering the voluminous number of works dealing with their theology, and the ideal position for comparative purposes of their *Galatians* commentaries, each being a commentary on a whole book in the New Testament.⁹

There are at least two main positions on the nature of the differences between the theologies of Luther and Calvin. One, which Randall C. Zachman names the traditional position (*locus classicus*), regards their differences as decisive despite the many similarities between their theologies.¹⁰ This position generally looks at Calvin as tending towards legalism, demonstrated in his emphasis on sanctification and the third use of the law, while Luther is seen as the theologian of grace and God's love, shown in his concern for the comforting of terrified consciences through the gospel, not the law.¹¹ By way of contrast, the other position

1949: iv-v. For the purposes of this study, it is evident from the attention given to *Galatians* throughout Luther's reformatory career how important the subjects of this epistle of Paul's were to Luther.

Additionally, Kenneth Hagen names an edition of Luther's *Galatians* from 1534. Unfortunately, within the time limits for the preparation for this study, I have not been able to examine this edition of Luther's commentary in any more detail as it does not appear in the Weimarer Ausgabe (WA) of Luther's writings. A copy of the manuscript can be found in Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany. See Hagen 1993: vii for further bibliographical detail.

⁵That is, probably written. From 1549 onwards, it is known that Calvin commonly did not have time for writing his commentaries himself, but dictated them instead, either privately or in lectures, and then checked the text afterwards. While it is possible that the same would have been the case with some of his earlier commentaries, Calvin's own comments, which are dealt with in section 2.2., seem to suggest that he wrote his *Galatians* himself. See also Parker 1993: 15-31, esp. p. 27.

⁶See section 2.1. for further discussion.

⁷Henceforth, the term 'reformers' is used in reference to Luther and Calvin for the sake of brevity, unless otherwise stated.

⁸Henceforth, 'Galatians' in normal font, not italics, is used in reference to Paul's epistle to the Galatians.

⁹There are two whole books of the New Testament on which both Luther and Calvin comment, namely, *Romans* and *Galatians*. However, as Luther wrote his commentary on *Romans* very early in his reformatory career, 1515-16, it seemed more appropriate to use Luther's *Galatians* 1531/35 for the comparison as it clearly reflects his evangelical insight in a more mature form.

¹⁰See Zachmann 1993: 4-5.

¹¹Out of the scholars who have specifically compared Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, Parker's view can be seen as close to the position identifying a significant difference between Luther and Calvin. However, he probably would not go so far as to see Calvin as tending towards legalism. See Parker 1963. His work is briefly reviewed below and further examined in section 2.3. Zachman refers to Reinhold Seeberg, Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch, Steven Ozment, and, with some qualifications, Jaroslav Pelikan, as representatives of this view. The works of these authors which Zachman refers to include Seeberg, *The History of Doctrines* (1977), Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1958), Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Church* (1981), Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-*

sees a thoroughgoing continuity between Luther's and Calvin's theology, and while recognizing some differences, sees them largely as a matter of varying emphases rather than as disagreements in substance.¹² It is within the context of these two differing views that the results of this research can make a further contribution.

As far as bibliographies available to me¹³ have indicated, there are only three articles and one monograph which specifically compare aspects of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, namely T.D. Parker's article, 'Interpretation of Scripture (Comparison of Calvin and Luther on Galatians)', Wolfgang Engels' doctoral thesis *Das Gesetzverständnis Calvins, vornehmlich nach seinen Kommentaren zu den Briefen des Paulus*, I.J. Hesselink's article, 'Luther and Calvin on law and gospel in their Galatians Commentaries' and A. Noordegraaf's article, 'Om de waarheid van het Evangelie: Galaten 2.11-14 in de uitleg van Luther en Calvijn'.¹⁴

Parker's article focuses on a comparative analysis of Luther's and Calvin's biblical interpretation but it nonetheless has some bearing on the two reformers' theology, too. Parker sees both Luther and Calvin as affirming the three Reformation *sola*'s, *sola fide*, *solus Christus* and *sola Scriptura*. However, he sees a difference between the two reformers in that Calvin stresses the complementarity of the law and the gospel while Luther emphasizes the law and the gospel as the two opposite foci of in his *Galatians*. Calvin, he further accentuates, is primarily

1700) (1984) and Ozment, *The Age of Reform, 1250-1550* (1980). See Zachman 1993: 3-4 for further bibliographical detail.

¹²Out of the scholars who have specifically compared Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, Engels and Hesselink can be seen as representing this position. See Engels 1967 and Hesselink 1984. Both of their works are briefly reviewed below. It appears that Noordegraaf 1989 also underlines, with some qualifications, the continuity between Luther's and Calvin's theology. Zachman also represents this view. See Zachman 1993: 6-8.

¹³These include D. Alfredus Erichson's (ed.) *Bibliographia Calviniana: Catalogus chronologicus operum Calvinii* (lists all works dealing with Calvin from Calvin's lifetime to year 1900), Wilhelm Niesel's *Calvin - Bibliographie 1901-1959* (1961), Pierre Fraenkel's 'Petit supplément aux bibliographies calviniennes 1901-1963' (1971), D. Kempf's, *A Bibliography of Calviniana 1959-1974* (1975), and the subsequent yearly bibliographies available in the Calvin Theological Journal, up to and including 2006.

An additional search was made for works which deal exclusively with Luther's *Galatians*, which, however, was not exhaustive since the primary purpose of the search was to find works which would compare the two reformers' commentaries (which the search of the bibliographies on literature on Calvin had already brought to light). Publications dealing with Luther's *Galatians* were searched, among other things, by means of the ATLA religion database, by the internet service scholar.google.com, and by reviewing the bibliographies of each of the works examining Luther's *Galatians*. The listing of works dealing with Luther's *Galatians* in the bibliography of this study should cover most scholarly works, which name Luther's *Galatians* in their title and are published in this or the last century.

¹⁴See the bibliography at the end of this study on Parker 1963, Engels 1967, Hesselink 1984 and Noordegraaf 1989 for further bibliographical detail. Although Wolfgang Engels' work deals primarily with Calvin's commentaries and sermons on Paul's writings, he makes regular comparisons of Calvin's writings to Luther's commentary on Galatians. Among these there are a number of comparisons between Calvin's and Luther's *Galatians*.

interested in the revelation of God's will for the edification of Christians, while Luther stresses justification as the one prime theme of Scripture.¹⁵ Further, Luther focuses on the subjective experience of the Christian conscience, an accent not present in Calvin's *Galatians*. Parker's article is treated in more detail in section 2.3. on the interpretation of Scripture.

Engels' work on the law in Calvin's commentaries on Paul¹⁶ proved more beneficial for our present study than was suggested by the title of his doctoral thesis, primarily due to the fact that there are regular comparisons of ideas found in Calvin's commentaries to those present in Luther's *Galatians*.¹⁷ A few of these references represent direct comparisons between themes in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*.¹⁸ Engels sees more similarities than differences between Luther's and Calvin's concepts of the law. Engels, differing from Parker, argues that both Luther and Calvin see a contrast between the law and the gospel. He affirms that both reformers agree on the fact that it is impossible to find justification through the law – righteousness can only be found in the gospel of Christ.¹⁹ Similarly, each reformer stresses the importance of Christian liberty.²⁰ Further, both Luther and Calvin see the accusing function of the law (*usus elencticus legis*) as important – it reveals and condemns human sin and thus prepares for the gospel.²¹ Again, each reformer sees the law as necessary also for the Christian, although only Calvin explicitly identifies a positive exhortatory role for the law in the believers' lives (*usus renatiis*).²² However, where Luther strongly accentuates the contrast between the law and the gospel, Calvin sees the two as united in Christ, who is the Giver of both the gospel and the law. This, however, does not mean that for Calvin the law can be mixed with the gospel (or that one could in some way reach righteousness through

¹⁵See Parker 1963: 68, 70, 73-75.

¹⁶For Engels, Calvin's commentaries on Paul include, not only specific commentaries on Paul's letters, but also his sermons on the same epistles.

¹⁷Engels makes comparisons between Calvin's ideas and those of several theologians, including those of Augustine, Faber Stapulensis, Bucer and Melancthon, for instance. See e.g. Engels 1967: 30-31 (vol. 1). However, the most significant comparisons appear to be made between Luther and Calvin, occurring in the introduction, the conclusion and a number of chapters of his work. Additionally, Engels includes a separate section on Luther's concept of the law in his *Galatians* 1531/1535. For example, see Engels 1967: 14, 45-49, 114, 116-117, 133-135 (vol. 1).

¹⁸The themes analysed in Engels' book include Calvin's theology of God's covenant, the relationship between the Old and New Testaments, and law and gospel, as far as these themes relate to idea of the law in Calvin's commentaries on Paul's letters.

¹⁹See Engels 1967: 48-49 (vol. 1). This represents Engels' comparison between Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*.

²⁰See Engels 1967: 133 (vol. 1). This represents Engels' comparison between Luther's *Galatians* and Calvin's other biblical commentaries on Paul's writings (not *Galatians*).

²¹See Engels 1967: 114, 116-117 (vol. 1). See also Engels 1967: 48 (vol. 2), notes 48-52. This represents Engels' comparison between Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*.

²²See Engels 1967: 111, (vol. 1). See also Engels 1967: 43, note 19, (vol. 2). This represents Engels' comparison between Luther's *Galatians* and Calvin's other Biblical commentaries on Paul's writings (not *Galatians*).

the law). Instead, Calvin shows that even in the Mosaic law there is a promise of salvation by grace, in accordance with the earlier covenant of God with Abraham.²³

Hesselink's article represents the kind of comparison intended in the present study in that Hesselink limits itself to Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* and focuses on theological concepts. However, his article is brief and limited to the themes of the law and the gospel. Similarly to Engels, Hesselink argues in his article that Luther and Calvin are much more similar in their theology than has often been thought. This includes a far reaching consensus in Luther's and Calvin's positions on the law-gospel contrast. Hesselink affirms that Calvin, no less than Luther, maintains that there is a sense in which the gospel stands in stark contrast with the law. Also, Luther strongly stresses the importance of good works, an emphasis often seen as the prerogative of Calvin, and in actual fact Luther accentuates good works even more than Calvin does in his commentary. Despite this, some differences remain, especially relating to the fact that only Calvin explicitly affirms a third use for the law, that of the law as a positive guide in the believers' lives.²⁴

Noordegraaf limits his comparison between Luther and Calvin to the theme of the truth of the gospel (wardheit van het Evangelie). He examines this theme in terms of a specific section of Luther's and Calvin's commentaries, their comment on Galatians 2.11-14.²⁵ Noordegraaf's analysis of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* is rather brief, because his article also deals with the biblical and patristic background relating to the interpretation of Gal. 2.11-14 and, in addition to Luther's 1531/35 and Calvin's 1546/48 commentaries on Galatians, also includes an examination of Luther's and Calvin's other comment on Gal. 2.11-14 (Luther's 1516-17 lecture and 1518-19 commentary on Galatians²⁶ and Calvin's *Deux Congrégations* 1563). Nevertheless, Noordegraaf's article presents some interesting viewpoints significant for the purposes of this study.²⁷ Noordegraaf highlights the centrality of righteousness by faith alone and Christian liberty as against righteousness of works both in Luther and in Calvin and accentuates the importance of this doctrine in authentic gospel ministry and preaching.²⁸ Moreover, Noordegraaf points out a large degree of agreement between Luther and Calvin in

²³See Engels 1967: 48-49, (vol. 1). This represents Engels' comparison between Luther's and Calvin's commentaries on Galatians. This is connected to Engels' identification of two kinds of definitions Calvin has for the law – one definition deals with the law in itself (lex per se), the other with the law as a larger concept, where the law encompasses also the gospel (lex seu evangelium).

²⁴See Hesselink 1984: 77-79.

²⁵To a lesser extent, Noordegraaf also deals with Luther's and Calvin's comments on Galatians 1 and 2.

²⁶Noordegraaf terms Luther's 1519 commentary on Galatians, '1518-1519 commentary'. See Noordegraaf 1989: 92.

²⁷Noordegraaf's comparisons between Luther and Calvin are not specific to their commentaries on Galatians 1531/35 (Luther) and 1546/48 (Calvin), but include the additional works of Luther and Calvin on Galatians mentioned above. Interestingly, Noordegraaf does not comment on Calvin's sermons on Galatians, although he takes Calvin's *Deux congrégations* on Gal. 2.11-14 (1563) into consideration.

²⁸See e.g. Noordegraaf 1989: 100, 104-105.

their adherence to the four sola's of the Reformation (sola fide, solus Christus, sola gratia, sola scriptura) while on the other he sees some difference in their respective positions on the relationship between justification and sanctification.²⁹ He regards the subject of sanctification to be overshadowed in Luther by his focus on justification, while for Calvin justification and sanctification are two aspects of God's grace to the believer in Christ.³⁰

Parker, Engels, Hesselink and Noordegraaf's works each identify a number of key issues in the two reformers' commentaries, but due to their brevity or chosen focus, there is a remaining need for other studies which aim to address the full scope and richness of, and analyze the relationship between substantial concepts in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*.

Attention is now briefly turned to publications dealing exclusively with either Luther or Calvin's *Galatians*.

As Luther's *Galatians* is seen as central for his more mature theology, there are a number of theological publications investigating various aspects of Luther's commentary. These have been useful in preparing the analysis and comparison below, the most relevant ones of which have been reviewed in the introductory section to chapter four on Luther's *Galatians*.

The theology of Calvin's *Galatians*, however, has been analysed hardly at all,³¹ apart from a brief treatment by Helmut Feld.³² I see this unfortunate lack of studies on Calvin's *Galatians* as providing further impetus to this research.

²⁹See Noordegraaf 1989: 105.

³⁰Noordegraaf states, 'Terwijl bij Luther, ook in zijn lezen en verstaan van Paulus, de heiliging min of meer in de schaduw van de rechtvaardiging is blijven staan, heeft Calvin in zijn uitleg van Paulus de eenheid van rechtvaardiging en heiliging als twee aspecten van de ene genade van God in Christus beklemd' (Noordegraaf 1989: 105).

³¹For one reason or another, Calvin's commentaries on Genesis, Psalms, Isaiah, the Gospels (especially John) and Romans appear to have been analysed most frequently leaving Calvin's other Biblical commentaries largely neglected. For a recent and welcome attempt to cover more of Calvin's treatment of the Bible, see McKim 2006.

³²Even Feld's treatment of the theology of Calvin's *Galatians* in his *Einleitung* in vol. 16 of *Ioannis Calvini Opera Exegetica* does not deal exclusively with Calvin's *Galatians*. Instead, it is a consideration of the unit of Calvin's commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians. See Feld 1992. Two further publications have been identified in the literature search, which address Calvin's *Galatians* specifically, namely Rodolphe Peter's and Jean-Francois Gilmont's *Bibliotheca Calviniana: Les oeuvres de Jean Calvin publiées au XVIIe siècle: I. Écrits théologiques, littéraires et juridiques 1532-1554*, pp. 268-269 and Riemer A. Faber's 'The Influence of Erasmus' *Annotations on Calvin's Galatians Commentary*. See Peter and Gilmont 1991 and Faber 2004 for further detail. However, the focus of these two works is not on the theology of Calvin's *Galatians*. These works, in addition to that of Feld, are nevertheless briefly reviewed in the beginning of section 5 of this study.

1.2. Task

The task of this research is twofold. In the first place, it is to analyse substantial concepts in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, and secondly, to compare the identified concepts in Luther's and Calvin's commentaries. It is hoped that this will shed light on each reformers' theological thought, and in particular on the themes seen as central by the reformers in Paul's epistle to the Galatians. There are, however, at least three possible objections to the feasibility of making a comparison of Luther's 1531/35 and Calvin's 1548 commentaries on Galatians, which are now briefly discussed.

One possible objection to comparing Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* is that Luther's *Galatians* is, strictly speaking, neither written by him nor a commentary. Instead, it is based on the lecture notes of Georg Rörer, Luther's student, who worked his lecture notes into a publishable form by 1535. Nonetheless, there is good reason to consider Luther's *Galatians* as a reliable commentary which reflects his thought on Galatians. Among the commentaries of Luther, his *Galatians* is one of the few where it is possible to weigh the actual lecture notes against their printed version.³³ The comparisons have established Rörer's work as reliable.³⁴ Most importantly, Luther explicitly recognized the written commentary as trustworthy.³⁵

Another possible objection is to question whether Calvin's commentary contains sufficient material for a fair comparison - it is less than a third of the length of Luther's and written in a somewhat different style, with proportionately more exegetical comment and less theological exposition than Luther.³⁶ However, a careful reading of Calvin's commentary evidences a concise but full treatment of his key subjects, a treatment which is comparable with that of Luther.³⁷

³³Rörer's notes have been preserved and are available above the text of *Galatians* in the Weimar edition of Luther's writings.

³⁴The trustworthiness of Rörer's work is additionally supported by the fact that despite his lecture notes being very complete, he checked them against the notes of two other students Veit Dietrich and Caspar Cruciger

³⁵'Et tamen sentio meas cogitationes esse omnes quas in hoc scripto per fratres tanta diligentia signatas reperio, ut fateri cogar vel omnia vel etiam plura fortasse in ista publica tractatione a me esse dicta.' WA40a.33.4-6. Praefatio D. Martini Lutheri, 1535. 'Per fratres' here refers to Rörer, Veit Dietrich and Caspar Cruciger.

³⁶See also section 2.2 of this thesis. Calvin focused on comprehensive theological exposition in his *Institutes* rather than in his biblical commentaries. See CO 1, p. 253. His commentary on Galatians, as his other biblical commentaries, were generally intended for pastors, who could then use them as a basis for sermons. This is one key reason behind the fact that his biblical commentaries are so brief, presenting only key concepts in a compact form. See e.g. Zachman 2003: 482. However, as noted above, Calvin treats key themes in Galatians sufficiently to make possible a relevant comparison of his and Luther's *Galatians*.

³⁷Luther, for his part, would have preferred his commentary to be much shorter. He moaned for it being as lengthy as Rörer's written lecture notes showed. He stated, 'Vix ipse credo, tam verbosum fuisse me,

A third possible objection is to regard Luther's 1519 commentary on Galatians as more appropriate for a comparison with Calvin's 1548 commentary on Galatians than Luther's 1531/35 commentary. This view could be defended on the grounds that Luther's 1519 commentary is properly speaking a commentary, written by Luther himself, and that it already portrays his evangelical understanding of the issues dealt with in Galatians. In favour of this objection, it must be recognized that a comparison of Luther's 1519 commentary on Galatians to Calvin's 1548 commentary on Galatians would undoubtedly be both fruitful and interesting. Nevertheless, it seemed more appropriate to draw the comparison between Luther's and Calvin's comments on Galatians using Luther's later rather than his earlier commentary because of the significance of Luther's 1531/35 commentary on Galatians recognized both by Luther himself³⁸ and by modern scholarship and because of the fact that the later commentary expresses his evangelical thought in a more developed form.³⁹

There are at least four considerations which call for a comparison of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*. 1) Both Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* represent the reformers' thought at a period when their theology had been, to a large extent, established. Luther's more mature period as a reformer is generally seen to have started by the year 1530.⁴⁰ Calvin, for his part, made no major changes in doctrine since the publication of his *Institutio* of 1539.⁴¹

cum enarrarem publice hanc Sancti Pauli ad Galatas Epistolam, quam hic me libellus exhibet.' WA40a.33.2-4. Praefatio D. Martini Lutheri, 1535.

³⁸See WA Tischreden 1.146, between December 1531 and January 1532 and WA Tischreden 5.5511, winter of 1542-43.

³⁹This is not to say that no developments can be identified in Luther after 1531. Nevertheless, Luther's commentary on Galatians represents one of Luther's major works written during a period when Luther's theology had matured significantly as compared to the period of the writing of the earlier commentary in 1519. Additionally, Luther himself expressed a special liking for his commentary on Galatians, as pointed out below.

⁴⁰Luther's career is often divided into three parts a) Luther as a Catholic, b) Luther as a reforming Catholic and c) 'the Lutheran Luther' (Spitz' introduction to the *Career of the Reformer IV*, LW 34, p. 2). The last period is generally seen to have started by the year 1530. Compare e.g. Spitz' introduction to the *Career of the Reformer IV*, LW 34, p. 2 and Bainton 1950: 292. Some authors place the starting point of Luther's career as independent from the Catholic church a little earlier or later than 1530. For instance, Brecht, in his three volume account of Luther's life, includes 1530-32 in the second volume on the organising and defining of the Reformation, and starts the last volume on the maintaining of the church from 1532. See Brecht 1986, 1987. Althaus, referring to Luther's doctrine on the Lord's Supper, sees that a 'fully developed' form of Luther's doctrine on this issue can be identified in his writings in 1527/28. See Althaus 1966: 375-403, esp. pp. 380-382. Depending on the subject at issue, the line may be drawn differently, however. Prenter, for instance, suggests that Luther's theology of the Holy Spirit expressed 'a richness, vitality and depth' already by the year 1522, which was 'never surpassed later'. From this year on, the formulation of Luther's theology of the Spirit was affected to a large degree by the presence of the enthusiasts (Schwärmerei), which narrowed down the way Luther expressed his view subsequently. See Prenter 1953: xv-xviii. Prenter does not deny the possibility of later adjustments, however. Prenter 1953: 206 (205-246). What is important for the purposes of this research, however, is that Luther's *Galatians*, 1531/1535, is normally seen to represent a more mature form of Luther's theology. This is not to say, however, that no developments can be identified in Luther's theology after

2) A further consideration is that *Galatians* was so central for Luther. He named Paul's epistle to the Galatians his Katy von Bora⁴² and attached special importance to his commentary on the epistle highlighting his *Galatians* as one of his most important works.⁴³ Although Calvin did not name *Galatians* his Idelette de Bure,⁴⁴ *Galatians* is one of the few books of the Bible, which Calvin expounded thrice, which indicates its special importance for him.⁴⁵ Further, it is clear from any version of his *Institutio* that themes identified by Calvin as central in *Galatians* such as those of justification, law and Christian liberty, were important for him. 3) Although Luther's *Galatians* is different from Calvin's *Galatians* in that it is based on lecture notes, the fact that both reformers have commented on the same text relatively concisely, and verse by verse, constitutes an exceptionally fitting point of comparison between the two reformers' theological thought. 4) Furthermore, as noted above, there have been only a few works whose main purpose has been to compare the theology of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* with one another.

1531. For instance, Martin Greschat has made an interesting study of the development of Luther and Melancthon's doctrines of justification between 1528 and 1537. See e.g. Greschat's concluding remarks in Greschat 1965: 242-251.

⁴¹Parker believes that Calvin made no changes in doctrine between 1539-59. See Parker 1993: 203. 1539 was the year of the second edition of Calvin's *Institutio*. The 1559 edition was the last Latin edition of Calvin's *Institutio*, written five years before Calvin's death in 1564 (an additional translation of this edition into French by Calvin appeared in 1561).

⁴²'Epistola ad Galatas ist mein epistelcha, der ich mir vertraut hab. Ist mein Keth von Bor.' WA Tischreden I.146, between December 14, 1531 and January 22, 1532.

⁴³'Wenn Sie mir solgen wolten, musten sie die bucher allen drucken, die doctrinam haben, als ad Galatas, Deuteronomium, in Iohannem.' WA Tischreden 5.5511, winter of 1542-1543. In the same context, Luther recommends Melancthon's *Loci Communes* and commentary on Romans and his own commentaries on Deuteronomy and John.

⁴⁴Calvin expressed a special liking to 2 Timothy, which had profited him more 'than any other book in Scripture'. Calvin states, 'Quant à moi, ie scay que que ceste epistre m'a autant profité que nul livre de l'Escriture, et tous les iours encores profite: et quand chacun y regardera songneusement, il n'y a doute qu'il n trouve le semblable.' CO 54.5.24-26. See also Parker 1992: 83. Surprisingly, Calvin's commentary for 2 Timothy, similarly to his *Galatians*, has been hardly given any attention in scholarly publications.

⁴⁵Calvin wrote a commentary on Galatians in 1546, preached on Galatians 1557-58 and also presented special studies on Galatians in 1563 in his *Deux congrégations*. Rodolphe Peter points to this and affirms, 'Calvin a traité trois fois l'épître aux Galates, montrant ainsi l'intérêt qu'il portait à cette lettre paulinienne: il l'a commentée, présentée en chaire et proposée aux congrégations du vendredi.' Peter 1964 : xxi. Peter further lists the other Bible books which Calvin also expounded three times, namely Deuteronomy, Psalms, Isaiah and the synoptic gospels. Peter 1964: xxi.

1.3. Methodology

The research method utilised in this study is a comparative analysis of Luther's and Calvin's respective commentaries. Substantial concepts in each commentary have first been identified, then analysed and consequently compared with one another.

In preparation for this research, a choice had to be made between drawing comparisons between Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* in their entirety as against comparing their respective interpretations of particular verses/phrases. Appendix 5 indicates an example of how the themes of Luther's and Calvin's comments on Galatians 2 vary from verse to verse. Generally both comment on the same phrases (overlooking the differences in the Latin of Galatians) – at times the concepts discussed are similar, at others they differ, and on other occasions one reformer comes to the theme treated by the other a little later or earlier.⁴⁶ It gradually became evident that limiting this study to interpretations of particular verses would easily have become one-sided, would have emphasised somewhat arbitrary differences between the German and the Swiss reformers' commentaries and would fail to demonstrate the similarity vs. difference of Luther's and Calvin's theology in their *Galatians* in general.⁴⁷ That is why the substantial concepts have been analysed from the point of view of the whole commentary while differences / similarities on interpretations of individual verses are also looked at where deemed appropriate.

The analysis of each commentary has followed approximately the following procedure. First, the primary concepts in Luther's and Calvin's comments on a particular passage / verse / phrase in Galatians have been identified, on the basis of which the substantial themes have been identified (see Appendix 4). This type of rather mechanical method of identifying the major concepts in the commentaries has been utilised in order to avoid subjective judgment and the prioritising of minor or less frequent themes.⁴⁸ Second, the content of Luther or

⁴⁶For similar concepts in Luther's and Calvin's discussion of particular verses in Galatians 2, see Appendix 5 on e.g. Gal. 2.3, 2.21, for different concepts in their treatment of particular verses, see e.g. on Gal. 2.2, 2.17 and on concepts where one reformer comes to the theme treated by the other previously or afterwards, see e.g. on Gal. 2.1-2, 2.11-15.

⁴⁷The method of comparing Luther's and Calvin's interpretation of particular verses fits well in a study where the development of the interpretation of each on a particular verse / passage is traced from one commentary to another. Such a comparison between Luther's and Calvin's interpretation of Gal. 2.11-14 has been drawn by Noordegraaf for instance. See Noordegraaf 1989.

⁴⁸It needs to be borne in mind that the identification of the length and frequency of Luther's and Calvin's discussion of the various concepts in their *Galatians* as presented in Appendix 4 does not present the main analysis of this paper. Instead, this provides a necessary backdrop for the analysis and comparison, found in chapters 4 to 6 of this research. Nevertheless, during the analysis, it was the most frequent and most often treated themes which emerged as the most significant. Further, the approach of prioritising the themes treated most fully by Luther and Calvin helps one to remain faithful to Luther's and Calvin's chosen emphases. See the 'general note on the limitations of the table' at the end of Appendix 4 for further detail.

Calvin's discussion on the identified primary themes has been analysed and concisely presented in sections 4 and 5 of this study. Third, the substantial concepts in Luther's commentary (chapter 4) and Calvin's commentary (chapter 5) have been compared and contrasted with each other in chapter 6.

The research is organised as follows. Following the introduction (chapter one), chapter two draws together a brief outline of preliminary considerations which are seen as focal in order to understand the respective commentaries. This includes succinct remarks on 1) the historical context, 2) stylistic factors, 3) interpretation of Galatians and 4) the relationship of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* to preceding and contemporary commentators and theologians. The third chapter focuses on the theological setting of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*. This includes a brief evaluation of concepts corresponding to Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* in Luther's earlier commentary on Galatians (1519), his *Grosse Katechismus* (1529) and Calvin's *Institutio* 1539 and 1545. The fourth and fifth chapters set out the results of the analysis on substantial concepts in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*.⁴⁹ Section six presents the identified similarities and differences in the theology of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*.

It may be appropriate to note one further detail in Luther's and Calvin's references to specific verses and passages in the Bible in this study. It is each time indicated which Bible verse or passage Luther and Calvin discuss when quoting or referring to their Biblical commentaries. This is done for the sake of clarity and convenience, although it is at the same time recognised that at the time Luther and Calvin composed their commentaries, the Bible was not yet divided into verses.⁵⁰

1.4. Sources

The primary sources are Luther's *Galatians* (1535 - Latin) and Calvin's *Galatians* (1548 - Latin). Both Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* underwent two further editions approved by their authors, Luther's in 1538 (Latin) and 1539 (German) and Calvin's in 1551 and 1556 (both Latin). It may be noted here, however, that the changes were minor and therefore the first editions have been chosen as primary sources for this research. The edition used for Luther's *Galatians* can be found in volumes 40a and 40b of the Weimarer Ausgabe of Luther's writings (WA) while

⁴⁹In the analysis, an effort has been made to remain faithful to the reformers' stated emphases and therefore the sections and their subdivisions have not necessarily been classified under the same headings for Luther's and Calvin's commentaries, but follow the perceived structure of each reformers' thought.

⁵⁰The division of Bible passages into verses was for the first time introduced in Robert Estienne's (Stephanus) fourth Greek edition of the New Testament in 1551. See e.g. 'Estienne, Robert I', *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* vol. 4, Micropaedia, Goetz, Philip W (ed. in chief) Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., 1987.

the edition used for Calvin's *Galatians* is the latest edition of Calvin's *Galatians* in volume 16 of Calvin's *Opera Recognita* (COR), edited by Helmut Feld.⁵¹ It may further be appropriate to note that it is primarily the published full text Latin version of Luther's *Galatians* that is used in this study, instead of Rörer's shorthand notes of Luther's lectures (which are also available in WA 40a-40b). This seems appropriate, in the first place, because the reliability of the full text version of Luther's *Galatians* has been recognised both by Luther and by modern Luther scholarship. Second, the full text version has been utilised for the sake of convenience, since Rörer's shorthand notes are usually made up of abbreviated, not full sentences. As Calvin's *Galatians* was written by him,⁵² no such differentiation is necessary for his commentary.

Auxiliary primary sources include the two reformers' works examined in section 3 of this study, seeking to identify connections in Luther's and Calvin's earlier and contemporary theology to their *Galatians* commentaries of 1531/1535 and 1548. These include Luther's *Commentary on Galatians* from 1519 (Latin) and his *Grosse Katechismus* 1529 (German) as well as two editions of Calvin's *Institutio Religionis Christianae*,⁵³ 1539 (Latin) and 1545 (Latin).

Moreover, some of Luther's and Calvin's later comment on *Galatians* have been used for further insights into the themes of *Galatians*. Calvin's series of forty-three *Sermons on Galatians* 1557-58 (French) and Calvin's *Deux Congrégations* 1563 on Gal. 2.11-21, though originating at a time later than the commentary, are regarded as Calvin's later important comment on the subjects dealt with in *Galatians*.⁵⁴ Similarly, a few of Luther's thirty sermons, which he preached on *Galatians* between 1531 and 1545, have been used for his later comment on concepts important to Luther's *Galatians*.⁵⁵

⁵¹The Latin version of Calvin's *Galatians* utilised in COR vol. 16 is the 1556 edition of Calvin's *Galatians*. However, the earlier 1548 and 1551 editions are referenced in the footnotes of COR 16. The differences are not many, but the text of the 1548 edition has been utilised in this study. See *Commentarii in Pauli Epistolas: Ad Galatas*. Ioannis Calvinii Opera Exegetica. Vol. 16. Helmut Feld (ed.), Genève: Librairie Droz, 1992. (COR 16). Additionally, the *Corpus Reformatorum* edition of Calvin's *Galatians* has been utilised, too, for the sake of convenience in Appendix 4, as *Corpus Reformatorum* is still often used as the primary source. In Appendix 4 the references to substantial concepts in Calvin's *Galatians* are made both to Calvin's *Opera Recognita* (COR) and the *Corpus Reformatorum* editions (CO) of Calvin's commentary.

⁵²See footnote 4 above.

⁵³Henceforth, *Institutio* is used as a short form for *Institutio Religionis Christianae*.

⁵⁴Calvin's *Deux congrégations* 1563 are two Bible studies which Calvin presented on two Fridays in 1563 on the passage in Gal. 2.11-21. They deal primarily with the theology of the passage, and provide some helpful further insights on Calvin's thought on important themes within *Galatians*. See Peter 1964: xxi for further detail.

⁵⁵Hermann Kleinknecht has made a helpful list of all of Luther's sermons following the commencement of his *Galatians* lectures 1531 in the end of his *Luthers Galaterbrief-Auslegung von 1531, vol. 4: Der Galaterbrief*, pp. 361-362, 386-387. He has included excerpts (at times with explanatory comments) of twenty-seven of the thirty sermons he gives references to in pp. 363-408 of his work. See Kleinknecht

A number of other auxiliary sources authored by Luther and Calvin have been used as well, including, among others, Luther's *Tischreden*, Calvin's *Institution de la religion chrestienne* (1541) and Luther's and Calvin's letters from around the time of the writing of their *Galatians*. The specific sources are listed in the footnotes, and are referenced to the Weimarer Ausgabe of Luther's (WA) and the Corpus Reformatorum edition of Calvin's writings (CO). One further source ought to be noted, namely that of Theodore Beza's *Johannis Calvini Vita* 1564 (Latin).

1.5. Delimitations and Scope of Research

This research limits itself to *substantial concepts* in the theology of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*. Thus exegetical / hermeneutical factors and allusions to preceding commentators / contemporary situations are only briefly outlined in the chapter on preliminary factors relating to the theology of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*.

Further, the investigation into Luther's and Calvin's theology is limited, in the first place, close to the time of composing *Galatians*. Despite the fact that some of Luther's and Calvin's work both preceding and succeeding their *Galatians* are also considered, the primary results of this study relate to Luther's and Calvin's theology around 1531/35 and 1546/48, respectively.

It also needs to be borne in mind that the main sections dealing with substantial concepts in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* are not to be seen as exhaustive or comprehensive. Instead, some themes, which appear central, have been chosen for analysis and they have been treated to the extent it is possible in a work of this kind.⁵⁶ Again, the comparative part of the research focuses on what is seen as central in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* in particular, and not in their theologies in general.

One further limitation is linked to the chosen structure of presenting the substantial concepts of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*. For purposes of clarity and in order to facilitate the comparison of specific ideas of Luther and Calvin, the themes are divided under subject headings such as justification, the law and good works. One needs to bear in mind, however, the intimate interlinking of the themes with each other. The respective chapters on the law and good works, for instance, only deal with issues explicitly and directly connected with these themes. However, in order to gain a more complete picture of Luther's and Calvin's concepts of the

1980: 363-408. The references to Luther's sermons in this study, however, are to the Weimarer Ausgabe of Luther's writings.

⁵⁶For instance, a study which would compare only the concept of the work of the Holy Spirit in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, would be able to examine this theme in more detail and take into account the larger context and interrelated concepts to a much greater extent than has been done in this study.

law and good works, one needs to take into consideration the larger picture relating to righteousness by faith as against the righteousness by the law and the law and gospel contrast, among other things. As this study does not focus exclusively on the concepts of law and good works in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, however, the larger picture dealing with each of the concepts cannot be taken into account in all-inclusive detail.

2. Preliminary Considerations for Understanding Luther's and Calvin's *Commentaries on Galatians*

This section is an attempt to create a general picture of influences and factors surrounding the writing of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*. This includes a consideration of the historical context, textual and stylistic issues, a brief discussion on Luther's and Calvin's interpretation of Galatians and a consideration of the relationship of preceding and contemporary commentators and theologians to Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*. The aim is not to analyse these preliminary aspects in detail but to identify possible factors that could shed further light on theological ideas in the commentaries.

2.1. Historical Context of Luther's and Calvin's *Commentaries on Galatians*

The purpose in this section is to attempt to outline some historical factors which appear to link with or are explicitly connected to Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*.

The time and place of Luther's lectures on Galatians 1531 is well known – Luther lectured in Wittenberg University from July 3rd to December 12th in 1531, when Luther was forty-seven.⁵⁷ Calvin wrote his commentary *Galatians* as one unit together with commentaries on Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians between 1546-47/48 in Geneva, having completed his commentaries on 1 and 2 Corinthians by 1546, when he was thirty-seven. Calvin's statements suggest that he completed his commentary on Galatians very rapidly, probably between September and November 1546.⁵⁸

⁵⁷At the end of the lecture series, however, Luther was forty-eight; his birthday was on the 10th of November.

⁵⁸The position taken here is that Calvin's commentary on Paul's epistle to the Galatians was finished by the end of 1546. Parker makes the general statement that Calvin's commentary on the Galatians group (the unit of the four epistles of Paul, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians) was finished by February 1st 1548, the date when the commentary on these four epistles was dedicated (Parker 1993: 20-22). However, Calvin's explicit comments on his work on Galatians in his letters seem to give sufficient information to determine with relative certainty when his specific commentary on Galatians (not only the commentary on the unit of the four epistles of Paul), was completed. In September, 1546 Calvin complains that he had only finished half a chapter of *Galatians*. See CO 12.826.380-381, Calvinus Farello, September 1546. (The reference CO 12.826.380-381, for instance, refers to the 12th volume of *Calvini Opera in Corpus Reformatorum*, letter 826, pages 380-381. The same mode of reference is used henceforth.) On October 6, 1546 he asserts that he was earnestly working on the commentary while already two weeks later, on October 19, he assures us that the finishing of *Galatians* was 'summary' (en brief). CO 12.401; CO 12.832.391, Calvinus Farello, October 6, 1546; CO 12.840.401 Calvin à Madame De Falais, October 19, 1546. Parker, for some reason, does not account for the statement on the 19th of October, which may be part of the reason he does not give specific information on the completion of *Galatians*. A month later, on November 16, Calvin explains to Monsieur De Falais that he could already

2.1.1. Historical Context of Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*

Preceding Luther's composition of *Galatians*, there had been at least five significant departures which Luther had taken within the religious sphere. By beginning of the 1520s, Luther's severance from the Roman church had become clear and in the mid-1520s, he had indicated his rejection of Erasmian humanism, distanced himself from the *Schwärmerei* (spiritual enthusiasts, associated in Luther's mind with Anabaptists) and shown his strong disapproval of the religious revolutionary ideas favoured by the peasantry during the Peasant War. Additionally, at the Marburg Colloquy of 1529 between the German and the Swiss Reformation, Luther had declined intercommunion with Zwingli and the other Swiss reformers.

Luther's *Galatians* includes allusions to all of these groups,⁵⁹ of which the most numerous are in reference to the papists⁶⁰ and to the sectarians (Anabaptists),⁶¹ both of which he saw as a greater danger to the evangelical faith than the threat posed by the secular powers.⁶² Both the relationship to the papacy and to Anabaptism were very much current issues in 1531. The Diet of Augsburg with Catholics in 1530 was only a year away. Further, the date when the emperor had demanded Lutherans to yield their faith in favour of Catholicism (April 15, 1531) was merely one and a half months behind when Luther's lectures began on July 3rd. Similarly, Anabaptism continued spreading especially in areas under Catholic control in southern Germany and Luther had to take a position on the

have sent his *Galatians* to be printed, but since the publisher had been slow in printing his earlier commentary (on Corinthians), he no longer needed to hurry. See CO 12.852.423, Calvin à Monsier De Falais, November 16, 1546. The statement seems to suggest that *Galatians* had already been finished. Parker's suggestion, that Calvin 'had slackened off' and no longer hurried its completion seems less likely (see Parker 1993: 22) taking into consideration Calvin's statement on October 19 that the completion of *Galatians* had been 'summary' (en brief).

Peter and Gilmont's review of the history of the writing of Calvin's *Galatians* also concurs with the position taken here, namely, that Calvin's commentary was completed by 16th November 1546. They, however, as well as Parker, make no reference to the statement made by Calvin on the composing of the commentary on the 19th of October 1546. This statement of Calvin's on October 19 (which Peter and Gilmont ignore) lends further support to Peter and Gilmont's suggestion for the timing of the completion of Calvin's *Galatians*, which is also the position taken here. See Peter and Gilmont 1991: 268-269.

⁵⁹Peasants are mentioned in Luther's *Galatians* twice, each in connection with the thought that their revolt was the result of the activities of fanatical teachers (*Schwärmerei*).

⁶⁰The examination done for section 2.4.3.1 of this study on Luther's polemic against papists revealed 173 contexts where papal teaching or practice is referred to. Additionally, the study made in preparation for section 2.4.2 identified 163 contexts where Luther alludes to the teaching and practice of monks, scholastics (*Scholastici*) and sophists (*Sophistae*), some references of which, however, occur in the same context where papists are referred to.

⁶¹The examination done for section 2.4.3.2. on Luther's polemic against Anabaptists reveals 115 contexts where Anabaptist teaching or practice is referred to. It also needs to be borne in mind that one can hardly equate fanatics or sectarians with Anabaptists as they are now understood in the modern and more accurate sense of the term, but as Luther drew no clear distinction between these groups, and often discusses them together, it was seen that they ought not to be treated separately in this study.

⁶²See WA 32.150-158 and Brecht 1986: 398.

penalties deemed appropriate to stay the spread of their beliefs.⁶³ As a result, the evangelical faith in Luther's *Galatians* is frequently presented in contrast to papal ideas on the one hand and Anabaptists influences on the other.⁶⁴ Luther regards that both, in their way, had rejected the pure doctrine of justification by faith.⁶⁵

Both Erasmus and the Sacramentarians⁶⁶ (the Swiss Reformation) including Zwingli are mentioned a number of times both in Luther's *Galatians* and in his other comments during 1531. In his commentary, Luther lists the Swiss Reformers together with the Anabaptists and maintains that there cannot be any compromise with them on purity of doctrine.⁶⁷ This cannot take place even in the name of Christian love despite the fact that the split with the Sacramentarians had been a most painful issue to him during the past years.⁶⁸ Strikingly, in his *Tischreden* in 1531, Luther maintains that Zwingli's death was God's way to stay the spread of the Swiss reformer's erroneous teaching.⁶⁹ Luther's view on Erasmus, on the other hand, changed from the 'most eminent theologian' and 'excellent man', whom Luther often quoted in his commentary on Galatians of 1519,⁷⁰ to one whose

⁶³First Luther only recommended banishment, but in 1530 and 1531 accepted the death penalty in cases seen to constitute sedition or blasphemy. Although Luther was strongly against Anabaptist ideas, he had been reluctant to apply the death penalty to them, recommending banishment instead. This, however, Anabaptists did not accept, because they felt state injunctions were invalid. In 1530 Luther recommended that while holding Anabaptist ideas were not punishable, sedition and blasphemy were. In 1531 Luther, together with Melancthon, defined sedition as applicable to disintegration from the church and blasphemy as applicable to the rejection of the ministerial office, which often applied to the Anabaptists. See e.g. Bainton 1950: 294-296.

⁶⁴The same is true, Walker maintains, of all the later works of both Luther and Calvin. Walker 1985: 455

⁶⁵For further comment on Luther's views on the papacy and the Anabaptists, see sections 2.4.3.1. and 2.4.3.2. For specific references to the teachings of the sophists, scholastics and monks, see section 2.4.2.

⁶⁶By 'Sacramentarians' Luther refers to the Swiss Reformation, and more specifically to those Protestants who held a differing view from the Lutherans on the nature of Christ's presence during the Lord's Supper. Lutherans emphasised Christ's actual presence with the sacrament while the Swiss reformers generally viewed that Christ was only spiritually present.

⁶⁷See section 4.7.4 for further discussion. When explicitly named, the Sacramentarians are often grouped together with the Anabaptists, in reference to their departing from pure doctrine. See e.g. Luther's comments in WA 40a.112.33-113.10, WA 40a.296.25-28, WA 40a.316.26-27, WA 40a.626.19-22, on Gal. 1.7, 2.20, 3.1, 4.12, respectively.

⁶⁸See WA 40b.135.21-23, on Gal. 6.1. Interestingly, Luther had initially agreed to intercommunion with the Swiss Protestants despite the differing views between the Swiss and the German Protestants on the Lord's Supper during the Marburg colloquy. Melancthon, however, persuaded Luther not to agree with the Swiss reformers. Melancthon was still hoping for profitable discussions with the Catholics, and saw a settlement with the Swiss reformers as a hindrance to these negotiations. See Bainton 1950: 250.

⁶⁹WA *Tischreden* 1.94.35-36, 1531. (The reference 1.94.35-36, 1531 means that this specific *Tischreden* of Luther's can be found in vol. 1 of WA *Tischreden*, letter 94, pages 35-36 and that it was recorded in the year 1531. The same mode of reference is used henceforth in each of the allusions of this study to Luther's *Tischreden*.) See also WA, *Tischreden* 2.1451.103, 1532.

⁷⁰Luther refers to Erasmus' *Annotations of Galatians* 'Erasmi Theologicissimi annotationes' in his comment on Gal. 1.1 and calls him 'Erasmus optimus' in his exposition of Gal. 4.25. See WA 2.452.3, on Gal. 1.1 and WA 2.553.11, on Gal. 4.25. For other samples of Luther's references to Erasmus in his 1519 commentary on Galatians, see e.g. WA 2.449.21-24, Dedication, WA 2.502.20-22, on Gal. 2.20 and WA 2.549.11-12, on Gal. 4.20.

position he saw as essentially the same as that of the papists,⁷¹ but exceedingly more dangerous due to his cunning nature.⁷²

Luther continued to be faithful towards the secular authorities, including the emperor, however, despite emperor Charles V's attempts to stifle the Reformation in Germany. In 1531, after the Diet of Augsburg, his attitude started to change. He still maintained that secular authorities are instituted by God and must be respected, affirming this several times in his *Galatians*.⁷³ The change that had started to take place was that Luther no longer rejected outright the idea of resisting the emperor with arms.⁷⁴ Similarly, in the face of the emperor's edict of taking military action against those still holding to evangelical faith after April 15, 1531, Luther declared that the impending war was unrighteous, as it would be a war against God.⁷⁵

In the course of the events from 1529 to 1531, there was a marked shift for the evangelical movement from a highly critical situation to a position where their faith was becoming an established religion in the areas where the evangelical faith had become prevalent. The influential Schmalkaldic League of the German princes in favour of Protestantism was formed on February 27, 1531. Furthermore, April 15, the date of the emperor's edict passed by without any definite action taken against Lutherans.

It is interesting to note that as Lutheranism was now becoming established, Luther's theology also became more established. Interestingly, as Bainton notes, the events preceding 1531 are recorded in detail in biographies of Luther, but from that point on the description of the remaining history of his life is frequently only cursory.⁷⁶ For the purposes of this paper, however, this is significant

⁷¹See section 2.4. 3.3. for further discussion.

⁷²Luther states, 'Eramus [sic] est anguilla. Niemand kan yhn ergreifen denn Christus allein.' WA Tischreden 1.131.55, 1531. See also WA Tischreden 2.1319.41-42, 1532. Evidently, Luther's debate on the freedom of the will with Erasmus was a significant factor in his changed attitude toward Erasmus. See e.g. the introduction to Luther's *De servo arbitrio* in WA 18.551-596 for further information.

⁷³See e.g. Luther's comments in WA 40a.175.17-179.11, on Gal. 2.6, WA 40a.391.29-395.36, on Gal. 3.10 and WA 40a.673.14-673.24, on Gal. 4.27.

⁷⁴See WA Briefe 6.1781.36-37, Luther an Lazarus Spengler in Nürnberg, 15 February, 1531. (WA Briefe 6.1781.36-37 refers to vol. 6 of WA Briefwechsel, letter 1781, pages 36-37. The same mode of reference is used henceforth in each of the allusions of this study to Luther's *Briefe*.) The idea had been advanced that the emperor had issued a law according to which he may be resisted if he clearly acted wrongly. Luther still affirms that he does not approve of resisting the emperor with arms, but leaves the matter for the lawyers to examine. In case such a law would be found, Luther states that he would be ready to act accordingly. See Bainton 1950: 298-99. Later, in 1539, as an impending war threatened German evangelical believers, Luther, while affirming the duty to obey secular authorities, asserted the duty of resistance in case of a war where the secular authorities or the emperor were acting as the pope's aids. See WA 39b.34-35.

⁷⁵See WA 30c.252-320 and Brecht 1986: 402.

⁷⁶Bainton 1950: 292. Bainton also provides only a brief outline of a few significant events in Luther's life after 1530. See Bainton 1950: 292-302. More recently, Heiko A. Oberman provides only occasional and brief comments on Luther's life after 1530 even in the last section of his book on Luther's life. See Oberman 1989b 254-330. Martin Brecht, in his three volume account of Luther's life, however, is an

in that Luther's *Galatians* stands at a significant point in Luther's career, representing his more mature theology.

Considering Luther's literary work immediately preceding his *Galatians*, it seems that it was very appropriate for Luther to expound the epistle again at this point. Just previous, in 1529, he had completed his *Kleine* and *Grosse Katechismus*, giving an outline of the main aspects of the German evangelical faith. While the theme of justification by faith, standing at the core of the evangelical faith, was clearly delineated in Melanchthon's *Augustana* in 1530 and its *Apologia* in 1530-31, it had been only briefly defined by Luther himself in the Catechisms. Therefore, the time seemed ripe for Luther, too, to expound the theme of righteousness by faith alone more fully.

In Luther's personal life, the years 1530-31 were challenging. He heard of his father Hans' death while in the Coburg castle during the Diet of Augsburg and heard of his mother's illness in the spring of 1531. Furthermore, he was in poor health, and having continually to carry out a vast number of duties, including troubles in the churches, which he had to attempt to resolve.⁷⁷ Luther's responsibilities swelled due to the fact that Dr. Johannes Bugenhagen Pomer, the minister in Wittenberg, had been asked to plant the evangelical faith in Southern Germany following the Diet of Augsburg, and therefore his workload during his absence fell on Luther's shoulders. Already towards the end of 1530, Luther feared for his life. Anxiously waiting for Pomer's return, Luther stated in December 1530, 'I cannot find time to write to everyone. No longer am I only Luther, but Pomeranus, too, an official, a Moses, a Jethro, and what not? All things to all men.... Pomeranus is getting along very well in Lübeck.'⁷⁸

Finally, a month after the completion of his lectures on Galatians, in January 1532, Luther fell gravely ill with vertigo.⁷⁹

exception devoting the last section of his second book on events between 1531 and 1532 and a full volume on Luther's life for the period 1532-46. See Brecht 1986: 396-441 and Brecht 1987.

⁷⁷For more detail on the nature of the troubles with the churches, see Brecht 1986: 421-431.

⁷⁸Saluta omnes nostros ... nam scribere non vacabat omnibus, cum iam sim non Lutherus tantum, sed Pomeranus, sed Officialis, sed Moses, sed Iethro, et quid non? omnia in omnibus. Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula Luther. Pomeranus Lubecae prospere agit, sed Satan ei negotia multa facit cum puella obsessa. WA Briefe 5.1757.691-692, Luther an Wenzeslaus Link in Nürnberg, 1 December 1530. Pomer only returned to Wittenberg in April 30, 1532. On November 24, 1531 Luther strongly urged Pomer to return as soon as he could after his wife's delivery. Luther asserted that enough had already been done for the people of Lübeck and explained that he was often ill and overburdened, adding in his letter, written in Latin, an exclamation in German in reference to his awaiting for Pomer's return, 'Ich kann's nicht warten!'. Exspectamus te, mi Pomerane, reducem, quam primum ab uxoris partu (quem felicem fore precor) commode poteris. Satis servitum est Lubecensibus praesertim tua absentia quae nobis tandem gravis esse incipit, quia ego obrutus sum et saepe aeger; deinde aerarium ecclesiasticum ego negligo, et requirit pastorem suum. *Ich kann's nicht warten*. WA Briefe 6.1886.231, Luther an Joh. Bugenhagen in Lübeck, 24 November, 1531; emphasis in the original.

⁷⁹For further detail on the above paragraph, see the introduction of vols. 21 and 23 of Luther's Works dealing with Luther's sermons on the Sermon on the Mount, 1530-32, and on John 6-8, 1530-32. Luther

Despite these personal challenges, Luther's letters and *Tischreden* from the period reveal that he was generally in good spirits. In his letter to his mother during her illness, for instance, Luther reminds his mother how now there is a loving Saviour to turn to, who is not an angry Judge as they thought during their earlier days under the control of the papal church.⁸⁰ A similar tone seems reflected all through the period. He often dwells on subjects relating to justification, personal faith and God's comfort in troubles of conscience.⁸¹ Some other theological issues are referred to as well, including, for instance, those of original sin, the difference between faith and hope and Luther's position on the Eucharist.⁸²

It seems that Luther's tone in his letters is one of the more significant observations when thinking about Luther's *Galatians*. Justification by faith was extremely important for Luther, not only theoretically, but as the central focus of his life. It was through insight into this doctrine that Luther had found a loving God.

2.1.2. Historical Context of Calvin's *Commentary on Galatians*

Calvin's commentary on Galatians comes from a time well into his second period in Geneva. Having been exiled to Strasbourg from Geneva for a period of three years (1538-1541), Calvin had been called back to the city which had officially stated that it would accept Calvin's form of ecclesiastical organisation.⁸³ Calvin reluctantly returned, seeing he was called for the duty by God.⁸⁴

After Calvin's return, his church *ordonnances* were passed into Genevan law. Despite the fact that these *ordonnances* became a part of Genevan law, it must be borne in mind, against the popular stereotype of Calvin as the moralist leader of Geneva, that Calvin's impact in Geneva was based solely on personal influence, and he never held a position of legislative authority in the city. Moreover, there are several myths about Calvin's alleged cruelty, which have been shown to be false.⁸⁵

had had a premonition of his grave illness, but already during the illness he stated with confidence that God would not allow him to die at this time, because the ranks of the papists had already been strengthened by the recent deaths of Zwingli and Oecolampadius. See WA Tischreden 1.157.74, 1532.

⁸⁰WA Briefe 6.1820.103, Luther an seine Mutter Margaretha. Luther, May 20, 1531.

⁸¹See e.g. WA Tischreden 1.122.47-51, 1531, WA Tischreden 1.137.59-60, 1531, WA Tischreden 141.61-67 WA Tischreden 1.148.69-70, 1532.

⁸²See WA Tischreden 1.138.60, 1531, WA Tischreden 1.145.69, 1532, and WA Tischreden 1.153.72-73, 1532.

⁸³See Parker 1975: 79-81.

⁸⁴See Parker 1975: 79-81.

⁸⁵For further information about some of the myths about Calvin's cruelty and how they arose, see Irena Backus' forthcoming book, *Life Writing in Reformation Europe*, 2008, chs IV and V. For an example of one area of civil life in Geneva in the time of Calvin and Calvin's relationship to it, see Kingdon's interesting work, *Adultery and Divorce in Calvin's Geneva*, 1995. One fairly well known example of how Calvin was involved in matters pertaining to adultery and divorce is the case where Calvin's sister-in-law Anne Le Fert was accused in court of adultery. Calvin's involvement in this issue has also been a matter of interest. The aim of the case in court was that Calvin's brother Antoine could get a divorce,

Following the passing of the church *ordonnances* into Genevan law, Calvin proceeded to provide structure for worship services and developed church life in general, preaching four to five times a week.⁸⁶ However, there was a gradually growing opposition to the right of excommunication held by the *Consistoire*⁸⁷ of the church. By 1545-46, the opposition had become a party, commonly known as the Libertines.⁸⁸

Meanwhile, Calvin continued to be active in the literary field. For instance, *Catéchisme de Genève*, which included a confession of faith, was published in 1542 and again in a Latin edition in 1545 while Latin revisions of *Institutio* appeared in 1543 and 1545.⁸⁹

In 1546, when Calvin's *Galatians* was written, Parker names three social issues (apart from the confrontation with the Libertines discussed below), which came to the fore. First, the taverns were closed and replaced by *abbayes* where religious instruction could be given in addition to the serving of food and drink.⁹⁰ Drama on biblical stories was for a while a matter of interest, but was soon stopped at the ministers' and the Council's request. Also, the Council asked Calvin to compose a list of prohibited Christian names.⁹¹

Calvin's letters together with Theodore Beza's description of 1546 give further illuminating information on Calvin's life in Geneva at the time. The themes of Calvin's letters range from general news to treatments of city and church

first in 1548 and then in another case in 1557. Calvin was involved both times, presenting the accusations together with his brother Antoine against Anne Le Fert, who appeared to have committed adultery first with Jean Chautemps, a son of a prominent local businessman (1548), and later with a servant, a hunchback named Pierre Daguët (1557). When Anne Le Fert was accused the first time, however, the Small Council (see footnote 87 for further information on the Small Council) of the city decided there were not enough grounds for a divorce and after a public confession, Anne Le Fert was forgiven and received back into the family (including a public welcome of her back into the family by Antoine and John Calvin). When she was accused the second time in 1557, there appeared to be more convincing evidence. In the course of the court proceedings she was tortured twice and finally banished from the city. While John Calvin had a significant role in bringing the charges against Anne Le Fert, it must be borne in mind that it was not Calvin who decided on having her tortured or banished nor was he in a position to do so, despite the fact that his personal influence in Geneva had grown considerably by 1557. See Kingdon 1995: 71-97 for further information.

⁸⁶See Parker 1975: 82-91.

⁸⁷The *Consistoire* was a council of the pastors and twelve lay members which preceded over the church, and held the right of excommunication. The lay members of the *Consistoire* were chosen from the members of three councils, which held the reins of political authority in Geneva. The three councils were 1) the Council of Twenty-five (called the Small Council), the Council of Sixty and the Council of Two Hundred, the latter of which gradually replaced the Council of Sixty. See e.g. Walker 1986: 469-470 for more information.

⁸⁸The Libertines were a group friendly to Reformation but fiercely opposed to Calvin's system of discipline in Geneva. See below on Ami Perrin, the leader of the Libertines. See also Parker 1975: 98.

⁸⁹In addition to this, a French translation of the *Institutio* of 1543 appeared in 1545. The Latin edition of 1545 included only minor changes to that of 1543. See Parker 1975: 105.

⁹⁰This reform proved short-lived, however, and the taverns were soon reopened. See Parker 1975: 100.

⁹¹See Parker 1975: 100-101. Parker does not specify in this instance which one of the three Genevan Councils took this decision.

affairs in Geneva, and from spiritual exhortation and pastoral counsel to descriptions of personal and daily affairs.

There is an explicit mention of a major doctrinal issue in Calvin's letters in 1546, namely, on the Lord's Supper in hope of reconciliation on the issue with Lutherans. The preceding year, Calvin had sent a letter on the issue to Luther.⁹² This is no major theme in *Galatians* although Calvin alludes to it once mourning over the fact that many believers' faith was shaken when people were taking sides on this issue.⁹³

Calvin's letters from the time mention two religious entities,⁹⁴ the Libertines⁹⁵ and the papacy. There are two groups, in addition to the papacy, which are referred to in *Galatians*, namely, 'the Epicureans'⁹⁶ and 'some fanatics' (fanatici quidam)⁹⁷, the latter reference to which also includes an allusion to Servetus.⁹⁸ The significance of these groups will be briefly discussed below in this section in the context of the church and city affairs.

The papacy is referred to in Calvin's letters occasionally during this time. For instance, Calvin comments on his having heard that the Council of Trent will be convening, and alludes to papal persecution in reference to the death of Diaz, an acquaintance of Calvin.⁹⁹ Beza points out that in 1546 there was an impending threat of further persecution instigated by the pope and Charles V, the emperor of Germany.¹⁰⁰

Interestingly, in Calvin's *Galatians*, the papacy is alluded to over fifty times, which is more than in any of his other commentaries on the epistles of

⁹²Calvin sent the letter to Luther through Melancthon. Melancthon, however, did not give it to Luther. For a brief discussion on the issue, see section 2.4.3.4 of this paper.

⁹³See COR 16.32, on Gal. 2.2.

⁹⁴There is a third group mentioned, the Sacramentaries, but this was a term that had been utilised by Luther and Melancthon's friend Theodore Vitus in reference to the Swiss Protestants. See CO 12.781.317, Calvinus Theodoro [Vito], 16 March 1546.

⁹⁵Strictly speaking, Calvin does not use the term 'Libertine' for this group, a term which only came to be associated with the group opposing Calvin's form of ecclesiastical reform after Calvin's death. During Calvin's lifetime, Calvin used the term 'Libertine' in a different sense to how it is usually understood today, namely, in reference to a group representing Anabaptist teachings. See e.g. 'Libertines', *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1911, vol. 16, p. 543. Available at: http://encyclopedia.jrank.org/LEO_LOB/LIBERTINES.html. In this study, however, the term 'Libertines' is used in the modern sense of the term (as a reference to the group opposing Calvin's ecclesiastical reform).

⁹⁶Calvin probably refers to the Libertines here. See below in this section for further discussion. *Mihi certe plus moeroris hodie affert Epicureorum furor quam Papistarum.* COR 16.113, on Gal. 4.29.

⁹⁷Calvin refers here to a group of Anabaptists. See section 2.4.3.2 for further discussion.

⁹⁸*Non enim (quemadmodum somniant fanatici quidam, et inter alios Servetus) in hoc tamtum electos fuisse a Deo Paulus docet, ut nobis aliquem Dei populum figurarent, sed ut nobiscum essent filii Dei.* COR 16.90, on Gal. 4.1. See below in this section for further information on Servetus.

⁹⁹Comme iavovs achevpe ces presentes, iay eu de piteuses nouvelles de la mort du bon *Diazius*. Mais il fault que les malheureux papistes monstrent de plus en plus quilz sont menez de lesperit de leur pere, qui dez le commencement a este meurtrier. CO 12.790.333, Calvin à Monsier De Falais, 16 April 1546.

¹⁰⁰See Beza, *Vita Calvini*, CO 21.138.

Paul.¹⁰¹ Whether these allusions might be connected with the threat of papal persecution or the convening of the Council of Trent, is difficult to ascertain. Calvin's commentary does not seem to be a reaction to these events.¹⁰² Presumably Calvin saw that the issues that Galatians deals with linked intimately with the practices of the papacy at that time. In fact, it would be possible to portray a significant part of the theology of Calvin's *Galatians* simply by analysing his statements on the church of Rome. The issues include, for instance, a few treatments on the primacy of the papacy and on the sacraments. Not surprisingly, however, the most frequent theme is justification, and especially the perceived abuses dealing with human merit in relationship to justification.

Alister McGrath and William J. Bouwsma, in their treatments of Calvin's life, focus on the period immediately following Calvin's return to Geneva in 1541 and on the events at the beginning of the 1550s, and pass by the events surrounding the writing of *Galatians*.¹⁰³ One is easily left with the impression that the year 1546 was generally calm and uneventful. Beza's brief description of the year provides a completely different perspective, however. He commences his description by exclaiming, 'the year 1546 was not less stormy than the past'.¹⁰⁴ In addition to the threat of persecution, Ami Perrin,¹⁰⁵ a leader of the Libertines (termed by Beza 'the leader of the opposers of order' – generalis Capitaneus populi suffragiis crearetur),¹⁰⁶ launched a campaign against Calvin. This resulted in a public accusation against Calvin of having held to false doctrine before a large assembly in the city. The underlying reason for the attack was the Libertines' dislike of Calvin's system of discipline. The group of Libertines may well have been in Calvin's mind when he wrote about 'the Epicureans' in his *Galatians*.

'For my own part, I am far more worried by the fury of the Epicureans than of the Papists. They do not attack us by open force; but the name of God is dearer to me than my own life and I cannot but be tortured and anxious

¹⁰¹ Out of the six epistles of Paul that Calvin commented on during 1546-48, 1 Corinthians and Galatians are the ones in which the papacy is most often referred to. The other four (2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians), although also written during the period, do not refer to the papacy as often. Calvin's later commentary on 1 Timothy (1556), however, includes nearly as many allusions to the papacy. See CO 49 - CO 54.

¹⁰² Calvin wrote an antidote to the statements of the council of Trent the following year, 1547. See CO 7.429-473. The text of Calvin's antidote can also be found, side by side with a German translation, in Eberhard Busch, Alasdair Heron, Christian Link, Peter Opitz, Ernst Saxer, Hans Scholl (eds.) *Calvin Studienausgabe: Band 3 Reformatorische Kontroversen*. Neukirchen Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1999, pp. 115-207.

¹⁰³ See Bouwsma 1988: 24-31 and McGrath 1990: 100-122. Parker, however, pays some attention to year 1546 and identifies it as a year of confrontation between Calvin and the Libertines. See Parker 1975: 98-101.

¹⁰⁴ Hunc annum alius nihilo mitior exceptit. Beza, Vita Calvinii, CO 21.138.

¹⁰⁵ Interestingly, Ami Perrin, who had now turned against Calvin, had been the man chosen to devise a method to get Calvin to return to Geneva from Strasbourg. Furthermore, he had been a member of the committee drawing up the *Ordonnances*, See Parker 1975: 79, 99.

¹⁰⁶ Beza, Vita Calvinii, CO 21.138.

when I see this diabolical conspiracy to extinguish all fear and worship of God, to root out the remembrance of Christ, or to expose it to the jeers of all the rabble. It is worse than if a whole country were on fire at once.¹⁰⁷

Servetus, whom Calvin also mentions in his *Galatians*,¹⁰⁸ was seen as a heretic, connected to the fact that he rejected the doctrines of the Trinity and infant baptism. Calvin had attempted to correct him, but Servetus apparently answered Calvin quite arrogantly, which led to the rupture of the relations between the two.¹⁰⁹ Calvin refers to Servetus and 'some fanatics' (*fanatici quidam*) in his *Galatians* when discussing the relationship between the Old and New Testaments.¹¹⁰ Calvin had just pointed out, commenting on Gal. 4.1 that the patriarchs in the Old Testament were sharers of Abraham's spiritual blessing and partakers of the same adoption as Christians. According to Servetus and 'some fanatics' (*fanatici quidam*), however, the fathers of the Old Testament only prefigured God's people.¹¹¹ This, however, is his only explicit reference to him and 'the fanatics', and therefore they cannot be seen as of major importance in the commentary.

Calvin's *Galatians* also addresses the issue of church discipline. Although this may not be directly linked to the events of the year, Calvin nonetheless affirms the biblical grounds for this practice, which he actively maintained in Geneva during 1546.¹¹² Commenting on Paul's rebuke to Peter in Gal 2.14, Calvin asserts, "This example teaches us that those who have sinned publicly must be chastised publicly, so far as it concerns the Church. The aim is that their sin may not, by remaining unpunished, do harm by its example."¹¹³ Calvin then

¹⁰⁷Mihi certe plus moeroris hodie affert Epicureorum furor quam Papistarum. Non grassantur vi et manu. Sed quo pretiosius mihi est nomen Dei propria vita, fieri nequit, quin magis anxie torquear, quam diabolicam conspirationem fieri video ad extinguendum omnem Dei timorem et cultum, ad exterminandam Christi memoriam vel sannis omnium improborum prostituendam, quam si uno incendio tota una regio flagraret. COR 16.113, on Gal. 4.29.

¹⁰⁸COR 16.90, on Gal. 4.1.

¹⁰⁹Later, in 1553, Servetus was sentenced by the Geneva city council to be burned. Calvin then suggested a more humane method, beheading instead, but unsuccessfully. Servetus has become somewhat of a symbol of Calvin's disciplinary measures. For some reason, his sentencing has commonly been seen as the fault of Calvin, although his role was only indirect in the issue. The death sentence was approved by Calvin, but it was the city council who, independently of Calvin, gave the death sentence and decided its method. For a brief and easy-to-read treatment of the Servetus affair, see McGrath 1990: 114-120.

¹¹⁰See section 2.4.3.2. for further discussion.

¹¹¹COR 16.90, on Gal. 4.1.

¹¹²One example of Calvin administering church discipline, even at the peril of his life, can be read in his letter to Farel in April 1546, where he openly announced to the *Consistoire* of Geneva that they must pay the penalty for perjury, for having lied to God and to him. See CO 12.791.333-337, Calvinus Vireto et Farello, 21 April 1546.

¹¹³Hoc exemplo admonemur palam castigandos esse, qui publico malo peccarunt, quatenus interest Ecclesiae. Finis enim est, ne si impunitum relinquatur eiusmodi delictum, exemplo noceat. COR 16.46, on Gal. 2.14.

continues to point out how Paul's open rebuke was advantageous because it demonstrated that he will not shrink from the right.¹¹⁴

In Calvin's personal life, the death of his only child and the illness of his wife Idelette in the autumn and winter of 1545, were hard on him.¹¹⁵ However, it appears that Calvin was able to deal with all the difficulties pressing upon him with surprising calmness and integrity. Calvin accounts for this by referring to the mercy and good pleasure of God, which were assisting him.¹¹⁶ His letters during 1546 are not burdened with worry, although it is clear that there were many troubles. Instead, Calvin had energy to write numerous letters of personal encouragement and counsel. For instance, he wrote a number of letters to comfort Viret (his wife died in early 1546) and then later in the year tried to help in finding a new, suitable wife for him. There are a number of other letters of encouragement addressed to others, too, for which space does not allow an account.¹¹⁷

The concern for edification and counsel in Calvin's *Galatians* is an important theme in Galatians, as Parker suggests,¹¹⁸ although it did not emerge as the main burden of the commentary in the present study. This theme corresponds to a general concern of his letters and shows Calvin's heart of a pastor.

If there is a main theme that runs through Calvin's letters during 1546, it would appear to be Calvin's trust in the providence and goodwill of God. He exhorts Monsieur De Falais, his friend,

Let us pray, therefore, and seeing that it pleases God to make trial of our patience for our good, let us be content with what he sends us, never growing weary of serving him, on any account whatsoever. ... For I have no doubt that he looks rather upon his own work in us, than upon our sins and shortcomings, that he may have pity on us.¹¹⁹

Calvin's work on the commentaries was a welcome break and a source of strength for him amidst the pressures and complications of life in Geneva. Calvin summarises the purpose of reading his commentaries in 1548 in his dedicatory

¹¹⁴COR 16.46, on Gal. 2.14.

¹¹⁵Calvin's wife Idelette fell ill again in 1547, and died in March, 1549, leaving two children, whom Calvin promised to treat as his own. Calvin never married again. See Parker 1975: 102.

¹¹⁶See e.g. CO 12.781.317, Calvinus Theodoro [Vito], 16 March 1546; and CO 12.861.443, Calvin à Monsieur De Falais, 8 December 1546.

¹¹⁷See CO 12.855.425-426, Calvinus Vireto, 20 November 1546; CO 12.861.442-443, Calvin à Monsieur De Falais, 8 December 1546; CO 12.863.444-445, Calvinus Vireto, 14 December 1546; and CO 12.864.445-446, Calvinus Vireto, 17 December 1546.

¹¹⁸Parker 1963: 68-70. It must be borne in mind that Parker partly applies the theme of edification to a range of issues such as law and gospel, and Christ as the object of faith (see Parker 1963: 68-69), thus including subjects which are treated as separate themes in this study.

¹¹⁹Prions doncq, et puis quil plaist mieulx, contentions nous de ce quil nous envoie, ne nous lassant pour rien de le server... Car ei ne doute pas quil ne regarde plus tost son oeuvre en nous que noz vices et povretez, pour nous traicter en sa pitie. CO 12.861.442-443, Calvin à Monsieur De Falais, 8 December 1546.

words to the four commentaries (Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians), 'In these four epistles, my expositions on which I now present to you, noble Prince, you will find many matters of consolation very apt for these times'.¹²⁰

2.2. General Remarks on the Style of Luther's and Calvin's *Commentaries on Galatians*

It may be noted here that due to the chosen focus of this study, it seemed more appropriate to give some attention to the variant styles of Luther and Calvin rather than give primary attention to exegetical factors in their *Galatians*. A consideration of the variant styles of Luther's and Calvin's commentaries seems especially important for understanding their commentaries, because the evident difference in style of the two reformers is one of the first things that strikes the reader.

Luther's and Calvin's style in their *Galatians* is here discussed in reference to the Latin text of Galatians they utilise, the instances where comments are made on Greek or Hebrew and with regards to their style in general.

2.2.1. Similarities and Differences in the Latin Translation of Galatians

Before proceeding into an analysis of the significance of these differences, it appears important to briefly account for a few preliminary considerations.

Luther had been involved in two major efforts related to the text of Galatians preceding his lectures on the epistle in 1531. In 1529, the Wittenberg theologians, probably under Luther's supervision, produced an updated edition of the Latin Vulgate, which included a number of changes in the text of Galatians. Although the changes were not as radical as in Erasmus' Latin version of the New Testament, the Wittenberg edition significantly improved the readability of the commonly utilised Vulgate. The following year, 1530, Luther completed his most extensive revision of his German translation of the New Testament,¹²¹ which considerably improved both the accuracy and fluency of the translation of Galatians. The common denominator for both of these efforts was Luther's concern to have God's Word available for both readers of Latin and German in a form they could easily understand.

Heinz Bluhm's study on Luther's changes in the German text of Galatians in the 1530 edition of the New Testament reveals that Luther relied neither on the Vulgate nor on Erasmus' Latin translations of the Greek (though he utilised these as works of reference), but based his work on the Greek original.¹²²

¹²⁰Porro in his quatuor epistolis, quas meo labore explicates tibi offero, eximie Princeps, multa consolationis argumenta reperies his temporibus valde apta. COR 16.3, Christophoro Duci Wirt

¹²¹The first edition of Luther's German New Testament had been completed in 1522.

¹²²This is indicated by the fact that in the few instances where the Greek original differs from Erasmus' Latin translation, Luther follows the Greek original. See Bluhm 1984: 384-385. When referring to the

Interestingly, the Latin text of Galatians in Luther's *Galatians* seems to follow the Wittenberg edition of the Vulgate fairly closely, but not so closely that Parker's postulate of Luther having utilised the Vulgate as his text would seem fully warranted.¹²³

Calvin, for his part, has been shown to be a very careful exegete, a view which has been confirmed by the studies of Parker, Feld and Faber.¹²⁴ Parker's and Feld's analysis indicates that in the composing of the Latin text of his *Galatians*, Calvin utilised several Greek editions of the New Testament in establishing the Greek text, and a number of Latin translations as aids to choosing the best translation.¹²⁵ Parker's study indicates that Calvin's preferred edition at that point was not Erasmus' *Textus Receptus*, as is often supposed, but Colinaeus'

original Greek, Luther had Erasmus' first four Greek editions available to him (1516, 1519, 1522, 1527). It appears, however, that the edition that had the most impact on him, was probably Erasmus' second Greek edition (1519) of the New Testament. Bluhm identifies no instances where Erasmus' 3rd (1522) and 4th (1527) editions would have had an impact on Luther's translation of the Greek while pinpointing Erasmus' 2nd (1519) edition as the important one (see Bluhm 1984: 287-352, and esp. 326-327).

¹²³See Parker 1962: 290. There are some readings in Luther's *Galatians*, which follow the Basel Vulgate (1509), and some others which occur in neither the Basel Vulgate nor the Wittenberg edition of the Vulgate. The Basel edition of the Vulgate is seen to have been the one utilised by Luther (see Bluhm 1984: 539). See Appendix 1 for a brief comparison of the Latin translation of Galatians 1 in the Basel Vulgate (1509), the Wittenberg edition of the Vulgate (1529) and the Latin of Galatians in WA40. (I am indebted to Bluhm for the text of the Basel Vulgate and the Wittenberg edition of the Vulgate for Galatians 1; see Bluhm 1984: 539-557). There is more resemblance between the Latin translations of the Greek original in Luther's *Galatians* to the Wittenberg Vulgate than to the Basel Vulgate. However, there are also a few independent spellings and renderings, which nonetheless do not appear to give sufficient evidence for a new translation. Also, in Gal. 1.1,15 and 16, the Latin translation of the Biblical text in Luther's phrase by phrase comments differs from the Latin of the full verse text in WA40, though not significantly. See Appendix 1 for further detail. Determining which Latin editions / translations of Galatians were utilised during Luther's lectures in 1531 and determining the sources for the Latin translation of the biblical text in the commentary of 1535 would require a more extensive study, and include, among other things, a comparison between Luther's text with Erasmus' four Latin translations (1516, 1519, 1522, 1527). However, due to the focus of this study on the theology rather than the exegesis and translation of the commentaries, no more extensive study has been done.

¹²⁴Faber refers to the fact that there are sixty occasions when there are no known sources for Calvin's Latin rendering of the Greek and concludes, 'This number shows that his translation is not derivative, but based on an autopsy of the Greek text' (Faber 2004: 272). See also Faber 2004: 276-280, Feld 1992: xxi-xxvi and Parker 1993: 123-191, esp. 153-157,190-191.

¹²⁵Parker's analysis of Galatians 4 identified Calvin as having used at least three Greek editions of the New Testament, those of Colinaeus, the Aldine version of 1518 (a reprint of Erasmus' first Greek version of 1516 by the Aldine Press, founded by Manutius Aldus) and Erasmus' fourth Greek edition of the New Testament of 1527. See e.g. Parker 1993: 147, (124). It must be borne in mind that for the chapter in question, Parker only collated readings from four possible editions, including the three mentioned above and Stephanus' Greek edition. Feld names two Greek editions which he believes Calvin used, that of Erasmus (Feld does not specify which Greek edition of Erasmus he has in mind) and that of Robert Estienne (Stephanus). (Feld 1992: xxi). When it comes to Luther, he also appears to have utilised more than one Greek edition of the text of the New Testament in establishing his Greek text. Bluhm complains that according to his knowledge, apart from his own limited studies, there are no other studies made on the theme. See Bluhm 1983: 353.

version,¹²⁶ later shown to have been exceptionally accurate.¹²⁷ Although Calvin worked directly with the original Greek for his Latin renderings of the New Testament texts, including Galatians, he did not alter the translations of the Vulgate or Erasmus' Latin when he saw them to be in line with the original Greek.¹²⁸ Faber remarks that there are sixty occasions in Calvin's *Galatians* where his Latin translation has no equivalent in other contemporary Latin translations of the text (the Vulgate, Erasmus or Lefevre), which Calvin is known to have used, indicating Calvin's independence as a translator of the Greek text.¹²⁹

There are some obvious differences in the Latin text of Paul's epistle to the Galatians in Luther's and Calvin's commentaries. Calvin has generally divided the text into passages of between four to ten verses. Each passage begins with his Latin translation of the original Greek, after which he comments on each verse.¹³⁰ For each verse, he comments on one or more phrases, which are generally

¹²⁶See Parker 1993: 153. Feld, for his part, argues that Calvin used Erasmus' Greek text, and possibly also that of Robert Estienne (Stephanus) (Feld 1992: xxi). However, as there is no further explanation in Feld's introduction why these are considered to be Calvin's basic texts against that of Colinaeus, it seems preferable to stay with Parker's conclusion, who specifically studied the text of Galatians 4 against four Greek editions of the New Testament (Colinaeus, Erasmus's fourth edition of 1527, Stephanus and the Aldine version), and concluded that Colinaeus' version appeared to be the most important source of Calvin's Greek text for Galatians. See also the footnote above.

¹²⁷See Parker 1993: 155. In his later commentaries, Calvin returned to using Erasmus' *Textus Receptus* (a general reference to Erasmus' editions of the Greek text of the New Testament) as his basic text. Parker sees in this 'retrogression' a possible indication of the 'hardening' of Calvin's theology. Generally, Calvinism, in its systematised form, has been associated with Theodore Beza, whereas Calvin has been seen as the creative and dynamic precursor of the movement that came to carry his name. See Parker 1993: 153-156.

¹²⁸See Parker 1993: 135, 190-191. Benoit Girardin attempts to demonstrate against Parker's study (referring to Parker's first edition of New Testament Commentaries, 1971) that Calvin would have relied more on the Latin texts available to him than the original Greek, at least for his Latin text of Romans. However, the table, which he utilises to enumerate the differences and similarities between Calvin's rendering and those of five Greek editions and four Latin editions of the New Testament, seems inconclusive. For instance, out of the 15 verses, of which a full comparison was made by Girardin, 3 indicate no Latin equivalent to Calvin's rendering. In each of the three cases, however, there is a Greek equivalent to Calvin's rendering. This could well be seen in line with Parker's study according to which Calvin referred directly to the Greek. For Girardin's argumentation, see Girardin 1979: 365-368. For Parker's position and for more information on the Greek and Latin versions including information on which version of the Vulgate Calvin utilised, see Parker 1993: 123-191, esp. 135, 190-191.

¹²⁹See Faber 2004: 272.

¹³⁰It needs to be remembered that Luther and Calvin did not have a Latin translation available which would have been divided into verses during the time of the composition of their *Galatians*. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to talk of verses in the discussion above to indicate the precise location of omitted passages / phrases in Luther's and Calvin's discussion. The present study has followed the division into passages and verses present in COR 16. Stephanus' (Robert Estienne) Bible edition, which for the first time introduced division into verses in the Bible, became available in 1551, which would have made it possible for Calvin to include division into verses in his last edition of his *Galatians* (1556). Whether the verses have been inserted in COR 16 (this is what may be assumed) or whether COR 16 follows Calvin's own insertion of verses in the last edition of his *Galatians*, I have not been able to determine as I have not been able to view the original prints of Calvin's commentary.

very brief, from one to four words.¹³¹ Luther, for his part, has no division into passages. Luther comments on several verses, one verse, a phrase or a word at a time, depending on the text in question. At times he also repeats certain phrases of the Latin translation, when he deems it important to comment on a single aspect of a passage.¹³²

Luther includes all the translated Latin text of Galatians in his comments, omitting only a part of Gal. 3.4,¹³³ while Calvin omits eight verses, namely Gal. 1.14, 1.21, 1.23, 2.13, 3.9, 4.2, 4.28 and 5.20.¹³⁴ Despite this, Calvin appears to be somewhat more conscientious in covering the text of Galatians in his discussion,¹³⁵ briefly expounding also the omitted verses¹³⁶ (apart from 1.21, ‘Deinde veni in regiones Syriae et Ciliciae’) in his preceding and succeeding comments on Gal. 1.13, 1.22, 2.14, 3.8, 4.1, 4.27 and 5.19.¹³⁷

In Luther’s *Galatians*, the length of comment varies more. While Luther discusses Gal. 2.16, 3.1, 3.10, 3.13 and 4.6 with thirty, twenty-one, twenty-

¹³¹For an example, see e.g. COR 16.21-24, on Gal. 1.10-13.

¹³²For instance, between Gal. 1.17-24, where Paul discusses his visit to Peter in Jerusalem, Luther comments on a whole verse or several verses at a time while Gal. 2.16-3.1, which deals with the themes of justification and the Holy Spirit, is commented on by Luther phrase by phrase. Compare WA 40a.143.28-29, on Gal. 1.17; WA 40a.145.25-27, on Gal. 1.18-19; WA 40a.148.24, on Gal. 1.20; WA 40a.149.20, on Gal. 1.21; WA 40a.149.24-27, on Gal. 1.22-24 with WA 40a.217.26, 239.12-13, 242.15, 243.20, on Gal. 2.16; WA 40a.247.15-16, 256.16, 260.25, on Gal. 2.17; WA 40a.262.12-13, on Gal. 2.18; WA 40a.266.25, 279.30, 280.13, on Gal. 2.19; WA 40a.281.21, 282.15, 283.18, 288.22, 290.32, 295.25, on Gal. 2.20; WA 40a.300.23, 302.17, on Gal. 2.21; WA 40a.308.32, 313.24, 319.18, 322.22, 323.31, 324.23, on Gal. 3.1. Compare also Luther’s Latin translation of the Greek text in Gal. 1.1-2 and Gal. 1.15-17 where there are subsequent phrase by phrase comments on the text quoted previously as a whole. WA 40a.52.8-10, 58.17, 64.13, 66.13,28, on Gal. 1.2; WA 40a.136.9-14, 139.12,23, 140.25,30, 142.13,23, 142.14,28-29, on Gal. 1.15-17.

¹³³See WA 40a.350.24, on Gal. 3.4.

¹³⁴In Calvin’s Latin translation of the passages, all the omitted verses are included, however. In the separate verse by verse comments, on the other hand, Gal. 1.14, 1.21, 1.23, 2.13, 3.9, 4.2, 4.28 and 5.20 are not included. Compare COR 16.21 with COR 16.24 (Gal. 1.14); COR 16.24 with COR 16.29 (Gal. 1.21, 1.23); COR 16.42 with COR 16.46 (Gal. 2.13); COR 16.63 with COR 16.67 (Gal. 3.9); COR 16.88 with COR 16.92 (Gal. 4.2); COR 16.111 with COR 16.111 (Gal. 4.28) and COR 16.122 with COR 16.123 (Gal. 5.20).

¹³⁵Compare Luther’s and Calvin’s comments on Gal. 1.17-24, for instance, esp. vv. 22-24. Compare WA 40a.143.28-150.22, on Gal. 1.17-24 (esp. WA 40a.149.24-150.22, on Gal. 1.22-24) with COR 16.27-29, on Gal. 1.17-24 (esp. COR 16.29, on Gal. 1.22-24).

¹³⁶This is an important point also in view of the fact that Luther’s and Calvin’s Latin Bibles did not yet have a division into verses when they composed their *Galatians*. The fact that Calvin briefly comments on nearly all of the ‘omitted’ verses in the preceding or following explanation underlines Calvin’s conscientiousness with regards to covering the text of Galatians. This, again, may connect to the fact that Calvin laid some more emphasis on careful exegesis than Luther in his *Galatians*.

¹³⁷See COR 16.24, on Gal. 1.13 (1.14); COR 16.29, on Gal. 1.20, 22 (Gal. 1.21 missing also in exposition, Gal. 1.23 included in exposition of Gal. 1.22); COR 16.29, on Gal. 1.22 (1.23); COR 16.45, on Gal. 2.14 (2.13); COR 16.67, on Gal. 3.8 (3.9); COR 16.92, on Gal. 4.1 (4.2); COR 16.111, on Gal. 4.27 (4.28) and COR 16.131-132, on Gal. 5.19 (5.20).

eight, twenty-one and twenty-two pages respectively, Calvin does not exceed four pages even in his lengthiest comments on Gal. 1.1, 2.6, 2.15, 3.6, 3.19 and 4.1.¹³⁸

As for the Latin renderings of Galatians, one has to look for a while to find a verse that is rendered in the same way. With some work, one can find a few.¹³⁹ On the other hand, even those verses that differ the most do not generally seem to necessitate a different interpretation.¹⁴⁰

Despite the above outlined differences in the Latin text of Galatians in Luther's and Calvin's commentaries, both Luther and Calvin generally cover the same ground, commenting on the same verses. On occasion, Luther and Calvin have picked nearly the same phrases to expound a whole passage.¹⁴¹

By way of summary, the Latin text of Luther's *Galatians* seems to indicate that Luther's concern was not primarily exegetical. Calvin, however, paid considerable attention to a correct translation. Also, Calvin's comments on Paul's epistle to the Galatians are more structured and systematic than those of Luther. Luther, for his part, being less rigid, places more stress on those themes which he sees as central.

¹³⁸Compare WA 40a.217.26-246.28, on Gal. 2.16; WA 40a.308.31-328.21, on Gal. 3.1; WA 40a.391.28-419.21, on Gal. 3.10; WA 40a.432.17-452.26, on Gal. 3.13 and WA 40a.571.26-593.14, on Gal. 4.6 with COR 16.11-13, on Gal. 1.1; COR 16.35-38, on Gal. 2.6; COR 16.47-50, on Gal. 2.15; COR 16.63-66, on Gal. 3.6; COR 16.77-81, on Gal. 3.19 and COR 16.88-92, on Gal. 4.1. To be more proportional (as the text on the pages in COR 16 of Calvin's *Galatians* is longer than that of Luther's *Galatians* in WA 40a-40b), the length of pages for Luther's *Galatians* on Gal. 2.16, 2.20, 3.10 and 4.6 would be eighteen, twelve, fifteen and thirteen pages, respectively, compared to Calvin's lengthiest comments reaching to four pages on Gal. 1.1, 2.6, 2.15, 3.6, 3.19 and 4.1. The text of Luther's *Galatians* in WA 40a-40b is shorter due to Rörer's shorthand notes of Luther's lectures included on the top part of each page of Luther's 1531/35 commentary. In order to have the length of pages in COR 16 and WA 40a-40b proportionately about as long, one needs to subtract a little more than a third (or two fifths to be more accurate) from the total number of pages in WA 40a-40b. Even taking this into account, however, it is evident that Luther's expositions of particular phrases or verses are at times much longer than those of Calvin.

¹³⁹Compare e.g. the Latin of Gal. 3.7, 3.10, 3.24 and 6.18 in Luther's and Calvin's Latin renderings of the Greek. To be exact, even in these examples of similarity in Luther and Calvin, only Gal. 6.18 is exactly the same. The other verses, Gal. 3.7, 3.10 and 3.24 include only very minor differences. For the Latin translation and references to the original, see Appendix 2.

¹⁴⁰Compare e.g. the Latin of Gal. 3.1, 4.4, 4.15, 4.20 and 6.7 in Luther's and Calvin's Latin renderings of the Greek. For the Latin translation and references to the original, see Appendix 2. For an occasion, where Luther's and Calvin's different translation is connected with a different interpretation, compare Luther's and Calvin's translation of Gal. 3.1. Luther translates the last phrase of the verse, 'Quod sit in vobis crucifixus' while Calvin renders it, 'Inter vos crucifixus'. Even here, however, Luther's and Calvin's general theological understanding is very similar, although their interpretation of this particular phrase differs. For further discussion on the theological implications, see a discussion of this issue in section 2.4.3.4.

¹⁴¹Compare e.g. Luther's and Calvin's comments on Gal. 6.14-18. WA 40b.169.32-WA 40b.183.21, on Gal. 6.14-18; COR 16.147-150, on Gal. 6.14-18.

2.2.2. References to Greek and Hebrew

Luther and Calvin refer to Greek and Hebrew in their *Galatians* occasionally. Luther utilises Greek twenty and Hebrew thirteen times while Calvin alludes to the Greek thirty-one and to Hebrew five times.¹⁴² This suggests an immediate observation – taking into account that Calvin’s commentary is less than a third the length of Luther’s, Calvin comments on the original languages¹⁴³ considerably more frequently.

It is noteworthy that every comment Calvin makes on Greek and Hebrew is exegetical, dealing with proper renderings, variant translations, etymology and connotations of the words.¹⁴⁴ Luther is also exegetical in each of his references to Hebrew, noting the Hebrew background of Greek expressions.¹⁴⁵ This is not true of most of Luther’s utilisation of the Greek, however. Thirteen of the instances where Luther uses Greek are homiletical and of the seven exegetical references, four are at the same time comments on Hebrew.¹⁴⁶ Luther’s allusions to the Greek are mostly insertions of Greek words within the discussion as if they were words of German. There is no discussion on their meaning, but they are included for a homiletical purpose, to add colour to the argumentation.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴²A count was made of the usage of Greek and Hebrew words, either transcribed or written in Greek or Hebrew, and of explicit references to Greek or Hebrew originals in Latin, such as Hebraisms. (One passage was counted as one, even if the same word was repeated several times within the same context.) There are other instances, too, where the original languages are alluded to indirectly, such as in Calvin’s comments on Gal. 3.19, 3.22, 3.24 and 6.16, but these were left out in the present discussion. See COR 16.78, on Gal. 3.19, COR 16.82, on Gal. 3.22, COR 16.84, on Gal. 3.24 and COR 16.149, on Gal. 6.16.

¹⁴³Hebrew is also termed ‘an original language’ here, as Hebraisms often lie behind New Testament Greek.

¹⁴⁴For instance, Calvin comments, Neque illis suffragatur particula κατὰ πρόσωπον, quae significant Petrum in os (ut aiunt) vel praesentem castigatum obmutuisse. Further, he states, Verum quum Graece sit ἐν ἐμοί, puto Hebraicam phrasim esse, pro ‘mihi’. Nam apud Hebraeos □ saepe est supervacuum. Quod satis constat peritis illius linguae. See COR 16.44, on Gal. 2.11 and COR 16.26-27 on Gal. 1.16.

¹⁴⁵For instance, Luther comments on Gal. 2.16, “‘Non omnis caro’ Ebraismus est peccans in grammaticam.’ WA40a.243.26. Similarly, commenting on the phrase ‘Ergo Christus peccati Minister est’ of Gal. 2.17, Luther states, ‘Minister peccati: Iterum phrasis est Ebraica qua etiam utitur Paulus 2. Cor. 3., Ubi magnifice et clarissime tractat de duobus his ministeriis, scilicet literae spiritus, legis gratiae, vel mortis et vitae, Et dicit Mosen, Ministerium legis, habere ministerium legis quod vocat peccati, irae, mortis et damnationis ministerium.’ WA40a.256.17-20. It is interesting that Luther refers to Hebrew so frequently although the text of Galatians was in Greek. This is presumably connected to the fact that he was a professor of the Old Testament.

¹⁴⁶There are three exegetical references to Greek in Luther’s *Galatians*, which are not at the same time comments on Hebrew. Two of them are Luther’s comments on the fruits of the Spirit, Μακροθυμία and Χρηστοτης. See WA40b.118.23-33, WA40b.119:15-20, on Gal. 5.22-23. The third is Luther’s explanation of the σκόλον in Paul’s flesh. See WA40a.637.10-22, on Gal. 4.14.

¹⁴⁷For instance, Luther states on Gal. 5.16, ‘Et sine hac ἐπιείκεια impossibile est pacem et concordiam consistere inter Christianos.’ WA40b.83.18-19. Further, on Gal. 6.4, he affirms, ‘Est autem hoc proprium eorum, qui κενοδοξία laborant, quod prorsus nihil curant, an opus, id est, ministerium suum, purum sit nec ne, sed id unicum spectant, ut plausum vulgi acquirant.’ WA40b.148.18-20.

This is in line with what was suggested above. While Calvin expends considerable effort to achieve accuracy of exegesis in his commentary, Luther's attention is on theological exposition.

2.2.3. Other Remarks on the Style of Luther and Calvin

Both Luther and Calvin had studied law in their youth and been influenced by the writings of Erasmus. However, it seems that humanism and the concern for careful argumentation and accuracy had influenced Calvin more, whereas the freer and more polemical style of the monastic tradition had made its imprint on Luther.¹⁴⁸

It is notable that Calvin specifically commented on Luther's style of writing. Calvin complained of the style of Luther, 'Luther is not so particular as to propriety of expression or the historical accuracy; he is satisfied when he can draw from it some fruitful doctrine.'¹⁴⁹ Further, Calvin bemoans that while he was 'convinced of Luther's piety' (de eius pietate optime sim persuasus), he found that Luther was 'craving for victory' (victoriae famam) and even evidenced arrogance.¹⁵⁰

Heiko A. Oberman, for his part, describes the variance between the German and Swiss reformer by identifying Calvin as 'stoic', and as a person who 'retreats into the background even in personal correspondence', while Luther is 'passionately present', and whose 'feelings force their way everywhere'.¹⁵¹ A reader of the two reformers' commentaries easily observes that Luther's composition is lengthy but colourful, and Calvin's brief and matter-of-fact. While Luther throws himself fervently into the discussion of the issues of Galatians, Calvin stays aloof from the text, arguing his points carefully. Where Calvin uses hardly any examples from life in Geneva or from the life of his acquaintances in his commentary, Luther does not hesitate to make mention of several proverbs,¹⁵² calling Wittenberg a 'holy village'¹⁵³ and to tell stories of saints from the *Vitis Patrum* to illustrate a point.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸For instance, Theo Bell, in his study on Luther's and Calvin's usage of Bernard of Clairvaux, notes that in line with the monastic tradition, Luther often quotes from memory and is less concerned with exactness and accuracy than Calvin. For the 'humanistically influenced' Calvin, both accuracy in quotation and the elegance of Bernard's Latin were important. See Bell 1999: 381.

¹⁴⁹Lutherus non adeo anxius de verborum proprietate aut historiae circumstantia satis habet fructiferam aliquam doctrinam elicere. CO 11.217.36, Calvinus Vireto, 19 May 1940.

¹⁵⁰CO 10.87.139, Calvinus Bucero, 12 January 1538. See the whole letter in CO 10.87.137-144.

¹⁵¹Oberman 1989b 312-313. Marc Lienhard, for his part, sees Luther as stressing the soteriological and the existential and Calvin as focusing on the ethical and the ecclesiological in his analysis of the two reformers' comment on the Lord's prayer. Lienhard states, 'La perspective de Luther est plus sotériologique et plus existentielle. Davantage que Luther, Calvin est attentif aux conséquences éthiques et ecclésiologiques de la prière dominicale.' See Lienhard 1992: 73.

¹⁵²For example, 'Nam istam regular servavit Paulus: Cum fueris Romae, romano vivito more.' WA40a.146.20-21, 'Imo in omnibus rebus hoc accidere solet: "Quod aliquis habet, contemnit, quod non habet, amat."' WA40b.84.16.17 on Gal. 5,16 and 'Et notus est versiculus: Non me Doctorem, sed te deluseris ipsum.' WA40b.160:19-20 on Gal. 6.7. However, even at this point Luther's and Calvin's differences ought not to be polarised too much. Calvin also refers to at least three proverbs, for instance, in his *Galatians*. He alludes to 'the wallet that hangs behind our own back', 'Non videmus manticae quod in tergo est'; COR 16.138, on Gal. 6.1, to a saying 'starts from the egg, as they say', 'ab ovo (quod

A comparison of aspects from Luther's and Calvin's expositions of Gal. 2.6-7, 1.6 and 1.8 may serve to illustrate the difference in the styles of the German and Swiss reformer further. For instance, Calvin, having observed that Peter was the apostle to the Jews according to Gal. 2.7, then applies this to his contemporary context and asserts that if the pope wants to assert his primacy as Peter's successor, he should exercise his control over the Jews instead of Christians.¹⁵⁵ Luther, for his part, in his application of Gal. 2.6, elucidates how papal doctrines ought to be borne with. He identifies the pope and the bishops as 'Behemoth and his scales' and announces that if the gospel of Christ was allowed, the believers ought to be willing not only to carry the pope aloft on their hands, 'but also to kiss his feet'.¹⁵⁶ On a slightly different note, when Luther comments on Paul's writing about the false apostles in Gal. 1.6 and 1.8, Paul is 'extremely violent', 'erupts into fulminations' and 'is breathing fire',¹⁵⁷ while Calvin merely affirms that Paul 'begins with a rebuke, though a somewhat gentler one than they deserved',¹⁵⁸ (on Gal. 1.6) and 'rises with great boldness' to defend the authoritative nature of his doctrine and 'pronounces' (on Gal. 1.8) the truthfulness of the gospel he was preaching.¹⁵⁹

It may be in place to note, in order to avoid undue polarisation of the style of the two reformers, that part of the difference in style is undoubtedly due to the fact that Luther was lecturing while Calvin was composing a written commentary, intended as a resource for pastors.¹⁶⁰ Also, it is important to bear in mind that Luther also utilises perceptive and carefully formulated argumentation in

aiunt) ordiri'; COR 16.8-9, Argumentum and 'to be loved, you must be lovable', 'Ut ameris, amabilis esto', COR 16.100, on Gal. 4.12.

¹⁵³Luther refers to Wittenberg as holy because of God's works among them. Luther explains that purely administered sacraments and the preached Word are what makes them holy. See Luther's comments on Gal. 1.2. WA40a.69.29-WA40a.70.8-10. Luther also mentions Wittenberg in WA40a.53.21-27 on Gal. 1.1-2 and WA40a.103.11-14 on Gal 1.6.

¹⁵⁴For examples of Luther's references to the *Vitis Patrum*, see his comments on Gal. 2.17, 3.1 and 5.3. See WA40a.258.22-34, WA40a.315.19-35 and WA40b.16.29-17.15, on Gal. 2.17, 3.1 and 5.3, respectively.

¹⁵⁵COR 16.40, on Gal. 2.7.

¹⁵⁶Nos libenter faueremus Behemoth et squamis ipsius, Hoc est Papae et Episcopis, omnes personas et dignitates quas habent, modo nobis Christum relinquerent. ... Hoc impetrato, scilicet quod solus Deus ex mera gratia per Christum iustificet, non solum volumus Papam in manibus portare, imo etiam ei osculari pedes. WA 40a.178.17-19, 181.11-13, Luther on Gal. 2.6.

¹⁵⁷Econtra vehementer ardet et indignatione plenus est contra Seductores illos in quos totam culpam transfert. WA 40a.100.22-23, on Gal. 1.6. Paulus meras flammam loquitur tamque vehementer ardet, ut incipiat etiam quasi Angelis maledicere. WA 40a.116.14-15, on Gal. 1.8.

¹⁵⁸Incipit ab obiurgatione, quae tamen lenior est aliquanto, quam merebantur. See COR 16.17, on Gal. 1.6.

¹⁵⁹Hic magna confidential insurgit ad vindicandam doctrinae seae autoritatem. ... Paulus... quid contineat, ac suam doctrinam pronuntiat verum esse Euangelium. See COR 16.18-19, on Gal. 1.8.

¹⁶⁰See e.g. Zachman 2003: 482. Calvin's sermons, on the other hand, portray Calvin in a different role, where he frequently applies biblical ideas to current situations and uses more down-to-earth illustrations. For a comprehensive treatment of Calvin's sermons, see e.g. Parker 1992.

his commentary. On the other hand, when Calvin is brief and matter-of-fact, he is also practical, applying the deduced lessons to ecclesiology or to the current situation. Nevertheless, Luther emerges as the one generally more lively and colourful and Calvin as the more methodical and guarded writer in their commentaries on *Galatians*.

In the above outlined comments on Luther's and Calvin's variant styles, it becomes evident that if one wears the glasses of modern approaches to exegesis and commenting on the Bible, Calvin emerges as the more cautious and careful commentator. The difference between Luther and Calvin, however, ought to be seen as a variance in the style of commenting, and not as reflecting differing degrees of quality in the ensuing theology of the respective commentaries. It is clear that Luther's and Calvin's theologies both demonstrate depth and coherence of theological insight, as chapters 3 to 6 of this study display.

The study now proceeds from an examination of the style in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* to a brief consideration of interpretation in the two reformers' respective commentaries.e

2.3. Brief Consideration of the Method of Interpreting Scripture in Luther's and Calvin's *Commentaries on Galatians*

Luther's and Calvin's doctrines of Scripture,¹⁶¹ hermeneutics, and their respective methods of interpretation have been discussed in various publications.¹⁶² Due to the complexity and scope of the issues involved, and due to the chosen focus here, it seemed appropriate to limit this section to a brief discussion on Thomas D. Parker's article, "The Interpretation of Scripture: A Comparison of Calvin and Luther on Galatians". Parker's article is one of the few publications, which directly address both Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* and for this reason, too, it seems appropriate to deal with it in a section of its own.

¹⁶¹Calvin makes some references to interpretation of Scripture in his commentary on Galatians, especially with regards to the allegorical vs. literal method of interpretation. This is not a major theme in his commentary, but his statements are nevertheless briefly discussed in section 5.6.6. of this study. The question of how Luther and Calvin interpret Scripture (and Galatians) is much wider in scope than their limited and brief allusions to the theme in their *Galatians*. It is these wider issues that Parker addresses in his article comparing Luther's and Calvin's interpretations of Galatians. That is why it seemed more appropriate to discuss Parker's article in this section, and to briefly indicate Calvin's own statements on the issue in section 5.6.6. dealing with some of the minor themes of Calvin's *Galatians*. Some of Luther's references on interpretation of Scripture in his *Galatians* are briefly reviewed in footnote 1033 under section 5.6.6. No separate section is devoted here to interpretation of Scripture in Luther's *Galatians* due to the brevity and limited scope of his statements on this theme.

¹⁶²For two brief examples, which also compare the two reformers' hermeneutics and their use of the Bible, see Lehmann 1946 ('The Reformers' Use of the Bible') and Runia 1984 ('The Hermeneutics of the Reformers').

According to Parker, there are both significant similarities and dissimilarities in the methods of interpretation of Luther and Calvin. The similarities can be summarised as follows. First and foremost, both Luther's and Calvin's hermeneutical stances derive from the Reformation *sola fide, solus Christus* and *sola Scriptura*. Also, neither Luther nor Calvin had much interest on the so-called 'critical' questions of modern exegesis. Instead, both interpret the Bible according to its plain or literal meaning, thus rejecting or radically modifying the fourfold sense of Scripture of the scholastics on the one hand and the contemporary humanistic Erasmian approach on the other.¹⁶³ Further, both reformers share the concern to apply the content of the epistle to the needs of Christ's flock.¹⁶⁴

At the same time, Parker sees several differences in Luther and Calvin. Calvin has more interest in exegetical questions than Luther and where he stays with the plain 'objective' or 'rational' meaning, Luther prefers a 'spiritual' interpretation geared towards answering subjective human needs such as alleviating one's spiritual *Anfechtung*. Also, Calvin is careful not to let his theological concerns impose on the interpretation whereas Luther's exegesis is largely influenced by them. Further, while Calvin prefers practical applications with a bearing to the common life of believers, Luther commonly favours universal applications such as justification.¹⁶⁵

A reader of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* will probably understand why Parker takes this position. Calvin's writing is more meticulous and he spends proportionately more time reasoning with the text of Galatians before coming to a brief exhortative application. Luther, on the other hand, tends to be more colourful, and while he also reasons from the situation of Paul with Galatians, his *Galatians* includes more theological discourse.

This is exemplified in the introductions to Luther's and Calvin's commentaries, for instance. Both reformers start their commentary with a section on the 'argument' of the epistle and both begin by identifying the main theme of the epistle, justification.¹⁶⁶ Calvin, however, quickly shifts to following the argument of

¹⁶³Feld, pointing to Calvin's rejection of the fourfold and allegorical interpretation of Scripture of the mediaeval church, illustrates how Calvin, even when treating Paul's allegory of Hagar and Sarah in Gal. 4.22-24, stays with the view that it is the plain and literal meaning of Scripture, which ought to be preferred. In this case, seeing Abraham's family as an anagogical type of the church, is fully in accordance with the literal interpretation of Scripture. Feld summarises Calvin's position, 'Wenn also Paulus in den beiden Frauen Abrahams die beiden Tstamente bildlich dargesteelt sieht, dann will er sich damit, nach Meinung Calvins, nicht vom Literalsinn entfernen' (Feld 1992: xxviii). At the same time, Feld also points to Calvin's adherence to the humanist principle of going back to the genuine and pure sense of the original sources. See Feld 1992: xxvi.

¹⁶⁴Parker 1963: 72-73.

¹⁶⁵See Parker 1963: 74-75.

¹⁶⁶See WA40a.40.15-29, Argumentum and COR 16.6, Argumentum. In the beginning of his commentary, Luther identifies the main themes of Galatians as the doctrines of faith, grace, remission of sins and Christian righteousness as differentiated from all other kinds of righteousness. He states, 'Paulus vult stabilire doctrinam illam fidei, Gratiae, Remissionis peccatorum seu Iustitiae Christianae, ut

the epistle chapter by chapter (excluding chapter 6). Luther, on the other hand, does not comment on the separate chapters at all, but continues the discourse on justification, presenting the main theme of the epistle in a coherent form.

Moreover, Parker's observations seem further justified by Luther's explicit statement of purpose for the commentary, which was to expound the theme of justification.¹⁶⁷ Calvin, for his part, states in the introduction of his *Institutio* 1539¹⁶⁸ that his *Institutio* provides a detailed theological exposition of themes identified in a condensed form in the biblical commentaries.¹⁶⁹

While there clearly is a difference in the method of interpretation the two reformers employ, the question remains as to whether Parker's comparison might not have become too polarised. For instance, there seems to be some truth to the general notion of seeing Calvin as the intellectual, as opposed to the relational Luther, who saw faith as trust. As Forstman cautions, however, this difference ought not to be taken too far, since Calvin also saw faith as relational.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, there are at least three considerations specific to the composition of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, which need to be borne in mind when comparing the methods of interpretation in the commentaries. First, the audiences of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* were different. Luther was not intending to write a commentary but lectured to his university students, which is probably part of the reason his commentary became so long and why he did not always stick so closely to textual detail in *Galatians*. Calvin, in contrast to this, had the opportunity to write a carefully composed commentary.¹⁷¹

habeamus perfectam cognitionem et differentiam inter iustitiam Christianum et omnes alius Iustitias.' Most of Luther's *Argumentum* of the epistle deals with the difference between Christian or passive righteousness as opposed to human, active righteousness. Later, Luther notes that the main purpose of expounding the epistle was to deal with the theme of justification. See WA40.109.30-34 and WA40.110.11-12.

¹⁶⁷WA40.109.30-34 and WA40.110.11-12. Luther here refers to a more detailed explanation (of the works of the flesh and fruits of the Spirit in Gal. 5.20-23) in the earlier commentary on *Galatians* of 1519.

¹⁶⁸The same statement of Calvin is included also in the 1543/45 and 1550/54 editions of his *Institutio*. See CO 1, p. 253.

¹⁶⁹Calvin states, 'Siquidem religionis summam omnibus partibus sic mihi complexus esse video, et eo quoque ordine digessisse, ut si quis eam recte tenuerit ei non sit difficile statuere, et quid potissimum quaerere in scriptura, et quem in scopum quidquid in ea continetur referre debeat. Itaque, hac veluti strata via, si quas posthac scripturae enarrationes edidero, quia non necesse habeo de dogmatibus longas disputationes instituere, et in locos communes evagari, eas compendio semper astringam.' CO 1, p. 253.

¹⁷⁰According to Forstman, Calvin saw faith as relational, similarly to John in the Bible. See Forstman 1962: 129.

¹⁷¹It is possible, but not likely, that Calvin dictated his *Galatians*. His own comments (see footnote 58 in the beginning of section 2.2. dealing with the time of the composition of Calvin's *Galatians*) seem to support the fact that he was writing it himself. Even if he dictated *Galatians*, however, it would have most likely happened in private, and not in a lecture to his students. Most of his later commentaries, however, were composed either during private dictation or on the basis of his lectures, after which Calvin reviewed the text. See Parker 1993: 15-31, esp. 27.

Second, Luther had done, as noted above, extensive exegetical work on Galatians prior to his lectures in 1531, including having composed three earlier commentaries on it.¹⁷² Thus, on Gal. 5.20-23 for instance, Luther referred to his earlier commentary of 1519 for further exegetical detail (on the meaning of the works of the flesh and the fruits of the Spirit) – the purpose of the present lectures of 1531 was to expound the theme of justification more fully.¹⁷³ Further, Luther had both conducted a major revision of his German translation of Galatians improving its exegetical accuracy and fluency (1529) and supervised improvements for the Wittenberg edition of the text of the Latin Vulgate (1530). Thus, having updated his translation of Galatians, it would have seemed natural for him to update his theological exposition of Galatians as well. In contrast to this, it is not known whether Calvin had done any extensive exegetical work on Galatians prior to 1546.

Third, Calvin could direct further theological enquiries to a consultation of his *Institutio*. Luther, for his part, had no such work to refer to.

All of the above three considerations would seem to explain at least partly why Calvin would have been inclined to spend considerable time on the exegesis of Galatians, while Luther would have preferred to lean more towards theological exposition. Furthermore, the difference in emphasis in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* is apparent in proportion rather than in length. There is approximately as much comment dealing with exegetical issues¹⁷⁴ in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*. Luther's theological exposition, however, is almost always longer. These considerations would seem to undercut somewhat Parker's postulate of Luther, rather than Calvin, as letting his theological preferences impose on his exegesis.

Moreover, Parker's suggestion of Luther as having 'read into', and as having been guided by his own 'polemic situation' seems exaggerated.¹⁷⁵ Some brief examples from the text of Luther's and Calvin's commentaries help to demonstrate this point.

¹⁷²Namely, those based on Luther's lectures of 1516-17 and of 1518-19, and the commentary of 1523. Additionally, a German translation of Luther's of his commentary on Galatians appeared in 1525.

¹⁷³"Qui autem cupit nosse, quid singulae voces seorsim significant, ille legat, si volet, commentarium veterum, quem Anno 19. aedidimus. Illic satis copiose naturam et vim, pro virili nostra, singularum vocum totius catalogi operum carnis et fructuum spiritus indicavimus. Nunc consilium praecipue fuit, ut inter enarrandam Epistolam ad Galatas articulum iustificationis quam clarissime traderemus etc." WA40.109.30-34 and WA40.110.11-12. On the other hand, Luther saw his commentary of 1519 as having been a testimony to his personal faith rather than a commentary, which suggests that the primary purpose of the commentary of 1519 was not exegetical exposition either. See WA 2.449.16-19, Dedication. Nonetheless, the commentary of 1519 contains proportionately more exegetical comment than that of 1531/1535.

¹⁷⁴'Exegetical issues' is here used of references to the Greek or in reference to a discussion of the issues dealt with in Galatians 'together' with Paul within the situation of Galatians.

¹⁷⁵Parker 1963: 66-67.

Parker comments that on Gal. 1.1,3,4,7,16, for instance, Luther, in contrast to Calvin, comes to his preferred theme of faith where it is not exegetically warranted.¹⁷⁶

Reviewing the actual comments of Luther and Calvin on these verses, it is interesting to note that, apart from Gal. 1.1 and 1.16, Calvin also treats the subject of faith for the verses in question, though his comments are briefer. For instance, where Luther sees God's grace and peace in Gal. 1.3 as a reference to the fact that grace 'releases from sin' (*remittit peccatum*) and peace 'quiets the conscience' (*quietat conscientiam*),¹⁷⁷ Calvin proposes that both refer to 'friendship with God' (*Deum propitium*) and to 'the favour of God' (*benevolentia Dei*).¹⁷⁸ Commenting on Gal. 1.4, on the other hand, Luther points out how great an encouragement Christ's sacrificial death is for timid consciences.¹⁷⁹ Calvin, for his part, identifies a very important doctrine in this verse, namely, that salvation and satisfaction for sins, is only in Christ.¹⁸⁰ In the next instance, on Gal. 1.7, Calvin notes how enormous a crime it is to subvert the gospel, namely, when one attempts to achieve justification apart from Christ.¹⁸¹ Luther, accentuating another issue, warns how easily we fall from *faith and grace* to *grace and law*, because where grace reigns, law cannot reign.¹⁸² Gal. 1.1, however, is interpreted clearly in a different way by Luther and Calvin. Luther asserts that the reference to God having raised Christ from the dead shows how Paul 'explodes' (*erumpit*) into the main theme of the epistle, Christ's resurrection for our justification.¹⁸³ Calvin, however, sees that Christ's resurrection is an affirmation of the authority of Paul's calling, in that Paul's calling comes from the resurrected Christ himself.¹⁸⁴ On Gal. 1.16, on the

¹⁷⁶Parker 1963: 67. The phrases, which led Luther to discuss justification were 'qui suscitavit illum ex mortuis' (Gal. 1. 1), 'gratia vobis et pax' (Gal. 1.3), 'qui dedit Semetipsum pro peccatis nostris ut eriperet nos de praesenti seculo nequam secundum voluntatem Dei et Patris nostri' (Gal. 1.4), 'qui vos perturbant et volunt pervertere Evangelium Christi' (Gal. 1.7) and 'ut revelaret Filium suum in me ut evangelizarem illum in gentibus' (Gal. 1.16).

¹⁷⁷Et haec duo vocabula, Gratia et Pax, complectuntur universum Christianismum. Gratia remittit peccatum, Pax quietat conscientiam. WA 40a.72.28-73.11, on Gal. 1.3.

¹⁷⁸Maneo in sententia Paulum Galatis optare Deum propitium et deinde omnia prospera. Quandoquidem ex benevolentia Dei nobis fluit rerum omnium foelix successus. COR 16.14, on Gal. 1.3.

¹⁷⁹Sed: tradidit. Quid? Non aurum, non argentum, non pecudes, non agnos paschales, non Angelum, Sed Semetipsum. Pro quo? non pro corona, non pro Regno, non pro sanctitate aut iustitia nostra, Sed pro peccatis nostris. ... Ideo singula verba sunt diligentissime consideranda, non frigide inspicienda et percurranda, Quia mirabiliter consolantur et confirmant pavida corda. WA 40a.83.16-19, 20-22, on Gal. 1.4.

¹⁸⁰Neque exigue res significatur his verbis: 'Qui semetipsum pro peccatis nostris dedit'. Praemonere enim Galatas voluit peccatorum expiationem et hac ratione perfectam iustitiam non alibi quaerendam esse quam in Christo. COR 16.15, on Gal. 1.4.

¹⁸¹COR 16.18, on Gal. 1.7.

¹⁸²WA 40a.114.12-21, on Gal. 1.7.

¹⁸³Sic in prima statim voce erumpit ei tota causa, de qua in hac epistola agit. Agit autem de Resurrectione Christi qui propter nostram iustitiam. WA 40a.65.10-11, on Gal. 1.1.

¹⁸⁴Ergo plus dignitatis habet Pauli vocatio, quam si a Christo adhuc mortali fuisset ordinatus. COR 16.13, on Gal. 1.1.

other hand, Calvin is succinct, and having made brief exegetical comments states that Paul resolved to preach the Saviour, relying on the authority of God alone.¹⁸⁵ Luther, for his part, interprets the reference in the verse to the revealing of God's Son ('ut revelaret Filium suum in me'), as an allusion to the gospel.¹⁸⁶

Therefore, it becomes apparent that while Calvin perhaps might be seen as having stayed closer to the situation of the text of Galatians in Gal. 1.1 and 1.16, in case of the three other verses (Gal. 1.3-4, 1.7) both Luther and Calvin explicitly deal with the subject of faith, contrary to Parker's claim.

Further, Parker posits that in his comments on Gal. 2.16 and 21, Luther allows his own polemic situation to guide the interpretation in that Luther 'launches into an attack'¹⁸⁷ against the scholastic idea of congruous and condign merit (*meritum de congruo, meritum de condigno*).¹⁸⁸ Comparing Luther's comments on these verses with Calvin, it may be granted Luther's theological discussion on Gal. 2.16 is lengthy.¹⁸⁹ Nevertheless, in the course of his comments on Gal. 2.16 and 21, Calvin also comes to an application of his own polemic situation with the papists three separate times. He impugns the notion of *justification by faith plus works* (v. 16),¹⁹⁰ overthrows the papists' claim that Paul only discusses the ceremonial law (as against the whole law) (v. 21)¹⁹¹ and controverts the papists' idea of *condign merit*¹⁹² (on v. 21).

Some of Parker's comments on Luther seem warranted, however. For instance on Gal. 2.6, commenting on Paul's reference to God's impartiality,

¹⁸⁵COR 16.16-17, on Gal. 1.16. COR 16 erroneously starts Gal. 1.17 only at the biblical phrase *Sed abii in Arabiam*. The correct place to start Gal. 1.17 would be at the biblical phrase *Neque redii Ierosolymam*. Compare COR 16.24 and COR 16.27, on Gal. 1.17.

¹⁸⁶WA 40a.140.31-142.22, on Gal. 1.16.

¹⁸⁷Parker 1963: 66.

¹⁸⁸The scholastic theologians differentiated between *meritum de congruo* and *meritum de condigno*. The former refers to God's granting merit to good works done before the receiving of divine grace, outside the state of grace, while the latter refers to God's granting merit to good works done in cooperation with divine grace, in a state of grace. Good works done before the receiving of divine grace are regarded by God as worthy of merit in that God looks favourably upon the good intention of their performer while the latter, good works done in the state of grace, are meritorious in fact. For more information, see McGrath 1998: 397. See also chapters 7 and 10 of the same work.

¹⁸⁹Luther devotes thirty pages for his comment on Gal. 2.16. See WA 40a.217.27-246.28, on Gal. 2.16. Calvin, on the other hand, is significantly lengthier on Gal. 2.15, where he discusses justification by faith as against righteousness by works. See COR 16.47-50, on Gal. 2.15. It would be possible to find examples of particular phrases, too, where Calvin's theological comment also proportionately exceeds that of Luther, such as on 'qui me segregaverat ab utera matris meae', Gal. 1.15. Compare COR 16.25-26, on Gal. 1.15 with WA 40a.139.24-140.24, on Gal. 1.15.

¹⁹⁰COR 16.51-52, on Gal. 2.16.

¹⁹¹COR 16.57, on Gal. 2.21.

¹⁹²Calvin does not explicitly mention the notion of *meritum de condigno* in the passage. It is clear that this is in view, however, as he addresses the issue of merit as the opportunity of meriting in response to Christ's first grace. In this instance, Calvin points out that the papists' idea of merit cannot be accepted because one ought not to add even one drop of righteousness deriving from one's own works to that of Christ's righteousness. See COR 16.58, on Gal. 2.21.

Luther does seem to exceed the meaning of the text in that he applies the text to the issue of *larva Dei*, the veils of God.¹⁹³ In a number of other cases, however, it appears that Luther, as Bluhm might put it,¹⁹⁴ has thought the thoughts of Paul creatively together with him, rather than just deduced the minimum scope of meaning covered in the verse. In many instances, therefore, it seems that Parker's polarization of the two reformers' interpretation ends up giving a somewhat exaggerated representation of their differences.

On the basis of the above discussion on the varying methods of interpretation of the reformers, it seems that three interrelated considerations ought to be borne in mind. 1) Both Luther and Calvin identify justification as the main theme of the epistle, and both expound additional important theological themes as well. As Calvin is so brief, however, (as if the commentary is providing the material for a fuller exposition, such as a sermon),¹⁹⁵ there are a few occasions where it may be difficult to describe his presentation of certain minor concepts only on the basis of his *Galatians*. 2) Therefore, it is important to take Calvin's *Institutes* into consideration for a fuller exposition of his ideas on these instances.¹⁹⁶ Luther, on the other hand, expounds his theological ideas at length. While Luther's other works are important for the correlation of the analysis of his theology, the theology of his *Galatians* stands more on its own than that of Calvin's *Galatians*. 3) It would be inappropriate to leave one with the impression that Luther, being more 'subjective', ends up with 'digressions' from the themes of Galatians, as Parker suggests, whereas

¹⁹³Luther sees the creation as a mask of God in that His person should be dissociated from it. Humans might easily think that their daily food, for instance, is what sustains them, but in reality the food, together with all creation, is God's mask, that is, something given by God for human keeping. Similarly, in society, positions are masks given by God. They should not be honoured as divine, but recognized as given by Him for human benefit. The connection Luther maintains with God's impartiality mentioned by Paul on Gal. 2.6 is that humans tend to pay attention to the outward positions (to God's masks – *larva Dei*), whereas God does not, being impartial. Thus, there is a connection, but Luther takes it quite far, as Parker also argues. See WA 40a.173.24-179.19, on Gal. 2.6 and Parker 1963: 66.

¹⁹⁴Bluhm comments on Luther's translation of the text of Galatians into German. In a number of places, where Luther does not stay strictly linguistically faithful to the Greek original, Bluhm nonetheless applauds Luther's rendering into idiomatic German as having conveyed the meaning intended by Paul better than a more linguistically accurate translation of the Greek original would have done. Thus Luther has become a 'co-author' with Paul, Bluhm argues. See e.g. Bluhm 1983: 467.

¹⁹⁵This is connected to the fact that Calvin's commentaries were intended to be used by future pastors. See e.g. Zachman 2003: 482.

¹⁹⁶One illustration of this may be seen in the instance in Galatians where Calvin alludes to certain fanatics who held a view according to which the Old Testament patriarchs only prefigured God's people, an idea which is discussed in more detail in Calvin's *Institutes* 1543/45. Compare COR 16.90, on Gal. 4.1 with CO 1.11.1. See section 2.4.3.2. for further discussion. Calvin's sermons on Galatians from 1557-58 also give further helpful material for trying to determine the meaning of Calvin on aspects of theological concepts in his commentary on Galatians, although it must be borne in mind that the sermons were preached more than ten years after the writing of the commentary. Nevertheless, it became evident that the major themes of Calvin's *Galatians* were expounded in sufficient detail for the purposes of this study.

Calvin is 'firm' and stays with the 'true sense' of the text.¹⁹⁷ There is a difference in emphasis, but not in the carefulness of analysis. The purpose of this paper, of course, is to analyse the ideas of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, and not the validity of their exegesis. For the comparability of the two commentaries, however, it is important to bear in mind that both reformers' *Galatians* are the result of extensive grappling with Scripture and careful work on the themes of Galatians.

2.4. General Remarks on Preceding and Contemporary Theologians and Commentators on Galatians in Luther's and Calvin's *Commentaries on Galatians*

The purpose of this section is briefly to make note of Luther's and Calvin's relationship to commentators of Galatians and theologians, who have either preceded them or were contemporaneous with them. This will serve to introduce succinctly introduce some aspects of how Luther and Calvin, in their *Galatians*, relate to the thought of preceding and contemporary theologians / commentators.

It appears important to outline a few aspects of the purpose and approach of this section. The study here is limited to examining those instances where Luther and Calvin explicitly mention a specific group, commentator or theologian. This approach has been chosen despite the fact that it is recognized that Luther and Calvin undoubtedly used some sources which they do not explicitly cite, especially when the writers were of a recent or contemporary period.¹⁹⁸ Feld, for instance, points to Bullinger's influence on Calvin in his introduction to Calvin's commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians, whom Calvin never names.¹⁹⁹ The reason for limiting the study here to explicit citations is primarily brevity. It appeared better to create certain limits for the examination, since the main focus of this study is on the substantial concepts of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, treated in chapters 4 to 6. Thus the focus here is on the *use* by Luther and Calvin of the various commentators and their views, not influence.²⁰⁰ While the question of how much Luther and Calvin had been influenced by their

¹⁹⁷See Parker 1963: 68-69, 74.

¹⁹⁸Thus indirect allusions to persons and groups, which are also present in the commentaries, are not here taken into account for purposes of brevity and focus. However, at the same time it is recognized that influence by other theologians / commentators is not limited only to those instances where Luther or Calvin explicitly mention a certain person or group by name.

¹⁹⁹See Feld 1992: xxiv.

²⁰⁰Thus this study falls into the second category of the type of studies made regarding the relationship of Luther / Calvin to their contemporaries / predecessors. Lane summarises the three different types of studies regarding Calvin. 1) There are studies which compare two persons (e.g. Calvin and Aquinas) without any concern for the knowledge of the later person of the other, the type of studies which are usually made for ecumenical vs. polemical purposes. 2) Some studies focus on the use Calvin makes of his predecessors, while 3) others attempt to determine the influence of the earlier person on Calvin. See Lane 1999: 15.

preceding and contemporary theologians for their *Galatians* is interesting, it is at the same time a many-faceted and complicated query, which would deserve an exhaustive study of its own. At the same time, as the question of Luther's and Calvin's *use* of their predecessors and contemporaries cannot always fully be separated from the question of *influence*, it seems in place to further highlight a caution made by A.N.S. Lane. Lane sees it advisable, even in a study investigating influence, to commence with an examination of direct citations because without some kind of objective framework it is all too easy for studies to 'degenerate to a subjective search for parallels'.²⁰¹

In preparation for this section, all the references Luther and Calvin make to the examined groups were analysed. However, as the quotations are in some cases numerous, especially in Luther, only the more frequently discussed issues are addressed.

It is hoped that this section can on the one hand help in recognizing that Luther and Calvin were responding to other writers / theologians and on the other, to provide a kind of introduction to the substantial concepts of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* discussed in the central chapters of this study (chapters 4-6).

The most frequent polemic in both Luther's and Calvin's commentaries is against papal teachings and in Luther's *Galatians* against Anabaptist ideas as well. On a few occasions, Luther makes reference to Sacramentarians, a term under which Luther at a later stage came to include Calvin as well. The statements on Sacramentarians are not analysed in any more detail in this section. Luther's relationship to Sacramentarians and their teachings has been briefly addressed in the section on the historical background of the commentary (section 2.1) and is again briefly discussed in reference to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper in section 4.7.4.²⁰²

It was interesting to note that, apart from his comments on the papacy, Calvin most often alludes to the patristic commentators of *Galatians* while Luther more frequently relates his thought to mediaeval theologians and monks, presumably reflecting respectively, Calvin's humanist education and Luther's monastic background. Also, Luther's references most often relate to theological issues, while Calvin's comments are most often exegetical. The focus here, however, is on the theological aspects of the two reformers' comment.

There are comparatively few references made to contemporary theologians in Luther's and Calvin's commentaries - only Erasmus is specifically mentioned by each. The interesting question of Luther's possible influence on

²⁰¹Lane 1999: 10. Even a direct quote does not necessarily prove influence, since Calvin and other reformers of the time often made their citations in order to refer to someone who had authority for their readers, rather than in trying to show whose works they had used as a source. It would not have made as much sense to quote Bucer (or Bullinger) when they would be rejected as readily by some readers as would Calvin. Augustine, for instance, was on the other hand respected by many at the time. See Lane 1999: 8-10.

²⁰²See also footnote 280 under section 2.4.3.

Calvin is discussed in the part dealing with Luther's and Calvin's relationship to their contemporary theologians.

2.4.1. Luther and Calvin on Patristic Commentators on Galatians

Both Luther and Calvin occasionally relate their discussion to patristic commentators of Galatians.²⁰³ Most often, including Calvin (whose comment often includes exegetical aspects), there is some bearing on theological issues in their comments. Luther refers most often to Jerome,²⁰⁴ with some additional allusions to

²⁰³The relationship of the theology of Luther's and Calvin's commentaries on Galatians to the thought of patristic commentators would deserve a full study of its own. Both Luther and Calvin had been influenced by various patristic commentators, and that is why further research would be needed to delineate the way in which their commentaries on Galatians reflect patristic thought. However, as the focus of this study is on a comparison of significant themes in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, and as there are also other groups of theologians and individual commentators who are significant in Luther's and Calvin's commentaries (such as papists, monks, scholastics, Anabaptists, Erasmus), it seemed preferable to aim at brevity in this section. That is why it appeared best to focus only on those instances where Luther and Calvin explicitly mention patristic commentators despite the fact that the influence of patristic commentators on the two reformers is not to be seen as limited to the instances where they are explicitly named.

²⁰⁴It is known that Jerome relied largely upon Origen's commentary on Galatians. It would be an interesting study to examine how much Luther's and Calvin's comments relating to Jerome therefore rather reflects what Origen said. This is made difficult however by the fact that Origen's original expositions of the epistle are almost completely lost. See Margaret A. Schatkin's study, *The Influence of Origen upon St. Jerome's Commentary on Galatians*, (1970) pp. 49-58 for further information.

Another noteworthy issue relating to Jerome's commentary on Galatians is the fact that Pelagius' commentary on Galatians was sometimes falsely attributed to Jerome during the Reformation. It is also notable that it appears very likely that Pelagius had used Jerome's commentary on Galatians in preparation for his. See Souter 1927: 228. In order to verify whether Luther's and Calvin's references to Jerome relate to Jerome's or Pelagius' commentary, two references of Luther (on Gal. 1.17 and 1.18-19) and two references of Calvin (on Gal. 1.19 and 4.25) to Jerome's commentary were compared both to Pelagius' and Jerome's commentaries on Galatians. Luther's references are considered first. Luther's first reference alludes to Jerome's discussion of what Paul actually did in Arabia. Frustra igitur quaerit Hieronymus, quid in Arabia Paulus fecerit. WA 40a.144.13-14, on Gal. 1.17. Pelagius' comment on this verse, Gal. 1.17, is very brief (his whole commentary on Galatians is only eighteen pages long – see PLS 1.1271-1288). The whole of Pelagius' comment on Gal. 1.17 reads, [Quia non mihi necesse fuit] ut ab illis [aliquid] edocerer, sed Damasco in Arabiam protinus iui, ut docerem quod mihi [a deo] [fu]terat reuelatum. PLS 1.1273, on Gal. 1.17. Jerome, on the other hand, comments on the verse with an exposition of two pages, giving close attention to Paul's visit in Arabia. PL 26.352-354, on Gal. 1.17. Thus Luther's comment that it is unnecessary for Jerome to question what Paul did in Arabia, appears to refer really to Jerome. Again, there is nothing in Pelagius in his comment on Gal. 1.18 to warrant Luther's negative reference to Jerome's discussion of the allegorical meaning of the fifteen days referred to in Gal. 1.15. See WA 40a.148.16-17, on Gal. 1.18-19. See PLS 1.1273, on Gal. 1.18. Jerome, by way of contrast, discusses the allegorical meaning of the fifteen days, which makes Luther's reference to him understandable. Jerome states, for instance, 'Tamen non abs re arbitror quindecim dies, quibus apud Petrum Paulus habitavit, plenam significare scientiam, consummatamque doctrinam.' PL 26.354, on Gal. 1.18. Thus, it becomes clear that Luther refers, and correctly so, to Jerome, not Pelagius, in his *Galatians*.

Two of Calvin's references to Jerome, on Gal. 1.19 and 4.25, are now considered in order to ascertain whether Calvin, as well as Luther, refers to Jerome rather than Pelagius. In his comment on Gal. 1.19, Calvin refers to Jerome's view on the meaning of the word apostle (apostolis).

Augustine and Origen, while Calvin mostly discusses the positions of Chrysostom, Jerome and Origen with two additional references to Augustin and Ambrose.²⁰⁵ Interestingly, Luther does not refer to Chrysostom or Ambrose' comments on Galatians at all in his commentary, although he had used them both evidenced by his references to them in his earlier commentary on Galatians (1519).²⁰⁶ This may be due to the fact that his focus was now different from his commentary of 1519, where he had devoted a significant proportion of the analysis to correct renderings of particular phrases and to exegesis, and where he had also referred to other commentators more frequently than in the commentary of 1531/35.

It may be in place to note that as the focus of this section is on Luther's and Calvin's theological use of the patristic commentators of Galatians, the teachings of these church fathers are delineated below based on how Luther and Calvin refer to their views, and therefore not on how these issues are actually presented in the original sources. While Luther's and Calvin's portrayals of the church fathers' views may be seen as good indicators of the latter's position, it is at the same time recognized that the views of the patristic commentators may be more

COR 16.28, on Gal. 1.19. Pelagius' exposition of two sentences on Gal. 1.19 gives no convincing grounds to assume Calvin is referring to him. Jerome's careful consideration of the scope of meaning of the term apostle (apostolis), by way of contrast, does seem to warrant Calvin's reference. Compare PLS 1.1273, on Gal. 1.19 (Pelagius) with PL 26.354-356, on Gal. 1.19 (Jerome). Further, Calvin's reference to two variant meanings for mount Sinai discussed by Jerome (COR 16.109, on Gal. 4.25) does not connect at all to the whole comment of Pelagius on Gal. 4.25, namely, 'De qualitatibus locorum uult intellegi diuersitatem testamentorum', while Jerome, by way of contrast, gives close attention to the meaning of the name 'mount Sinai' (monte Sina). Compare PLS 1.1282, on Gal. 4.25 (Pelagius) with PL 26.417, on Gal. 4.25 (Jerome). Thus it is evident that Calvin, too, refers to the real Jerome, not Pelagius.

²⁰⁵Luther refers to Jerome on 34 occasions, Augustine on 14, Origen on 4 and Ambrose on 3. Calvin alludes to Chrysostom and Jerome 8 times, Origen 5 and Augustine and Ambrose twice. The mention of a specific commentator in a certain context is counted as one, although the name would appear several times in the same context. See the table in Appendix 3 for further detail. It needs to be borne in mind that Ambrosiaster's work was thought to have been written by Ambrose (bishop of Milan) until the time of Erasmus and the Reformation. Ambrosiaster's exact identity is not known, although he wrote commentaries on all the epistles of Paul. See Wiles 1967: 11-12 for further detail. Ambrose did not write any commentary on Galatians (see Dekkers, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 123-168 [pp. 21-27, see also pp. 407-408] for an exhaustive listing of Ambrose' works), which indicates that Calvin's references to Ambrose' commentary on Galatians were falsely attributed to the bishop of Milan and represent instead references to Ambrosiaster's commentary instead. The same is recognized in COR 16 by editor Helmut Feld, who includes references to Ambrosiaster's commentary on Galatians in the apparatus of COR 16 in those instances where Calvin (mistakenly) alludes to Ambrose. For the references to Ambrosiaster's work, see COR 16.36 and COR 16.110. (Luther alludes to Ambrose thrice but all of his references describe his life, not Ambrose' commentary on Galatians). Steinmetz gives an example of Bucer having alluded to Ambrosiaster as Ambrose as well. See Steinmetz 1990: 113. Notably, Lane's exhaustive listing of patristic sources Calvin used in his 1559 *Institutio* also includes Ambrosiaster's *Commentarius in epistolas Pauli*. See Lane 1999: 55.

²⁰⁶Luther mentions Ambrose on three occasions in his commentary on Galatians of 1535. None of these references, however, alludes to Ambrose' comments on Galatians. In his commentary on Galatians of 1519, on the other hand, Luther refers to Chrysostom's commentary on Galatians once and to Ambrose' commentary over ten times. To be exact, Luther's references in his 1519 commentary relate in fact to Ambrosiaster's commentary on Galatians, not Ambrose'. See Wiles 1967: 11-12 and the footnote above.

multi-faceted and nuanced than can be gathered from Luther's and Calvin's brief descriptions.²⁰⁷

Luther's and Calvin's references to patristic commentators on Galatians are treated together in this section, since both reformers often allude to the patristic commentators in a similar manner (for example, by coupling two of the commentators they refer to together regarding a certain issue) and because the issues dealt with are similar. Despite the relatively small number of references to the patristic commentators, it became evident that these allusions display important aspects of what Luther's and Calvin's positions were in relation to the thoughts of the church fathers. All the main subjects addressed in Luther's and Calvin's explicit comments on the patristic commentators are briefly outlined below, despite the fact that some of the issues these statements address (such as the ones on Paul's reproach of Peter and the interpretation of Scripture) were not seen as most central in the whole argumentation of the commentaries in chapters 4 to 6.

It is interesting to note that both Luther and Calvin highlight similar issues when addressing the views of the patristic commentators. There seem to be around five main subjects on which Luther and Calvin refer to the church fathers, three or four of which are shared by both. The five main subjects include the explanation of Paul's critique of Peter, the definition of the law in Galatians, justification, the interpretation of Scripture and issues dealing with good works and works of the flesh (Gal. 5.19-21) in Christian life. To avoid repetition the references are ordered thematically instead of dealing with each commentator individually to avoid repetition.

According to Jerome and Chrysostom, as Calvin pinpoints, Paul's critique of Peter (when he refused to eat with Gentiles) was a previously arranged debate. Jerome and Chrysostom could not square Peter's high position in the early Christian church with the possibility of his having erred and could not accept the fact that Paul would have reproached Peter, the leader of the church, publicly.²⁰⁸ Augustine, by way of contrast, was of the opinion that Peter had sinned and was deserving of the rebuke Paul administered. Both Luther and Calvin take the side of Augustine and affirm that Peter's action (of refusing to eat with the Gentile

²⁰⁷Steinmetz, in his study of Calvin's comment on patristic commentators on Romans 8.1-11, gives an example of Calvin's reference to Origen regarding the relationship of the law and ceremonies to justification, where, while Calvin is truthful in general terms, he does not describe in sufficient detail the 'much more finely nuanced argument in Origen'. Steinmetz 1990: 112. Luther, for his part, has been shown to have been less precise than Calvin in his quotations of Bernard (of Clairvaux), probably applicable also to Luther's references to patristic authors. See Bell 1999: 381. However, this is not to be taken to indicate that Luther alludes to them haphazardly. Instead, Luther's, and at times Calvin's references do not always fulfil the requirements modern authors would place on accurate referencing. The reformers did not always have the exact sources at hand and had to quote from memory, which explains many of the inaccuracies. Compare Bell 1999, Steinmetz 1990: 112-114 and Lane 1999: 52-54.

²⁰⁸Peter's position as the leader of the church and his being above the possibility of falling vs. his having erred, has implications for papal authority as the successor of Peter. See COR 16.43-44, on Gal. 2.11 and WA 40a.186.15-187.15, on Gal. 2.7-9.

believers) was an imposed observance, which would endanger the purity of the doctrine of justification (Luther) and Christian liberty (Calvin).²⁰⁹ Luther further adds a comment specific to him, namely, that Peter's fall indicates that even the holiest persons such as Peter and David could fall into sin, which, in turn, is a comfort for believers in the present day.²¹⁰

The definition of the law in Galatians is a prevalent consideration in Luther's and Calvin's comments on the views of the patristic commentators, especially as it relates to whether ceremonial observances of the Old Testament are free or necessary for Christians. Origen and Jerome both maintained that the law discussed in Galatians is the ceremonial law, an interpretation in which they were followed by the mediaeval Catholic church. Origen and Jerome further argued that ceremonial observances had been useful before Christ, but that after Christ's coming they had become fatal, while they at the same time asserted the continuing and binding character of the moral law, the Decalogue. Both Calvin and Luther sharply disagree with Origen and Jerome²¹¹ and affirm that Paul discusses the whole law including the moral law, not only ceremonies.²¹² Luther and Calvin maintain that ceremonial observances could not be considered alone, because they had been connected to the issue of justification, both in Galatia and in the contemporary papal church. Neither moral law nor ceremonial observances could assist in any way toward justification, which is received freely (Calvin) and by faith alone (Luther).²¹³

There are a few further interesting comments of Luther and Calvin on patristic commentators in relation to the doctrine of justification. Luther affirms that while Augustine understood the important distinction between the law and the gospel to some extent, Jerome did not comprehend the distinction at all.²¹⁴ Jerome did not understand the doctrine of justification either, which led to the fact that he could not distinguish between two kinds of doers of the law, the ones who

²⁰⁹See WA 40a.191.31-195.21 and COR 16.43-44, both on Gal. 2.11.

²¹⁰See WA 40a.195.22-198.17, on 2.11.

²¹¹See WA 40a.216.18-217.25, on Gal. 2.15, WA 40a.302.18-26, on Gal. 2.21 and COR 16.49-50, on Gal. 2.15. See also WA 40a.430.19-26, on Gal. 3.12. Luther further maintains that in his failure to understand the nature of the relationship between ceremonies and justification on the one hand, and between the ceremonial law and the moral law on the other, Jerome loses the meaning of the whole epistle. See WA 40a.200.13-201.28, on Gal. 2.12.

²¹²Luther adds on Augustine that while he did not have the correct understanding on ceremonies at first, later, because of the controversy with the Pelagians, he came to see clearly that ceremonial observances ought not to be used in order to attain justification. See WA 40a.623.16-29, on Gal. 4.10.

²¹³Luther further affirms that if eating certain foods came to be regarded as connected to justification, which was implied by Peter's refusal to eat with the Gentiles, one would risk losing Christ and return to Judaism (WA 40a.200.18-201.13, on Gal. 2.12). Calvin, for his part, maintains that ceremonies are acceptable when they are used for edification only, and Christian liberty is left intact (COR 16.46-47, on Gal. 2.14). It may be in place to note here that Luther and Calvin both agree that justification is free and by faith alone. See sections 4.1. and 5.1. for further discussion and references.

²¹⁴*De hoc Legis et Evangelii discrimine nihil invenis in libris Monachorum, Canonistarum, Theologorum Recentium et Veterum. Augustinus aliqua ex parte illud tenuit ac ostendit. Hieronymus et similes prorsus ignorarunt.* WA 40a.496.21-24, on Gal. 3.19.

performed good works on the basis of faith from those performing them in order to attain justification.²¹⁵ Calvin, for his part, alludes to Chrysostom's paraphrase of Gal. 2.17. Calvin does not outright disagree with Chrysostom and those who follow him in this instance (Chrysostom also argued against righteousness of the law here), but nevertheless sees a different point at issue. Calvin argues on the basis of this verse that the Jews, as well as the Gentiles, had the same disease of depravity and sinfulness as all others and needed grace and faith for salvation in the same way as all others did.²¹⁶ In this instance Calvin demonstrates a less polemical approach to the church fathers than Luther does.

A further subject on which Luther and Calvin relate their thought to patristic commentators is that of the interpretation of Scripture. Luther and Calvin both criticize the allegorical interpretation of Origen and Jerome.²¹⁷ Luther asserts that Origen and Jerome deserve critique because they had interpreted scriptural passages allegorically in a number of places where this was wholly uncalled for.²¹⁸

²¹⁵Luther believes that here Jerome had been deceived by 'his precious Origen'. Ne deliremus cum Hieronymo, qui deceptus per suum Origenem prorsus nihil in Paulo intellexit. Uterque inspexit eum quasi civilem legistam. Num omnes, inquit Hieronymus, Patriarchae sunt maledicti, qui circumcisi, sacrificaverunt et servarunt legem? Sic sine iudicio irrui in Paulum, non faciens discrimen inter factores legis veros, fide iustificatos, et inter operadores qui sunt ex operibus legis. WA 40a.430.21-26, on Gal. 3.12. See also WA 40a.392.19-393.20, 396.26-397.20, on Gal. 3.10.

²¹⁶COR 16.52-53, on Gal. 2.17.

²¹⁷WA 40a.653.14-20, on Gal. 4.21. Calvin does not name Jerome explicitly, but instead refers to Origen and other interpreters. See COR 16.106-107, on Gal. 4.22. Erikson also draws attention to Luther's view in his *Galatians* that Jerome and Origen had gone astray in their allegorical interpretations, 'Den som sysslar med den [allegoriska bibeltolkningen] måste enligt Luther ha en fullständig kännedom om den kristna läran för att det inte skall gå snett som det gjorde för både Origenes och Hieronymus.' Erikson 1994: 72.

²¹⁸WA 40a.653.14-20, on Gal. 4.21. One example of these is Jerome's interpretation of Paul's stay of fifteen days with Peter as an indication of the fact that Peter inducted Paul into the mysteries of the Ogdoad and the Hebdoad. See WA 40a.148.16-23, on Gal. 1.19. Luther also argues that Origen and Jerome teach about law and works with their allegories, while Paul, in contrast to them, teaches about faith and Christ, illustrated in his allegory about Hagar and Sarah. In the same passage, it becomes evident that Luther did not outright reject allegorical interpretation as Calvin did, although Luther, too, saw that generally speaking it is inadvisable to use allegorical interpretations on scriptural passages. Only those who are well established in pure gospel doctrine have the skill to use them appropriately. Fuit autem Paulus optimus artifex tractandi Allegorias, referre enim eas solet ad doctrinam fidei, ad gratiam et ad Christum, non ad legem et opera, ut Origenes et Hieronymus. Hi, quia simplicissimas sententias scripturae, in quibus Allegoriae locum non habent, verterunt in Allegorias inconcinnae et ineptae, iure reprehenduntur. Itaque imitatio tractandarum Allegoariarum infelix est et plerumque etiam periculosa. Nam nisi quis perfectam cognitionem doctrinae Christianae habeat, non feliciter tractabit Allegorias. WA 40a.653.14-20, on Gal. 4.21. See also Maschke 1997: 25-29 for a study on the development of Luther's approach to allegory. Maschke states on Luther's view on allegory, 'Because St. Paul utilised allegory, it could not be forbidden. Yet Luther came to understand Paul's use of allegory in a new light as he studied Paul himself. Paul did not create haphazardly any image that he deemed necessary to make his point. The allegories of Paul were always pointing in some way to Christ and the truth of the gospel. Pauline allegories were useful for the weak so that they could enjoy and appreciate the truth revealed in Scripture, especially the gospel of full and free forgiveness. Luther re-emphasized the necessity of

Calvin, for his part, argues that a departure from the clear meaning of Scripture in the hypothetical allegories of Origen is Satan's strategy to deprive Scripture of its benefit and authority.²¹⁹ Luther further wonders why Jerome makes such mighty efforts to give an orderly and precise account of the history of Paul's activities (such as what he did during the three years in Arabia) as if 'every single day' had to be outlined.²²⁰ It is the teaching that is important – the biblical writers only gave short examples of the historical events they referred to.²²¹ There is also an instance where Calvin agrees with Chrysostom on the interpretation of Scripture, namely, where Chrysostom remarks on Paul's allegory on Sarah and Hagar (Gal. 4.21-31) that Paul in this instance uses a figure of speech. Nevertheless, Calvin sees even this as grounded in the literal, plain meaning of Scripture.²²²

Another recurring theme concerning which Luther occasionally alludes to the patristic commentators is that of good works in general and the works of the flesh in Gal. 5.19-21 in particular. It is in this area that Luther's agreements with Jerome are found.²²³ For instance, Luther sees eye to eye with both Jerome and Augustine on the danger of pride and praise, approves of Jerome's recommendation of love instead of ceremonial observances and refers respectfully to Jerome's admission that despite his staying in the desert and fasting he was not freed from

cautiously using allegory correctly and biblically as an illustrative resource for the Christian faith and life.' Maschke 1997: 29.

²¹⁹Calvin further maintains it is a misfortune when allegories are preferred to solid doctrine - instead, one ought to remain with the riches found from the literal, plain meaning of Scripture. See COR 16.106-107, on Gal. 4.22. See section 5.6.6. for further discussion and references.

²²⁰Hieronymus hic sudat et dicit Lucam in Actis nihil scribere de profectione Pauli in Arabiam; Quasi necesse sit singularum dierum res gestas et opera scribere, cum hoc impossibile sit. Sufficiat nos habere particulas et summam aliquam historiarum ex quibus exempla et instructionem habere possumus. WA 40a.136.15-19, on Gal. 1.15-17.

²²¹WA 40a.136.15-19, See also WA 40a.144.13-15 on Gal. 1.17. Luther affirms that the histories in Scripture are often 'concise and confused' (*concisae et confusae*) and explains that such is the case, for instance, in the accounts of Christ's passion and the denials of Peter. In the discussed instance (on Christ's revelation of the gospel to Paul, Gal. 1.11-12) Paul also does not account for the entire history since his attention is on another issue, namely, on the authority of the true gospel which he received from Christ, and that is why it is useless for Jerome to attempt to harmonize the historical chronology. See WA 40a.126.15-32, on Gal. 1.11-12. Luther further comments on a perceived mistake in the grammar of Gal. 2.6 and, agreeing with Augustine, notes that even the greatest orators occasionally break the rules of grammar. This, however, is by no means a negation of the fact that the Spirit had inspired Paul in writing the epistle. He states, *Condonandum est autem Spirituisancto in Paulo loquenti, si peccet aliquando in grammaticam. Ipse magno ardore loquitur; qui vero ardet, non potest adeo exacte in dicendo observare regulas grammaticas et praecepta rhetorica.* WA 40a.170.25-28, on Gal. 2.6. See the whole passage in WA 40a.170.25-171.14, on Gal. 2.6.

²²²Calvin states, 'Et certe Chrysostomus in vocabulo allegoriae fatetur esse catachresin.' COR 16.107, on Gal. 4.22. See also the preceding discussion on Gal. 4.22 in COR 16.107, on Gal. 4.22.

²²³Luther disagrees with Jerome (and Origen) on those theological issues of Galatians, which Luther considers as central, namely the subjects of justification, the law and the correct definition of what constitutes human flesh. See this section, both above and below, for references.

sexual desires and other desires of the flesh.²²⁴ However, he disagrees with Jerome's recommendation of what he (Luther) sees as belonging to 'unnatural saints' (*monstrosus illis Sanctis*), of living in the desert as a sign of one's holiness. True holiness, Luther affirms, is passive, found in Christ, in faith, the Word and the sacraments.²²⁵ Thus Augustine and Ambrose, who chose to live among people instead, comforting them with God's Word, set the right kind of example.²²⁶

There are a number of additional references to specific patristic commentators. For instance, Calvin refers to Chrysostom's paraphrase on Gal. 5.12, according to which Paul wished that the false apostles were 'cut off entirely' (*prorsus abscindi*) since they were destroying the church by insisting on circumcision. Calvin wonders how this can be consistent with the 'mildness of an apostle' (*mansuetudini apostolicae*), but nonetheless maintains that at times true believers ascend above the consideration of human benefit and think first of all of God's glory.²²⁷ Luther, for his part, affirms that the thorn in Paul's flesh (*tentationem meam in carne mea*) refers to the persecutions he experienced, and not to sexual desire or a physical disease as Jerome maintains.²²⁸ Further, Luther disagrees with Jerome and the sophists who believed it necessary to defend Christ's holiness in order to tone down Paul's statement of Christ having become 'a curse for us' (*pro nobis maledictum*).²²⁹ Luther, by way of contrast, sees the fact that Christ has become 'a curse for us' as a great comfort and asserts that Christ, though holy in himself, serves humans in becoming their slave by taking their sin on himself.²³⁰ There is also a positive note on Jerome, however, which affirms that at the moment of his death Jerome trusted only in Christ's merits.²³¹ In reference to Augustine, on the other hand, Luther applauds Augustine's affirmation of the fact that believers know when they truly have faith, a view which is in contrast with the position of the papal church requiring uncertainty regarding one's salvation.²³²

In their theological references to patristic commentators, there are many similarities between Luther and Calvin. It transpires that both Luther and Calvin most often refer to patristic commentators in places where they disagree with them, especially in relation to Origen and Jerome. Therefore, Lane's suggestion that

²²⁴See WA 40b.130.12-22, on Gal. 5.25, WA 40b.68.33-69.15, on Gal. 5.14 and WA 40b.86.27-87.23, 115.29-36 on Gal. 5.16, 21.

²²⁵WA 40b.103.12-28, on Gal. 5.19.

²²⁶See WA 40b.104.30-105.22, on Gal. 5.19.

²²⁷Calvin further maintains that true believers would rather have the whole world perish than that any part of God's glory would be removed. *Ita fit, ut in gloriam Dei promovendam intenti fideles mundi et hominum obliviscantur, ideoque malint totum mundum interire quam decedere aliquid gloriae Dei.* COR 16.124, on Gal. 5.12.

²²⁸WA 40a.634.13-635.11, on Gal. 4.13-14.

²²⁹WA 40a.432.20-433.13, on Gal. 3.13.

²³⁰WA 40a.433.14-434.22, on Gal. 3.13.

²³¹WA 40b.107.18-21, on Gal. 5.19.

²³²WA 40a.575.24-27, on Gal. 4.6.

Calvin (applicable to some extent to Luther, too) primarily cites the church fathers as a polemical defence for his own position, does not appear to hold true for the majority of references in the commentary on Galatians.²³³ The rejected teachings of the church fathers include, as discussed above in more detail, justification (Luther in reference to Jerome), the definition of the law (Luther and Calvin in reference to Jerome and Origen), and allegorical interpretation (Luther and Calvin in reference to Jerome and Origen). While these particular issues could be seen as rejected for the sake of their having later become accepted by the mediaeval Catholic church, it nevertheless demonstrates that Luther's and Calvin's acceptance / rejection of patristic views depends largely also on the subjects at issue.

Augustine, not surprisingly, is the church father with whom both Luther and Calvin generally agree (though Calvin only refers to him once theologically).²³⁴ Nevertheless, Augustine is not the church father to whom Luther and Calvin refer to the most often. Chrysostom, (not mentioned by Luther at all), documented to have been of special importance to Calvin by Ganoczy and Müller,²³⁵ appears to be a preferred church father to comment on in Calvin's *Galatians*, too. Jerome is by far the most often discussed patristic commentator for Luther, though Luther disagrees with him proportionately much more often²³⁶ than does Calvin with Chrysostom.²³⁷

It appears therefore that perhaps David Steinmetz' view that for Calvin (and applies undoubtedly for Luther, too), the church fathers were partners for conversation, rather than authorities to appeal to, emerges as the more fitting description of the way Calvin (and Luther) generally refer to them in their *Galatians*.²³⁸

²³³Lane states, 'His [Calvin's] concern was not to present a balanced and objective account of the fathers but to cite them in his support. This may distinguish Calvin from present-day scholarship; it did not distinguish him from his contemporaries. ... He was not seeking to give a balanced detached assessment of the fathers, but was appealing to them for support.' See Lane 1999: 53. See also Lane 1999: 3, 53-54.

²³⁴For a study on the relationship of Calvin's exegetical works to Augustine, see e.g. Besse 1960.

²³⁵Ganoczy and Müller state, 'Unübersehbar steht also das exegetische Interesse im Vordergrund; Calvin bewundert die Lauterkeit und Unverfälschtheit der Schriftauslegung des grossen Antiocheners. Nicht zuletzt zeigt sich das auch in der häufigen Chrysostomuszitation in seinen eigenen Kommentarwerken zu den Schriften des Alten und Neuen Testaments.' See Ganoczy and Müller 1981: 20. Ganoczy and Müller refer especially to Calvin's own recognition Chrysostom's value in his eyes in 'Praefatio in Chrysostomi Homilias'. See CO 8.831-838.

²³⁶Luther agrees with Jerome six times on theological issues compared to twenty-four disagreements. See Appendix 3 for more detail.

²³⁷Calvin both agrees and disagrees with Chrysostom three times in the commentary on theological issues. See Appendix 3 for more detail.

²³⁸Steinmetz states, 'Calvin regarded the interpretation of Paul as a work carried on not only in association with his contemporaries but also in conversation with the greatest interpreters of Christian antiquity'. Steinmetz 1990: 118. This is not to deny that the kind of usage Lane describes, of using patristic commentators as authorities, is also present in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*. Augustine, for instance, appears to be referred to in this way on the issue of Peter having truly sinned, for instance. See above in this section for more detail on this issue. Furthermore, it may be, as Lane's study has focused on a larger sampling of texts, that Calvin uses the church fathers as authorities more often in his other

There is yet another difference which is not so apparent in the discussion above (due to its focus on theological references) but becomes evident with one glance at the table of Luther's and Calvin's references to the church fathers in Appendix 3. Much of Calvin's discussion with the church fathers is regarding matters of exegesis while Luther's references include allusions of a homiletical nature.²³⁹ The nature of this difference has been looked at in more detail in section 2.2 and is therefore not discussed in more detail here.

It is further significant that the subjects which Luther and Calvin address in their references to the church fathers are among those which have been identified as significant to their *Galatians* in this study.

Moreover, it emerges that the church fathers appear more significant for Calvin's discussion than do the mediaeval commentators. Nevertheless, even Calvin does not refer to the fathers excessively, but only on a relatively few occasions, thus indicating that his authority really lies elsewhere, in Scripture.²⁴⁰

Luther, on the other hand, discusses the mediaeval commentators and groups much more frequently than the patristic commentators, which is an interesting difference in relation to Calvin. Luther's and Calvin's comments on mediaeval theologians are now briefly examined.

2.4.2. Luther and Calvin on Mediaeval Theologians

It is evident especially in Luther's comments about mediaeval theologians that he discussed much of his theology in reference to their concepts and practice (though primarily in a negative sense). Moreover, in their comments both Luther and Calvin address the central themes of their respective *Galatians* by referring to their

works. For a recent attempt to place Calvin's commentaries on Paul in their context in the history of exegesis, see Holder 2006: 245-246. Erikson, in his consideration of the significance of the church fathers to Luther, recognizes their importance to Luther (especially of Augustine) but at the same time indicates that the real authority for Luther lies in Scripture, reflecting similar concerns to those Steinmetz has with regards to Calvin. In Luther's view, the truth of Scripture could be found in a purer form in the oldest church fathers than in the later ones, however, as they stood closer in time to the Scriptures. Erikson states, 'För Luther är det ursprungliga också det sanna. Därför är de äldsta fäderna tillförlitligare än de yngre, eftersom de förstnämnda står närmare källan, d.v.s. Skriften. Därför har dessa också bevarat evangeliets sanning bättre.' Erikson 2005: 94. For the whole context and a brief consideration of Luther (and Melancthon's) relationship to church tradition, see Erikson 2005: 93-97.

²³⁹This difference reflects what is discussed above in section 2.2.

²⁴⁰A similar point is raised by Steinmetz and Ganoczy and Müller. Steinmetz states, 'Calvin kept his pages as uncluttered as possible because it was Paul himself, not his commentators, that Calvin wanted to interpret.' Steinmetz 1990: 118. Ganoczy and Müller state (regarding Calvin's references to Chrysostom), 'Allerdings darf daraus nicht der Schluss gezogen werden, dass Calvin kritiklos die Meinung des Chrysostomus muss sich von Calvin nochmals an der Schrift als norma Normans messen lassen, die allein massgebendes hermeneutisches Prinzip ist.' Ganoczy and Müller 1981: 20. The primary authority of Scripture, over that of the church fathers, applies also to Luther. See e.g. Erikson 2005: 93-97.

mediaeval predecessors. That is why this section also serves as a background to parts 4 to 6 of this research.

It may further be appropriate to note here that mediaeval theology is undoubtedly more important as a background to the concepts Luther had, as he had himself been an Augustinian monk and because the theology of those he now ascribed to ‘sophists’ (sophistae) had once been very important for him.

There are various movements / groups of thought and a number of thinkers important for the understanding of Luther’s mediaeval background (and to some extent, Calvin’s), including, for instance, Thomas Aquinas, Gabriel Biel, Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, *via antiqua* (realists) and *via moderna* (nominalists).²⁴¹ However, it would sidetrack this research from its aim if an attempt were made to examine which mediaeval thinker or school of thought had influenced Luther or Calvin the most. The interrelationship between the two reformers’ theology in their *Galatians* and the mediaeval schools and theologians would deserve an extensive study of its own.

It is significant for the approach taken here that Luther and Calvin do not generally make a distinction between various mediaeval schools of thought in their *Galatians* and they usually do not name specific individuals, but instead discuss them under general headings, such as scholastics, sophists (Luther and Calvin) and monks (Luther). For the sake of simplicity and due to the focus on Luther’s and Calvin’s explicit views, it is seen best to limit the attention to the way Luther and Calvin explicitly discuss their mediaeval predecessors. Nevertheless, it may be assumed that Luther is generally referring to the teachings of late scholasticism or the *via moderna* with the terms ‘scholastics’ (scholastici) and ‘sophists’ (sophistae).²⁴² Monks, on the other hand, probably most often refer to those of Luther’s own time.²⁴³

Despite the focus here on the *use* Luther and Calvin make of mediaeval theologians, not *influence*, it appears in place to briefly highlight some considerations relating to Luther’s (and Calvin’s) relationship to mediaeval

²⁴¹For further detail on these schools and thinkers, and also on their relationship to Luther and Calvin, see McGrath 1998: 155-179, Oberman 1965, and Oberman 1989a: 28-71. Oberman has written his work on Gabriel Biel and late mediaeval nominalism with the purpose of highlighting, among other things, the background for Luther’s theology. However, he rarely refers to Luther in his work, since he is not attempting to determine exact influence but rather to depict the general theological context in which Luther’s teaching arose. See Oberman 1965: 1-3. For the historical context of the Reformation, see also Oberman 1989a. For an example of a specific doctrine in Luther as in relationship to Gabriel Biel, see e.g. Cleve 1968 on the doctrine of the Eucharist.

²⁴²See McGrath 1998: 197. For further detail on late mediaeval scholasticism, see Oberman 1965 and Oberman 1989a: 28-71.

²⁴³Luther’s references to monks have nevertheless been treated here and not in the next section dealing with contemporaneous theologians, as the monastic teachings Luther addresses are frequently discussed in association with those of the scholastics, and also because of the rooting of the monastic orders and their teachings and practice in the mediaeval context.

theology before proceeding to the examination of Luther's and Calvin's comments on mediaeval commentators.

Robert Kolb, in his insightful work on Luther's biblical interpretation in his commentaries on Galatians takes the view that Luther should be seen as continuing the patristic and monastic practice of expounding Scripture as *sacra pagina* in distinction from a theological approach, focusing on doctrine (*sacra doctrina*) represented by Thomas Aquinas and the scholastics.²⁴⁴ Otto Pesch, on the other hand, in his monumental comparison of Luther and Aquinas' doctrines of justification, concludes that Luther made the mistake of equating Aquinas' views with late scholasticism, at which Luther primarily directed his criticisms. Had he seen Aquinas for what he really represented, there may not have appeared any necessary disagreement between his position and that of the Catholic church.²⁴⁵ Thus, Kolb and Pesch see that in some sense Luther can be seen as standing in continuum with the Catholic mediaeval tradition, though not with scholasticism (Kolb) or late scholasticism (Pesch).

There appears to be much truth in Kolb's view regarding the closeness of Luther's approach to Scriptures to the *sacra pagina* approach of the patristic and monastic theologians. It is also evident that Luther and Calvin had been influenced by and were reacting against mediaeval theology, distancing themselves especially from the teachings of late scholasticism.²⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it is appropriate in place to accentuate that there was something essentially new in the theological insights of Luther, and also of Calvin, where they stood clearly apart from the whole Catholic mediaeval tradition.²⁴⁷ McGrath, for instance, demonstrates

²⁴⁴See Kolb 1993: 35-38. Strictly speaking, Kolb's view relates only to Luther's view of Scripture but has nevertheless a direct bearing on his theology, too. Kolb states, 'The finding here is that Luther was influenced by the patristic and monastic approach to theology as the discipline of the sacred page.' Kolb 1993: 44. Kolb prefers to see Luther, not as writing a commentary on Galatians, but as presenting an *enarratio* of Paul's Galatians, applying the authoritative text of Paul to the contemporary situation. Kolb 1993: 57-58, 64. Kolb criticises the modern critical approaches which arose in the nineteenth century which have tended to interpret Luther (and Scripture) in terms of the critics' own presuppositions, thus creating a distance between themselves, the Scripture and Luther. Instead, Kolb proposes, one ought to present Luther in terms of his own approach, that of taking Scripture as God's immediate Word, and expounding it for the needs of the present day. Kolb states, 'The distinctive feature of the view of Scripture as *sacra pagina* is that it sees sacred matters as a *pagina*, a page that bears the imprint of God, not as doctrine and not as literature. ... The relevance of Luther for me is not that he belonged to or anticipated Enlightenment methods of exegesis but that he was consistent in treating Scripture as the sacred page it is.' See Kolb 1993: 42, 46. For the larger context, see also Kolb 1993: 38-41, 57-68.

²⁴⁵Pesch states, '*Was den behandelten Fregenkreis betrifft, ist zwischen Luther und Thomas ein gegenseitiges Anathema weder nötig noch verantwortbar. ... Nun glaubte aber Luther in der Theologie, die er angriff, die ganze Scholastik zu treffen, die er erwisenermassen nicht kannte, der er aber ebenso erwisenermassen keine andere Theologie zutraute, als der via moderna*'. Pesch 1967: 951, emphasis in the original. See also Pesch 1967: 949-956.

²⁴⁶See e.g. McGrath 1998: 172-179, 188-207, 213, 222-226.

²⁴⁷This is not to say that Luther and Calvin were the only ones to introduce distinctly new doctrinal views. Elements similar to their teachings were taught by others before them. There had been forerunners of the Reformation, as Oberman has shown. See Oberman 1981 and McGrath 1998: 180-187. Oberman

how Luther and Calvin went further than the *schola augustiniana moderna*, which represented the type of thinking probably closest to them within the Catholic tradition.²⁴⁸ This appears to concur with the strikingly negative way in which Luther and Calvin express their theological positions toward mediaeval theology in their *Galatians*.

Attention is now turned to Luther's and Calvin's theological comment on mediaeval theologians.

Luther discusses the views of mediaeval theologians frequently in his commentary,²⁴⁹ while Calvin briefly alludes to them on only six occasions, reflecting the greater significance of the patristic commentators for him,²⁵⁰ and mediavel theologians for Luther.

The groups of scholastics and sophists may be seen as approximately synonymous for the purposes of this section as the subjects addressed in Luther's and Calvin's comments on each are similar.

As may be expected, Luther's references to monks most often relate to their practice while the allusions to scholastics and sophists generally deal with theological subjects. It is not possible to cover every issue Luther addresses in his comments. Also, the subjects which are discussed are introduced only briefly due to the large number of references. Calvin's comments, however, as there are only six, have each been noted. The subjects, which are dealt with below, include the concepts of faith formed by love vs. faith formed by Christ (*fides charitate formata* vs. *fides Christo formata*), congruous / condign merit (*meritum de congruo* / *meritum de condigno*), righteousness by works vs. righteousness by faith, the role of

points to both continuity and discontinuity between the mediaeval Catholic and Protestant traditions. He states, 'A definite and geographically extensive continuity exists between the Middle Ages and the sixteenth-century Reformation in the shape and context of the ongoing intellectual quest. ... The uniqueness of Luther's discovery [regarding justification] is now generally admitted, but the degree of his uniqueness on this point can be measured only by a study of his context.' See Oberman 1981: 4, 39.

²⁴⁸See McGrath 1998: 190-207, esp. 202-205. McGrath sees these new insights as closely tied to an essentially forensic understanding of justification, which Luther laid the groundwork for, and which Calvin later defined against Osiander's views. McGrath states, 'The notional distinction necessitated by a forensic understanding of justification, between the external act of God in pronouncing sentence, and the internal process of regeneration, along with the associated insistence upon the alien and external nature of justifying righteousness, must be considered to be the most reliable *historical* characterisation of Protestant doctrines of justification.' See McGrath 1998: 190. McGrath argues that Luther laid the groundwork for *iustitia imputata*, which Melancthon developed further. Calvin, for his part, showed how a forensic understanding of justification could be maintained in the context of the believer's union with Christ (against Osiander's critique of a forensic view of justification). See McGrath 1998: 201, 213.

²⁴⁹According to a count, which was made for this research, there are 163 contexts where Luther addresses mediaeval theologians and monks, 10 occasions when he refers to scholastics, 73 contexts where he alludes to sophists and 81 instances where he discusses the views of monks. The total number of references to these groups is higher because the count here excludes multiple mentions of a group in one context.

²⁵⁰Nevertheless, the general papal ideas are frequently addressed in Calvin. However, he does not often see it necessary to discuss the views of mediaeval theologians, scholastics and sophists.

Christ in justification, the law, assurance of salvation and the nature of the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh.

The ideas of scholastics, sophists and monks are all treated together, as the subjects are similar and the references to them often relate to two groups at the same time (sophists and monks / scholastics and monks, for instance).

There are four themes which deal directly with justification, 1) faith formed by love vs. faith formed by Christ (*fides charitate formata* vs. *fides Christo formata*), 2) congruous / condign merit (*meritum de congruo* / *meritum de condigno*) and 3) righteousness by works vs. righteousness by faith and 4) Christ's role in justification. The first three issues of the four were by far the most dominant in Luther's references to mediaeval theologians. Out of these, Calvin only alludes to the issue of congruous / condign merit.

Luther frequently attacks the scholastic / sophist notion that faith must be formed by love in order for faith to justify (*fides charitate formata*). Luther recognises that according to the mediaeval theologians there are different kinds of faith, only one of which is sufficient for justification, however. Neither an initial, infused faith (*fides infusa*), which God infuses nor a subsequent acquired faith (*fides acquisita*), achieved by repeated acts performed on the grounds of faith, can justify unless faith becomes formed by love (*fides charitate formata*).²⁵¹ According to Luther, such a notion makes faith dead and into nothing while love is made everything.²⁵² Instead, Luther maintains, faith in Christ justifies *alone*, without love and without works. Thus true faith is not formed by love (*fides charitate formata*) but by Christ (*fides Christo formata*).²⁵³

The second issue dealing with justification, the one dealing with congruous and condign merit (*meritum de congruo* / *meritum de condigno*) is discussed by both Luther and Calvin. According to this notion, addressed to sophists and monks alike,²⁵⁴ Luther explains, it is possible by natural endowments (*ex naturalibus*) and by doing what lies within oneself (*facit quod in se est*) to achieve congruous merit (*meritum de congruo*). On the basis of this merit God infuses love into the person, which makes the person formally righteous before

²⁵¹Luther explains that according to scholastic understanding, infused faith (*fides infusa*) and acquired faith (*fides acquisita*) represent unformed faith (*fides non formata*), unless faith becomes formed by love (*fides charitate formata*). Thus love becomes more important than faith, and Christ with all his blessings is lost. WA 40a.421.29-423.31, Gal. 3.11.

²⁵²Ita auferunt fidei omne suum officium et tradunt charitati, Ut fides prorsus nihil valeat, nisi accesserit forma, id est charitas. WA 40a.422. 27-28, on Gal. 3.11.

²⁵³Sicut Sophistae dicunt charitatem formare et imbuiere fidem, Sic nos dicimus Christum formare et imbuiere fidem vel formam esse fidei. Ergo fide apprehensus et in corde habitans Christus est iustitia Christiana propter quam Deus nos reputat iustos et donat vitam aeternam. Ibi certe nullum est opus legis, nulla dilectio, sed longe alia iustitia et novus quidam mundus extra et supra legem; Christus enim vel fides non est Lex nec opus legis. WA 40a.229.27-32, on Gal. 2.16. See also e.g. WA 40a.231.30-232.20, on Gal. 2.16.

²⁵⁴See WA 40a.290.33-292.11, on Gal. 2.20.

God.²⁵⁵ Further, the person who now has love, is capable of meriting eternal life by further good works (*meritum de condigno*).²⁵⁶ Luther rejects both kinds of merit and affirms that they are opposed to the righteousness God gives, which is passive. Thus the giving of Christ of himself for human sin is set in contrast with those who attempt to acquire merit by their own works before God. Faith in Christ in the believer's heart, and not love granted in response to the congruous merit of human works, is the true formal righteousness genuine Christians have before God.²⁵⁷

Calvin's argumentation on congruous merit runs somewhat differently. Calvin elucidates that this kind of merit (*meritum de congruo*) is acceptable only on the grounds of God's acceptance of it and within God's covenant, even according to scholastic theologians.²⁵⁸ Therefore, outside of God's acceptance and God's covenant there is no merit available. Thus, God's acceptance is only available within the covenant, which is by grace and by Christ and is free.²⁵⁹ Further, Calvin describes the argumentation of the sophists – who argued that Christ merited the first grace (*primam gratiam*), which provides the opportunity for acquiring merit (*occasionem merendi*). Thus, merit gained by human works finds its legitimate role besides the merit of Christ's death. In contrast to this view, Calvin affirms that there is no middle way – righteousness is found exclusively through Christ – Paul does not allow 'one drop of righteousness' (*nullam certe iustitiam guttam*) to human works.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁵See WA 40a.225.15-226.27, on Gal. 2.16, and WA 40a. 290.33-292.11, on Gal. 2.20., and WA 40a. 290.33-292.11, on Gal. 2.20. In this passage Luther affirms that this is what the best of the sophists maintained. Those who were the worst theologians among them, such as Scotus and Occam, reasoned that as it was possible for humans to love a lower created being (such as a man loving a girl), it certainly was possible for them to love God the Creator, who is a higher being. Thus the giving of love by God was not seen as necessary since loving was possible by natural human powers, too.

²⁵⁶See WA 40a.225.15-226.27, on Gal. 2.16. Accordingly, *meritum de congruo* is not meritorious in a proper sense, but on the basis of God's evaluation of the good work performed by the person. *Meritum de condigno*, by way of contrast, is merit in the proper sense, and has eternal life as its reward. See also WA 40a.220.4-29, on Gal. 2.16.

²⁵⁷See WA 40a.40.28-41.26, Argumentum and WA 40a.295.36-296.22, on Gal. 2.20. See also WA 40a.223.14-28, on Gal. 2.16.

²⁵⁸Calvin does not explicitly mention *meritum de congruo*. However, it seems implied in the context (since *meritum de congruo* is the kind of merit accepted only on the basis of God's evaluation of it). *Nihil affirmo, quod non concedant schoalastici theology. Neque enim opera docent intrinseca dignitate meritoria esse salutis, sed acceptatione Dei (ut loquuntur) et ratione pacti. Ergo ubi nullum Dei pactum, nullum acceptationis testimonium intercedit, nulla quoque opera ad iustitiam sufficient.* See COR 16.75, on Gal. 3.17.

²⁵⁹See COR 16.75, on Gal. 3.17.

²⁶⁰*Nam pulchra responsione sibi videntur instructi, quum afferent ex suis sophistis Christum meruisse nobis primam gratiam, hoc est occasionem merendi, et meritum mortis ipsius concurrere una cum operum satisfactionibus ad quotidianam remissionem peccatorum. ... Adversus eos sic argumentatur: frustra mortuum esse Christum, si per Legem est iustitia. Sic agendo nullam certe iustitiae guttam operibus relinquit.* See COR 16.58, on Gal. 2.21. In this instance, Calvin's reference to the concept of merit is more general, and not clearly associated specifically with either *meritum de congruo* or *meritum de condigno*.

The third theme, righteousness by works vs. righteousness by faith, is based primarily on Luther's references to monks. Luther clarifies that the monks believed that entering their order was a kind of new baptism and that they could perform so many good works after their vow that a surplus could be passed on to others.²⁶¹ The order of the monks was considered so holy that if one died soon after one had given a vow, one would go directly to heaven.²⁶² Luther, a former monk, now strongly condemned monasticism and asserted that the acts and afflictions of monasticism only end up recrucifying Christ (because his proper office, that of Saviour, is ascribed to one's own efforts).²⁶³ Interestingly, Luther's apparently only positive reference to the groups of scholastics, sophists and monks, is to Bernard (of Clairvaux), who confessed the sinfulness of his life and did not trust the works of his order at the moment of his death, but instead put his trust in Christ.²⁶⁴

A further notion, which Luther occasionally discusses in reference to mediaeval theologians, is the proper role of Christ in justification. Luther cannot accept the position held by sophists, monks and fanatics, which sees Christ merely as an example and a new lawgiver, thus making him a tyrant and a taskmaster.²⁶⁵ Instead, Luther affirms, Christ loves us, gave himself for us (*pro nobis*), and is a Redeemer of those oppressed by the law.²⁶⁶ Similarly, Luther rejects the view of the sophists who join Jerome in defending Christ's holiness when Paul affirms he became a curse for humans. Luther, by way of contrast, identifies greatest comfort in the fact that Christ has taken all our sin and curse on himself, and in exchange gave himself and his purity for us.²⁶⁷

Neither Luther nor Calvin can accept the notion, according to which the notion of the law in Galatians is defined as the ceremonial law only, thus perpetuating the error of Origen and Jerome. Instead, Luther affirms, the law in Galatians ought to be defined as everything opposed to grace, whether the law be moral, civil or ceremonial. There is no law, he maintains, which can justify a human being. Moreover, the law is abrogated for the believer.²⁶⁸ Calvin's position is

²⁶¹ See WA 40a.325.16-27, on Gal. 3.1. See also WA 40a.264.15-265.28, on Gal. 2.18, WA 40a.325.28.326.13, on Gal. 3.1 and WA 40b.107.22-33, on Gal. 5.19.

²⁶² Item is locus concludit sub peccato omnes Monachos, Eremitas, Carthusianos cum suis sanctissimis, ut somniant (Nugantur enim, si moriatur aliquis voto promissionis recens facto, subito subvolare eum in coelum), professionibus et religionibus, Quia hic audis clarissime Omnia simpliciter sub peccato conclusa esse. WA 40a.514.16-22, on Gal. 3.22.

²⁶³ Luther adds that Christ is not recrucified in himself but in the monks and in others who believe they can gain righteousness by their own works. WA 40a.326.22-28, on Gal. 3.1.

²⁶⁴ WA 40a.687.19-29, on Gal. 4.30.

²⁶⁵ WA 40a.298.13-20, 40a.434.21-29, on Gal. 2.20 and Gal. 3.13 respectively.

²⁶⁶ WA 40a.298.19-300.22, on Gal. 2.20.

²⁶⁷ WA 40a.448.17-26, on Gal. 3.13.

²⁶⁸ Ideo cum Sophista intelligit legem abrogari eamque ceremoniam, tu potius intellige Paulum et quemlibet Christianum universae legi abrogari et tamen legem manere. WA 40a.269.16-19, on Gal. 2.19. See also WA 40a.217.27-218.23, on Gal. 2.16. See section 4.3. for further comment on Luther's concept of the law.

similar. He notes that Christ and his benefits are contrasted by Paul with the law, human merit and excellence.²⁶⁹ Furthermore, Luther affirms, ceremonies are not fatal after Christ, as the sophists maintain. Instead, it would be only beneficial if the emperor chose to utilise some of the laws of Moses.²⁷⁰ Also, the ‘sophists in the universities’ (Sophistis in Universitatibus) do not understand the true, theological use of the law.²⁷¹ They think that law can be fulfilled by a civic, outward adherence to its precepts. The law is used rightly, by way of contrast, when it destroys the beast of human reason and causes a terror of sin.²⁷²

A further issue, regarding which Luther and Calvin are in agreement, is that of the believer’s assurance of one’s salvation and of the danger and error of the mediaeval notion of the necessity of doubt regarding one’s own salvation and acceptance with God. While this kind of doubt is natural for humans, Calvin affirms that it is a sign of genuine Christians that they have the testimony of the Holy Spirit assuring the believers of God’s love personally toward them.²⁷³ Luther, for his part, concurs in that the requirement for uncertainty by the mediaeval theologians spoils the doctrine of faith in that there is no knowledge of God’s favour, salvation and forgiveness.²⁷⁴

The final theme treated here is that of the nature of the struggle between the Spirit and flesh. Both Luther and Calvin note how the mediaeval theologians identified the flesh with sexual desires and sensuality. Both assert instead that the flesh denotes much more than sexual desire referring to the whole nature of man including pride, greed and hatred (Luther) and ambition which leads to heresies (Calvin).²⁷⁵ Furthermore, Luther identifies the concept of sin of the mediaeval theologians as superficial and flawed. According to them, Luther affirms, one must keep on doing good until one feels no sin at all.²⁷⁶ Thus, saints come to be seen as blocks of wood or stone, who feel nothing and especially feel no sin. Another flaw in their interpretation is that it is the outward form of one’s works that is observed in distinguishing sins, and not how the person doing the work is like.²⁷⁷

²⁶⁹See COR 16.65, on Gal. 3.6.

²⁷⁰Nec peccaret Caesar, si quibusdam iudicialibus legibus Mosi uteretur, imo libere posset illis uti. Errant igitur Sophistae, qui nugantur iudicialia Mosi post Christum mortifera esse. WA 40a.673.22-24, on Gal. 4.27.

²⁷¹Iste usus legis [usus theologicus] plane incognitos est Hypocritis, Sophistis in Universitatibus et omnibus hominibus quotquot incedunt in opinione iustitiae legis vel propriae. WA 40a.481.16-18, on Gal. 3.19.

²⁷²See WA 40a.480.32-481.25, on Gal. 3.19.

²⁷³Fateor quidem scholasticos, quum iubent perpetua dubitatione fluctuare conscientias, nihil aliud docere, quam quod dictat naturae sensus. Quo diligentius infingendum est animis nostris hoc Pauli dogma : neminem esse Christianum, nisi qui Spiritus sancti magisterio edoctus Deum Patrem invocat. COR 16.95, on Gal. 4.6.

²⁷⁴WA 40a.575.13-23, on Gal. 4.6.

²⁷⁵See COR 16.129-130, on Gal. 5.17 and COR 16.132, on Gal. 5.20. See also WA 40a.244.14-18, on Gal. 2.16 and WA 40b. 83.34-84.26, on Gal.5.16.

²⁷⁶WA 40a.368.26-32, on Gal. 3.6.

²⁷⁷WA 40b.95.26-97.16, on Gal. 5.17.

Luther affirms, by way of contrast, that true believers do feel sin and have sin. They are righteous and sinners at the same time (*simul iustus et peccator*).²⁷⁸ At the same time however, they are able to fight against the sin within them by the Spirit. Meanwhile, God imputes Christ's righteousness to acquit them of their sin. Thus, the same sin committed by the believer is not imputed, but is imputed when committed by an unbeliever, who is not covered by Christ's righteousness.²⁷⁹

Luther's and Calvin's comments on mediaeval theologians demonstrates that especially Luther discussed much of his theology in reference to them. Their themes which Luther alludes to include nearly all the primary concepts of his *Galatians*. It is also appears that Luther had grappled with the thought of mediaeval theologians more than Calvin for his *Galatians*. While Calvin's comment on them also includes issues which are central to his *Galatians*, his views are, on the whole, only rarely related to mediaeval thinkers and instead much more frequently related to patristic commentators and to 'papists' (*papistae*) of his own time.

It is also evident that both Luther and Calvin relate to the thought of mediaeval theologians almost exclusively in a negative way, which demonstrates a difference to their more nuanced relationship toward the church fathers.

Further, while Luther often discusses and critiques both monastic practice and teaching, Calvin does not refer to monks even once, highlighting the significance of Luther's monastic background.

2.4.3. Luther and Calvin on Contemporary Theologians and Groups

This section focuses on Luther's and Calvin's comments on their contemporary theologians and groups including papists, Anabaptists and Erasmus. Further, Luther's possible influence on Calvin is considered.²⁸⁰

The most frequent polemic in both Luther's and Calvin's commentaries is against the contemporary papal teachings, and in Luther's *Galatians* against Anabaptist ideas as well. Luther's and Calvin's discussion on papal and Anabaptist ideas is briefly addressed first.

Out of all their contemporary theologians, it is interesting that both Luther and Calvin refer only to Erasmus by name, and even to him, very infrequently. For

²⁷⁸WA 40a.368.19-27, 373.19-23, on Gal. 3.6.

²⁷⁹WA 40b.96.33-97.21, on Gal. 5.17. See also WA 40b.108.17-109.12, on Gal. 5.19.

²⁸⁰Luther's references to Sacramentarians (the Swiss reformers) could have been interesting to examine as well in this context, but as the essence of these references is treated in section 4.7.4 in Luther's comments on the issue of the Lord's Supper, they are not discussed any further at this point. When Luther discusses Sacramentarians (the Swiss reformers) as a single group, the key concept can be summarised as outlined in section 4.7.4. However, it is noteworthy that Luther appears not to have thought this to be the only difference between his beliefs and those of the Swiss reformers. In two references where Luther classes the Sacramentarians in the same group with papists and Anabaptists, he sees them as having fallen from the true doctrine of Christian righteousness (on Gal. 2.20), and regards them as having confused the issue regarding the proper function of the law and the law and the gospel (on Gal. 3.19). See WA 40a.296.23-297.14, on Gal. 2.20; WA 40a.484.32-485.22, on Gal. 3.19.

Luther, this represents a change as in his earlier commentary (1519) on Galatians Erasmus is often alluded to. Luther's possible influence on Calvin is also briefly addressed in this context.

2.4.3.1. Luther and Calvin on Papists²⁸¹

It is recognized that the content of this section partly overlaps the themes of section 2.4.2. on mediaeval theologians of the Catholic faith. An attempt is therefore made not to be too repetitive although some of the same ground is inevitably covered as well. Compared to their references to mediaeval scholastic theology, Luther's and Calvin's comments on papists are somewhat more general. Further, while much of the same ground is covered, especially in Luther's and Calvin's references to papists relating to the issue of justification, at the same time their comments deal with a wider range of concepts than the section on mediaeval theology, including allusions to the notion of ministry, for instance.

The themes which Luther and Calvin discuss in reference to papal ideas deal primarily with those concepts which have been identified as being substantial in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* (see sections 4 to 6), and even more so in Luther, whose references are more numerous. Calvin primarily discusses justification in his polemics against papal teachings but has also a few references dealing with the other main concepts of his *Galatians*. Understandably, the subjects of papal supremacy and the concept of the church are highlighted slightly more in the polemics against the papacy than in the commentaries as a whole.

Justification is by far the most frequently treated issue in both Luther's and Calvin's polemics against the papacy. Both Luther and Calvin see the papal church as teaching righteousness by works.²⁸² Luther sees the supposed holiness in rendering obedience to numerous papal laws and decrees as deceptive and wicked twice over, as it denies Christ and faith in him as the only true way of justification.²⁸³ Calvin, for his part, frequently discusses the theme of merit and indicates his rejection of any papal concept of 'half justification' (*dimidia iustitia*), namely, of justification by faith, which nevertheless also partly consists of human works or merit.²⁸⁴

²⁸¹The negative connotation of the term 'papist' is recognized, but it is nevertheless used but because it is a term most frequently used by Luther and Calvin (*papistae*).

²⁸²For some of Luther's references to papal teachings as promoting righteousness by works, see e.g. WA 40a.48.28-49.23, *Argumentum*, WA 40b.10.15-23, 40b.21.27-29, on Gal. 5.2, 5.4, respectively. For some of Calvin's references to papal teachings as promoting righteousness of works, see e.g. COR 16.51, 16.58, 16.116, 16.119-121, on Gal. 2.16, 2.21, 5.2, 5.6 respectively.

²⁸³WA 40a.96.22-97.14, 40a.138.9-23, 40a.324.32-325.21, on Gal 1.5, 1.17 and 3.1, respectively. The same reliance on human worthiness and works can be identified also in other groups such as the Jews, Anabaptists and Turks. That is why Luther is astonished that the pope wants to fight the Turks, who in essence teach the same principle of righteousness through human works. See WA 40a.604.14-605.26, on Gal. 4.8-9.

²⁸⁴*Sed Paulo scilicet theologia Papistarum ignota erat. Fide hominem iustificari dicitant, partem iustitiae locant in operibus. Talem dimidiam iustitiam nesciebat Paulus. Nam quum nos fide iustos esse docet,*

Luther condemns both the doctrines of congruous and condign merit (*meritum de congruo, meritum de condigno*) and the concept of love as the form of faith (*fides charitate formata*).²⁸⁵ Instead, he points to faith alone (*sola fide*), Christ as the only right form of faith (*fides Christo formata*) and Christ's giving himself for humans and the importance of faith in Him, which the papal doctrines of human worthiness and works have replaced.²⁸⁶ Calvin also affirms belief in justification by faith alone and leaves no part at all to human merit. Calvin asserts that the believer's righteousness is through Christ as all their righteousness in contrast to the papacy, where the false doctrine regarding the necessity of good works in addition to faith in Christ has left them with a divided Christ.²⁸⁷ Luther further emphasizes that there is confusion in the papacy regarding the proper distinction between the law and the gospel. Against their view, Luther affirms that the gospel ought to be kept free from an imposed requirement of legal observances and draws attention to the fact that Christ ought not to be changed into a new lawgiver.²⁸⁸ Calvin, for his part, rejects a papal postulate according to which the people, being especially ignorant in the 16th century, needed papal laws. Instead, he affirms that Christian liberty ought to be maintained with regard to all outward observances in the present day as well.²⁸⁹

Calvin's polemics further highlight that the correct definition of the law in Galatians is the whole law, and not only the ceremonial one as argued by papists. This is connected to the fact that the merit of works, which Paul rejects, includes the

quia operibus non possumus, pro confesso sumit, quod verum est, nos Christi iustitiae non aliter esse capaces, quam si propriae iustitiae inopes egenique simus. COR 16.51, on Gal. 2.16. See also e.g. COR 16.58, 16.116, on Gal. 2.21, 5.2 respectively.

²⁸⁵*Ipsae solus liberat a peccatis, donat iustitiam et vitam aeternam. Ista suis meritis congrui et condigni excluso Christo se certo consequi tradunt. WA 40a.237.26-28. See also the whole passage in WA 40a.237.18-28, on Gal. 2.16, See also WA 40a.423.15-19, on Gal. 3.11.*

²⁸⁶*Quare cum adversarii hoc salvum nobis relinquere nolunt, quod sola fides in Christum iustificet: nec nos volumus nec etiam possumus in hoc cedere ipsis, quod fides formata charitate iustificet. WA 40a.167.18-20, on Gal. 2.5. See also the whole paragraph, WA 40a.167.18-168.14, on Gal. 2.5. Quis est ille 'Me'? Ergo peccator perditus et damnatus, sic dilectus a filio Dei, ut se ipsum traderet pro me. Si ergo operibus vel meritis de congruo et condigno potuissem diligere filium Dei et venire ad eum, quid opus fuisset eum tradi pro me? Ex hoc apparet, quam frigide tractaverint Papistae, imo prorsus neglexerint sacras literas et doctrinam fidei. Nam si tantum verba ista inspexissent, quod filium Dei oportuerit tradi pro me, impossibile fuisset ullum ordinem aut sectam oriri, Quia fides statim respondisset: Cur hoc genus vitae, hunc ordinem, hoc opus eligis? Num ut per ista placetur Deus et tu iustificeris? An non audis scelus, Filium Dei traditum et fudisse pro te suum sanguinem? Sic facillime fides in Christum potuisset resistere omnibus Sectis. WA 40a.295.36-296.22, on Gal. 2.20.*

²⁸⁷*Sic hodie Papistae, quia dimidium et lacerum Christum habere volunt, nullum habent, ideoque translate sunt a Christo. COR 16.17, on Gal. 1.6. See also e.g. COR 16.116, 16.119-121, on Gal. 5.2 and 5.6, respectively.*

²⁸⁸*Papa autem non solum miscuit legem cum Evangelio, sed meras leges et eas tantum ceremoniales ex Evangelio fecit. WA 40a.209.12-14, on Gal. 2.14. See also WA 40b.5.21-6.27, 40b.10.26-11.29, on Gal. 5.1 and 5.2, respectively.*

²⁸⁹*COR 16.91-92, 16.114-116, on Gal. 4.1, 4.31-5.1, respectively.*

works of the Decalogue.²⁹⁰ Luther's polemics against the papacy relating to the law and good works also focus on issues closely related to justification. Luther affirms that the papists' use of the law in order to attain justification is an abuse of the law. The true use of the law is to show human sin, a use which papists do not understand. Ceremonial observances can be maintained, Luther allows, but when they are seen as necessary for justification as by the papacy, they assume a wicked role.²⁹¹ On similar lines, Luther stresses the importance and necessity of good works against the papal charge of Luther having repudiated God's law by his teaching. However, he is careful to add that they must be kept apart from the issue of justification.²⁹²

Luther, when addressing the work of the Holy Spirit, in his references to papists deals primarily with the issues of the assurance of salvation and the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh. Calvin's references, for their part, deal only with the believer's assurance before God. Both Luther and Calvin affirm that the requirement of doubt by the papacy is one of its worst tenets – they affirm instead that through the influence of the Spirit of God, the believers have certainty of their acceptance with God.²⁹³ Luther further rejects the papist thinking according to which walking by the Spirit is a task of the clergy alone, and rebuts the view which honours an austere form of life and a denunciation of one's sexual desires as a sign of having conquered the flesh. Instead, walking by the Spirit is necessary for all Christians and they are marked by the fact that, by the Spirit, they fight against, not only outward sins such as immorality, but also 'spiritual' ones (*Spirituales illos*) such as doubt, blasphemy and contempt of God.²⁹⁴

While Calvin also mentions papal persecution and sees the papists as persecuting pure doctrine,²⁹⁵ his comment is not connected to a developed concept

²⁹⁰COR 16.51, 16.58, on Gal. 2.15, 2.21, respectively.

²⁹¹*Si autem Moses lege Dei vocat ad iram Dei et peccatum, quo vocabit Papa suis traditionibus? WA 40a.108.12-13, on Gal. 1.6. Paulus significat his verbis Nullam simpliciter legem posse vivificare, sed tantum occidere. Ergo mea opera quae non secundum leges Papae seu traditiones humanas, sed secundum legem Dei facio, non iustificat me coram Deo, sed peccatorem constituunt; non placant iram Dei, sed irritant; non consequuntur iustitiam, sed tollunt eam; non vivificant, sed mortificant me. WA 40a.510.16-20, on Gal.3.21. Si autem lex Dei infirma et inutilis est ad iustificationem, multo magis leges Papae sunt infirmae et inutiles ad iustificationem. Non quod in universum reiiciam et damnem leges ipsius, sed dico plerasque utiles esse ad externam disciplinam, ut ordine omnia gerantur in Ecclesia, ne oriantur dissidia, odia etc., ut Caesareae leges utiles sunt ad bene gerendas Republicas etc. WA 40a.618.29-619.9, on Gal. 4.9. See also WA 40b.38.22-39.15, on Gal. 5.6.*

²⁹²See WA 40a.40.21-27, Argumentum, WA 40a.265.29-266.19, on Gal. 2.18 and WA 40a.394.17-395.14, on Gal. 3.10.

²⁹³*Hinc apparet, qualis sit in Papatu Christianismus, ubi impiae praesumptionis damnant, di quis Dei Spiritum habere se dicat. Fidem enim sine Dei Spiritu et sine certitudine imaginantur. Hoc unum dogma illustri argumento est diabolum infidelitatis patrem in omnibus Papistarum scholis regnare. Quo diligentius infigendum est animis nostris hoc Pauli dogma: neminem esse Christianum, nisi qui Spiritus sancti magisterio edoctus Deum Patrem invocat. COR 16.94-95, on Gal. 4.6. See also WA 40a.575.13-23, on Gal. 4.6 and COR 16.149, on Gal. 6.16.*

²⁹⁴WA 40b.86.20-88.13, 40b.112.14-28, on Gal. 5.16, 5.20.

²⁹⁵COR 16.18-19, on Gal. 1.8.

of the scandal of the cross and suffering as a Christian as in Luther. In his comments on this issue, Luther often addresses both papists and Anabaptists in the same breath, pointing to the physical persecution inflicted by papists and the spiritual one (through false doctrine) caused by Anabaptists. Luther further alludes to the fact that the formation of sects and civil unrest was unjustly ascribed to his teaching. However, he rejoices and is comforted amidst these persecutions, because the fact of persecution demonstrates the authenticity of the gospel, just as it had done in the time of Paul.²⁹⁶

There are also a number of comments against papists in Luther's and Calvin's treatment of the theme of ministry. Both Luther and Calvin highlight the honour of the calling to gospel ministry and the necessity of holding to the pure gospel Word. Luther affirms that papists have not submitted to the pure gospel in their ministry. Therefore it has to be taught by others, who are sure in their rightful calling.²⁹⁷ Calvin for his part argues against the pope's claim that he ought to be honoured as Christ. Calvin requires legitimate evidence for this claim such as the pope transmitting the word in its purity and performing humble service as Christ did.²⁹⁸ A further issue named by Luther is a contrast drawn between the harshness with which the papists treated the fallen in contrast to how genuine ministers tenderly encourage the weak and the erring with the gospel.²⁹⁹

Both Luther and Calvin comment on the issue of papal primacy. Luther recognizes the validity of the church and sacraments of the Catholic faith, even if Antichrist reigns in the church. Accordingly, Luther cannot accept the Anabaptist desire to depose the pope by external force. However, Luther qualifies this affirmation in that he would recognize the pope's authority and position if the pope were to accept the pure doctrine of justification and give freedom of conscience with regard to papal laws. However, as the pope does not accept these two, Luther will continue to teach against him. On similar lines, Luther cannot accept that it is the pope who determines which gospel is right. The pope ought to submit to the gospel, thus allowing Scripture be the judge of doctrine.³⁰⁰ Calvin, for his part,

²⁹⁶WA 40a.677.28-678.14, 40a.680.32-681.22, both on Gal. 4.29. See also WA 40b.21.27-22.21, 54.33-56.15, 165.17-21, on Gal. 5.4, 5.11 and 6.11, respectively.

²⁹⁷See e.g. WA 40a.130.32-133.30, on Gal.1.12.

²⁹⁸COR 16.101, on Gal. 4.14. Furthermore, both Luther and Calvin name the unduly high salaries paid to ministers in the papacy, and affirm by way of contrast that the salary of ministers ought to be reasonable (Calvin's comment, COR 16.142, on Gal. 6.6) and that the ministers should seek to help the poor (Luther's comment, WA 40a.191.12-28, on Gal. 2.10).

²⁹⁹Non frustra igitur dicit Paulus: 'Considerans teipsum, ne et tu tenteris.' Qui exercitati sunt tentationibus, noverunt, quam necessarium hoc sit praeceptum. Contra qui illis non sunt probati, non intelligunt Paulum, ideoque nulla misericordia tanguntur erga lapsos, ut cernere fuit in Papatu, ubi mera tyrannis et crudelitas regnavit. WA 40b.143.30-144.13, on Gal. 6.1. On the other hand, Luther affirms that harsh words have to be used with the papists and Anabaptists, not to condemn them, but that they could be converted and saved. WA 40a.630.18-22, on Gal. 4.12.

³⁰⁰WA 40a.180.14-182.18, on Gal. 2.5 and WA 40a.358.17-359.14, on Gal. 3.5. See the whole discussion on the pope's authority and the attempt of those whom Luther terms Anabaptists to remove the pope

argues against papal primacy by pointing out the submission of Peter (whose successor the pope claims to be) at Paul's rebuke directed against him.³⁰¹ Moreover, Calvin maintains that since the pope claims succession to Peter, the pope should exercise his authority only over the Jews, and not over other nations, as Peter did according to Gal. 2.7. A further issue outlined by Calvin includes the definition of the church. Although salvation is found only within the church, this does not disturb Calvin, since the true church is found wherever the pure gospel doctrine reigns, which is not the case within the papacy.³⁰²

The subjects Luther and Calvin discuss in the context of the Catholic teachings of the time include nearly all the substantial concepts of their *Galatians*. It is evident that, as with Luther's and Calvin's comments on mediaeval theologians, almost all of their references to papal teachings and practice are made in a negative sense. In Calvin's critique, it is especially the theme of justification which is highlighted while Luther's polemics against papists deal with, in addition to justification, also the other key themes of his commentary in relatively exact detail.

Some slight differences can be detected in the formulation of Luther's and Calvin's theological critique toward the papists, reflecting similarities and differences in their theology which are outlined in more precise detail in section 6. Nevertheless, the positions of each appear largely similar in reference to the Catholic teaching of their day.

2.4.3.2. Luther and Calvin on Anabaptists

It is in Luther's commentary that one finds frequent references to the Anabaptists. However, there is one reference in Calvin's *Galatians* to their teaching as well. This reference of Calvin's is briefly addressed first, followed by a succinct discussion of the primary concepts within Luther's polemic against Anabaptist teachings.³⁰³

from his position in WA 40a.353.13-359.14, on Gal. 3.5. Luther states on the authority of Scripture in relationship to that of the pope, Exemplum tamen hic nobis proponitur, quod certe statuere debemus mendacium et Anathema esse sentire, quod Papa sit Arbitr scripturae; Item quod Ecclesia habeat potestatem supra scripturam ... Paulus simpliciter Seipsum, Angelum e coelo, doctores in terra et quicquid est Magistrorum, hoc totum rapit et subiicit sacrae scripturae. Haec Regina debet dominari, huic omnes obedire et subiicere debent. Non eius Magistri, Iudices seu Arbitri, sed simplices testes, discipuli et confessores esse debent, sive sit Papa, sive Lutherus, sive Augustinus, sive Paulus, sive Angelus e coelo, Neque alia doctrina in Ecclesia tradi et audiri debet quam purum verbum Dei. WA 40a.119.23-25, 120.18-24, on Gal. 2.9. See also WA 40a.188.10-18, on Gal. 2.8.

³⁰¹COR 16.43-44, on Gal. 2.11.

³⁰²COR 16.14, 16.110-111, on Gal. 1.2, 4.26 respectively. Even the Jews, Calvin argues, who had a greater reason than the papists to claim the title 'church' for themselves, are assigned to the lot of Hagar by Paul because of their legalism. That is why Calvin is not in the least disturbed by the papists' claim that only their church is the true one. COR 16.110-111, on Gal. 4.26.

³⁰³Calvin also refers quite clearly to the Libertines (though not by that name) on one occasion. This reference has been quoted and briefly addressed in section 2.1.2. on the historical context of Calvin's *Galatians*.

Calvin rejects a teaching, ascribed to ‘some fanatics’ (fanatici quidam) and Servetus, according to which the people who were elected by God during the time of the Old Testament only prefigured the true people of God in the New Testament, thus excluding all the patriarchs from the possibility of salvation.³⁰⁴ The same teaching is explicitly identified as an Anabaptist one in the *Institutio* of 1543/45.³⁰⁵ This also appears to have been represented by an individual by the name of Belot in the year preceding the composition of Calvin’s *Galatians*, in 1545.³⁰⁶ Calvin, by way of contrast, affirms that the spiritual blessing of Abraham belongs to the patriarchs just as well as to the people of the New Testament.

In Luther’s comments there appears generally no distinction between the terms Anabaptists, fanatics and sectarians (Anabaptistae, phanatici/fanatici spiritus, sectarii). Usually, these terms are used as a reference to any group of teachers ranging from Münzer and others who had supported the Peasant’s revolt, to pacifist Anabaptists from around the time of Luther’s lectures on Galatians in 1531. Accordingly, the term Anabaptist as used in this section, is to be understood, not as it is more distinctly identified in modern literature, but in the sense it is referred to in Luther – as an all-encompassing term referring to several widely differing groups.³⁰⁷ Most of the ideas Luther often refers to are not specifically characteristic of Anabaptists either. Luther frequently discusses Anabaptists in the same group with papists, and at times also with the Jews and the Turks.³⁰⁸ For instance, in his preface of 1535 to the commentary, Luther likens Anabaptists and papists to a fox with two different heads, but connected at the tail.³⁰⁹

The issues which are highlighted the most often in Luther’s comment on Anabaptists include justification, the work of the Holy Spirit, the

³⁰⁴Primo hinc colligimus eiusdem haereditatis spem fuisse Patribus sub Veteri testamento, quam hodie habemus, quia eiusdem adoptionis participes fuerunt. Non enim (quemadmodum somniant fanatici quidam, et inter alios Servetus) in hoc tantum electos fuisse a Deo Paulus docet, ut nobis aliquem Dei populum figurarent, sed ut nobiscum essent filii Dei. COR 16.90, on Gal. 4.1.

³⁰⁵Quin etiam quod utilissimum alioqui futurum erat, necessarium nobis fecerunt furiosi nonnulli ex Anabaptistarum secta; qui non aliter de israelitico populo sentiunt, quam de aliquo porcorum grege: utpote quem nugantur a Domino in hac terra saginatum, citra spem ullam coelestis immortalitatis. CO 1.11.1.

³⁰⁶Belot presented the view in 1545 that the Old Testament was abolished by the New. For further information and references, see Cottret 2000: 208.

³⁰⁷See a similar observation on Luther’s wide ranging term of reference for ‘Schwärmer’ by Oberman in Oberman 1989: 367.

³⁰⁸See e.g. WA 40a.48.29-31, 49.10-23, Argumentum. Occasionally Luther also adds the groups of the Sacramentarians. See e.g. WA 40a.296.25-28, on Gal. 2.20 and WA 40a.316.26-27, on Gal. 3.1. Generally, Luther’s statements are in the context of seeing none of these groups as holding to the authentic Christian doctrine of righteousness by faith.

³⁰⁹Sic et Papistae non cessant urgere usque hodie opera et personae dignitatem contra gratiam et fratres suos Anabaptistas (saltem verbo) fortiter iuvare. Caudis enim sunt coniunctae istae vulpes, sed capitibus diversae. WA 40a.36.19-22, Preface, 1535.

scandal of the cross / suffering as a Christian, ministry, and perhaps somewhat strikingly, the doctrine of the Devil.

The most frequent polemic of Luther against Anabaptists deals with justification. Luther sees that the Anabaptists, together with the papists, believe that justification is at least partly dependent on one's good works.³¹⁰ He regards that Anabaptists establish another set of works which, just as the old kind of works of the papacy, are also used in an attempt to achieve justification. This is demonstrated especially in the emphasis of Anabaptists on the necessity of suffering, bloodshed and the bearing of discomforts of life in addition to faith.³¹¹ Therefore Luther considers that Anabaptists have fallen away from Christ, and that they do not understand true Christian righteousness.³¹² Connected with this is the confusion Luther sees in Anabaptists on the issue of the law and the gospel. Although they talk of both, in their belief in the necessity of good works in justification, they have changed the gospel to the law and Christ into Moses.³¹³

Luther, treating the subject of the work of the Holy Spirit, notes how Anabaptists boast of the Spirit and how many fall prey to their teaching.³¹⁴ Luther further affirms that true believers have the Spirit by faith and have the Spirit's help in their struggle with sin in contrast to the Anabaptists and papists who, being able only to speculate about the Spirit, mistakenly think that the early believers who had the Spirit, experienced no struggle with sin.³¹⁵ Luther's longest single discussion relating to Anabaptists relates to his contrast between genuine deeds of the Spirit with those of the sectarians (Sectarii). Luther argues that love toward one's neighbour and patience in persecution is what demonstrates the genuine working of the Holy Spirit in a person, and not the externally radical actions of those who destroyed images and claimed liberty from all law.³¹⁶

³¹⁰See e.g. WA 40a.76.19-23, on Gal. 1.4 and WA 40a.249.10-21, on Gal. 2.17.

³¹¹Atque ita Christus fide apprehensus non est Iustificator, nihil prodest gratia nec fides vera esse potest sine charitate (Aut ut Anabaptistae dicunt: sine cruce, passione et effusione sanguinis). Si vero adest charitas, opera et crux, fides vera est et iustificat. WA 40a.251.34-37, on Gal. 2.17. See also the whole passage in WA 40a.251.19-37, on Gal. 2.17.

³¹²See WA 40a.76.19-23 and 78.14-26, both on Gal. 1.4 and WA 40a.296.23-28, on Gal. 2.20.

³¹³Itaque Papistae, Cingliani, Anabaptistae et omnes qui iustitiam Christi ignorant aut non recte tenent, non possunt non facere ex Christo Mosen et legem et ex lege Christum. Sic enim docent: Fides in Christum iustificat quidem, sed simul servari etiam oportet praecepta Dei, Quia scriptum est: 'Si vis in vitam ingredi, serva mandata Dei'. Ibi statim Christus negatus et fides abolita est, Quia mandatis Dei sive legi tribuitur quod est solius Christi. WA 40a.249.10-16, on Gal. 2.17.

³¹⁴See WA 40a.76.19-23, on Gal. 1.3 and WA 40a.626.19-628.20, on Gal. 4.12.

³¹⁵Papistae somniantur Sanctos sic habuisse Spiritus sanctum, quod nunquam senserint aut habuerint tentationem. Illi speculative tantum loquuntur de Spiritus sancto, Ut et hodie phanatici spiritus. Sed Paulus dicit virtutem Christi in nostra infirmitate perfici, Item Spiritus sanctum adiuvere infirmitatem nostram et interpellare pro nobis gemitu inenarrabili etc. Ergo tum maxime habemus opus Spiritus sancti auxilio et consolatione tumque maxime adest nobis, cum maxime sumus impotentes ac desperationi proximi. WA 40a.584.19-25, on Gal. 4.6. See also WA 40b.23.20-26, on Gal. 5.5.

³¹⁶See WA 40a.351.21-358.13, on Gal. 3.5 and WA 40a.359.17-24, on Gal. 3.6. See also section 4.2.5. for further discussion.

Another common theme in Luther's discussion of Anabaptists is the scandal of the cross / suffering as a Christian. Luther affirms that persecution by papists is easier to bear than spiritual persecution through the influence of Anabaptist teaching and doctrine.³¹⁷ The only thing one can do in the face of the spreading of their views, Luther states, is to emit silent prayers to God for help and to teach against Anabaptists so that at least some could return to true faith.³¹⁸ When the world accuses Luther and his followers of having caused unrest in society and for being responsible for the rising of numerous sects, comfort can be found in the fact that the same happened to Paul when he faithfully taught Christ.³¹⁹ These troubles signify that one truly has Christ and that one holds to the pure doctrine.³²⁰ That is why Luther would not even want the persecution by papists and sectarian teachers to cease.³²¹

Luther's discussion of the theme of ministry in reference to Anabaptist views includes his rejection of a teaching specifically characteristic of Anabaptists. Luther asserts the importance of a lawful calling against those who 'thrust themselves' (ingesserunt se) into teaching others claiming that they have a call from the Spirit.³²² Proceeding further, Luther maintains that while one ought to be tender with the fallen, one needs to be sharp with sectarian teachers.³²³ Moreover, Luther sees the outwardly humble acts of Anabaptist teachers as a disguise, which cover their inner sense of superiority and vainglory (κενοδοξία).³²⁴ This vainglory, and seeking human applause, is what Luther sees as the true root behind the formation of sects.³²⁵

A fifth theme often treated by Luther in connection with the Anabaptists and their teaching is the doctrine of the devil. Luther sees that it is the devil who has inspired Anabaptist teaching in order to attack the gospel and those

³¹⁷Luther saw it as especially painful that the rising of sects and other troubles had come to be seen as having been caused by Luther's evangelical teaching. Sic utrumque regnum, spirituale et corporale, occupat, hoc per mendacium impiorum doctorum (ut interim non dicam, quod perpetuo suis ignitis telis unumquemque privatim sollicitat ad haereses et impias opiniones), illud per gladium tyrannorum, atque ita utrinque concitat contra filios Liberae pater mendacii et caedis spiritualem et corporalem persecutionem. Spiritualis, qua phanatici nos hodie impugnant, molestissima ac prorsus intolerabilis nobis est propter scandala, quibus diabolus deformat doctrinam nostram, quia cogimur audire sectas Anabaptistarum et Sacramentarium et omnia mala orta esse ex doctrina nostra. WA 40a.681.28-682.13, on Gal. 4.29.

³¹⁸See WA 40a.583.20-31, on Gal. 4.6 and WA 40a.647.27-648.15, on Gal. 4.17.

³¹⁹Paulus eandem tentationem passus est, quam nos hodie patimur. WA 40a.644.14, on Gal. 4.17. See WA 40a.644.14-647.6 for the larger context of the discussion; on Gal. 4.17.

³²⁰WA 40b.58.16-28, on Gal. 5.12.

³²¹Quare non libenter velim, quod Papa, Episcopi, Principes et phanatici spiritus nobiscum concordessent. Ea enim concordia certa significatio esset, nos amisisse veram doctrinam. WA 40b.55.13-15, on Gal. 5.11. See also the context in WA 40b.54.33-56.15, on Gal. 5.11.

³²²See WA 40b.127.13-128.14, on Gal. 5.25. See also WA 40a.59.24-60.14, on Gal. 1.1.

³²³See WA 40a.101.19-102.13, on Gal. 1.6.

³²⁴See section 4.6.4. for further discussion on the notion of κενοδοξία.

³²⁵See WA 40b.132.21-33, on Gal. 5.25.

who are weak in the faith.³²⁶ For instance, Luther regards the devil as being the inspirer of the view according to which Anabaptists continue the work well begun, but not completed by Luther.³²⁷ Luther further considers that it is demonic bewitchment which lies behind the fact that sectarian teachers are so obstinate in holding to false doctrine, and that they therefore cannot be liberated from their error through their own powers, but only by God's pure Word.³²⁸

Other themes less frequently alluded to in Luther's polemic against Anabaptist teachings include the theme of the law and good works. Luther is of the opinion that Anabaptists understand no more of the proper use of God's law than do the papists.³²⁹ Further, Luther disagrees with the position of Anabaptists on papal ceremonies in that Luther does not try to abolish the ceremonies by force, but accepts them as long as no salvific value is connected to observing them.³³⁰ He also rejects the teaching connected to the peasants' revolt which stated that the gospel liberates from all law.³³¹ There is a difference also in the kind of good works Anabaptists teach. Luther asserts that Anabaptists teach works which deal with meaningless observances making a show of one's humility in outward acts, and not the true good works Paul urges.³³²

It is clear that Anabaptist teachings are significant for Luther's rather than Calvin's *Galatians*. While Cottret's claim that the Anabaptists (not papists) were 'the greatest heretics' for Calvin may hold some truth, at least in Calvin's *Galatians* it is the teachings of papal Rome rather than those of the Anabaptists which Calvin saw as the focal ones to warn about.³³³ Calvin only refers to a group of Anabaptists once, indicating his rejection of their view on the relationship between the Old and New Testaments. Luther, by way of contrast, refers to Anabaptist teachings frequently and the themes on which he discusses the position of the Anabaptists include aspects of nearly all the substantial concepts of

³²⁶See e.g. WA 40a.139.19-22, 444.24-29, 647.25-30, on Gal. 1.16, 3.13, 4.17.

³²⁷See WA 40a.109.22-110.25, on Gal. 1.6.

³²⁸See WA 40a.318.34-319.17, 319.25-31, on Gal. 3.1.

³²⁹Ut interim nihil dicam de Anabaptistis, Novis Arrianis et spiritibus blasphemis in Sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi qui aequo ignorant hunc proprium legis usum et officium ac Papistae. Iam dudum enim a pura doctrina Evangelii ad leges relapsi sunt. WA 40a.485.12-16, on Gal. 3.19.

³³⁰WA 40a.354.13-30, on Gal. 3.5. See the larger context of Luther's rather lengthy discussion on the issue of the sectarian attack against the papacy vs. his own approach in WA 40a.354.13-358.16, on Gal. 3.5. See also section 4.2.5. on genuine deeds of the Spirit vs. those of the Anabaptists.

³³¹WA 40a.528.24-31, on Gal. 3.23.

³³²WA 40b.65.23-66.32, on Gal. 5.14.

³³³Cottret states, 'For Calvin the greatest heretics were the Anabaptists. They were the internal enemy, as against the papists, who threatened the development of the "true faith" from outside. Papists, moreover, were not heretics in the strict sense; their errors were predictable, almost programmed, and less dangerous on the whole than those original thoughts that risked affecting the Reformed world itself.' Cottret 2000: 208.

his Galatians. It emerges therefore that in his *Galatians* Luther saw Anabaptist teachings as just as important to caution of as against the papal ones.³³⁴

2.4.3.3. Luther and Calvin on Erasmus

Both Luther and Calvin refer to Erasmus on four occasions,³³⁵ which, especially in the case of Luther, is little. Therefore it appears that Erasmus was not very significant for either Luther or Calvin at this time.³³⁶

Luther's explicit references to Erasmus are theological. Every occasion represents Luther's disagreement with Erasmus, which is a significant departure from his commentary in 1519, where Erasmus is still praised by Luther as 'a man preeminent in theology and impervious to envy'.³³⁷ There are three issues dealt with in these passages. The first deals with Paul's rebuke of Peter, which Erasmus, together with Jerome, tones down as a 'complaisant pretence' (ex simulatione officiosa). Luther, however, sees that Peter was clearly worthy of blame, which indicates that even the greatest of God's saints may fall into sin against the notion of the scholastics and monks of the church as sinless and perfect.³³⁸ Further, Luther disagrees with Erasmus and the scholastics³³⁹ on the definition of the law in Galatians, which both see as the ceremonial law, while Luther together with Calvin, sees the law in Galatians as the whole law, including the moral one.³⁴⁰ The third issue deals with good works in relation to justification. Erasmus and 'the Master of the Sentences' (Magister Sententiarum - Peter Lombard) together point to Cornelius as a man, who before receiving God's grace,

³³⁴When one compares Luther's critique of Anabaptist teachings to the one he directs at papists, it is evident that many of the themes overlap or are even the same including issues relating to justification (e.g. no proper understanding of the distinction between the law and the gospel), the work of the Holy Spirit (e.g. no proper understanding of the Christian struggle with sin) and the scandal of the cross and Christian suffering (both papists and Anabaptists persecute, one physically, the other spiritually). On the other hand, there are issues specific to the two groups as well, which include that of papal authority and the importance of a lawful calling, which Luther saw Anabaptists did not have.

³³⁵See the table in Appendix 3 for further detail.

³³⁶As interesting as it would have been to examine the references Luther and Calvin make to other persons and groups, such as Aristotle, Porphyry, Julian, Thomas Aquinas, the Turks etc, there was a need to limit the discussion to the ones named in the sections above.

³³⁷Maluissem certe et ego expectare commentarios olim ab Erasmo, viro in Theologia summo et invidiae quoque victore, promissos: verum, dum ille differt (quod deus faxit non sit diuturnum) cogit me in publicum ire casus iste quem videtis. WA 2.449.21-24, Dedication.

³³⁸See WA 40a.195.11-196.21, on Gal. 2.11.

³³⁹Luther indicates that Erasmus and the scholastics followed Jerome and Origen here in identifying the law in Galatians as the ceremonial law. Hic iterum admoneo, Paulum non loqui de lege ceremoniali, ut perpetuo Sophistae nungantur; Et huiusce erroris authores primi extiterunt Origenes et Hieronymus, in hac parte nocentissimi doctores, quos secuti postea sunt omnes Scholastici; Et illorum errorem approbat et confirmat hodie Erasmus. ... Ideo de tota lege loquitur. WA 40a.302.17-22, 26, on Gal. 2.21.

³⁴⁰See section 4.2.1 for further discussion on the definition of the law and its implications in Luther's commentary. For Calvin's definition of the law in Galatians as the whole law, see COR 16.8-9, Argumentum and COR 16.24, on Gal. 1.13.

‘by congruity’ (de congruo), had gained merit by good works.³⁴¹ Similarly, Erasmus, on another occasion, with the papists and the fanatics (Luther’s reference to Anabaptists), is seen by Luther as teaching that Christ is a new lawgiver, and as insisting that good works, in addition to God’s grace, are necessary for justification. Luther, by way of contrast, affirms that Cornelius was a Gentile who did not in reality keep the law as it ought to be kept, and despite this was justified and received God’s Spirit, thus demonstrating the opposite of what Erasmus affirmed – good works do not justify. Similarly, Christ is not a new lawgiver, but the justifier and Saviour of sinners. Law is not a part of the gospel, but an addition or an Appendix to the gospel, thus indicating how the law and the gospel ought to be kept distinct.³⁴²

Calvin, for his part, refers to Erasmus on four occasions.³⁴³ Calvin’s allusions deal with exegetical facts connected to appropriate translations of specific words, and do not include explicit theological discussion either for or against Erasmus’ position. Faber has written a brief but well researched article investigating the possible influence of Erasmus’ *Annotationes* on Galatians to exegetical aspects of Calvin’s commentary on Galatians. Faber concludes that Calvin had a positive attitude toward Erasmus as a scholar despite their evident theological differences.³⁴⁴ Faber’s article is not discussed here in more detail, as the focus of Faber’s study, as well as Calvin’s comments on Erasmus, is exegesis, not theology. Therefore these instances are not dealt with in any more detail in this context.

In summary, while on the one hand there are only a few references Luther and Calvin make to Erasmus, on the other it is significant that they have chosen to allude by name only to him out of a number of contemporary theologians. On the basis of their statements on Erasmus, it is evident that while Luther treats Erasmus as a theologian in his *Galatians*, Calvin, for his part, discusses Erasmus as a scholar, whose renderings of the Greek he occasionally sees appropriate to comment on. Luther regards Erasmus’ views as being close to if not identical with the mediaeval

³⁴¹WA 40a.337.23-338.15, on Gal. 3.2.

³⁴²See WA 40a.259.26-257.13, on Gal. 2.17.

³⁴³This is increased to six references in the last edition of *Galatians* from 1556. The two additional comments also deal with issues of translation and exegesis, not theology. See Calvin’s references to Erasmus in COR 16.25, 16.109, 16.143, 16.146, on Gal. 1.15, 4.25, 6.8 and 6.13, respectively. For the added references of the 1556 edition, see COR 16.59, 16.149 on Gal. 3.1, 6.17, respectively.

³⁴⁴Faber agrees with Helmut Feld, the editor of the most recent edition of Calvin’s *Galatians*, against Parker, who posits that Calvin became more negative in his assessment of Erasmus after the Romans commentary in 1540. Faber demonstrates that Erasmus and Calvin shared very similar principles of Bible translation, and also notes the fact Calvin added two references to Erasmus in his last edition of the commentary on Galatians in 1556. Calvin’s references to Erasmus are respectful, especially when compared with his comment on patristic commentators on Galatians (Faber 2004: 275). Despite the fact that Erasmus and Calvin’s theological positions were obviously different, Calvin appreciated Erasmus because, as Faber states, he had a ‘basic agreement with Erasmus on matters of translation and exegesis’ (Faber 2004: 281).

Catholic position Luther rejects. Calvin, however, does not appear to show special interest in Erasmus' theological views, at least with regards to the issues of Galatians.

2.4.3.4. Luther's Possible Influence on Calvin

This section includes a brief outline of Luther's possible influence on Calvin, which is considered in reference to Calvin's attitude toward Luther and with regards to some of Luther's books it is known that Calvin had read. Additionally, there is a brief consideration of the possibility of Calvin having been influenced by Luther's *Galatians*.³⁴⁵ Luther's possible influence on Calvin is primarily investigated on a general level rather than discussing his impact on the form of particular doctrines in Calvin. Luther's influence on specific doctrines in Calvin would be an interesting and relevant issue to address in view of this research, but is too wide and complicated a topic to be treated here.³⁴⁶ Nevertheless, it is seen important to give attention to the question of whether Calvin could have been influenced specifically by Luther's *Galatians*.

Despite some real opportunities,³⁴⁷ Luther and Calvin never met and there was no direct communication between them, except for Calvin's letter to Luther in 1545, which in the end did not reach Luther. The content of this letter is discussed below.

It is interesting that in his early reformatory career Calvin appears to prefer Luther over the Swiss reformer Zwingli even though he was familiar with Luther's position on the controverted issue of the Eucharist.³⁴⁸ Furthermore, Calvin

³⁴⁵As the focus of this research is on Luther's and Calvin's commentaries on Galatians, it was seen as appropriate, in addition to making use of Calvin's comment on Luther in his letters, to make use of the findings in available secondary literature on Calvin's relationship to Luther. These include Lang 1936, Zeeden 1958, Farris 1964, Gerrish 1967, Rogge 1968, Parker 1975, and Spijker 1986.

³⁴⁶The comparison of Luther's and Calvin's teachings on central themes in Galatians in section 6 is hoped to display agreements and disagreements on these issues.

³⁴⁷For instance, Calvin had been requested to go to Luther personally instead of sending him a letter. Calvin, however, considered that Luther was too agitated by recent controversies with the Sacramentarians, and that he did not have the necessary time and linguistic ability for the journey. See CO 12: 610.26, Calvinus Incerto, 1545. See also Farris 1964: 128. Calvin was not present when the Wittenberg Concord (1536) was drafted. Luther, Melancthon and Bucer were there, however. Later, Melancthon and Calvin were both present and became friends at the colloquies between representatives of the two divisions of the Protestant churches in Frankfurt, Worms and Ratisbon in 1539, 1540 and 1541. Luther, however, did not attend these three meetings. See Farris 1964: 130.

³⁴⁸Calvin states in his letter to Farel that when Zwingli and Luther 'are compared with each other, you yourself know how much Luther has the preference.' Unfortunately, I could not find this reference in the original and therefore had to trust the translation in Calvin's Letters, Letter 30, to Farel, 28 February 1539. This letter does not appear in CO 10 in the place where it should. The translation of *Calvin's Letters* refers to an original in Library of Geneva, vol. 106.

By this time Calvin had read, it is assumed, among other works of Luther, Luther's *Captivitate Babylonica*, and two of Luther's sermons on the Lord's Supper (*Sermon von dem Sakrament des Leibs und Blutes Christi wider die Schwarmgeister*, translated into Latin 1527 and *Sermon von dem*

explicitly approved of the *Augustana Variata* of 1540 and during his stay in Strasbourg (1536-39), worked in accordance with the *Augustana Invariata* of 1530 because it was one of the two official confessions of Strasbourg at the time.³⁴⁹ Luther, for his part, gave a good testimony of Calvin, having read Calvin's *Petit traité de la sainte Cene de nostre Siegneur Jesus Christ* 1540,³⁵⁰ and probably also his *Institutio* of 1539, affirming Calvin to be a godly and learned man.³⁵¹

Hochwürdigen Sakrament des heyligen wahren Leichnams Christi 1519, translated into Latin 1524). See Parker 1975: 23 and Lang 1936: 106.

³⁴⁹*Augustana Invariata* of 1530 refers to the original unchanged form of the Augsburg Confession written by Melancthon in 1530. *Augustana Variata* of 1540 refers to the changed form of the Augsburg Confession written by Melancthon in 1540, where the issue of the Lord's Supper was dealt with in a way which was more acceptable to the Swiss reformers in its wording on the doctrine of the Eucharist than the earlier *Augustana Invariata* had been. It is likely that Calvin signed the *Augustana Variata* at the beginning of the Diet in Regensburg in 1541. See Nijenhuis 1972: 109-110. Calvin also explicitly expressed his favourable view toward the *Augustana Invariata* when he advised another minister Jean Garnier to sign this document without reservations. This is known from a letter of Jean Garnier, which has been preserved in CO 15. Jean Garnier writes to Bullinger 'Ego quidem illam perlegi, at quum mihi non fido, ad praeceptorem meum D. Calvinum hac de re scripsi qui in haec verba mihi respondit: "Augustanae Confessioni cur subscribere dubites, non video." CO 15.2058.336, Garnerius Bullingeri, 10 December 1554. See also Nijenhuis 1972: 113. The city of Strasbourg had two confessions, which the ministers of the city had to agree with at the time of Calvin's stay there (1538-1541), the Tetrapolitan Confession and the *Augustana Invariata*. (The Tetrapolitan confession was an evangelical confession of Strasbourg and three south German cities, and was stricter than the *Augustana* against the Roman Catholic faith in its formulation regarding ceremonies and the authority of Scripture). It seems that the ministers were not officially required to sign them, however, although any teaching, which was not in accordance with their content, would not have been allowed. See Girardin 1979: 101 and Nijenhuis 1972: 104-112 for further information.

³⁵⁰Luther read this treatise in Latin translation.

³⁵¹See Parker 1975: 136-137 for further detail and references. Calvin reports in his letter to Farel that Philipp (Melancthon) had said that Luther had wanted Calvin to be greeted with respect, and that Calvin had found great favour in his eyes. Calvin writes, 'Luthero ad Bucerum in quibus ita scriptum erat: Saluta mihi Sturmium et Calvinum reverenter, quorum libellos singulari voluptate legi. Iam reputa quid illic de eucharistia dicam. Cogita Lutheri ingenuitatem. Facile erit statuere quid causae habeant qui tam pertinaciter ab eo dissident Philippus autem ita scribebat: Lutherus et Pomeranus Calvinum et Sturmium iusserunt salutari. Calvinus magnam gratiam iniit.' CO 10.197.432, Calvinus Farello, 12 December 1539. Further, some persons had told Luther of Calvin's words of critique of him, to which Luther had replied that he hopes Calvin would one day think better of them, but in any case he should have evidence of 'our good feeling towards him'. Calvin writes, 'Tandem ita fuisse loquutum Spero quidem ipsum olim de nobis melius sensurum sed aequum est a bono ingenio nos aliquid ferre.' CO 10.197.432, Calvinus Farello, 12 December 1539. This evoked Calvin's statement that one would certainly be 'of stone' if not affected by 'such moderation'. Tanta moderatione si non frangimur, sumus plane saxei. CO 10.197.432, Calvinus Farello, 12 December 1539. This also led to Calvin stating in his preface to his *Commentarii in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos*, that one ought not to expect to reach a universal agreement on all points of doctrine, but nevertheless 'cultivate brotherly intercourse'. He further cautioned that when departing from the interpretations 'of our predecessors', one ought ought 'not be stimulated by any humour for novelty', but be 'constrained by necessity alone, and by the motive of seeking to do good'. Nunquam enim tanto beneficio servos suos dignatus est Deus, ut singuli plena perfectaque omni ex parte intelligentia praediti essent. Nec dubium quin eo consilio ut nos in humilitate primum, deinde communicationis fraternae studio retineret. Ergo quum sperandum in praesenti vita non sit, quod maxime alioqui optandum esset, ut in locis scripturae intelligendis perpetua sit inter nos consensus, danda est

Calvin, in turn, was very touched by Luther's positive view of him, and in consideration of the fact that Luther commended him after having read Calvin's view on the Eucharist, Calvin praised 'the ingeniousness of Luther' and regarded those unreasonable who 'obstinately dissent from him'.³⁵²

Later, there was a turn in events, however. Luther became more pungent in the ongoing controversy on the Eucharist and wrote the work *Kurzes Bekenntniss vom Abendmahl* (1544), in which he unsparingly denounced the Sacramentarians.³⁵³ Despite Luther's strong words of critique toward the Sacramentarians (one of whom he now considered Calvin to be),³⁵⁴ Calvin nevertheless maintained that 'even though he (Luther) were to call me a devil I should still not the less regard him ... as an outstanding servant of God'.³⁵⁵ Calvin's letter to Luther, written in 1545 (a year before he composed his *Galatians*), further illustrates his continuing high regard toward his 'much respected father in the Lord', whom he regarded as a 'most distinguished minister of Christ'.³⁵⁶

opera ut nulla novandi libidine incitati, nulla sugillandi alios cupiditate impuls, nullo instigati odio, nulla ambitione titillate, sed sola necessitate coacti, nec aliud quærentes quam prodesse, a superiorum sententiis discedamus: deinde ut id fiat in scripturae expositione, in religionis autem dogmatibus, in quibus præcipue voluit. Dominus consentaneas esse suorum mentes, minus sumatur libertatis. CO 10.191.405, Calvinus Grynaeo, 15 November 1539. (In *Corpus Reformatorum*, Calvin's dedication of the epistle of Romans to Simon Grynaeus is found within the section on Calvin's letters in CO 10, not in CO 49, where the commentary on Romans is located.)

³⁵²Luthero ad Bucerum in quibus ita scriptum erat: Saluta mihi Sturmium et Calvinum reverenter, quorum libellos singulari voluptate legi. Iam reputa quid illic de eucharistia dicam. Cogita Lutheri ingenuitatem. Facile erit statuere quid causae habeant qui tam pertinaciter ab eo dissident Philippus autem ita scribebat: Lutherus et Pomeranus Calvinum et Sturmium iusserunt salutari. Calvinus magnam gratiam iniiit.' CO 10.197.432, Calvinus Farello, 12 December 1539. Calvin sincerely hoped that the German and the Swiss Protestants could reach an agreement. When writing with regards to certain observances, which Luther maintained and Bucer had approved of (or at least did not consider as church dividing), Calvin explained to Farel that he agreed with Bucer who did not see these observances as church dividing. See CO 10.169.341, Calvinus Farello, April 1539.

³⁵³Luther had read some works composed by Swiss Protestants in Zurich on the Eucharist, which had angered him. In response, Luther proceeded to denounce the Sacramentarians. See CO 11.576.755, Calvinus Farello, 10 October 1544. See also Parker 1975: 137.

³⁵⁴See Parker 1975: 137. At this time Luther said concerning those holding to what he saw as Sacramentarian views on the Eucharist, 'Und sie ein eingeteuffelt, durchteuffelt, uberteuffelt, lesterlich hertz und Luegenmaul hetten, Und wolt damit die warheit gesagt haben was 'eingeteuffelt, durch teuffelt, uberteuffelt, lesterlich hertz und Luegenmaul'. WA 54.147.33-34, *Kurzes Bekenntnis vom heiligen Sakrament*, 1544. See also WA 54.132, *Kurzes Bekenntnis vom heiligen Sakrament* 1544, Einleitung.

³⁵⁵Saepe dicere solitus sum: etiam si me diabolus vocaret, me tamen hoc illi honoris habiturum, ut in signem Dei servum agnoscam: qui tamen nut pollet eximiis virtutibus, eta magnis vitiis laboret. CO 11.586.774, Calvinus Bullingero, 25 November 1544.

³⁵⁶Calvin addresses Luther in the beginning of the letter, 'Excellentissimo christianae ecclesiae pastori. D. Martino Luthero patri mihi plurimum observando.' CO 12.605.7, Calvinus Luthero, 1545. It seems unfortunate that Calvin's humble and respectful letter, which he sent through Melancthon with an instruction to consider Luther's state of mind on whether or not to give the letter, was never passed on to Luther by Melancthon. Calvin's letter was written on the issue of persecution in France where the churches were uncertain how publicly and directly it was their duty to confess their faith. Calvin saw that they should not hide their convictions, even if this meant risking their life, to which he sought

Despite his positive statements on Luther, Calvin never seems to have regarded him uncritically.³⁵⁷ While Calvin compared Wittenberg with Jerusalem as the birthplace of the true gospel,³⁵⁸ he also affirmed that Luther had faults, one of which was his vehement disposition and ungovernable impetuosity.³⁵⁹ Similarly, Calvin could not accept when Luther was given an authoritative position in the church and in doctrine.³⁶⁰ Calvin felt that God had accomplished a pivotal change through Luther, but at the same time he saw that the Reformation needed to continue.³⁶¹ Calvin thought that the position he had taken on the Lord's Supper and on church organisation and discipline, for instance, were more in line with the Bible than the position of Luther.³⁶²

confirmation from Luther. Some French Protestants saw that it was appropriate to confess their faith in secret as Nicodemus did, coming to Jesus at night, which gave them the name 'Nicodemites'. Calvin had written two booklets relating to the issue at hand, namely, *Petit traicte monstrant que c'est que doit faire un home fidèle, cognoissant la verité de l'Evangile quand il est entre les papists*, 1543, and *L'Excuse de Jehan Calvin à Messieurs les Nicodemites, sur la complaincte qu'il font de sa trop grand rigueur*, 1544. Both of these booklets were translated into Latin for Luther to read. See Farris 1964: 127 for further information.

³⁵⁷For instance, in 1538 Calvin complained about the unwillingness of Lutherans to settle the controversy between themselves and the Swiss Protestants. Calvin saw that it was Luther who 'may have been to blame'. Calvin states, 'Peccet sane Lutherus, a quo mihi non satisfieri ingenue ipse fateor.' CO 10.149.277, Calvinus Farello, 24 October 1538.

³⁵⁸See CR 547, 8. Mai 1544. Quoted in Zeeden 1958: 179. See also Zeeden 1958: 180.

³⁵⁹Calvin states this in his letter to Melanchthon. See CO 12.657.98-100, Calvinus Melanchthoni, 28 June 1545. Calvin also maintains in this letter that while Luther ought to be held in honour, perhaps even in that of a primary position, it is not beneficial for a church to have to bow down before one person's authority.

³⁶⁰After Luther's death, some Lutherans regarded him as the third Elijah. See Zeeden 1958: 190. In view of the authoritative position Luther had gained, Calvin complained in his letter to Melanchthon that Luther had been tyrannical. See Zeeden 1958: 186.

³⁶¹Gerrish, while recognizing that Calvin believed that he had taken the work of the Reformation further than Luther, makes an important observation that Calvin nevertheless recognized Luther as having been as fully God's servant as himself: 'If Calvin thought of himself as God's mouthpiece, he thought of Luther in the same way, and this did not prevent him from regarding Luther as fallible'. See Gerrish 1967: 89.

³⁶²In 1549, Calvin appears to have called the 'adorable sacrament of Luther ... an idol set up in the temple of God?' Calvin's Letters, Letter 244, to Bucer, June 1549. The excerpt is from Calvin's letter to Bucer, where he describes the excesses of certain Lutherans, while he commends the moderation of Melanchthon. Unfortunately, I was unable to trace the reference back to the original as it is not found in CO 13 where it should be. The translation of *Calvin's Letters* refers to an original in *Calvin's Latin Correspondence*. Opera, vol. 9, p. 49. See also Bucer's response to Calvin on this issue in CO 13.1240.354-355, Bucerus Calvinus, August 1549.

Joachim Rogge gives an example of how Calvin may have modified a specific doctrine, namely Luther's doctrine of the two regiments (the secular and the spiritual). In his article 'Kritik Calvins an Luthers Zwei-Reiche-Lehre?', Rogge argues that Calvin adopted the doctrine of two regiments from Luther, but at the same time added a 'theocratic accent' in order to counteract 'the secularisation of the state' intimately connected with Luther's doctrine. In the conclusion of his article, Rogge quotes Joachim Staedtke (Rogge agreeing with him) as follows, 'Er (Calvin) hat Luthers Zwei-Reiche-Lehre übernommen, sie aber modifiziert durch einen theokratischen Akzent, um der von ihm vorausgesehenen Paganisierung des Staates entgegenzuwirken' (Joachim Staedtke, 'Calvins Genf und

Attention is now turned to a brief consideration of some of Luther's books Calvin had read and which are considered to have had an influence on him. As is well-known, the first version of Calvin's *Institutio*, that of 1536, had many relatively clear links to Luther, Melancthon and Bucer's writings. Lang lists Luther's books, which have been seen to connect with Calvin's *Institutio* 1536 as the following: Luther's *Kleine Katechismus* (1529), *Tractatus De libertate Christiana* (1520), *De captivitate Babylonica* (1520), *Sermon von dem Sakrament des Leibs und Blutes Christi wider die Schwarmgeister* (translated into Latin 1527), *Sermon von dem Hochwürdigen Sakrament des heyligen wahren Leichnams Christi* (translated into Latin 1524), and *Kirchenpostille*.³⁶³ The most influential of these was most likely Luther's *Kleine Katechismus*. Lang enumerates connections between Luther's *Kleine Katechismus* and Calvin's *Institutio* 1536 on issues such as God's law, faith, sacraments and prayer, for instance, thus suggesting that Luther had influenced Calvin on at least these subjects.³⁶⁴

A brief review of some of Calvin's comments on Luther in his letters in 1538-1548 helped to identify two other works Calvin desired to have, namely, '*pias precatones Lutheri*'³⁶⁵ (1539) and further, early in the year Calvin wrote his *Galatians* (1546), Luther's *Commentarii in Genesim*.³⁶⁶ Considering the

die Entstehung politischer Freiheit' in Staat und Kirche im Wandel der Jahrhunderte, Stuttgart: Walther Peter Fuchs, 1966, p. 100; quoted in Rogge 1968: 167). Whether Rogge is right in his view or not, it needs to be borne in mind that the relationship between the church and the state represents one of those few issues where Calvin's variance from Luther's view may be seen as more significant than in most other doctrines. An interesting counterpart to Rogge's article can be found in Willem Van't Spijker's article 'The Influence of Luther on Calvin according to the Institutes', where Spijker examines the ways in which Calvin accepted and modified Luther's teaching on 1) knowledge of God and humans, 2) predestination and 3) the Lord's Supper (Spijker 1986: 95-105). It is often said that especially the doctrines of predestination and the Lord's Supper were taught in a significantly different way by Luther and Calvin. However, Spijker argues that while there are differences in accent in Luther and Calvin, there is nevertheless an underlying continuity between the two reformers' thought even on these doctrines. Spijker says in his conclusion, 'Calvin never had any doubts about the idea that he was continuing along the way indicated by Luther. It was Luther's way, or rather the way first indicated by Luther. But Calvin went further along this way. ... In the further elaboration of it, it was not the reformer from Wittenberg but the reformer from Strasbourg who illuminated his road.' See Spijker 1986: 104-105. The subjects of Galatians, however, primarily deal with subjects where there is a large degree of agreement between Luther and Calvin. See section 6 of this research for further discussion.

³⁶³See Lang 1536: 104-106. It is possible that Calvin had also used Luther's *Grosse Katechismus*. It is thought that Calvin would have read Luther's *Kleine Katechismus* in a Latin translation of a collection of Luther's writings *Bebüchleins*. Additionally, Melancthon's *Loci Communes* 1522, is seen to have several links with Calvin's *Institutio* 1536. Calvin had also with great likelihood read both Melancthon's *Augustana* and its *Apologia*. See Lang 1536: 106-107.

³⁶⁴See Lang 1936: 105.

³⁶⁵Calvin writes to Farel in 1539 about '*pias precatones Lutheri*', which he wanted to obtain 'Vous maviez mande par *Alexandre* que vous aviez a moy *pias precatones Lutheri* desquelles vous ne faites nulle mention. Je vous pryé aussi me mander comment il en va.' CO 10.194.426, Calvinus Farello, 27th October 1539.

³⁶⁶Calvin, writing to Theodore Vitus, requests that he pass on to Luther's commentary on Genesis. CO 12.781.317, Calvinus Theodoro [Vito], 16 March 1546.

large number of works Calvin had read by Luther, one could be led to think Calvin must have been largely influenced by them. While this was undoubtedly true in his *Institutio* of 1536, the next edition of his *Institutio* (1539) showed otherwise. Thenceforth, Calvin's theology is generally seen to stand on its own.

Next, some attention is given to the question of whether Calvin had read or been influenced by Luther's *Galatians*. The conclusions outlined here are made on the basis of Parker's and Feld's consideration of the two commentaries, in addition to my own study. Parker's analysis of the Latin utilised in Calvin's translation of the text of the New Testament present in Calvin's New Testament commentaries, included a consideration of possible connections between Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*. Parker's study did not produce any links to Luther's *Galatians*.³⁶⁷ Feld, for his part, makes no reference to Luther's *Galatians* in his introduction on the sources of Calvin's commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians. In the apparatus of Calvin's *Galatians* (in *Ioannis Calvini Opera Exegetica*, vol. 16),³⁶⁸ however, there are three references made to Luther's commentary. Each of them is briefly reviewed below in addition to one further allusion identified in the present study, which could be seen as a possible link between the commentaries of these two reformers. It may be in place to note here, that Calvin makes no explicit reference in his commentary to Luther. This, however, does not necessarily indicate that he had not used Luther's *Galatians*, as he also used Bullinger's commentaries without mentioning him by name, as Feld affirms.³⁶⁹

The first of Feld's references to Luther's *Galatians* in the apparatus of Calvin's *Galatians* is in the passage where Calvin alludes to the subject of justification as 'a fundamental article of the Christian faith' and as an issue, which is 'weighty and serious'.³⁷⁰ Luther, for his part, notes that the issue of justification is 'nothing trivial' for Paul and that it is 'the principal doctrine of Christianity'.³⁷¹ This

³⁶⁷ Parker did find connections between Calvin's New Testament text and that of Bucer, however. The relationship between Calvin and Bucer, as much as it could have been interesting to examine in reference to Calvin's *Galatians*, has to be left for others to investigate due to constraints of space. See Parker 1962: 290.

³⁶⁸ *Ioannis Calvini Opera Exegetica* vol. 16 is the same as COR (*Calvini Opera Recognita*), vol. 16.

³⁶⁹ Feld affirms, 'Unter den reformatorischen Auslegern hat sich Calvin weitaus am häufigsten und intensivsten mit dem Zürcher Heinrich Bullinger auseinandergesetzt, allerdings ohne ihn jemals namentlich zu nennen. Der Grund dafür liegt auf der Hand: Calvin wollte wohl Bullinger, dessen Interpretation er in den meisten Fällen ablehnt, persönlich nicht verletzen.' See Feld 1992: xxiv.

³⁷⁰ 'At Paulus tanquam de primario Christianae fidei capite dimicat. Neque immerito. Non enim leve malum est suffocari Euangelii claritatem, laqueum iniici conscientiis, tolli discrimen Veteris et Novi testamenti. Videbat praeterea his erroribus coniunctam quoque esse impiam et perniciosam opinionem promerendae iustitiae. Haec causa est, cur tanta vehementia et contentione depugnet. Nos quoque admoniti, quam gravis et seria disputatio hic tractetur. COR 16,6, Argumentum.

³⁷¹ 'Paulus hic non agit de lana caprina nec de pane lucrando, sed de praecipuo articulo Christianae doctrinae. Illo conspecto et habito ob oculos caetera omnia vilescunt et nihili sunt. Quid enim est Petrus,

statement, it appears, only demonstrates that both reformers saw justification as central both in Galatians and in the Christian faith. The wording is not so similar that it would suggest any direct connection. The second possible link is somewhat stronger. In his comment on Gal. 3.1, Calvin refers to the interpretation of those who see that Christ is being recrucified by the Galatians in their fall from the gospel. He sees this interpretation as ‘strained’.³⁷² This interpretation, which Calvin rejects, is represented by at least two other commentators, those of Nicolaus of Lyra and Luther. Luther explains Paul’s comment (‘quod sit in vobis crucifixus’, Gal 3.1) as a warning to the Galatians because by attempting to achieve righteousness by the law they are recrucifying Christ.³⁷³ (Calvin also rejected righteousness by the law, but did not see it appropriate to see this as having a connection to recrucifying Christ). While it is possible that Calvin also could have had Luther in mind when referring to the ‘strained’ interpretation of others, it needs to be borne in mind that Luther was not the only one holding this view, and that therefore Calvin’s statement could well refer to others, not Luther.

The third possible connection between Luther’s and Calvin’s commentaries is found in Calvin’s allusion to various interpretations of Gal. 3.3 (‘Ita stulti estis, ut exorsi a Spiritu, nunc carne consummemini’). Here Calvin refers to other explanations of the verse as ‘doubtful’ and ‘divided’ with regards to the meaning of the terms Spirit and flesh.³⁷⁴ Calvin explains the verse as meaning a fall from the Spirit into outward things or dead doctrine, which represented the flesh.³⁷⁵ Luther, for his part, interprets the flesh at this point as representing righteousness of the law, which human wisdom and reason see as the right way to justification.³⁷⁶ Despite the fact that there is variance in Calvin’s and Luther’s explanations of the verse (which could confirm the fact that Calvin sees Luther’s interpretation as one of those which are ‘doubtful’), it is uncertain whether this represents a connection between their commentaries, since Calvin’s reference to the interpretation is so vague.

A further possible link could be suggested on the basis of Calvin’s comment on Gal. 3.19, where he alludes to the ‘many’ who cannot see any other

Paulus, quid angelus e coelo, quid universa creatura ad articulum iustificationis? WA 40a.192.19-22, on Gal. 2.11.

³⁷²Nam quod aliqui intelligent: Galatas crucifixisse rursus Dominum et ludibrio habuisse, quum ab Euangelii puritate recesserant, vel certe praeuissse aurem et fidem accomodasse impostoribus, qui eum crucifigebant, mihi videtur coactius. COR 16.60, on Gal. 3.1.

³⁷³Utitur ergo hic Paulus gravissimis et atrocissimis verbis, ut Galatas absterreat et revocet a doctrina Pseudoapostolorum, Quasi dicat: Considerate, quid feceritis; Vos denuo crucifixistis Christum, hocque tam clare vobis ostendo et pingo ob oculos, ut videre et contractare possitis, quia per legem vultis iustificari. Si autem per legem est iustitia, igitur Christus est peccati minister et frustra mortuus est. Si hoc verum est, tunc certissime sequitur eum in vobis esse denuo crucifixum. WA 40a.326.29-35, on Gal. 3.1. See also WA 40a.327.28-31, on Gal. 3.1.

³⁷⁴Hic etiam dubium est, quid per Spiritum, quid per carnem intelligat. Variant interpretes. COR 16.61.

³⁷⁵See COR 16.61-62.

³⁷⁶See WA 40.347a.26-27.

advantage of the law except that it points out human sin. Calvin, for his part, affirms that the law is also helpful for ‘teaching and exhortation’, although he, too, acknowledges that the principal application of the law in Galatians is pointing out sin.³⁷⁷ This, again, could be a reference to Luther (among others). However, due to the lack of any further specification, and due to the fact that it could refer to any other work of Luther identifying his position on the uses of the law, even this statement cannot be seen as conclusive evidence for suggesting that Calvin would have read or been influenced by Luther’s commentary on Galatians.

In summary, Calvin had high regard for Luther and had been influenced by him, especially in the earlier stages of his reformatory career. Despite the various books of Luther Calvin had read, however, Calvin’s theology from 1539 onwards is his own. This seems confirmed by the results of this study, too, as may be reviewed in the nature of the similarities and agreements between Luther and Calvin in sections 4-6 below. Calvin expressed things differently to Luther, and on a few occasions also disagreed with his position. Additionally, the specific question as to whether Calvin was influenced by Luther’s *Galatians* must be left open. While it is possible to suggest a few indistinct connections between their commentaries, the evidence is not sufficient to conclude with any certainty that Calvin had read or used Luther’s commentary in preparation for his.

³⁷⁷Multiplex est Legis usus. Sed Paulus eum solum attigit, qui praesenti causae serviebat ... Video enim plerosque hallucinari, quod nullam aliam Legis utilitatem agnoscunt, quam quae hic notatur. Atqui Paulus ipse alibi praecepta Legis accomodat ad doctrinam et exhortationes. COR 16.77, on Gal. 3.19.

3. Theological Setting of Luther's and Calvin's *Commentaries on Galatians* in the Context of Luther's and Calvin's Own Theology

The purpose of this section is to make some brief observations on Luther's and Calvin's commentaries on Galatians in relationship to their earlier and contemporaneous theology. It must be borne in mind, however, that in order to be comprehensive one would need to do a much more thorough study. The purpose here is to succinctly look at some aspects of how the theology of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* stands in relationship to concepts identified in their theology elsewhere. Especially, it is interesting in this context to observe whether any difference can be identified in how their earlier and contemporaneous theology relate to their commentaries on Galatians.

Luther's *Galatians* 1531/35 is considered in light of his *Commentary on Galatians* from 1519 and in light of the *Grosse Katechismus* from 1529. A comparison with the earlier commentary on Galatians provides a unique opportunity in that it is possible to see in what ways Luther interprets the same text differently twelve years later. The *Grosse Katechismus*, on the other hand, was chosen both because it was written just two years preceding his lectures on Galatians in 1531 and because of its distinctive importance among Luther's doctrinal writings.

Calvin's *Galatians* 1546/48, for its part, is looked at in the light of two versions of his *Institutio*, those of 1539 and of 1543/45,³⁷⁸ both of which provide ample material on Calvin's views on those concepts, which are treated in his *Galatians*.

3.1. Luther's *Commentary on Galatians* 1531/35

In some respects, it was easier to compare Luther's *Commentary on Galatians* 1535 with his earlier commentary on Galatians 1519 than with his *Grosse Katechismus* 1529 because the themes of the Catechism³⁷⁹ differ significantly from those treated within the commentary. Nevertheless, the different way in which Luther treats the subjects of the Catechism proved fruitful in that, despite the differing subjects, there

³⁷⁸Some thought was given for looking at Calvin's first *Institutio* from 1536, but because of the dependence of Calvin on other theologians at that time (as noted above in section 2.4.3.4), it seemed better to choose Calvin's *Institutio* of 1539 and 1543/45 for the comparison above, because both of these represent Calvin's independent theology.

³⁷⁹'The Catechism' henceforth refers to Luther's *Grosse Katechismus* of 1529.

are clear connections between substantial concepts in the Great Catechism and in his *Galatians* 1531/35.

3.1.1. Relationship of Luther's *Commentary on Galatians* 1531/35 to his *Commentary on Galatians* 1519

It is important to note that Karin Bornkamm, in her insightful work *Luthers Auslegungen des Galaterbriefs von 1519 und 1531: ein Vergleich*, has already treated the relationship of these two commentaries of Luther in great detail. Her work has been especially helpful in the preparation of this section of the study. The perspective of this study, however, differs somewhat from hers and therefore instead of merely summarising her work, her findings, where appropriate, are discussed in light of those concepts which were seen as substantial in this study. The different way in which the subjects are treated in this study ought not to be seen as an indication of perceived weakness in Bornkamm's work, but rather as being a result of a different approach to Luther's commentary.

It was interesting to note certain aspects of the ways in which Luther's earlier commentary on Galatians differs from his later one. There is clearly more exegetical detail in the first commentary dealing with aspects of appropriate translations of the original Greek of the commentary, for instance. Also, other commentators on Galatians, Erasmus and Jerome, for example, receive much more attention in the earlier 1519 commentary and are treated more favourably than in the later one in 1531/35. Moreover, Luther explains concepts using the allegorical method much more frequently in 1519 than in 1531/35. It is also significant that in his commentary of 1519 Luther still speaks as friar Martin Luther the Augustinian (F. Martinus Lutherius Augustinianus),³⁸⁰ still within the fold of the Roman Catholic church while in the later commentary 1531/35, he represents the evangelical faith, already separated from Catholicism.

There are some differences in how Luther presents substantial concepts in the two commentaries, though it must be borne in mind that generally speaking, there is a thoroughgoing agreement between them. On several points of difference (but not disagreement) the original concept of 1519 finds a more mature form in the commentary of 1531/35.³⁸¹

The analysis of substantial concepts in Luther's Galatians of 1519 indicated five of the six concepts of 1531/35 as significant within that of 1519 as well, including justification, the work of the Holy Spirit, law, good works and ministry, all of which are treated in some detail. Interestingly, the theme on the scandal of the cross and suffering as a Christian of 1531/35, did not appear as important for the commentary of 1519. Instead, there was correspondingly much more emphasis on the questions relating to the church, especially on the question of papal authority vs. the authority of the Scripture. This difference can be seen as a

³⁸⁰WA 2.446.13.

³⁸¹See below in section 3.1.1.1. for examples.

result of the differing historical context of the commentaries, the first being written while Luther, as an Augustinian monk, was still hoping for a reform of the Catholic church. In this context the question of papal authority vs. Scripture was central. In 1531, by way of contrast, the newly established evangelical Lutheranism was threatened by persecution of the Catholic church on the one hand and by new doctrines of the Anabaptists on the other, the emergence of which Luther saw as even more painful than physical persecution.³⁸²

3.1.1.1. Justification

Bornkamm sees Luther's presentation on justification in 1519 as grounded in a spiritual understanding and hearing of the gospel, underlain by Augustine's letter vs. spirit (*litera vs. spiritus*) concept.³⁸³ While there is merit in this approach in that a spiritual understanding of the Word of the gospel is important within the commentary, and because Augustine's influence on the commentary of 1519 is significant, it seems that focusing on this one concept runs the risk of neglecting other important aspects of the concept of justification in Luther's commentary of 1519.

The most thoroughgoing theme of the commentary of 1519, just as in the commentary of 1531/35, seems to be the contrast drawn between righteousness by faith and by works.³⁸⁴ For instance, in his comments on Gal. 1.4-5, Luther maintains that Paul, 'with the thunderbolt of the Word', crushes all human righteousness which is based on the law, works and human free will. Instead, salvation is found in Christ, 'if only you believe that you are saved.'³⁸⁵ There are several ways in which Luther contrasts the two kinds of righteousness (that of works vs. that of faith) in his later commentary, which are not developed to the same extent in the one of 1519. For instance, Luther discusses passive and active righteousness only within one short paragraph in 1519, but addresses it in a comprehensive treatment encompassing most of the argument for the epistle in 1531/35.³⁸⁶ The basic thought in each, however, is the same; on the passive,

³⁸²Prenter draws attention to the fact that Luther emphasised the importance of an outward structure of the church (as an indispensable part of the work of the Holy Spirit) and its visible sacraments against Anabaptist influence, from 1522 onwards. See Prenter 1953: xv-xviii, 254-301. Prenter states, 'The word of the Spirit takes place in the outward, *public* signs of revelation. It is by these signs that the Spirit performs his sanctifying work. In a certain sense this work is hidden – and thereby also the church itself – because the Spirit sanctifies by the *Word* and by the *faith*. ... The enthusiasts, as always, turn things upside down. They want their new life to be a *visible* holiness. Therefore they are not interested in the visible and public signs of revelation.' Prenter 1953: 300-301 (emphasis in the original).

³⁸³Bornkamm 1963: 37-89, esp. 58-61.

³⁸⁴See WA 2.457.34-459.38, 468.32-469.31, 489.6-490.16, 506.16-507.26, 513.19-521.4, 596.5-38, 613.7-37 on Gal. 1.4-5, 1.13-14, 2.16, 3.1, 3.10-17, 5.23, 6.13 respectively.

³⁸⁵Quo iterum fulmine verbi contundit praesumptionem arbitrii, legis et operum iusticiae nostrae. Non, inquit, ista eripiunt nos, sed Christus traditus, si modo credas te eripi. WA 2.458.36-39, on Gal. 1.4-5.

³⁸⁶Compare WA 2.539.1-18, on Gal. 4.9 with WA 40a.40.15-51.34; Argumentum Epistolae. The words active and passive are not explicitly mentioned in WA 2.539.1-18, but the thought, however, is clearly

receiving function of the believer with regard to God's righteousness in contrast to human righteousness, where one attempts to achieve justification by one's own works. The relatively brief illustration of Abraham as the father of those justified by faith in 1519, for its part, expands into an extensive twenty page treatment of the theme in 1531/35. In the later commentary Abraham is illustrated not only as the father of the true believers, trusting in God's promise (as Abraham did with Isaac) but also as the father of those who rely on their own works (as Abraham did begetting offspring with Hagar).³⁸⁷

Luther notes a contrast between two kinds of righteousness, the external (*ab extra*) and the internal (*ab intra*) on Gal. 2.16, the one consisting of reliance in outward works, and the other of inward faith in Christ in 1519. In this context Luther discusses union with 'the name of the Lord' (*nomen domini*), developed as the concept of union with Christ (*unio cum Christo*) in 1531/35. Luther affirms that through faith the heart clings to the name of the Lord, and when touched by the Lord's name by faith, is purified from all its impurity and sin.³⁸⁸

Interestingly, one of the significant pictures of the role of Christ in justification in the commentary of 1519 is that of Christ as the Fulfiller of the law for the believer, replaced by seeing Christ as the Saviour and Redeemer of the believer in 1531/35. In a sense, the thought is similar, in that Christ has satisfied the demands of the law and thus redeemed the believer from its requirements. Consequently, as Christ has fulfilled the law for the believer, the believer, too, by faith, becomes a fulfiller of the law. Accordingly, Luther affirms that 'in Christ there is justification and that the law has been fulfilled. ... But the Law is not fulfilled except through the righteousness of faith.'³⁸⁹

Bornkamm has drawn attention to Augustine's letter vs. spirit contrast (*litera vs. spiritus*) as undergirding Luther's presentation of justification in 1519, as noted above.³⁹⁰ This juxtapositioning is especially evident in a description of the difference between the law and the gospel and illustrated in the contrast between the law of the Spirit / grace vs. the law of the letter in Luther's discussion on Gal. 4.26-27. In his exposition of Paul's allegory of Hagar and Sarah, Luther explains that the believer's move from being under the law to being under grace occurs when the believer leaves the old husband, Moses and the law behind

the same. The believer's part is to let God act within them in the same way as the workman works with his tool. *Verum sub hac simplicitate latet non minus sublimis illa intelligentia, quod nostrum agere est pati deum in nobis operantem, quo modo videmus instrumentum.* WA 2.539.4-6, on Gal. 4.9.

³⁸⁷ Compare WA 2.510.23-513.18 on Gal. 3.6-10 with WA 40a.373.18-391.26, on Gal. 3.7-9.

³⁸⁸ *Invocatio autem nominis divini, si est in corde et ex corde vere facta, ostendit, quod cor et nomen domini sint unum simul et sibi cohaerentia. Ideo impossibile est, ut cor non participet eiusdem virtutibus, quibus pollet nomen domini. Cohaerent autem cor et nomen domini per fidem.* WA 2.490.17-20, on Gal. 2.16.

³⁸⁹ *Iustificacionem in Christo et legem impletam ... At non nisi per fidei iusticiam lex impletur.* WA 2.495.21-22, 39, on Gal. 2.18.

³⁹⁰ Bornkamm 1963: 37-89, esp. 58-61.

(represented by Hagar), and becomes the allegorical wife of Christ and grace (represented by Sarah). This takes place ‘solely by the grace of the Spirit’ (*sola gratia spiritus*).³⁹¹ A similar line of thinking can be identified also in the law gospel contrast in 1531/35.

Christian liberty seems to play quite an important role in the commentary of 1519, perhaps even more so than in 1531/35,³⁹² a concept which, interestingly, Bornkamm discusses primarily in connection with the law and good works.³⁹³ In Luther’s commentary of 1519 Christian liberty is discussed on the one hand as liberty in relationship to ceremonial observances, which one is free to observe or ignore, depending on the requirement of love.³⁹⁴ On the other hand, Luther draws a contrast between two kinds of liberty, the one which human flesh understands (liberty to sin) and the one which only true believers have because Christ has fulfilled the law for them.³⁹⁵ Both thoughts can be found also in the commentary of 1531/35.

3.1.1.2. Work of the Holy Spirit

The work of the Holy Spirit is described in Luther’s commentary of 1519 primarily in terms of hearing of faith (*fides ex auditu*) and the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh. There is only little explicit material on regeneration and assurance of salvation, the latter of which, as Bornkamm also notes, is an important concept in the later commentary of 1531/35.³⁹⁶

Luther affirms that the hearing of the Word of the gospel takes place only through the Spirit, who enables the believers to receive and believe the gospel.³⁹⁷ The struggle between the flesh and the Spirit on the other hand, is

³⁹¹WA 2.557.10, on Gal. 4.27.

³⁹²Christian liberty is a central concept also in the commentary of 1531/35. However, Luther gives proportionately somewhat more attention to Christian liberty in 1519 than in 1531/35. It is also noteworthy that in 1520, the year immediately following 1519 Luther wrote his famous treatise on Christian liberty, *Tractatus de christiana libertate*, demonstrating his focus on this theme at the time. See WA 7.39-73.

³⁹³See Bornkamm 1963: 280-282, 286-293, 308-316. Bornkamm sees Christian liberty in Luther’s commentary of 1519 as closely connected to love, both of which guide the Christian in the performance of good works. Christian liberty entails freedom from the law, but in its inner character agrees with the law. The Christian is therefore free to choose, considering each situation from the point of view of love toward one’s neighbour, whether or not to act in accordance with certain ceremonies.

³⁹⁴See e.g. WA 2.477.20-479.21, on Gal. 2.3-5. See also Luther’s discussion on Paul’s critique of Peter’s refusal to eat with Gentile believers in WA 2.485.1-488.24, on Gal. 2.11-14.

³⁹⁵See e.g. WA 2.559.31-560.37, on Gal. 5.1 and WA 2.574.12-576.16, on Gal. 5.13.

³⁹⁶See Bornkamm 1963: 232-234. See also sections 4.2.2 and 4.2.4 of this study for a discussion on the work of the Holy Spirit in connection with regeneration and assurance of salvation in the commentary of 1531/35. Bornkamm devotes one of the main sections (section III) of her book to the concept of *Anfechtungen* in Luther’s commentaries. It seems that the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh also could have deserved its own section, however, as it is treated in quite a lot of detail in both commentaries of Luther.

³⁹⁷On the one hand, the Spirit is infused with the Word ‘when it strikes the ears’ and on the other, it is the hearing of faith that receives the Spirit. *Ideo verbum virtutis et gratiae est, simul dum aures pulsatur, intus*

presented by Luther in the context of the *simul iustus et peccator* concept, similarly to 1531/35. Sin still remains in the flesh of the believers and this leads to a battle against the new life begun by the Spirit. This struggle is what characterises Christians.³⁹⁸

3.1.1.3. Law

In the commentary of 1519 most of Luther's explicit discussion on the subject of the law focuses on its purpose. As in the commentary 1531/35, its purpose is identified as showing humans their sin, thus preparing them for the receiving of the gospel (in displaying to humans their need of grace). Luther affirms,

'The law was laid down for the sake of transgression, in order that transgression might be and abound, and in order that thus man, having been brought to knowledge of himself through the Law, might seek the hand of a merciful God.'³⁹⁹

Luther also presents an interesting definition of a law of two kinds in his comments on Gal. 2.19. The law of the letter (*lex literae*) represents the written code of the law, which condemns, while the law of the Spirit (*lex spiritus*) is a law of faith, grace and Christ (*lex fidei, lex gratiae, lex Christi*), which justifies and fulfils the law.⁴⁰⁰ On the whole, it appears that while the concept of the law in the commentary of 1519 corresponds closely to the concept in the commentary of 1531/35, there is less stress on the negative,⁴⁰¹ condemning function of the law in 1519 than in 1531/35.⁴⁰²

spiritum infundit. Quod si spiritum non infundit, nihil differt audiens a surdo. ... tat fixa sententia, ex auditu fidei accipi spiritum. WA 2.509.3-5, 16-17, on Gal. 3.3. One can identify a parallel tension here as in between the concepts of *imputatio* and *unio*, a tension which Bornkamm frequently alludes to in her work. Bornkamm affirms that while *imputatio* is connected to the complete declaration of righteousness (*die völlige Gerechterklärung des Menschen*), *unio* is linked with the struggle believers have with sin, their partial righteousness (*teilweisen Gerechtigkeit*). Which occurs first, is not important, though *imputatio* is primary (*das sachlich Primäre*). See Bornkamm 1963: 77, 80-81. For a fuller discussion on the concepts, see Bornkamm 1963: 67, 72, 74-84, 154.

³⁹⁸Luther explains that the glory of God's grace is to make believers enemies of themselves. *Ita idem homo, eadem anima, idem spiritus hominis, quia affectu carnis mixtus et vitiatu est, quatenus sapit quae dei sunt, spiritus est, quatenus carnis movetur illecebris, caro est ... Sunt duo toti homines et unus totus homo: ita fit, ut homo sibi ipsi pugnet contrariusque sit, vult et non vult. Atque haec est gloria gratiae dei, quod nos fecit nobis ipsi hostes.* WA 2.586.4-7, 16-19, on Gal. 5.17.

³⁹⁹*Lex propter transgressionem posita est, ut transgressio sit et abundet, atque sic per legem homo in sui cognitionem perductus quaerat manum miserentis dei, qui sine lege peccatum ignorans sibi sanus videtur.* WA 2.522.27-29, on Gal. 3.19-20.

⁴⁰⁰See WA 2.499.20-500.2, on Gal. 2.19.

⁴⁰¹The antinomian controversy brought the issue of the law again to the fore in 1536/37. It would be an interesting study to examine and compare Luther's rebuttal of Johannes Agricola's views propagating antinomianism with his position on the law in his commentaries on Galatians, and especially his later commentary. However, due to constraints of space and due to the chosen focus of this study, the question cannot be attended to in any more detail here.

⁴⁰²Bornkamm concludes that Luther's commentary of 1519 gives no evidence for postulating a third use for the law (*tertius usus legis*; the law as a positive guide for believers), because according to Luther's

3.1.1.4. Good Works

The concept of love toward one's neighbour is an important idea in Luther's theology of good works in his commentary of 1519.⁴⁰³ Luther's longest single discussion in the whole commentary is a treatment on love (on Gal. 5.14). Love, the greatest of virtues, Luther affirms, has one's neighbour as its 'choicest object'.⁴⁰⁴ This love is guided by the principle of loving our neighbour in such a way as everyone, according to nature, loves themselves. The genuineness of this love is tested in trials and by the cross, in situations where one is treated unjustly, for true love 'loves an enemy as well as a friend'.⁴⁰⁵ In practice, this love is lived out in seeking, not those who are good and righteous, but those who are needy, and fallen, whose weaknesses the believers happily bear.⁴⁰⁶

Luther's concept of love in the earlier commentary seems very similar to that present in the later one, where love of one's neighbour is the guiding principle behind all genuine good works, too. Faithfulness in one's calling, however, receives more attention in the commentary of 1531. Bornkamm also identifies this difference, and insightfully presents it as a result of the 'liveliness of his [Luther's] concept of calling', which had developed after 1519.⁴⁰⁷

statements in the commentary the spiritual person (*homo spiritualis*) no longer needs the law. Instead, it would be more appropriate to talk of the use of the gospel (*usus evangelii*) in reference to good works since it is now on the grounds of faith, expressed through love, that the believers perform their good deeds. Bornkamm affirms, 'Der Gerechte bedarf des Gesetzes nicht, er stünde nach dem hier vorgeschlagenen Sprachgebrauch allein im *usus evangelii*, als *homo spiritualis*' (Bornkamm 1963: 309). For the whole discussion, see Bornkamm 1963: 295-314. There seems to be merit in this position in that Luther never identifies an explicit third use of the law in his commentary of 1519. The reason for this could have been, for instance, that he wanted to safeguard the freedom of the gospel from making the believer's new obedience a post-condition for justification. At the same time, however, Luther also affirms that through faith believers love the law and do what the law commands. *Fides autem Christi, cum diligit legem concupiscentiae prohibetricem, iam idem quod lex iubet faciens, concupiscentiam aggreditur et crucifigit.* WA 2.502.8-10, on Gal. 2.20. This kind of fulfilling of the law is a fruit of justification. This obedience comes about by the new law of the Spirit and grace now reigning in the believers' hearts, a state in which the law is fulfilled freely and spontaneously by the believers. Nevertheless, it appears that the concept of the spontaneous obedience rendered to the law by believers comes close to the idea of the third use of the law, though it must be born in mind that Luther never explicitly identifies it as a separate third use. See e.g. WA 2.498.32-500.35, 2.528.30-38 on Gal. 2.19 and 3.25. Compare especially WA 2.500.3-9, 2.528.34-36, on Gal. 2.19 and Gal. 3.25 with 2.500.10-16, on Gal. 2.19.

⁴⁰³For Luther's concept of good works at the time, see also his important work *Von den guten Werken* (1520) in WA 6.196-276.

⁴⁰⁴*Deinde nobilissimum depingit obiectum, quia detractis omnibus personis dicit 'proximum tuum'.* WA 2.577.19-20, on Gal. 5.14.

⁴⁰⁵*Charitas autem nunquam excidit: omnia suffert, omnia credit, omnia sustinet, aequè diligit hostem ut amicum, nec mutatur mutato proximo.* WA 2.579.8-9, on Gal. 5.14.

⁴⁰⁶WA 2.604.20-28, on Gal. 6.2.

⁴⁰⁷Bornkamm describes the difference on the issue of one's personal calling between the commentary of 1531/35 and that of 1519 as follows, 'Im Unterschied zur Beschreibung der dem Glauben entsprungene Werke als Erfüllung des Liebesgebotes schildert Luther 1531 das Handeln des Glaubenden vornehmlich als das Erfüllen der weltlichen Ordnungen, in die er gestellt ist. Die Lebendigkeit seines Amtesbegriffes

3.1.1.5. Ministry

Two concepts relating to ministry, those of the minister's calling and on tenderness needed in ministry, are important within Luther's discussion in 1519, both of which are significant themes also in 1531/35. Luther emphasises the importance of a true calling coming from God in contrast to a mere human calling, and points out the difference between an internal qualification of the heart (*cor*) before God in contrast to boasting of one's outward position or person (*persona*).⁴⁰⁸ Bornkamm observes, and it seems rightfully so, that in 1531/35 there is more stress on the legitimacy of the calling (*vocatio legitima*), however. This may be seen as a result of the influence of Anabaptist views during the time of writing of the later commentary, the practice of whom it was to operate in ministry without a calling by representatives of the state or of the official church.⁴⁰⁹

Further, on several occasions Luther observes Paul's tenderness, patience and tact when dealing with Galatians, who were falling from faith. Luther affirms,

'He [Paul] does not excommunicate, does not shout: "To the fire!" ... No, he displays the fire of his love and the flames of his heart, because he has been eager to kill men's faults and errors, not men.'⁴¹⁰

Luther points to this tenderness of Paul's as an important example for ministers, a theme to which he often returns in 1531/35 as well.

3.1.1.6. Church

Luther both begins and concludes his commentary by discussing the issue of church and papal authority, which, as pointed out above, is not a prevailing concern of Luther's in 1531/35. It is clear in both the introduction and conclusion of Luther's commentary that Luther still counts himself as being within the Roman church at this point, but nevertheless, his ideas connect to a large extent to those he expressed later as an evangelical. In the introduction Luther points to the primacy of Scripture over the pope while recognising the Roman church itself as good and holy in contrast to the corrupted papal see.⁴¹¹ In the conclusion Luther points to papal laws

ermöglicht es ihm, das ganze menschliche Leben in all seinen Bezügen in diese Ordnungen zu fassen.' 1963: 358. See also Bornkamm 1963: 359-360.

⁴⁰⁸See WA 2.453.19-454.2, on Gal. 1.1-2 and WA 2.480.11-481.2, on Gal. 2.6.

⁴⁰⁹Bornkamm 1963: 382.

⁴¹⁰*Non excommunicat, non clamat ad ignem, non mox haereticos pronunciat, non aggravat nec reaggravat, sed ignem charitatis et flammam cordis sui iactat, quia non occidere homines sed hominum vitia et errores studuit.* WA 2.545.18-20, on Gal. 4.13-14. See also e.g. WA 2.542.2-14, on Gal. 4.11 and WA 2.546.19-25, on Gal. 4.16.

⁴¹¹See e.g. WA 2.447.9-17, 447.42-448.23. A somewhat similar concept can also be found in the commentary of 1531/35, where Luther still recognizes the validity of the Roman church. However, in contrast to the earlier commentary, it is clear that Luther counts himself as being outside of the Roman church in 1531. Further, Luther affirms that the reason he cannot return to the Roman church but continues to teach against it is that the pope does not allow the doctrine of justification and regards his laws as necessary for salvation. See e.g. WA 40a.55.16-23, on Gal. 1-2, WA 40a.68.25-71.28, WA

as a burden and subordinates the papal traditions under the gospel and the papal see under a consideration of ‘fraternal love and need’.⁴¹²

It is evident that the central notions of Luther’s commentaries on Galatians of 1519 and 1531/35 are similar both on *which* concepts are focal and on *how* Luther understands them. The difference between the two commentaries deals primarily with the way of expressing the content of the ideas important to Luther, found in a more mature form in the later commentary in 1531/35.

3.1.2. Relationship of Luther’s Commentary on Galatians 1531/35 to *Grosse Katechismus* 1529

In contrast to Luther’s Commentary on Galatians of 1519, where Luther still speaks as an Augustinian friar, in his *Grosse Katechismus* of 1529 Luther speaks as an evangelical who has already departed from the Roman church. This appears evident despite the fact that the Diet of Augsburg (where the direction the evangelical faith took became more apparent) was still a year away. Furthermore, while some differences can be identified in Luther’s interpretation of Galatians in 1519 as compared to 1531/35, no significant variance seems present in the theology of *Grosse Katechismus* vs. Luther’s commentary on Galatians 1531/35.

It was interesting to note that despite the significantly different purpose and content of Luther’s *Grosse Katechismus* as compared to his commentary on Galatians 1531/35, the substantial concepts identified in the commentary were identified in the Catechism as well. However, the perspective they are presented from, is different, which is especially evident in the presentation of the subjects salvation / justification and the law. It should be noted that the work of the Holy Spirit is not discussed in a separate section, but included within the discussion of salvation / justification.

3.1.2.1. Salvation / Justification

Luther does not explicitly discuss justification in *Grosse Katechismus*, but each of the four sections of the Catechism (Ten Commandments, Creed, Lord’s Prayer, sacraments) contain much material relevant to the topic of justification.

Luther begins his treatment of the Ten Commandments by demonstrating the intent of the first commandment as faith / trust of the heart in God. Luther affirms,

40a.119.23-120.25, on Gal. 1.9, WA 40a.177.22-178.21, on Gal. 2.6, WA 40a.353.13-359.14, on Gal. 3.5.

⁴¹²Et ubi ego legum pontificiarum onera et scandala questus sum, ipsi me rebellem ecclesiae sibi fingent: ubi decretis praetuli Euangelium, damnata decreta fabulabuntur: ubi summi pontificis potestatem et dignitatem charitati et necessitati fraternae subieci blasphemum et bis septies haereticum clamabunt. WA 2.616.10-14.

‘The purpose of this commandment, therefore, is to require true faith and confidence of the heart, and these fly straight to the one true God and cling to him alone.’⁴¹³

The opposite of faith and trust in the one true God is a worship of any kind of idols (e.g. mammon, great learning) or a worship of one’s own works. When a person tries to earn heaven by one’s own works, one at the same time refuses to receive any gift from God.⁴¹⁴ Further, the keeping of the first commandment (faith and trust of the heart in God) is the head of and source for obedience to all the rest of the commandments.⁴¹⁵ The Creed, too, is an exposition of the first commandment. As Luther puts it, it is ‘a confession of Christians based on the first commandment.’⁴¹⁶

Explaining the difference between the Ten Commandments and the Creed, Luther affirms that while the Ten Commandments show one what one ought to do, the Creed displays how to do it. The Ten Commandments also demonstrate that no one can, of themselves, keep them. That is why one needs help, which is found from the content of the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer.⁴¹⁷ Thus the Ten Commandments have a *requiring* function, showing each one their inability, sinfulness and need, while the Creed and the Lord’s prayer have a *giving* function, pointing to how God has solved the human predicament of guilt and sin. The second and third parts of the Creed are especially relevant in this context. Luther explains on the second article of the Creed that Christ redeemed humans who were slaves under sin, freed them and brought them back into God’s grace and favour.⁴¹⁸ The third part of the Creed on the Holy Spirit gives some further insights relevant to justification. The third article is best titled sanctification according to Luther. Interestingly, Luther defines sanctification in this context as basically synonymous with the role of the Holy Spirit in salvation by faith. It is to be noted that Luther does not discuss sanctification here in the sense of considering the outward renewal of Christian life or in the sense of giving attention to good works resulting from the new birth. Instead, Luther affirms that ‘to sanctify is nothing else than to bring us to the Lord Christ to receive this blessing, which we could not obtain ourselves.’⁴¹⁹ This gift (*erloesung* ~ salvation) is received through the Word, which the Holy

⁴¹³Daruemb ist nu die meinung dieses gepots, das es foddert rechten glauben und zuversicht des hertzens, welche den rechten einigen Gott treffe und an yhm alleine hange. WA 30a.133.9-11.

⁴¹⁴WA 30a.133.17-134.17, 135.1-27.

⁴¹⁵WA 30a.137.1-4, 180.18-181.24.

⁴¹⁶Denn weil die zehen gepot haben furgehalten, man solle nicht mehr denn einen Got haben, moechte man nu fragen: Was ist denn Gott fur ein man, was thut er, wie kan man yhn preisen oder abmalen und beschreiben, das man yhn kenne? Das leret nu dieser und folgende artikel. Also das der Glaube nichts anders ist denn ein antwort und bekenntnis der Christen auff das erste gepot gestellet. WA 30a.183.16-21.

⁴¹⁷WA 30a.182.18-31.

⁴¹⁸WA 30a.186.9-28.

⁴¹⁹Das nu solcher schatz nicht begraben bliebe, sondern angelegt und genossen wuerde, hat Gott das wort ausgehen und verkuenden lassen, daryn den heiligen geist geben, uns solchen schatz und erloesung heim zubringen und zueigenen. Daruemb ist das heiligen nicht anders denn zu dem HERRN Christo bringen, solch gut zuempfehen, dazu wir von uns selbs nicht komen kuentden. WA 30a.188.12-17.

Spirit enables one to receive, without works or human merit.⁴²⁰ Further, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit within the church, through sacraments and the Word, the faith of Christians grows and forgiveness is granted for the remaining sin of believers.⁴²¹

Luther further elucidates that the second petition of the Lord's prayer (on the coming of God's kingdom) is a prayer for the fulfilment of 'what we learned in the Creed' on redemption (2nd article) and on the work of the Spirit through the Word (3rd article).⁴²² The fifth petition on forgiveness, on the other hand, implies a daily need of Christians for forgiveness because of their remaining sin, reminding of the *simul iustus et peccator* of the commentary of 1531/35.⁴²³ Luther continues in his explanation of the fifth petition and asserts that the flesh leads Christians to sin daily 'in word and deed, in acts of commission and omission' which again leads to the losing of the comfort of God's love. Through prayer, however, one is both humbled (in that one needs forgiveness) and assured of God's continuing favour and forgiveness.⁴²⁴

The Word has an important role in Luther's discussion of the sacraments.⁴²⁵ God's Word, promising salvation and forgiveness, is what is significant in baptism and the Lord's Supper. The benefits of baptism and the Lord's Supper are very important, too – these sacraments represent nothing less than personal salvation and forgiveness. These benefits, in turn, are received by those who accept them by faith alone (*sola fide*).⁴²⁶

Although Luther does not explicitly mention justification in his discussion in the Catechism, many concepts which are part of Luther's discussion of justification and of the work of the Holy Spirit in his commentary in 1531/35 are treated in the Catechism, too, including the first commandment as faith / trust in God, the rejection of righteousness by works, *simul iustus et peccator*, *sola fide*, assurance of salvation and the role of the Spirit in receiving the Word, for instance.⁴²⁷ Although the perspective from which the concepts are presented differs

⁴²⁰WA 30a.188.23-27.

⁴²¹WA 30a.190.13-36.

⁴²²Nichts anders, denn wie wir droben ym glauben gehoert haben, das Gott seinen son Christum unsern HERRN ynn die welt geschickt, das er uns erloesete und frey machte von der gewalt des Teuffels und zu sich brechte und regirete als ein koenig der gerechtickeit, des lebens und selickeit widder sunde, tod und boese gewissen, dazu er auch seinen Heiligen geist geben hat, der uns solchs heymbrechte durch sein heiliges wort und durch seine krafft ym glauben erleuchtete und sterckte. WA 30a.200.6-16.

⁴²³See e.g. section 4.2.3.

⁴²⁴Wir teglich mit worten und wercken, mit thuen und lassen sundigen, darvon das gewissen zu unfried kompt, das sich fur Gottes zorn und ungnade furchtet und also den trost und zuversicht aus dem Euangelio sincken lesset: So ist on unterlas von noeten, das man hieher lauffe und trost hole, das gewissen widder auffzurichten. WA 30a.207.2-6. See also WA 30a.206.31-207.23.

⁴²⁵The third command, on keeping the Sabbath, is also interpreted by Luther in the context of the Word. It commands the honouring of and listening to the Word, which sanctifies in contrast to righteousness which one tried to find within one's own works, which cannot sanctify. See WA 30a.145.20-31.

⁴²⁶See section 4.1.1.4.

⁴²⁷For further discussion, see e.g. sections 4.1.1.2, 4.1.1.4, 4.1.2, 4.2.2, 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 of this study.

from the commentary of 1531/35 significantly, in that *Grosse Katechismus* is more practical throughout in presenting its various ideas, the content of Luther's Catechism is nevertheless such that one can recognize the same voice as in his commentary of 1531/35. This is in contrast to the commentary of 1519 where the concepts, though in many respects similar to the ones of the commentary 1531/35, have not yet always reached their more mature form of expression.

3.1.2.2. Law and Good Works

Obviously, Luther's *Grosse Katechismus* treats the subject of the law in great detail especially in its exposition of the Ten Commandments. However, the principal perspective of the Catechism differs, just as the perspective on salvation / justification, from that of Luther's commentary of 1531/35. The Catechism focuses on practical aspects of the law and good works, namely the necessity of good works and obedience to the Ten Commandments, while the commentary is theological, discussing the purpose of the law and its connection to the doctrine of justification. Consequently, what is discussed within the exposition of the Ten Commandments in the Catechism corresponds most closely to the subject of good works in *Galatians* 1531/1535.⁴²⁸

Nevertheless, there are a few references in the Catechism, which can be connected to Luther's notion on the first and second uses of the law. The law as a restraint for the wicked (*primus usus legis*) can be identified in the exposition of the fourth and fifth commandments, for instance, where Luther on the one hand emphasises the duty of all to obey their civil authorities as fathers within society (*patres patriae*), and on the other pinpoints that in their calling to preserve order the civil authorities are exempt from the commandment prohibiting killing.⁴²⁹ The law as showing human sin and need (*secundus usus legis*), for its part, is referred to in one sense in the whole exposition of the Ten Commandments. The commandments demonstrate to all that they fall short of reaching the required standard and are in need of help. This help, in turn, can be learned about from the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. Luther states on this issue,

'No man can achieve so much as to keep one of the Ten Commandments as it ought to be kept. Both the Creed and the Lord's Prayer must help us, as we shall hear.'⁴³⁰

⁴²⁸Depending on one's point of view, one could perhaps see good works described in the exposition of the Ten Commandments in the context of *tertius usus legis*, the law as a positive guide in the believer's life. However, as pointed out below in section 4.2.2. Luther never explicitly identifies a third use of the law. It seems that Luther may have avoided using the term *tertius usus legis* in order to preserve the law gospel distinction, so that no good works of the justified may be seen as pre- or postconditions to justification.

⁴²⁹WA 30a.153.24-36, 157.14-158.2.

⁴³⁰Sihe aber, ist es nicht ein verfluchte vermessenheit der verzweivelten heiligen, so da sich unterstehen ein hoehere und besser leben und stende zufinden denn die zehen gepot lernen, geben fur, wie gesagt, es sey ein schlecht leben fur den gemeinen man, yhres aber sey fur die heiligen und vollkommenen, Und sehen

Another significant theme, which takes us to the subject of good works within the Catechism, is a contrast between the works commanded by God to those of human choosing. The Word and the commandments of God point the way for the right kind of good works, in the performance of which one can find joy in contrast to the difficult and laborious works of self-righteousness (monasticism for instance), a concept similar to the contrast drawn by Luther between genuine and spurious good works in the commentary of 1531/35.⁴³¹ Further, the whole exposition of the Ten Commandments, ‘the true channel through which all good works must flow’,⁴³² would be relevant for Luther’s concept of good works within the Catechism. Due to constraints of space, however, may it suffice to be noted that the kind of obedience the commandments point to includes, not only restraining from wrong actions (the negative aspect of the commands) but also actively and willingly fulfilling them in all possible ways in honour of God and for the good of others (the positive aspect of the commands).⁴³³ This finds its counterpart in the love of one’s neighbour, for instance, discussed in the commentary of 1531/35.

3.1.2.3. Ministry

The Catechism differs from Luther’s commentary on Galatians of 1531/35 in that there is little material in the Catechism on theology of the office and function of ministry. The reference of Luther’s to spiritual fathers, in his exposition on the fourth commandment regarding honouring one’s parents may, however, be seen as cursorily alluding to the function of ministry. There Luther maintains that the task of spiritual fathers is to demonstrate fatherly care over their congregation by ‘governing and guiding’ the people by the Word of God.⁴³⁴

As *Grosse Katechismus* is intended to be used by pastors and ministers, there are pieces of practical advice presented directly to them. In the introduction of the Catechism Luther bemoans the present situation where pastors despise their office, and serve only their own interests, having become lazy. Luther exhorts pastors to become avid students of Scripture and the Catechism instead, so

nicht, die elenden, blinden leute, das kein mensch so weit bringen kan, das er eins von den zehen gepoten halte wie es zuhalten ist sondern noch beide der glaube und das vater unser zuhuelffe komen mus (wie wir hoeren werden), dadurch man solchs suche und bitte und on unterlas empfahe? WA 30a.179.10-17. See also WA 30a.182.18-31.

⁴³¹See e.g. WA 30a.148.18-150.7, 178.22-179.29.

⁴³²So haben wir nu die zehen gepot, ein ausbund Goettlicher lere, was wir thuen sollen, das unser gantzes leben Gott gefalle, und den rechten born und rohre, aus und ynn welchen quellen und gehen muessen alles was gute werck sein sollen, also das ausser den zehen gepoten kein werck noch wesen gut und Gott gefellig kan sein, es sey so gros und koestlich fur der welt wie es wolle. WA 30a.178.22-27.

⁴³³Man des nehisten schaden nicht begere, auch nicht dazu helffe noch ursach gebe, sondern yhm goenne und lasse was er hat, dazu foddere und erhalte was yhm zu nutz und dienst geschehen mag, wie wir wolten uns gethan haben. WA 30a.178.11-14.

⁴³⁴Darueber sind auch noch geistliche veter, nicht wie yhm Bapstumb, die sich wol also haben lassen nennen, aber kein veterlich ampt gefuret. Denn das heissen allein geistliche veter, die uns durch Gottes wort regieren und furstehen, WA 30a.155.4-7.

that they may learn more for their own benefit, and be able to teach and pass on their learning to the young, who can in turn become teachers.⁴³⁵ Luther avers,

‘Let them [pastors and preachers] continue to read and teach, to learn and meditate and ponder. Let them never stop until they have proved by experience that they have taught the devil to death and have become wiser than God himself and all his saints.’⁴³⁶

Further, every minister and head of a household should educate children and the common people to learn by heart a minimum requirement of the faith, namely, the abbreviated form of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord’s Prayer. Having instructed the people on these, the ministers (and heads of the household) should teach those under their care the principal biblical texts defining the two sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper.⁴³⁷

3.1.2.4. Role of the Devil and Suffering as a Christian

It is interesting that the subjects of the role of the devil and suffering as a Christian are concepts of note both in *Grosse Katechismus* and in Luther’s commentary on Galatians of 1531/35. While these are not principal themes in the Catechism, there are a number of references to the two issues.

For instance, Luther points out the great benefit of Scripture and the Catechism against the ‘incessant attacks and ambushes of the devil with his thousand arts’.⁴³⁸ Further, Luther describes the inevitability of persecution for the Christian and affirms,

‘For where God’s Word is preached, accepted or believed, and bears fruit, there the blessed holy cross will not be far away.’⁴³⁹

Luther also maintains that personal temptations are unavoidable in Christian life because the devil constantly opposes the Word and attacks the conscience. The best way to resist the devil is not one’s own strength, but prayer for God’s help.⁴⁴⁰

In comparison to the difference between Luther’s commentaries on Galatians of 1519 and 1531/35 (similarity of the concepts yet a more mature form of expression

⁴³⁵See e.g. WA 30a.125.2-126.3, 128.31-129.10, 233.3-17.

⁴³⁶Sondern stetig anhalten beide mit lesen, leren, lernen, dencken und tichten, Und nicht ablassen bissolange sie erfahren und gewis werden, das sie den Teuffel tod geleret und geleret worden sind denn Gott selber ist und alle seine heiligen. WA 30a.128.35-129.3.

⁴³⁷WA 30a.131.13-18, 132.13-30.

⁴³⁸Wir des alles nicht allein teglich beduerffen wie des teglichen brods sondern auch teglich haben muessen widder das teglich und unruedig anfechten und lauren des tausentkuenstigen Teuffels. Und ob solchs nicht gnug were zur vermanung den Catechismon teglich zu lesen, so solt doch uns allein gnugsam zwingen Gottes gebot. WA 30a.127.29-33. See the whole context in WA 30a.127.7-128.8.

⁴³⁹Daruemb muessen wir uns gewislich des versehen und erwegen, so wir Christen sein woellen, das wir den Teuffel sampt allen seinen Engeln und der welt zu feinde haben, die uns alle unglueck und hertzleyd anlegen. Denn wo Gottes wort gepredigt, angenomen odder gegleubt wird und frucht schaffet, da sol das liebe heilige creutz auch nicht aussen bleiben. WA 30a.202.27-31. See also WA 30a.201.28-203.27.

⁴⁴⁰WA 30a.209.7-14, 210.5-14.

in 1531/35), Luther's *Grosse Katechismus* of 1529 appears closer to the commentary of 1531/35, reflecting a similar more mature form of expression. However, central concepts in the Catechism are presented in a significantly different way to the commentary of 1531/35 in that the Catechism focuses on practical aspects of Christian life as compared to the theological perspective and focus on justification in the commentary of 1531/35.

3.2. Calvin's *Commentary on Galatians* 1546/48

In this section, Calvin's commentary on Galatians is looked at in light of two versions of his *Institutio Religionis Christianae*, namely those of 1539 and 1543/45.⁴⁴¹ Calvin's *Institutio* of 1543 is largely identical to the one of 1539, and that is why the comparison with Calvin's *Institutio* 1543 focuses only on the additions Calvin made to the text of 1539.⁴⁴²

Consequently, it seemed better for the presentation of the material in this section to treat both the 1539 and 1543 versions of Calvin's *Institutio* in one section, noting in connection with each concept which aspects have been added in the later version.

3.2.1. Relationship of Calvin's *Commentary on Galatians* to *Institutio Christianae Religionis* 1539 and 1543/45

Calvin's *Institutio*, both from 1539 or 1543/45, contains an impressively systematic and comprehensive treatment of the subjects relevant to Calvin's commentary on Galatians (though to a lesser extent on the work of the Holy Spirit). This provides an interesting point of comparison to Calvin's *Galatians* because the theological themes of the commentary are often presented in a compact way. While Luther's earlier commentary on Galatians and his *Grosse Katechismus* add to the later commentary in their slightly differing perspective rather than in increasing content, Calvin's *Institutio* complements the commentary with useful additional information,

⁴⁴¹Henceforth, reference will only be made to the version of 1543. The minor revision of 1545 did not introduce any significant changes to the 1543 edition.

⁴⁴²The Corpus Reformatorum edition of Calvin's writings presents all of Calvin's Latin versions of the *Institutio* from 1539 to 1554 within the same main corpus of text. The major revisions of 1543 and 1551 only add paragraphs here and there into the main body of text dating back to 1539. Therefore, the second part of this section, focusing on Calvin's *Institutio* of 1543, analyses precisely those texts, which Calvin had seen important to add to the 1539 version. Some further insights are also taken from Calvin's French version of the Institutes, *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne* 1541. Calvin's French version of the Institutes from 1541 is an interesting mix of translated materials from his Latin *Institutio* of 1536 and of 1541. (Another French edition of Calvin's *Institutio* appeared in 1560, being a translation of the major Latin edition of Calvin's *Institutio* 1559.) For further information, see Jacques Pannier's preface to the 1936 edition of *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne*, xxii-xxix.

which can help to give a theological backdrop to the commentary on Galatians.⁴⁴³ However, because the main focus of this study is not on the relationship between Calvin's *Institutio* and his commentary on Galatians, the themes have to be presented only succinctly here which is not an easy task in view of the fact that there are four to five hundred pages Calvin devotes to the relevant topics in the *Institutio* 1543. Nevertheless, an attempt is made to delineate some central aspects of Calvin's position on justification, the work of the Holy Spirit, law, good works and ministry in his *Institutio* of 1539 and 1543.

As far as the period 1539-45 is concerned,⁴⁴⁴ the examination of these concepts in the two versions of Calvin's *Institutio* lends some support to, Parker's view according to which Calvin did not change his mind on doctrine between 1539 and 1559.⁴⁴⁵ While there are adjustments and additions made, and in some cases a whole revision of a larger section (e.g. on human traditions and on ministry), the supplementary material adds details rather than introduces modifications to what was present already in 1539.

3.2.1.1. Justification

Calvin's treatment of justification is here taken to include more than what he discusses only within the chapter treating justification specifically (*De iustificatione fidei et meritis operum*)⁴⁴⁶ thus taking into consideration the chapters on faith, Christian freedom, the relationship between the Old and New Testaments, and the second article of the Creed (for the role of Christ in justification). The subjects of these chapters also approximately correspond to themes discussed under the heading of justification in Calvin's commentary on Galatians. Each of the concepts is first outlined as it appears in the *Institutio* 1539, and any significant adjustments in 1543 are noted after.

Calvin discusses faith as essentially synonymous with confidence in God's favour toward oneself. While the law leads one to see what one's duty is and how impossible it is for one to fulfil its requirement, faith brings about an assurance and confidence of the good will of God toward oneself.⁴⁴⁷ Faith is intimately connected to the work of the Holy Spirit, who begins, confirms and perfects the

⁴⁴³Calvin explicitly states in the preface to the *Institutio* 1539 (as well as in the 1543 edition) that it has been his intention to be brief in the biblical commentaries because a fuller treatment of the theological subjects is already available in the *Institutio*. See CO 1.256, Ioannes Calvinus Lectori.

⁴⁴⁴Further, it is notable that there are even fewer changes and additions made by Calvin on the themes treated in this section in his *Institutio* in the major edition of 1550-54 than in the 1543/45 edition.

⁴⁴⁵Nevertheless, it appears more advisable to state the issue a little more guardedly than Parker. While no significant changes appear in the editions of the *Institutio* of 1539 as compared to the edition of 1543/45, and it appears (see the footnote above) that there were no changes of significance made in the edition of 1550-54 either, a separate study would need to be made regarding the changes introduced in the 1559 edition, before Parker's statement could be regarded as sufficiently confirmed. Due to constraints of space, however, this cannot be done in connection with this study.

⁴⁴⁶This is chapter VI in the 1539 edition and chapter X in the 1543/45 edition. See CO 1: LV.

⁴⁴⁷CO 1.5.1.

believer's faith and without whom it is impossible to believe.⁴⁴⁸ *Institutio* 1543 adds only little significance to that of 1539 on the subject of faith. An interesting addition is that of the believer's union with Christ as an assurance of God's favour.⁴⁴⁹

The discussion of Calvin's *Institutio* on the meaning of faith matches well with that of Calvin's commentary on Galatians, while the commentary perhaps more precisely and succinctly explains the role of faith in justification.⁴⁵⁰

In the chapter on justification in his *Institutio* 1539, Calvin calls justification 'the main hinge on which religion turns' (*praecipuum esse sustinendae religionis cardinem*).⁴⁵¹ Justification takes place when humans, who have nothing but misery and sin, are touched by God's pure grace, which engenders faith in them for the fact that they have acceptance and forgiveness before God through Christ.⁴⁵² Most of Calvin's discussion on justification contrasts the righteousness of faith with that based on human works, similar to how the contrast is drawn in the commentary on Galatians.⁴⁵³ Calvin affirms that justification takes place solely by imputation of Christ's righteousness to the believer, not by human works or faith plus human works. This is evident also in the law vs. gospel contrast. The law and the gospel represent two mutually exclusive ways of reaching righteousness, either by the law, which is impossible, or by faith in God's promise in the gospel.⁴⁵⁴ Another way in which Calvin explains justification is through the four causes of justification,⁴⁵⁵ all of which point to the complete exclusion of human works from justification. The efficient cause (*causa efficiens*) is God's mercy, the material cause (*causa materialis*) Christ's righteousness, the instrumental cause (*causa instrumentalis*) faith, which communicates the righteousness of Christ to the believer and the final

⁴⁴⁸CO 1.16.8. *Subiiciunt deinde: si fides per sacramenta augeatur, frustra datum esse spiritum sanctum, cuius vitus atque opus est, inchoare, tueri, consummare fidem. Quibus equidem fateor proprium ac solidum spiritus sancti opus fidem esse: a quo illuminate Deum ac benignitatis eius thesaurus agnoscimus, et sine cuius lumine mens nostra adeo caeca est ut nihil conspiciere, adeo stupida ut nihil subodorari rerum spiritualium possit.*

⁴⁴⁹CO 1.5.17. It must be borne in mind that the concept of the believer's union with Christ (*unio cum Christo*) is clearly presented already in the *Institutes* of 1539. See below in this section for further discussion. Nevertheless, Calvin saw it as important to add a statement on the believer's union with Christ, which assures one of God's favour in 1543/45 to complement his presentation of faith in the *Institutes* of 1539. Another interesting addition is Calvin's treatment of the relationship between hope and faith, in many ways similar, though much shorter, to Luther's comparison of hope and faith in his commentary on Galatians 1531/35. Compare CO 1.5.37 with WA 40b.23.27-33.34.

⁴⁵⁰See section 5.1.1.2 of this study.

⁴⁵¹*Iustificacionis ratio levius idea attacta est, quoniam ad rem pertinebat intelligere primum, et quam otiosa non sit a bonis operibus fides, qua sola gratuitam iustitiam, Dei misericordia, obtinemus, et qualia sint sanctorum bona opera, in quibus pars huius quaestionis versatur. Ea ergo nunc penitus discutienda; et ita discutienda, ut meminimus praecipuum esse sustinendae religionis cardinem, quo maiorem attentionem curamque afferamus.* CO 1.10.1.

⁴⁵²CO 1.10.7.

⁴⁵³See esp. sections 5.1.1.1. and 5.1.5.

⁴⁵⁴CO 1.10.8-11.

⁴⁵⁵For the Aristotelian background of the four causes (*causa*) and how they have been used in a theological context, see Braw 2007: 127, 156-157, 214.

cause (causa finalis) the glory of God, in that His glory and not human merit is extolled in justification.⁴⁵⁶ The main corpus of Calvin's discussion on justification, however, deals with various arguments in favour of righteousness by works, which Calvin one by one rebuts, on the one hand denying any role of human merit in justification, while on the other affirming that there is a reward to good works when they are done on the ground of faith, when one has already been justified and regenerated.⁴⁵⁷

Institutio of 1543 adds some emphasis on the forensic nature of justification. Calvin includes more Scriptural arguments in favour of seeing justification in terms of the imputation of Christ's righteousness and also adds the following definition,

'Therefore, we explain justification simply as the acceptance with which God receives us into his favor as righteous men. And we say that it consists in the remission of sins and the imputation of Christ's righteousness.'⁴⁵⁸

It may here be noted that the well known critique of Calvin on Osiander's view on union with Christ, closely associated with the concept of forensic justification, is not yet to be found in the 1543 edition of the *Institutio* but appears instead only in the last edition of 1559.⁴⁵⁹

Most of the other additions of *Institutio* 1543 in the chapter on justification are minor. It becomes evident, however, that Calvin must have been reading Augustine and Bernard on the subject of human merit vs. God's grace between 1539 and 1543, since he repeatedly adds quotes from them which deny any merit to human works, in line with Calvin's own position.⁴⁶⁰

Calvin comments on the role of Christ in justification and affirms that the perfect obedience of Christ's life is a satisfaction bringing humans into the Father's favour and Christ's death is a substitute for the punishment humans would have had to suffer for their sin. Christ's death and resurrection deliver humans from

⁴⁵⁶CO 1.10.44.

⁴⁵⁷CO 1.10.15-87.

⁴⁵⁸Ita nos iustificationem simpliciter interpretamur acceptionem, qua nos Deus in gratiam receptos pro iustis habet. Eamque in peccatorum remissione ac iustitiae Christi imputatione positam esse dicimus. CO 1.10.2. See also CO 1.10.3-4.

⁴⁵⁹For Calvin's discussion on Osiander's view, see the 1559 edition of the *Institutio*, book 3, chapter 11, sections 5-11 (CO 2.3.11.5-11). The fact that Calvin adjusts his discussion on justification to include a rebuttal of Osiander's view in 1559 is not to be seen as suggesting that Calvin's view changed. Instead of changing his position, Calvin only expounds the view he already had on justification against the specific arguments of Osiander. McGrath recognizes the same and states, 'In later editions [of *Institutio*], this understanding of justification is developed (and never, apparently, modified)'. McGrath 1998: 223. McGrath further argues that it was only Calvin, who properly explained, against Osiander, how both union with Christ and a forensic understanding of justification may be understood together. See McGrath 1998: 213.

⁴⁶⁰See e.g. CO 1.10.14,17,26,47,50,76,81. Lane's view according to which Calvin uses church fathers primarily in favour of his position, thus appears to find some more support in the *Institutio* than in Calvin's *Galatians* where Calvin's references to church fathers's theological position are frequently negative. See section 2.4.1 and Lane 1999: 3, 53-54.

their fear of death, help in the mortification of their flesh and ascertain the beginning of a new life for the believers.⁴⁶¹ These benefits are communicated to the believer, as emphasised in an additional section in 1543, when God, through Christ, joins the believer with himself (*unio cum Christo*).⁴⁶² Calvin's concept of the believer's union with Christ (as presented already in the *Institutio* 1539) differs somewhat from Luther's in that Calvin accentuates that both justification and sanctification (or regeneration) take place together when the Christian is incorporated into Christ by faith, a concept affirmed also in the commentary on Galatians.⁴⁶³ Calvin states,

'Do you wish, then, to attain righteousness in Christ? You must first possess Christ; but you cannot possess him without being made partaker in his sanctification, because he cannot be divided into pieces.'⁴⁶⁴

Nevertheless, the believer's justification is strictly based only on the imputation of Christ's righteousness, and not on the regenerated new creation or even the Spirit's presence in the believer.⁴⁶⁵

Calvin points out two opposite dangers in the chapter on Christian liberty, the one being burdening consciences with ceremonies and the other being the use of Christian freedom as a pretext for sin.⁴⁶⁶ He details three parts to Christian liberty. The first, the point on which 'almost the entire argument' of the epistle to Galatians hinges upon, is the rising of believers above God's law in that the believers find righteousness in Christ alone.⁴⁶⁷ The law has its function elsewhere, in giving instruction for holiness of life.⁴⁶⁸ The second aspect of Christian liberty is the believers' new willingness to obey God's law. Calvin states,

⁴⁶¹CO 1.7.30.

⁴⁶²CO 1.7.20. In this context, too, Calvin emphasizes that Christ's righteousness is received by imputation.

⁴⁶³See Calvin's comments on Gal. 2.20. A discussion and references can be found in section 5.1.4.

⁴⁶⁴Vis ergo iustitiam in Christo adipisci? Christum ante possideas oportet: possidere autem non potes, quin fias sanctificationis eius particeps; quia in frustra discerpi non potest. CO 1.10.57.

⁴⁶⁵Hoc tantum interest quod, quum fidem et bona opera necessario inter se cohaerere fatcamur, in fide tamen, non operibus, iustificationem ponimus. CO 1.10.57. Homines non in se ipso iustum esse, sed quia Christi iustitia imputatione cum illo communicator. Quod accurata animadversione diguum est: siquidem evanescit nugamentum illud, ideo iustificari hominem fide, quoniam illa spiritum Dei participat, quo iustus redditur. CO 1.10.14.

⁴⁶⁶CO 1.7.1.

⁴⁶⁷Prima, ut fidelium conscientiae, dum fiducia suae coram Deo iustificationis quaerenda est, sese supra legem erigant atque efferant, totamque legis iustitiam obliviscantur. ...Sublata igitur legis mentione, et omni operum cogitatione seposita, unam Dei misericordiam amplecti convenit, quum de iustificatione agitur, et averso a nobis aspectu unum Christum intueri. ... In hoc cardine totum fere argumentum epistolae ad Galatas vertitur. CO 1.7.2,3.

⁴⁶⁸CO 1.7.2.

The second part, dependent upon the first, is that consciences observe the law, not as if constrained by the necessity of the law, but that freed from the law's yoke they willingly obey God's will.⁴⁶⁹

The third feature of Christian liberty is the freedom of Christians with regard to outward ceremonies.⁴⁷⁰ In 1543 the chapter on Christian liberty has moved to a new place, following the chapters on justification and the relationship of the Old and New Testaments instead of being located in between the chapters on sacraments and the doctrine of the church, as in 1539. The chapter itself is mostly the same, however. The longest addition is an added paragraph on the subject of Galatians. Calvin there maintains that the ceremonial observances of the Old Testament were brought into their fulfilment in Christ. Therefore, righteousness can be found neither in the law nor in ceremonies, but in Christ alone, through whom believers are free from the law.⁴⁷¹

Calvin details similarities and differences between the Old Testament Jews and the New Testament Christians in the chapter on the difference between the Old and New Testaments. While the faith of the Jews was directed to Christ the Mediator through the promises of the Old Testament, and the covenant of God with them was based on God's grace, not their merits, the promise of God was nevertheless presented to them under the veil of an earthly blessing, and in symbols rather than directly. Additionally, while they also found freedom through faith as the New Testament believers do, they were nonetheless, at least to a degree, kept in slavery under the letter of the law.⁴⁷² Furthermore, the ceremonial observances of the Old Testament were removed by the coming of Christ and the letter of the law

⁴⁶⁹ Altera, quae ex superiore illa pendet, ut conscientiae non quasi legis necessitate coactae legi obsequentur, sed legis ipsius iugo liberae voluntati Dei ultro obediant CO 1.7.4.

⁴⁷⁰ CO 1.7.7.

⁴⁷¹ CO 1.12.3.

⁴⁷² CO 1.11.2, 24-41. To be specific, Calvin enumerates three similarities and five differences between the Old and New Testaments. For a full discussion, see CO 1.11.2, 24-41. The three similarities between the Old and New Testaments are 1) that both the Old Testament believers and those of the New Testament had their faith directed towards an eternal, not an earthly reward, 2) that just as the new covenant, the old covenant, too, was based on God's grace, not human merit and 3) both covenants presented Christ as the Mediator between God and humans. The five differences between the Old and New Testament believers are that the Old Testament believers had 1) their faith directed towards an eternal inheritance indirectly (veiled under the promise of an earthly reward) while those of the New Testament had it presented to them directly. 2) The gospel of Christ was presented to the Old Testament believers through symbolic observances whereas the direct reality in Christ, the fulfilment of the Old Testament symbols, was revealed to the believers of the New Testament. 3) The Old Testament believers were under the letter of the law, and 4) under an outward servitude (although inwardly they, too, were free) while those of the New Testament are 3) under grace and the Spirit and 4) enjoy full Christian freedom. 5) Finally, during the Old Testament, only one nation was God's chosen, while in the New Testament believers are chosen from all nations. See a helpful and brief summary of the differences (as presented in the 1541 French edition of Calvin's *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne*) in InstFa: 823.

was replaced with the gospel of grace. *Institutio* 1543 does not include any significant additions to that of 1539 on this subject.⁴⁷³

3.2.1.2. Work of the Holy Spirit

The work of the Holy Spirit is only briefly treated in the *Institutio* of 1539 and 1543 under the third article of the Creed and that is why elements of the work of the Spirit have been identified in various sections of *Institutio* including the chapters on 1) the knowledge of man and of free will, 2) penitence, 3) justification and 4) the sacraments.

The Creed indicates that the Holy Spirit is the one who communicates and brings alive all of the benefits of Christ in humans. Calvin affirms,

‘Now it becomes evident, how profitable and necessary it is for our faith to be directed to the Holy Spirit, for the reason that in him we find illumination for our soul, our regeneration, the communication of all the graces and even the efficacy of all the benefits proceeding from Jesus Christ.’⁴⁷⁴

The illumination of the Spirit is closely related to or even equated with the believers’ faith.⁴⁷⁵ It is the Holy Spirit who makes the sacraments effective in that he makes it possible to have faith and illuminates both the Word and the sacrament.⁴⁷⁶ *Institutio* 1543 adds that it was the Spirit who enabled the preaching of the apostles, revealing the truth of the preaching and making it powerful.⁴⁷⁷

The most frequently treated aspect of the role of the Spirit in the *Institutio* 1539, however, is regeneration, representing the new life of the Christian.⁴⁷⁸ Repentance, a concept equated with regeneration by Calvin, includes two things, namely mortification of one’s flesh and vivification to new life through the Spirit.⁴⁷⁹ Calvin further specifies that one can identify the reality of the new

⁴⁷³The most significant addition in 1543/45 is found in CO 1.12.40-41, where Calvin meets an objection which charges God of changeableness in the case that the Old Testament covenant is seen as radically different from that in the New Testament.

⁴⁷⁴Nunc liquet quam fructuosum necessariumque sit, fidem nostrum in spiritum sanctum directam ac intentam esse: nempe in quo et illumination animae, et regeneratio, et omnium gratiarum communicatio, adeoque eorum quae Christo nobis emanant bonorum efficacia reperiat. CO 1.7.39. (My translation above). See also InstFa: 264, where the corresponding text runs as follows (translated by Calvin in French from the 1539 Latin edition of the *Institutio* in 1541), ‘Maintenant il apparoist, combien il nous est profitable et necessaire, que nostre Foy soit dirigée au Saint Esprit: veu qu’en luy nous trouvons l’illumination de nostre ame, nostre regeneration, la communication de toutes graces: et mesmes l’efficace de tous les biens qui nous proviennent de Jesus Christ.’

⁴⁷⁵Effectum nostrae salutis in Dei patris dilectione situm esse; materiam in filii obedientia; instrumentum in spiritu illuminatione, hoc est fide; finem esse tantae Dei benignitatis gloriam. CO 1.10.48.

⁴⁷⁶CO 1.16.7-11.

⁴⁷⁷CO 1.16.11.

⁴⁷⁸See e.g. CO 1.7.39, 1.9.6, 1.10.1, 1.10.6-7, 1.10.27, 1.10.36.

⁴⁷⁹Poenitentiam duabus partibus constare: mortificatione scilicet carnis, et spiritus vivificatione. CO 1.9.7.

birth ‘when the Spirit of God so imbues our souls, steeped in his holiness, with both new thoughts and feelings, that they can be rightly considered new.’⁴⁸⁰

Although the work of the Spirit is most often talked about in connection with regeneration, this is not to say that justification takes place without the Spirit – it is the Spirit who enables one to have faith and is the seal confirming God’s promises in the heart.⁴⁸¹ Nevertheless, neither the Spirit himself nor the regenerating aspect of the Spirit’s work is to be confused with justification despite the fact that in union with Christ the believer has both forgiveness and sanctification present at the same time, as noted above.⁴⁸²

The regeneration of the Christian by the Spirit, as pointed out in *Institutio* 1543, removes the dominion of sin from the Christian, but does not destroy it completely.⁴⁸³ This is connected to what was explained by Calvin already in 1539, that there is a continuing struggle between the new and the old man, between the Spirit and the flesh. However, the Spirit holds dominion in this struggle, keeping the flesh in check.⁴⁸⁴

It may be observed that each of the above outlined aspects of the role of the Spirit is also at least briefly alluded to in the commentary on Galatians.⁴⁸⁵

3.2.1.3. Law

The law and good works are closely interrelated in Calvin’s treatment; perhaps even more so than in Luther’s, because Calvin, differing from Luther, explicitly identifies a positive use of the law (*tertius usus legis*) for believers, exhorting them to good works. Nevertheless, the subjects of the law and good works are discussed separately. In the discussion here, the following subjects are briefly addressed, the purpose, goal, use and abrogation of the law, succeeded by a succinct consideration of ceremonial observances in Christian life.⁴⁸⁶

Calvin begins his treatment on the law by pointing out that the law leads to a true knowledge of God and humans – on the one hand humans owe the honour to God while on the other they have a natural repugnance towards God’s law. This contradiction of human existence leads to fearful expectation of the Day of Judgment. Christ, however, by his promises to the obedient, draws humans to

⁴⁸⁰Id fit, quum Dei spiritus intinctas sua sanctitate aimas nostras novis et cogitationibus et affectibus ita imbuit, ut novae iure haberi queant.CO 1.9.7.

⁴⁸¹CO 1.5.25-27. Proinde spiritus sigilli vice fungitur, ad eas ipsas promissiones in cordibus nostris obsignandas, quarum certitudinem prius mentibus impressit; atque ad confirmandas et constituendas arrhae locum tenet. CO 1.5.27.

⁴⁸²See CO 1.10.14 and 1.10.38. See also CO 1.10.57 and 1.7.20.

⁴⁸³CO 1.2.63-64.

⁴⁸⁴See CO 1.2.46, 1.2.61-62. Atqui duo isti athletae, etsi suo certamine piam animam ita distrahant, dispari tamen conditione inter se congregiuntur. ... dum conatur abrumpere, obstaculis suis remoratur; dum a cursu avertere vult, impedimentis retardat; dum exstinguere molitur, ardorem imminuit; dum studet atterere, incurvat et inflectit. CO 1.2.62.

⁴⁸⁵See section 5.2.

⁴⁸⁶See CO 1.3.3, 1.3.80, 1.3.94, 1.3.103, respectively.

obedience.⁴⁸⁷ The purpose of the law is to further pinpoint that nothing is as pleasing to God as obedience. This entails, not only an outward adherence to its precepts but also the inward.⁴⁸⁸

The goal of the law is therefore a perfect inner motivation, summed up in love toward God (1st table of the Decalogue) and love toward one's neighbour (2nd table of the Decalogue). Anything short of this is sin. There are, however, no humans who fulfil this requirement.⁴⁸⁹ This human incapacity leads to Calvin's three uses of the law.

The first use (*primus usus legis*) is to show human iniquity and that the righteous curse the law passes onto all who fail to meet its demand and also to lead each one into the realisation of their need for Christ and his grace. This use of the law is the principal aspect of the uses of the law discussed within Calvin's commentary on Galatians.⁴⁹⁰ The second use (*secundus usus legis*), practically absent in the commentary on Galatians, is to restrain the wicked and keep them in check. Interestingly, in 1543 Calvin adds a section on the second use of the law, where he maintains, commenting on the law as a pedagogue (Gal. 3.24), that the second use of the law applies to two classes of people – 1) to the hypocrites, so that they would again become acceptable to Christ by making them long for the righteousness they lack and 2) to the openly wicked, who need a bridle so that they will not lose all desire for righteousness. In this way the second use of the law impels toward the first use, preparing the human agents to see their need for Christ.⁴⁹¹

The third use of the law (*tertius usus legis*) is the principal use of the law according to Calvin. The third use of the law is for the benefit of regenerated Christians who already have the law written in their hearts. The law provides a double advantage for them in that they, now wanting to serve God, can learn about God's will in his law even better. Further, another aspect of the third use of the law, which Luther includes under the category of his second use of the law, is the goading and restraining function of the law for the sinful flesh still remaining in Christians.⁴⁹²

Calvin further affirms that the law is abrogated for the believer so that it no longer terrifies their conscience because they have found acceptance with God through Christ. At the same time, however, the law, while no longer accusing them, retains its instructing function.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁷CO 1.3.1-5.

⁴⁸⁸*Initio constitutum sit, non ad externam honestatem modo, sed ad interiorem spiritualemque iustitiam, hominis vitam in lege informari.* CO 1.3.7.

⁴⁸⁹CO 1.3.80-81, 92-93.

⁴⁹⁰CO 1.3.94-98.

⁴⁹¹CO 1.3.99-100.

⁴⁹²CO 1.3.101.

⁴⁹³CO 1.3.103.

Institutio 1543/45 adds a whole chapter to that of 1539 on human traditions (de traditionibus humanis).⁴⁹⁴ The subject of human traditions is closely connected to that of Christian freedom, a theme which Calvin identifies as important within Galatians. Calvin explains that since God has already provided a perfect rule of justice in his law, it is a form of new Judaism to add supplementary ceremonies to burden human consciences.⁴⁹⁵ Instead, Christian liberty ought to be maintained and no unnecessary rules should be imposed on people.⁴⁹⁶ Calvin asserts,

‘Again, it is well known with what extreme rigor they [papists] bind consciences to observe whatever they command. When we contradict them, we make common cause with Paul, who on no account allows faithful consciences to be reduced to human bondage.’⁴⁹⁷

There is a use for some (but not many) ceremonies in the Christian church according to Calvin, however. The choosing of these ceremonies is to be guided by the consideration of brotherly love and Christian freedom on the one hand and the maintaining of necessary order on the other. Certain observances can, when rightly used, also function as exercises of piety for God’s glory, when they are not made binding on the conscience. The type of ceremonies one ought to observe, however, changes according to time and need.⁴⁹⁸

3.2.1.4. Good Works

The concept of good works is briefly discussed here in terms of the relationship between good works and justification, their underlying motivation, their relationship to self-abnegation, and their putting into practice.

Calvin maintains that no work is truly good without faith. It is only works proceeding from faith and a regenerate heart that are genuinely pure.⁴⁹⁹ Therefore good works play no role in justification itself, a concept maintained on similar lines in the commentary on Galatians. However, provided that one is already justified, one can talk of rewards for good works, which God in his grace gives,

⁴⁹⁴It may be the place to note, however, that some of the material presented in the added chapter on ceremonial observances in the *Institutio* of 1543/45 can also be found in the *Institutio* of 1539 in the chapter on the authority of the church. Compare CO 1.pp. 1039-1066 (*Institutio* 1539) with CO 1.13.1-34 (*Institutio* 1543/45). See also CO 1.LV-LVI.

⁴⁹⁵CO 1.13.12-13.

⁴⁹⁶CO 1.13.1-2.

⁴⁹⁷Rursum quam praeciso necessitate stringant conscientias ad servandum quidquid iubent, non est ignotum. Hic dum reclamamus, causam habemus cum Paulo communem, qui nullo modo patitur fideles conscientias in hominum servitutum redigi. CO 1.13.9. Calvin probably refers here to Gal. 5.1, though the verse is not explicitly mentioned in *Institutio* 1543/45.

⁴⁹⁸CO 1.13.22-23, CO 1.13.28, 31-33.

⁴⁹⁹Quare purificationem cordis praecedere oportet, ut quae a nobis prodeunt opera benigne a Deo excipiantur. Porro solam fidem esse, qua corda hominum purificantur, spiritus sanctus per os Petri asseruit (Act. 15,9), unde constat primum esse in vera vivaque fide fundamentum. CO 1.10.35.

forgiving the remaining imperfection of the good deeds of the believers.⁵⁰⁰ However, as added in 1543, the rewards are rather a fruition of faith than properly speaking due to works.⁵⁰¹

The underlying motivation for genuine good works is love, which is a fruit of faith and proceeds from a good conscience.⁵⁰² Similarly to Luther, Calvin identifies love of self as a measure of loving our neighbour, and further maintains the importance of loving even our enemies.⁵⁰³ The love of one's neighbour is described in the second Table of the Decalogue. Accordingly, the Ten Commandments provide a rule to follow in putting love into practice in works of love, bearing in mind that the commandments entail not only a prohibition but also a positive command to protect and preserve one's neighbour with a feeling of affection, for instance, in fulfilment of the sixth command prohibiting killing.⁵⁰⁴

The last chapter of *Institutio* 1539 on Christian life is the only one of those under review in this study which has remained completely untouched in 1543/45. Calvin affirms that the whole Scripture can be summarised under two headings, 1) as the drawing of humans to love of justice and 2) as giving a rule of life for them to follow in his law when humans have come to Christ (*tertius usus legis*).⁵⁰⁵ A further descriptor of Christian life is self-abnegation both toward God and humans. Self-abnegation toward humans is directly related to good works. One ought to see the image of Christ in one's needy neighbour, which removes all excuses for refusing help to anyone needing aid.⁵⁰⁶ Calvin states in an eloquent passage,

Say, "He is contemptible and worthless"; but the Lord shows him to be one to whom he has deigned to give the beauty of his image. Say that you owe nothing for any service of his; but God, as it were, has put him in his own place in order that you may recognize toward him the many and great benefits with which God has bound you to himself.⁵⁰⁷

⁵⁰⁰CO 1.10.67-68.

⁵⁰¹CO 1.10.79.

⁵⁰²CO 1.3.80-81.

⁵⁰³Quin etiam, quo magis exprimeret Dominus quanta propensione nos in proximorum dilectionem agi oporteret, ad nostril amorem (quia nullum habebat vehementiorem aut validiorem affectum) tanquam ad regulam exegit. CO 1.3.84.

⁵⁰⁴CO 1.3.61-62. Calvin lists the Ten Commandments differently to Luther so that the command prohibiting the making of idols and bowing down to them is identified as a separate command (2nd command) and the one forbidding lust is seen as one instead of two as in Luther (10th command). Compare e.g. CO 1.3.15-1.3.39, 1.3.78-79 with e.g. WA 30a.283.19-284.3, 289.21-291.31 (Kleine Katechismus).

⁵⁰⁵Porro duabus potissimum partibus incumbit haec, de qua loquimur, scripturae institutio. Prior est, ut iustitiae amor, ad quem alioqui natura minime propensi sumus, animis nostris instilletur, ac inseratur; altera, ut nobis norma praescribatur, quae nos in iustitiae studio aberrare non sinat. CO 1.21.2.

⁵⁰⁶CO 1.21.10.

⁵⁰⁷Dic contemptibilem ac nihili: at eum Dominus esse demonstrat quam imagines suae decore dignatus sit. Dic nullis eius officii te esse obaeratum: at eum velut in vicem suam substituit Deus, erga quem tot ac tanta recognoscas beneficia quibus te sibi devinxit. CO 1.21.10.

The self-abnegation Calvin discusses is lived out by putting the law of love into practice by helping others with everything one has.⁵⁰⁸ Further, it is faithfulness in one's daily calling, which is pleasing to God above all other good works, however impressive any other kind of good works may seem in the sight of the world.⁵⁰⁹

3.2.1.5. Ministry

Ministry, in addition to the chapter on ceremonial observances, is another subject which is discussed in much more detail in *Institutio* 1543 than in that of 1539. A possible reason for this may be seen in the fact that in his new responsibility as the principal creator of the church policies in Geneva, Calvin had had to give closer attention to the issues of church observances and ministry since his return from Strasbourg to Geneva in 1541.

The concept of ministry is discussed by Calvin in the context of the Catholic practice of ministry, which he critiques. Calvin maintains the priesthood of all believers in *Institutio* 1539, in opposition to a priesthood deriving from Peter (or the pope).⁵¹⁰ Further, Calvin sees the task of the pastor as being to preach the gospel and to administer the sacraments. However, he does not accept practices identified as being outside of God's Scriptural order such as the sacrifice of the mass.⁵¹¹ Calvin further maintains that the minister's calling to office is to take place in an orderly way and points out the importance of choosing a specific location where to pastor a church (in contrast to itinerant preaching).⁵¹² The discussion on ministry is continued further on the basis of *Institutio* 1543/45 because of the more comprehensive treatment of the subjects.⁵¹³

Calvin begins with a consideration of the reason why ministry is needed (God could do his work without human assistance). Calvin affirms that ministry is legitimated by the fact that God has chosen to proclaim his Word by the mouth of humans.⁵¹⁴ God has placed a high honour on the office of ministry,⁵¹⁵ a subject which is important within the commentary on Galatians. Calvin also compares the task of teachers and pastors and asserts the difference of their

⁵⁰⁸CO 1.21.9.

⁵⁰⁹Poterit forte interdum nonnihil in speciem laudabile designare; sed illud, quaecunque sit in conspectu hominum, apud Dei thronum respuetur. ... (Calvin's last sentence of *Institutio*), 'Hic et eximia consolatio nascetur, quod nullum erit tam sordidum ac vile opus, in quo modo tuae vocationi pareas, quod non coram Deo resplendeat et pretiosissimum habeatur.' CO 1.21.37.

⁵¹⁰CO 1.19.26

⁵¹¹CO 1.19.30, pp. 1087-1088.

⁵¹²CO 1.19.30, p. 1088.

⁵¹³*Institutio* 1539 also discusses various aspects of the minister's calling, but the treatment in the *Institutio* 1543/45 is more comprehensive. Compare CO 1.8.45-50 (*Institutio* 1543/45) with CO 1.19.30, pp.1089-1093 (*Institutio* 1539). Beginning from CO 1.19.31, the text of the *Institutio* 1539 and 1543/45 is essentially the same, dealing with the appropriate ceremony for the appointment to ministry.

⁵¹⁴CO 1.8.34. One may see a connection here to the practice of Calvin to expound Scripture verse by verse in his sermons. By the time Calvin died, he had preached through most of the Bible.

⁵¹⁵CO 1.8.36.

responsibility as being that teachers focus solely on expounding the Word while pastors, in addition to preaching the Word, are also responsible for administering the sacraments and church discipline, and also delivering exhortations and warnings to those under their care.⁵¹⁶

As a matter of interest, Calvin makes a rather striking reference to the office of an apostle ‘in our day’ (*nostro tempore*) in his consideration of the office of an apostle, which most likely is a reference to Luther, highlighting the high regard he had for the German reformer.⁵¹⁷

While Calvin maintains the necessity of an *inner* call from God to ministry,⁵¹⁸ his consideration of the calling focuses on the *external* means of an orderly calling to ministry. There are four aspects Calvin outlines on an orderly calling to ministry (who to choose, how, by whom and by what ceremony). First, only those should be chosen for the position of ministry, who fulfil the requirements laid down in the Bible (e.g. Tit. 1.9, 1 Tim. 3.1-7), with necessary qualities for the task given by God. Second, the appointment to ministry ought to take place with honour and holy awe, together with prayer.⁵¹⁹ Third, while God chose the apostles with a direct call (*per Christum / Deum*), as Paul indicates about the nature of his calling in Galatians, even the apostles were also appointed by the agency of the church. The indirect call through the agency of the church is the proper means for choosing ministers today, Calvin affirms (calling through humans – *per hominem*). Calvin also gives some attention to the question whether the appointment to ministry ought to take place by the votes of the people or by a council of pastors, and concludes that the best method is to use a combination of the two, so that pastors preside in a council where the votes of the people settle who is appointed to ministry.⁵²⁰ Fourth, having given attention to various scriptural ways of appointment to ministry, he concludes that the most appropriate ceremony is the laying on of hands by several pastors.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁶CO 1.8.38. See also CO 1.8.39-40.

⁵¹⁷Calvin’s statement can be found in a section where he details the various church offices named in Eph. 4.11 (apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, teachers). While he maintains that the term apostle primarily refers to the disciples of Christ and Paul, he suggests that God at times raises apostles, or at least evangelists, *ut nostro tempore factum est* (as has happened in our day). CO 1.8.34. Considering Calvin’s statements elsewhere, he probably means Luther. See section 2.4.3.4. for further discussion.

⁵¹⁸Calvin maintains that the inner call from God is necessary so that one can perform the task of ministry with good conscience, knowing that one is not in the position for gain, but out of true interest for the welfare of the church. *De solemnibus vacationibus loquor, quae ad publicum ecclesiae ordinem spectant; arcanam vero illam, cuius sibi quisque minister coram Deo conscius est, ecclesiam testem non habet, omitto. Est autem bonum cordis nostrum testimonium, quod neque ambitione, neque avaritia, neque ulla alia cupiditate, sed sincero Dei timore, et aedificandae ecclesiae studio, oblatum munus recipimus.* CO 1.8.45.

⁵¹⁹CO 1.8.46.

⁵²⁰CO 1.8.47-49.

⁵²¹CO 1.8.50.

There is not much difference in how the concepts discussed above (justification, work of the Holy Spirit, law, good works and ministry) are treated in the *Institutio* 1539 as compared to the edition of 1543/45. The later edition primarily adds detail and occasionally accentuates certain concepts more, with the exception of the added chapter on human traditions and additional material on ministry (though even in these areas much of the foundational material can be found in the 1539 edition). Further, it is evident that Calvin's *Institutio* treats several of the concepts relevant to Calvin's *Galatians* in a more comprehensive way than in the commentary. This brings to mind Calvin's own recommendation of referring any further query on particular theological issues treated only briefly in his biblical commentaries to a more detailed treatment in the *Institutes*.⁵²² On the other hand, the commentary highlights Calvin's thought in relation to the specific subjects of Paul's epistle to the Galatians, and underscores important aspects of Calvin's theology not emphasised in Calvin's *Institutes*.⁵²³ Furthermore, for the purpose of this study, there is the additional advantage of being able to compare Calvin's and Luther's thought on the specific issues treated within Galatians.

⁵²²See CO 1 p. 253.

⁵²³See e.g. the discussion on the role of faith in justification and Calvin's view on the first use of the law, both of which are treated in illuminating detail in Calvin's *Galatians*, even as compared to Calvin's *Institutio*. Compare sections 3.2.1, 3.2.3, and 5.1.1.2, and 5.3.2, of this study.

4. Substantial Concepts in Luther's *Commentary on Galatians*

In preparation for this section, two principal approaches were considered. One would have been to choose one uniting perspective from which to look at Luther's commentary, which has been the method in Mannermaa's and Taube's works, for instance.⁵²⁴ However, a second type of approach, represented by Bornkamm, for example, in which the major concepts are presented each in turn instead of choosing one of them as primary, was chosen for primarily three reasons.⁵²⁵ First, in the process of the research it appeared difficult to find any one distinct overarching perspective.⁵²⁶ Second, choosing one primary perspective would have led to the neglect of other important themes in the commentaries. Third, it was discovered that presenting the substantial themes each in turn both appears to give a balanced picture of what is important in Luther's commentary and, what is also important in view of this research, this approach facilitates comparison between Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*.

The analysis of substantial concepts in Luther's *Galatians* is begun with a brief introduction on previous research.

⁵²⁴Mannermaa looks at Luther's *Galatians* in light of the concept of union with Christ (Mannermaa 1979) and Taube in light of the relationship of God to one's individual person, *Gott und Das Ich* (Taube 1996).

⁵²⁵Bornkamm, who explicitly sets out to present Luther's interpretation of various concepts within his commentaries on Galatians of 1519 and 1531/35 has also identified several clearly differing ideas, including those of ministry, justification, the law and the believer's personal tribulation (*Anfechtung*) instead of choosing just one perspective from which to look at the whole commentary. See Bornkamm's disposition in Bornkamm 1963: x-xv.

⁵²⁶Many of the ideas of Luther's commentary could be presented from the point of view of the law gospel distinction / contrast, for instance. Another general concern of Luther's appears to be the application and impact of various doctrines to the individual person, an aspect highlighted in Taube's work *Gott und das Ich*. See Taube 1996. While explaining everything else in Luther's commentary from the point of view of these themes, for instance, could have been original, much argumentation would have had to be used in an attempt to prove how all other concepts connect to the one chosen central theme. The approach would very easily have become artificial and not have done full justice to the scope and variety of themes present in Luther's *Galatians*. Further, it probably would have made the comparison with Calvin's *Galatians* less accurate. Therefore, it seemed better to present the key concepts each in turn and indicate in the analysis what is most central in Luther's discussion of them. Connections between various concepts are treated where appropriate (connection between justification, good works and the law, for instance has been examined in section 4.4.1).

Introduction to Chapter 4 – Previous Research on Substantial Concepts in Luther’s Commentary on Galatians

There are a number of works, both monographs and articles, which deal with various concepts within Luther’s *Galatians*. However, most of them relate only to a limited part of Luther’s commentary, either focusing on a specific section of the commentary or investigating a particular theme / aspect, rather than looking at substantial concepts in the commentary as a whole.⁵²⁷ These writings have been referred to in appropriate contexts within the analysis of the commentary itself (sections 4.1-4.7). There are six works which it seemed appropriate to review briefly before analysing the commentary itself. Bornkamm’s *Luthers Auslegungen des Galaterbriefs von 1519 und 1531: ein Vergleich*, purposely endeavours to identify central themes in Luther’s commentary as a whole (with the possible addition of Robert Kolb’s article – see discussion below) and has thus been of special importance to this section as well.⁵²⁸ Nevertheless, the other four (five excluding Kolb’s article) have also been in their own way helpful and therefore are also discussed here. Each of the publications has also expressly discussed at relative length at least three varying concepts in Luther’s commentary.

The works are examined in the order of their time of publication. Due to constraints of space, the reviews below primarily discuss which themes the respective authors have identified as central in Luther’s *Galatians*.

Karin Bornkamm, in her work *Luthers Auslegungen des Galaterbriefs von 1519 und 1531: ein Vergleich*, compares how Luther interprets Paul’s letter to Galatians in his two commentaries on Galatians from 1519 and 1531/35. Therefore, Bornkamm has paid careful attention to substantial concepts in Luther’s *Galatians*⁵²⁹ of 1531/35.

Interestingly, there are both similarities and differences in Bornkamm’s portrayal of the central ideas of Luther’s 1531/35 commentary as compared to this study. As in this research, the themes of justification, law, good works (discussed as a second part to the chapter dealing with the law in Bornkamm’s study), and ministry are identified by Bornkamm as central to Luther’s *Galatians*.⁵³⁰

There is one key issue in Bornkamm’s book, which has not received thorough attention in this research, namely the notion of personal tribulation and anxiety over one’s faith (*Anfechtung*). The importance of this theme to Luther’s commentary can hardly be disputed. Nevertheless, it seemed more

⁵²⁷See the section in the bibliography listing literature on Luther’s commentary on Galatians for more detail on these works!

⁵²⁸See section 3.1.1 for further detail and discussion on Bornkamm’s comment, both in reference to Luther’s commentary on Galatians 1519 and that of 1531/35.

⁵²⁹With *Galatians* here, as elsewhere, I mean Luther’s commentary on Galatians of 1531/1535, and not Luther’s commentary on Galatians of 1519.

⁵³⁰Bornkamm 1963: xiv-xv, 316-360, under the heading of the fulfilment of the law (Erfüllung des Gesetzes).

appropriate to identify the substantial concepts differently in this research. Part of what Bornkamm analyses in the chapter on the believers' *Anfechtungen*, has been discussed under other headings here (e.g. under the headings of law and gospel – section 4.1.3; and the assurance of salvation – section 4.4.2).

On the other hand, Bornkamm has no separate chapter on the work of the Holy Spirit and on the scandal of the cross / suffering as a Christian, which were both identified as central to Luther's *Galatians* in the preparation for this research. Further, the notion of Christian liberty does not seem to get the attention it would appear to deserve in Bornkamm's study.

At any rate, Bornkamm's work has been more helpful for this research than perhaps any other, being comprehensive and perceptive in its analysis of central concepts within Luther's *Galatians*.

Tuomo Mannermaa, in his book, *In Ipsa Fide Christus Adest: Luterilaisen ja ortodoksisen kristinuskonkäsityksen leikkauspiste*, introduces central concepts of what has become known as the Finnish school of Luther interpretation.⁵³¹ Mannermaa's work is primarily grounded in Luther's *Galatians*. Mannermaa's book is ingenious in that he explains many focal ideas of the commentary in light of one key concept, namely that of Christ present in faith (*in ipsa fide Christus adest*). Thus Christology and justification, the forensic and effective aspects of justification, the Word, sacraments, the work of the Holy Spirit and the relationship of the Christian to good works and the law are all explained in relationship to this one concept.⁵³²

According to this research, Mannermaa's suggestion of the centrality of the concept *in ipsa fides Christus adest* appears to have more substantiation for his position within Luther's *Galatians*, than the earlier *Christus Victor* concept championed by Gustaf Aulén and others, for instance. This research also suggests that the idea of Christ's presence in faith (or union with Christ) is an important one among the pictures Luther uses of justification. Nevertheless, it does not appear to be the only one. The fact that so much attention is given to one key concept, *in ipsa fide Christus adest*, may therefore run the risk of neglecting some other central ideas relating both to justification and other concepts in Luther's

⁵³¹Mannermaa 1979. Mannermaa's book has been later published both in German and in English. See Mannermaa, Tuomo. *Der im Glauben gegenwärtige Christus: Rechtfertigung und Vergottung: Zum ökumenischen Dialog*. Hanover: Lutherisches Verlag, 1989 and Mannermaa, Tuomo. *Christ Present in Faith: Luther's View of Justification*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005.

⁵³²For instance, Mannermaa suggests a solution to the ecumenically problematic separation of the forensic (declarative) and effective aspects of justification in the Formula of Concord, by the concept of Christ as both *favor* and *donum* at the same time. According to Mannermaa, the presence of Christ in faith, represents real righteousness (effective aspect) and is completed by a declaration of righteousness (declarative, forensic aspect). See Mannermaa 1979: 12-18. Mannermaa also bridges at least part of the gap between the Greek Orthodox and Lutheran faiths through the idea of *theosis* (~deification) which he sees in Luther, where the Christian, through the presence of Christ in faith becomes a sharer of divine attributes (Mannermaa 1979: 43-45). See further discussion on these concepts in section 4.1.1.2.

commentary.⁵³³ At the same time, there is much that is insightful in various aspects of Mannermaa's carefully documented analysis.

Hermann Kleinknecht's book, *Gemeinschaft ohne Bedingungen. Kirche und Rechtfertigung in Luthers grosser Galaterbrief-Vorlesung von 1531* sets out to examine the concepts of church and justification in Luther's *Galatians*. In addition to investigating the concepts of church and justification, Kleinknecht's work includes a detailed analysis of the notion of the law and good works as well. Kleinknecht's study is helpful in that he appears to treat especially the concepts of justification and the law as a whole, and not only as they relate to the church – justification relationship.

Interestingly, the concept of the law seems to receive the most comprehensive treatment in Kleinknecht's book, even more so than the doctrines of justification and the church, which are his stated focus. Especially Kleinknecht's investigation of the various ways in which the law relates to justification in Luther's commentary seems both insightful and perceptive.⁵³⁴ In his analysis of justification, Kleinknecht underlines the centrality of justifying faith and of Christ as the righteousness of the Christian.⁵³⁵ The perspective on justification differs somewhat from that of this study, though both cover much of the same ground. It seems nonetheless that some concepts relating to justification, in addition to those identified by Kleinknecht, deserve more attention, including the contrast between two kinds of righteousness and Christian freedom, for instance. Kleinknecht's treatment of good works is fairly comprehensive, although it focuses slightly more on the relationship between good works and justification, which is understandable, taken Kleinknecht's focus of study.⁵³⁶ Interestingly, the chapter on good works includes a relatively long consideration of the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit, which perhaps would have deserved a chapter of its own.⁵³⁷

Rosalies Taube has authored a detailed and comprehensive analysis of Luther's *Galatians* from an existential point of view in her dissertation, *Gott und das Ich – erörtert in einer Auseinandersetzung mit Luthers Lehre über Glaube und Liebe in seinem Galater-Kommentar (1531/35)*. Taube discusses an important aspect of Luther's commentary, in that various doctrines are applied personally to 'the I' (das Ich), which is demonstrably a focal concern to Luther in his commentary. Taube's analysis of 'the I' in Luther's commentary includes a consideration of justification, faith, love of one's neighbour and the concept of the

⁵³³Furthermore, Mannermaa's key concepts are primarily founded on a limited part of Luther's commentary, namely his comments on Gal. 2.16 and 2.20.

⁵³⁴Kleinknecht identifies, for instance, the importance of seeing God's promise as God's first Word over the law as central and highlights the importance of seeing Christ as the end of the law. See Kleinknecht 1981: 20-25, 39-44. See section 4.2. for further discussion.

⁵³⁵See Kleinknecht 1981: 11-19, 47-54.

⁵³⁶See Kleinknecht 1981: 54-66.

⁵³⁷See Kleinknecht 1981: 61-65.

dark/concealed God (der dunkle Gott).⁵³⁸ The chapters dealing with faith (ch. II) and love (ch. III) also give detailed attention to, among other things, one's relationship with Christ, the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh as well as the notion of good works.⁵³⁹ However, from the point of view of the goal of this research, Taube's analysis, for the reason that it looks at Luther's commentary from the point of view of 'the I', can give less attention to some other key concepts of Luther's *Galatians* such as the law, the work of the Holy Spirit, ministry, and the concept of the scandal of the cross / suffering as a Christian.

Jeffrey G. Silcock's thesis, *Luther and the Third Use of the Law with Special Reference to His Great Galatians Commentary*, investigates Luther's position on the disputed third use of the law in Luther's commentary. Silcock discusses several other related themes as well, including the law and gospel, the law in general, sanctification, the struggle between the flesh and the Spirit as well as Christian freedom.⁵⁴⁰

Silcock's work, though written as a master's thesis, contains many insightful points on various aspects of Luther's theology in his *Galatians*. His analysis of the relationship of Luther's *totus iustus – totus peccator* and *partia iustus – partia peccator* concepts in the context of the believer's struggle between the flesh and the Spirit, for instance, appears enlightening.⁵⁴¹ While Silcock's insights are in several ways helpful, they are nevertheless limited due to the fact he only analyses the concepts of Luther's commentary to the degree they relate to the third use of the law.

Robert Kolb, in his article, *The Influence of Luther's Galatians Commentary of 1535 on Later Sixteenth-Century Lutheran Commentaries on Galatians*,⁵⁴² discusses the theology of Luther's *Galatians* in relation to later 16th century Lutheran commentators of Galatians. For the purposes of this research, it is interesting that Kolb has chosen four theological concepts from Luther's commentary for his discussion, a) two kinds of righteousness, b) the joyous exchange, c) *simul iustus et peccator* (righteous and sinner at the same time) and d) the law of God.⁵⁴³ Kolb seems to regard these four concepts as key concepts in Luther's commentary,⁵⁴⁴ and especially so Luther's distinction between two kinds of righteousness (passive vs. active righteousness ~ righteousness of faith vs. righteousness of works). It is easy to agree with Kolb in seeing the distinction between the two kinds of righteousness as central in Luther's commentary, and

⁵³⁸See Taube 1986.

⁵³⁹See Taube 1986: 41-429.

⁵⁴⁰See Silcock 1993.

⁵⁴¹See Silcock 1993: 47-53.

⁵⁴²Kolb 1993.

⁵⁴³Kolb 1993: 170-182.

⁵⁴⁴Kolb does not explicitly state that he regards these four concepts as the most central ones in Luther's commentary, but that they were 'important' in Luther's interpretation and that these ideas were 'peculiar' to Luther's commentary, 'ignored or slighted' by later commentators. See Kolb 1993: 159, 170-176.

Kolb's insight of seeing this as the underlying concept behind the law / gospel distinction seems thought provoking as well.⁵⁴⁵ The notion of the law of God, which Kolb discusses in detail, is also clearly central throughout Luther's *Galatians*.

In a way it is difficult to disagree with Kolb in choosing the two other central concepts,⁵⁴⁶ the joyous exchange and *simul iustus et peccator* for his discussion, because the importance of these ideas to Luther's concept of justification is so clearly evident.⁵⁴⁷ Nevertheless, there are other themes, as Kolb partly admits, which Luther treats in more detail than these two chosen by Kolb. These themes include those of good works, the Holy Spirit and the concept of ministry and other aspects of the concept of justification, each of which is not only frequently discussed by Luther, but also central to his understanding of Paul's epistle to the Galatians.⁵⁴⁸ It seems therefore necessary to point to these other central concepts when highlighting the substantial themes in Luther's commentary.

In the analysis in preparation for this section, it became evident that the themes which Luther discusses the most often also appear to be the most central.⁵⁴⁹ As expected, the concept of justification was by far the most prevalent subject treated in Luther's *Galatians*.⁵⁵⁰ Other important themes include the law, good works and the work of the Holy Spirit. What was somewhat surprising, at least to the author of this research, was the prominent position of the themes of ministry and the concept of the scandal of the cross and suffering as a Christian.

It may be in place to briefly explain some aspects of the chosen order for presenting the substantial concepts at this point. It is recognized that there would have been some merit in starting the presentation with a consideration of the

⁵⁴⁵Kolb 1993: 171.

⁵⁴⁶Kolb 1993. 172-176.

⁵⁴⁷It must be borne in mind that the purpose of Kolb's article is to compare ideas peculiar to Luther's commentary with the later 16th century Lutheran commentators on Galatians. Kolb's choice of these two concepts, the joyous exchange and *simul iustus et peccator*, may have been partly influenced by his looking for ideas, which the later commentators did not fully expound in the style of Luther. See Kolb 1993: 159, 170.

⁵⁴⁸Kolb recognizes that Luther does not discuss *simul iustus et peccator* very often in his commentary. Nevertheless, Kolb sees the concept as central. Kolb 1993: 176. Much depends on what each author sets out to do and which concepts are chosen as primary. Kolb, for instance, sees the joyous exchange as a main theme, and the concepts of union with Christ and Christ as the Greatest Sinner (*maximus peccator*) as its subthemes, instead of seeing the two others in light of the concept of union with Christ. Kolb 1993: 172-175.

⁵⁴⁹See Appendix 4. However, this study is not based on the assumption that the most frequently discussed concepts are automatically the most important in Luther's commentary. Instead, it emerged during research that focusing on the most frequently discussed themes gave the most comprehensive and accurate picture of substantial concepts in Luther's *Galatians*. At the same time, this approach is seen to safeguard against coming to Luther's *Galatians* with a preconceived idea of what its key ideas are. See also the general note at the end of Appendix 4 for further detail.

⁵⁵⁰Kvist highlights the importance of justification in Luther's understanding to the whole work of Christ in salvation, 'Jos siitä [Smalkadenin opinkohtien toisesta osasta, vanhurskauttamisoppi] väistytään tai annetaan periksi, Kristuksen koko pelastustyön ymmärtäminen on tehty kyseenalaiseksi.' Kvist 1996: 29.

work of Christ / work of the Holy Spirit, in line with the fact that Luther sees justification as beginning with God's work, and not with the human agent. However, as Luther begins his commentary with a consideration of two kinds of righteousness, the passive and the active, it is seen justified to do the same here.⁵⁵¹ The other concepts relating to justification are treated following the discussion of passive vs. active righteousness, which is succeeded by an analysis of the concepts of the work of the Holy Spirit, the law, good works, the scandal of the cross / suffering as a Christian and ministry. The notions of Luther's *Galatians* have been placed in a roughly thematic order instead of simply following the frequency of the concepts. Thus the theme of ministry, though more frequent than those of the work of the Holy Spirit, the scandal of the cross and good works, has been discussed last.

4.1. Justification

Current studies, which focus on Luther's concept of justification within his *Galatians*, often seem to prioritise Luther's exposition of Gal. 2.16-21.⁵⁵² This seems unfortunate, since the attention is often given almost exclusively to this passage. While this passage is undoubtedly important, there are several other major expositions of Luther's on justification both preceding and following the one of Gal. 2.16-20.⁵⁵³ Luther himself says that he has come to the conclusion of the main argument of the epistle only with Gal. 3.17-18, Gal. 4.8-9, or even at Gal. 5.12.⁵⁵⁴ Another main concern of many recent works on Luther's *Galatians* deals with the

⁵⁵¹The concept of passive vs. active righteousness also draws attention to the fact that both the beginning and the accomplishment of justification lies with God, and not with the human, a concern central to Luther's commentary.

⁵⁵²See e.g. Bornkamm 1963: 89-127, Mannermaa 1979, Strelow 1991, Seifrid 2003. There are others, who do not prioritise Gal. 2.16-21. See e.g. Kleinknecht 1981: 11-19, 47-54, Brecht 1986: 432-437, Taube 1986: 21-39.

⁵⁵³While it is undoubtedly true that Luther saw Gal. 2.16-21 as important, it is noteworthy that after his Galatians lectures he never chose to preach on this passage. Instead, the thirty sermons he preached on Galatians from 1531 onwards all relate to chapters 3-6. Kleinknecht has made a helpful list of all of Luther's sermons following the commencement of his Galatians lectures 1531 in the end of his *Luthers Galaterbrief Auslegung von 1531*, vol. 4: Der Galaterbrief, pp. 361-362, 386-387.

⁵⁵⁴See WA 40a.470.24-27, on Gal. 3.17, WA 40a.473.20-23, on Gal. 3.18, WA40a.600.25-26, on Gal. 4.8-9 and WA40b.59.20-30, on Gal. 5.12. Having concluded the first two chapters of Galatians and having begun lecturing on Gal. 3.1, Luther states that Paul has now arrived at the middle of his proceedings (in media illa actione). WA 40a.309.14, on Gal. 3.1. Even if one investigates the themes treated by Luther by the time his exposition of Gal. 3.17, it is evident that Luther has already introduced all of his main arguments relating to justification. Therefore, even if one were to look only at the first part of Luther's commentary until his exposition of Gal. 3.17, one ought not draw the conclusion that union with Christ (majorised on by the Finnish school of Luther interpretation) or Christus Victor (the central focus of the Lundian school) are more significant than other themes related with justification (such as the law / gospel distinction, Christian liberty etc.) in Luther's discussion. See Appendix 4 for the identification of these themes until and including Luther's exposition of Gal. 3.17 and compare this with the summary of the substantial concepts in the whole of Luther's *Galatians*.

connection / distinction / separation of the forensic (legal) and participatory aspects of justification.⁵⁵⁵ Luther does not deal with this question directly in his commentary, however, perhaps because the subject had not yet become a central issue of contention by the time of his lectures in 1531. Nevertheless, some attention is given to this subject in some of the sections below due to its importance in current research.

The examination of Luther's concept of justification is here begun by giving some attention to Luther's concept of two kinds of righteousness, which Luther first introduces in his *Argumentum epistolae*. It is noteworthy that while Luther is discussing the theme of justification by faith throughout his exposition, he mostly considers it in opposition to the contrasting concept of righteousness by the law.⁵⁵⁶ This is followed by an investigation of the role of Christ in justification, gospel and law and Christian liberty.⁵⁵⁷

4.1.1. Two Kinds of Righteousness

The title for this part of the research, 'two kinds of righteousness' is taken from Luther's argument for the epistle to Galatians, where Luther contrasts righteousness of two kinds, the active and the passive. The contrast between the two kinds of righteousness is termed somewhat differently in different contexts. Sometimes it is the object of righteousness that is under discussion, for instance the righteousness of the law vs. Christ or Christ's righteousness. At other times the means of obtaining righteousness are in question, for example love or human merit vs. faith.⁵⁵⁸

The investigation here is commenced by an examination of instances where Christian righteousness is contrasted with human or legal righteousness (sections 4.1.1.1 - 4.1.1.3), followed by the contradistinction of faith vs. love / works (section 4.1.1.4) and concluded with an assessment of Luther's example of Abraham of faith vs. Abraham of procreation (section 4.1.1.5).⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁵See e.g. Mannermaa 1979: 17-18, Seifrid: 2003: 225-230, Vainio 2004: 51-57.

⁵⁵⁶Leif Erikson also draws attention to the contrast by righteousness of faith with that by works in Luther's *Galatians*, and sees this as the principal theme of the commentary. Erikson states, 'Om man vill karaktärisera Luthers kommentar över Galaterbrevet kan man säga att den I huvudsak gäller trosrättfärdigheten kontra gärningsrättfärdigheten, men att reformatorn också kommer in på många andra frågor – bl.a. på frågan om Guds ords väsen och funktion i sammanhanget.' See Erikson 1994: 86.

⁵⁵⁷It needs to be borne in mind that the various parts of the discussion on justification are not clearly distinct in Luther's discussion. The theme of gospel and law, for instance, could possibly have been discussed under the heading of two kinds of righteousness. The themes of law and gospel, Christian liberty and the role of Christ in justification are also intimately tied with the themes of two kinds of righteousness.

⁵⁵⁸It needs to be borne in mind, however, that Luther often draws no distinction between the object and the means of obtaining righteousness.

⁵⁵⁹In other words, Abraham from the perspective of faith vs. Abraham from a human point of view, representing righteousness of works.

4.1.1.1. Passive vs. Active Righteousness

As noted above, a number of recent studies on justification in Luther's *Galatians* have centred their attention to Luther's exposition of Gal. 2.16-21. One of the important passages which is frequently neglected is Luther's introductory staging of the theme of justification in his *Argumentum epistolae*, where Luther contrasts two kinds of righteousness, the active and the passive.

Active righteousness represents righteousness in the human sphere and includes political and ceremonial righteousness as well as righteousness of the law.⁵⁶⁰ Luther maintains that human righteousness is good and commendable, whether it be ceremonial or that of the law, when it is not required as necessary for obtaining God's favour. However, when human acts of righteousness are performed as self-chosen works, in an attempt to be justified, they then assume a wicked role. Luther terms this kind of righteousness as active righteousness (*iustitia activa*). Passive righteousness (*iustitia passiva*), on the other hand, represents God's righteousness given to humans, who passively receive it. Thus in passive righteousness the acting agent is God, the human contributing nothing at all. Instead, by faith, the believers take hold of Christ, whose righteousness is imputed to them and counted as theirs.⁵⁶¹ Luther states,

'In other words, this is the righteousness of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, which we do not perform but receive, which we do not have but accept, when God the Father grants it to us through Jesus Christ. ... As much as the dry earth of itself is able to accomplish in obtaining the right and blessed rain, that much can we men accomplish by our own strength and works to obtain that divine, heavenly, and eternal righteousness. Thus we can obtain it only through the free imputation and indescribable gift of God.'⁵⁶²

⁵⁶⁰Est enim multiplex iustitia. Quaedam est politica quam Caesar, Principes mundi, philosophi et iureconsulti tractant. Alia est ceremonialis quam docent traditiones humanae, ut traditiones Papae et similes. Eam sine periculo tradunt patresfamilias et paedagogi, quia non tribuunt ei vim ad satisfaciendum pro peccatis, ad placandum deum et promerendam gratiam, sed tradunt ceremonias necessarias tantum ad disciplinam morum et certas observationes. Praeter has est alia quaedam iustitia legalis seu decalogi quam Moses docet. Hanc et nos docemus post doctrinam fidei.

Ultra et supra has omnes est fidei seu Christiana iustitia quae diligentissime discernenda est ab illis superioribus. WA 40a.40.20-29. Argumentum.

⁵⁶¹Ista autem excellentissima iustitia, nempe fidei, quam Deus per Christum nobis absque operibus imputat, nec est politica nec ceremonialis nec legis divinae iustitia nec versatur in nostris operibus, sed est plane diversa, hoc est mere passiva iustitia (sicut illae superiores activae). Ibi enim nihil operamur aut reddimus Deo, sed tantum recipimus et patimur alium operantem in nobis, scilicet Deum. WA 40a.41.15-20, Argumentum.

⁵⁶²In summa: Christi et Spiritus sancti quam non facimus, sed patimur, non habemus, sed accipimus, donante eam nobis Deo Patre per Iesum Christum. ... Quantum igitur arida terra ex se efficere potest ad comparandam sibi largam et felicissimam pluviam, tantum etiam nos homines nostris viribus et operibus efficere possumus ad comparandam nobis illam divinam, coelestem et aeternam iustitiam, nisi per gratuitam imputationem et per inenarrabile donum Dei illam consequamur. WA 40a.43.15-17, 20-25, Argumentum.

The following two parts on Luther's view on justification deal primarily with Luther's much discussed exposition of Gal. 2.16-21 including additional insights from Luther's comment on other pertinent passages.

4.1.1.2. Faith Formed by Christ vs. Faith Formed by Love (Union with Christ)

Another illustration of two kinds of righteousness is Luther's discussion of the *forma* of faith. Luther contrasts the concept of faith formed by love (*fides charitate formata*) of mediaeval Catholic theology on the one hand, and faith formed by Christ (*fides Christo formata*) on the other.⁵⁶³ A central theme here is that of the believer's union with Christ (*unio cum Christo*), which has been majored on by the Finnish school of Luther interpretation. Luther uses several images to demonstrate the closeness of the believer's union with Christ, presenting Christ as sticking to faith as closely as a ring encloses a gem,⁵⁶⁴ as colour sticks to a wall, and describing the believer as having become one body with Christ and been cemented with him in such a manner that they are as one person.⁵⁶⁵ A joyous exchange takes place in this union, so that Christ absorbs the believer's sin⁵⁶⁶, while the believer is transferred

⁵⁶³Mediaeval theology used categories taken from Aristotle to describe the relationship between faith and love. Thus faith was *materia* and love the *forma* of faith. In Aristotle's thinking a chair, for instance, is constituted of *materia* and *forma*, the first representing the various visible parts of the chair and the latter the reality of the chair or the 'chairness' of the chair, really making it a true chair. Thus love is what makes faith real, being the *forma* of faith according to scholastic theology. In his study on Aristoteles as used in Luther and during the Reformation, Braw explains that Luther uses the concepts *forma* – *materia* with an accent not present in the philosopher himself. Aristoteles saw *forma* as existing only in *materia*. For Luther, however, *forma* comes from the outside, from God and this *forma*, given by God, is passively received by the human agent, represented by the concept *materia*. Braw states, 'Luther använder här Aristoteles begrepp form-materia men på ett annat sätt än filosofen. För Aristoteles finns formen endast i materien och är dess gestaltande princip. ... I Luthers bild är formen det varmed Gud gestaltar materien. Formen kommer utifrån, aktivt, från Gud. Materien skall endast passivt ta emot formen. Detta är för Luther ett sätt att med filosofiska begrepp belysa det som är hans *Anliegen*, nådens primat.' Braw 2007: 180. For further detail on the Aristotelian concepts *forma* and *materia* as used by Luther, and their close relationship to the concepts *actio* – *passio* in Luther's discussion, see Braw 2007: 179-184. For more information on how Aristoteles' thoughts were used by Luther, Melancthon and the Lutheran confessions, see Braw 2007: 151-207. Mannermaa, too, sees the schema *materia vs. forma* as focal in Luther's theology of the cross. Mannermaa 1983: 48-49.

⁵⁶⁴*Fides enim apprehendit Christum et habet eum praesentem includitque eum ut annulus gemmam, Et qui fuerit inventus cum tali fide apprehensi Christi in corde, illum reputat Deus iustum.* WA 40a.233.17-19; on Gal. 2.16.

⁵⁶⁵'*Iam non Ego, sed Christus in me vivit*'; *Is est mea forma ornans fidem meam, ut color vel lux parietem ornat.* (Sic crasse res illa exponenda est; Non enim possumus spiritualiter comprehendere tam proxime et intime Christum haerere et manere in nobis, quam lux vel albedo in pariete haeret.) *Christus ergo, inquit, sic inhaerens et conglutinatus mihi et manens in me hanc vitam quam ago, vivit in me, imo vita qua sic vivo, est Christus ipse. Itaque Christus et ego iam unum in hac parte sumus.* WA 40a.283.26-32; on Gal. 2.20. See also WA 40a.228.27-30; on Gal. 2.16.

⁵⁶⁶See also the discussion on Christ as the greatest sinner (*maximus peccator*) in section 4.1.2. on the role of Christ in justification.

by faith into Christ's life and kingdom.⁵⁶⁷ If the believer were to be separated from Christ, that would mean falling back under the law and under damnation.⁵⁶⁸ The believer thus lives a double life. On the one hand, from the perspective of this world, the believer lives a normal life with all its activities. On the other hand, seen spiritually, his true life is the one by faith, hidden in and with Christ.⁵⁶⁹

In the light of this study, it seems that while it has been important to highlight the importance of the theme of union with Christ in Luther, the Finnish school of Luther interpretation,⁵⁷⁰ in majoring on one of the many pictures of justification in Luther's *Galatians*, may at times run the risk of making a forest out

⁵⁶⁷Sic Christus in me manens et vivens tollit et absorbet omnia mala quae me cruciant et affligunt. Quare haec inhaerentia facit, ut liberer a terroribus legis et peccati, eximar e cute mea et transferar in Christum ac in illius regnum, quod est regnum gratiae, iustitiae, pacis, gaudii, vitae, salutis et gloriae aeternae; in illo autem agens, nihil mali potest nocere mihi. WA 40a.284.1419; on Gal. 2.20.

⁵⁶⁸Si vero in me tantum intueor excluso Christo, actum est de me. Nam tum statim mihi incidit ista cogitatio: Christus est in coelis, tu in terris; qua ratione nunc venies ad eum? Ego sancte vivam et hoc quod lex requirit, faciam atque ita in vitam ingrediar! Ibi in me conversus et considerans, qualis ego sim vel esse debeam, item quid mihi faciendum sit, amitto ex oculis Christum qui solus est iustitia et vita mea. Hoc amisso non est consilium aut auxilium, sed necesse est certam desperationem et perditionem sequi. WA 40a.282.23-30; on Gal. 2.20.

⁵⁶⁹Est igitur duplex vita: Mea naturalis vel animalis, et aliena, scilicet Christi in me. WA 40a.287.28-29; on Gal. 2.20.

Sic vides me quidem loquentem, edentem, operantem, dormientem etc., et tamen vitam meam non vides, Quia hoc vitae tempus quod ego vivo, in carne quidem vivo, sed non vivo ex carne vel secundum carnem, sed in fide, ex fide et secundum fidem. WA 40a.288.27-30; on Gal. 2.20.

⁵⁷⁰Mannermaa associates the concept *theosis* with the believer's union with Christ, suggesting an ontic exchange of qualities between the believer and Christ and drawing a parallel with the Orthodox concept of deification (Mannermaa 1979: 43-46). It would deserve a study of its own to deal with this specific theme within Luther's *Galatians*. It seems, however, that when Luther expounds those statements where the believer is identified with Christ, he repeatedly emphasizes the receiving of Christ's righteousness and his victory over the law. Accordingly, one may therefore ask whether Luther is in fact discussing deification in these instances despite the fact that some of Luther's statements render that interpretation semantically possible. It appears, rather, that Luther is simply asserting that Christ, not love, is the form of faith (*forma fide*). Therefore, while in the context of current Finnish Luther research, *in ipsa fide Christus adest* has been interpreted in the context of deification, it is here regarded that Luther sees *in ipsa fide Christus adest* in the context of having the present Christ as our only righteousness in opposition to having love / law as our righteousness. See e.g. WA 40a.235.15-25; on Gal. 2.16 and WA 40a.279.23-29; on Gal. 2.19. This would also appear to be more in line with Luther's later statement in reference to Osiander, where he expresses his indignation at Osiander's view according to which Christ dwells in believers essentially (*Christus . . . in nobis habitat essentialiter*) – Luther maintained instead that Christ dwells in believers through faith and grace (*per fidem et gratiam*). See WA Tischreden 4.5047.634-635, 1540. A similar concern is highlighted by Dennis Biedfeld, who sees the Finnish school as taking some of Luther's statements on *theosis* and Christ's presence within the believer too literally. Biedfeld prefers to see Luther as talking about *perichoresis* rather than *theosis*, that is, of Christ's presence within the believer, but not his participation in the human essentially. Just as Christ is present with the bread and the wine (consubstantion), but does not become bread or wine in his essence (transsubstantion), Christ's presence within the believer ought to be understood as a presence with the human (*perichoresis*), and not in terms of deification (*theosis*). See Biedfeld 1998: 165-166.

of a tree.⁵⁷¹ It seems that in order to have a balanced understanding of Luther's doctrine of justification in his *Galatians* one needs to bear in mind the several other pictures of justification, some of which are more frequent and prevalent than that of the believer's union with Christ.⁵⁷²

A similar consideration indicates a need for caution on seeing an indisputable connection between the forensic (legal) and participatory aspects of justification in Luther's presentation of the believer's union with Christ⁵⁷³ or in his

⁵⁷¹Ingemar Öberg draws attention to the 'enormous emphasis' of Mannermaa on Christ's real-ontic indwelling in Luther's *Galatians*, and asks whether this may not have led to the neglect of the concepts of Word/gospel and the foundational concept of imputed righteousness. Öberg states, 'Frågan är ändå om Mannermaa inte presser tillbaka Ordet/evangeliet och trons grundläggande, tillräknade rättfärdighet hos reformatorn genom den enorma betoningen av Guds/Kristi inneboende i tron.' See Öberg 2002: 537.

⁵⁷²These include the contrast between Christian righteousness and righteousness of works, the contrast between faith and love / works / reason, the law and gospel contrast and Christian liberty. See the summary of substantial concepts in Appendix 4 for further detail. It is also noteworthy that in the thirty sermons Luther preached on the themes of Galatians from 1531 onwards none focuses on the passage in Gal. 2.16-21, for which union with Christ is focal. Instead, Luther's favourite theme seems to be the distinction and the relationship between the law and the gospel. Another theme he frequently returns to is that of the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh. For references, see Kleinknecht's helpful introduction to these sermons in Kleinknecht 1980: 361-408, esp. 361-362, 386-387.

Friederike Nüssel cautions against confusing the persons of Christ and the believer in his article 'Ich lebe, doch nun nicht ich, sondern Christus lebt in mir' (Gal 2.20a). Dogmatische Überlegungen zur Rede vom "Sein in Christus" (2002). Nüssel states, 'Das Ich, von dem Paulus sagt "nicht mehr ich", versteht Luther dabei als das Ich, welches unter dem Gesetz steht und darum eine von Christus geschiedene Person repräsentiert (Nüssel 2002: 488). He further explains how faith cannot simply be understood as 'habitus oder Qualität'. He asserts, 'Die Einsicht in die ekstatische Struktur des Glaubens macht es dabei unmöglich, den Glauben als habitus oder Qualität zu beschreiben. Dass der Glaubende zwar einerseits um seine Gerechtigkeit in Christus weiss, sich in der Selbstbetrachtung empirisch aber ausserhalb von Christus wahrnimmt, ist wiederum die Voraussetzung, unter der dem Glaubenden nach Luther die Selbstwahrnehmung als Gerechter und Sünder zugleich, als "simul iustus et peccator" möglich wird' (Nüssel 2002: 490).

⁵⁷³See e.g. Mannermaa 1979: 17-18, Seifrid: 2003: 225-230, Vainio 2004: 51-57. Both the Finnish school of Luther interpretation and the Formula of Concord, the position of which on the believer's union with Christ has come under critique by the Finnish school of Luther interpretation, represent a different situation with a varying set of presuppositions. The former was preceded by the controversy with Andreas Osiander and other developments leading to the formulations of confessional Lutheranism (on these developments, see e.g. Vainio 2004), and the latter is intimately connected with the ecumenical perspective, originally commencing in the context of the discussions between Lutherans and the Greek Orthodox church. Therefore, great effort must be taken in order that questions of a later situation would not be imposed to an earlier period. While the Formula of Concord looks at Luther's writings from a certain perspective, the same is undoubtedly true with the new Finnish school as well. The position taken here is that Luther's *Galatians* gives no distinct answer to the question on how the forensic and participatory / effective aspects of justification relate to each other. Bornkamm, for her part, also sees the concepts of *imputatio* and *unio* as remaining in tension in Luther's *Galatians*. She sees *imputatio* as the primary concept (das sachlich Primäre), though it is not important in her view which of the two takes place first. She regards *imputatio* as linked with the declaration of righteousness (die völlige Gerechterklärung des Menschen), and *unio* connected to the believer's struggle with sin, their partial righteousness (teilweisen Gerechtigkeit). See Bornkamm 1963: 77, 80-81. For a fuller discussion on the concepts, see Bornkamm 1963: 67, 72, 74-84, 154.

reference to Christ's indwelling by faith (in *ipsa fide Christus adest*).⁵⁷⁴ It seems important to avoid pressing Luther into answering a question, which is not yet resolved within his writings, or at least not within his *Galatians*. Luther uses varying parallel illustrations of justification in his commentary, some of which lend themselves easily and others uncomfortably to affirming a connection between the forensic and participatory aspects of justification.⁵⁷⁵

4.1.1.3. Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works

In this part, the focus is on those instances where Luther contrasts Christian righteousness with righteousness by human works. Christian righteousness is represented by Christ's righteousness, alternatively the 'giving' of Christ, Christ's death, Christ who has already come, works done with Christ or simply Christ.⁵⁷⁶

⁵⁷⁴Luisivan Vellar Strelow has drawn attention to the fact that the words 'in ipsa fide Christus adest' do not occur in Rörer's notes of Luther's lectures. See Strelow 1991: 123. The written commentary adds the whole phrase (missing in the original lecture notes), 'Sic ut Christus sit obiectum fidei, imo non obiectum, sed, ut ita dicam, in ipsa fide Christus adest.' WA 40a.228.34, 229.15. Thus the corresponding place in the lecture notes stands, 'Fides non est aliqua otiosa qualitas in corde, quod fides Christiana possit consistere in peccato mortali, donec accedat charitas quae vivificet; sed si vera, est quaedam fiducia cordis et firmitas assensus quo apprehendo Christum. [the written version of the lectures adds the above noted missing phrase here]. Fides est quaedam cognitio quae nihil videt; in istis nubibus sedet, nisi Christu apprehensus, quia; Sicut in templo sedebat in medio tenebrarum. WA 40a.228.12-15, 229.1-2. For a fuller understanding of the passage, compare the lecture notes WA 40a.228.12-15, 229.1-7 with the written commentary WA 40a.228.33-34, 229.15-25. Luther expresses a similar thought later, on Christ's presence 'in that cloud, faith' (in *ipsa nebula, fide*), where the lecture notes and the written version correspond to each other more closely. In this instance, the lecture notes read, 'Ideo iustificat fides, dicimus, quia habet illum thesaurum, quia Christus adest; quomodo, non est cogitabile. Qui habet veram fiduciam cordis, — adest ipse in ipsa nebula, fide.' WA 40a.229.4-7. The written version stands, 'Iustificat ergo fides, quia apprehendit et possidet istum thesaurum, scilicet Christum praesentem. Sed quo modo praesens sit, non est cogitabile, quia sunt tenebrae, ut dixi. Ubi vera fiducia cordis est, ibi adest Christus in ipsa nebula et fide.' WA 40a.229.22-25. It therefore appears possible, perhaps even probable, that Luther never said the words 'in ipsa fide Christus adest' in his lectures. Nevertheless, it needs to be borne in mind that a similar thought is expressed both in Rörer's lecture notes and in the written commentary soon afterwards. Further, as Luther explicitly accepted the written version of the commentary from 1535, the phrase 'in ipsa fide Christus adest' may be regarded as expressing Luther's thought. (Despite the fact that Strelow remarks that the phrase 'in ipsa fide Christus adest' is missing in Rörer's lecture notes, he also accepts Christ's presence in faith as belonging to Luther's thought. See e.g. Strelow 1991: 123-124).

⁵⁷⁵For instance, Luther's portrayal of passive vs. active righteousness (WA 40a.40.14-51.34; *Argumentum epistolae*), Christian righteousness vs. righteousness of works, Abraham of faith vs. Abraham of procreation (WA 40a.373.18-391.26; on Gal. 3.7-9) and the distinction between law and gospel (see references in Appendix 4 and under section 4.1.3) present justification in a way which appears easily explained in terms of forensic justification, while on the other hand the picture of the believer's union, with its emphasis, Christ's presence in the believer's heart, more naturally lends itself to a view prioritising participatory or the effective aspect of justification.

⁵⁷⁶This section, as well as the section on union with Christ, could possibly have been discussed under the title 'Role of Christ in Justification' (section 4.1.2). However, as these themes are presented in terms of the contrast between two kinds of righteousness, Christ's righteousness in opposition to righteousness of the law/works, it seems more fitting to deal with them here.

Proceeding further from the concept of union with Christ, Luther contrapositions the giving of Christ with humans offering or giving their own works for the purpose of attaining justification in Gal. 2.20-21.⁵⁷⁷ It is Christ who took the initiative and gave himself (tradidit semet ipsum) to save evil humans. It is therefore a wicked blasphemy to offer human works or satisfactions and imagine that they, instead of the giving of Christ, could placate God's wrath. Luther states,

‘These words, “the Son of God,” “He loved me,” and “He gave Himself for me,” are sheer thunder and heavenly fire against the righteousness of the Law and the doctrine of works. There was such great evil, such great error, and such darkness and ignorance in my will and intellect that I could be liberated only by such an inestimable price.’⁵⁷⁸

Further, Luther juxtaposes Christ's death with human works, whether the human works are performed *de congruo* (outside the state of grace) or *de condigno* (within the state of grace).⁵⁷⁹ Luther maintains that offering any kind of works, instead of by faith alone trusting in Christ's death on our behalf, is nullifying the grace of God.⁵⁸⁰

In two further contexts, commenting on Gal. 3.14 and 5.3-4, Luther shows how the patriarchs of the Old Testament, who lived under the law, by faith waited for the Christ to come. The law had a central role for the patriarchs, but as Christ now has already come, one ought not attempt to go back under the law. Instead, one ought to put one's faith in Christ for the receiving of grace and the forgiveness of sin.⁵⁸¹

⁵⁷⁷Bornkamm affirms, ‘Christus bleibt auch bei der engsten Vereinigung – conglutinatio, ihhaesio fidea, quasi unum corpus in spiritu – das Gegenüber des Glaubenden. Die Rechtfertigung gründet sich deshalb nicht auf das Leben, das der Glaubende in der Vereinigung mit Christus führt, sondern allein auf das Werk Christi selbst’ (Bornkamm 1963: 103-104).

⁵⁷⁸WA 40a.294.31-295.13, on Gal. 2.20. See WA 40a.290.33-295.34, on Gal. 2.20 for the larger context of this discussion.

⁵⁷⁹See section 2.4.2. for further discussion on the concepts *meritum de congruo* and *meritum de condigno*.

⁵⁸⁰Hoc secundum est argumentum huius Epistolae. Considerabis autem hic diligenter, quod velle iustificari ex operibus legis sit abiicere gratiam Dei. Quid quaeso magis impium aut quod horribilius peccatum esse potest, quam abiicere gratiam Dei et non velle iustificari fide in Christum? WA 40a.300.24-27; on Gal. 2.21. Christus Dei filius ex mera gratia et misericordia nos iustificavit. Ergo lex non potuit hoc praestare. Si enim potuisset, stulte egisset Christus, quod seipsum tradidisset pro peccatis nostris, ut per hoc iustificaremur. Concludimus igitur neque merito congrui aut condigni, neque cruce aut afflictionibus, neque ipsa lege, sed sola fide in Christum nos iustificari. WA 40a 304.32, 40a.305.9-13; on Gal. 2.21. On similar lines, Luther warns of the danger of letting reason rule outside of its proper sphere, that is, in the issue of justification. Reason thinks that righteousness can be found by the law, and thus rejects Christ and the true Christian righteousness in him. See WA 40a.305.30-33, 306.13-31, 307.14-21; on Gal. 2.21.

⁵⁸¹Moses longe ante praedixerat: ‘Prophetam de gente tua et de fratribus tuis suscitabit tibi Dominus Deus tuus, HUNC audies’, Quasi dicat: hunc unum et praeterea neminem. Hoc bene intellexerunt Patres, quia nemo potuit maiora et sublimiora docere quam ipse Moses, qui summus leges de summis et maximis rebus tulerat, Ut est Decalogus, praesertim primum praeceptum ... Et tamen venire debebat alius Doctor, scilicet Christus qui longe aliquid maius et melius summis istis legibus docturus erat, nempe gratiam et remissionem peccatorum. WA 40a.456.27-32, 40a.456.35, 40a.457.10-11; on Gal. 3.14.

Luther also contrasts works done with or without Christ in his comment on Gal. 3.14. According to Luther's concept, a work is only holy if the root and the motive is holy, in other words, if one has Christ through faith. Only works done on the ground of faith, therefore, fulfil God's requirement.⁵⁸² Bornkamm further specifies that even the activity of the believers through their union with Christ is not the ground for one's justification; instead, it is the work of Christ alone.⁵⁸³ There is no uniting of the two ways to salvation, the law or Christ. Either one has to stay with all the law of Moses and to attempt salvation through it (which is impossible), or to have nothing of the law, and to have Christ.⁵⁸⁴

4.1.1.4. Faith vs. Love / Works / Reason

We turn now to those instances where Luther focuses on the means of justification, namely faith alone, in contrast to the view which attributes justification to faith formed by love (*fides charitate formata*),⁵⁸⁵ or to works of the law. Peter Manns' treatment of the concept of the absolute and incarnate faith (*fides absoluta – fides incarnata*) in Luther's *Galatians* is interesting in this respect. Manns considers that Luther's statements on the role of good works in justification are 'ambiguous' and

Eadem consequentia, qua teneris ad Circumcisionem, teneris etiam ad totam legem. Servare autem totam legem, nihil aliud est quam factu ostendere, quod Christus nondum venerit. Si hoc verum est, observari debent omnes Iudaicae caeremoniae et leges de cibis, locis, temporibus et adhuc exspectandus est Christus, qui antiquato Iudaeorum Regno et Sacerdotio instituat novum Regnum per totum orbem terrarum. Sed tota Scriptura testatur et res ipsa indicat Christum iam venisse, sua morte Genus humanum redemisse, legem abrogasse et omnia, quae omnes Prophetiae de eo praedixerunt, adimplesse. Ergo sublata lege gratiam et veritatem donavit. Non igitur lex neque opera eius, sed fides in Christum, qui iam venit, iustificat. WA 40b.17.20-30; on Gal. 5.3.

⁵⁸²WA 40a.457.16-29; on Gal. 3.14. Similarly, Christ is Lord and King over all Scripture and its works. Therefore, if someone defends righteousness by works, one ought to show who is central in Scripture - Christ, the King of Scripture - and leave the others to the servant (Scripture) and let them stay with the few passages defending works. Correctly seen, however, Scripture presents Christ as the only way to salvation as against all human works, and the passages defending works are, in reality, in harmony with righteousness by faith. WA 40a.458.19-459.24; on Gal. 3.14.

⁵⁸³Illi [Sophistae] haec Pauli verba invertunt et hoc modo legunt: Nos dileximus Christum et tradidimus nosipsum pro eo. Verum impii homines, frustra inflati sensu carnis suae, dum somniant et nugantur se facere quod in se est, se diligere Deum, sese tradere pro Christo, abolent Evangelium ac rident, negant, blasphemant, conspuunt et conculcant Christum, quia verbis fatentur eum esse iustificatorem et Salvatorem, re vera tamen vim iustificandi et salvandi illi detrahunt ac eam tribuunt suis electitiis cultibus. Hoc vivere est non in fide filii Dei, sed in propriis iustitiis et operibus. WA 40a.291.20-28; on Gal. 2.20.

Quare Paulus non nos, sed Christum incepisse hic dicit. 'Ipse dilexit me inquit', 'et tradidit semetipsum pro me', Quasi dicat: Non invenit in me bonam voluntatem et intellectum rectum, sed ipse misertus est mei... WA 40a.294.23-25; on Gal. 2.20.

⁵⁸⁴Est igitur finalis haec conclusio: Aut Christum amitte, aut iusticiam legis. Si Christum retines, iustus es coram Deo, Si legem, Christus nihil tibi prodest, debitor es totius legis servandae habesque [5. Mose 27, 26] sententiam tuam: 'Maledictus omnibus, qui non' etc. WA 40b.20. 18-21; on Gal. 5.3-4. See also WA 40b.19.26-30.

⁵⁸⁵See also section 5.1.1.2.

‘contradictory’.⁵⁸⁶ On the one hand Manns congratulates Luther for his rebuttal of righteousness by works while on the other Manns considers it unfortunate that Luther was unable to define how ‘free cooperation’ and good works can have ‘true causality and necessity for salvation’.⁵⁸⁷ Nevertheless, Manns sees openness in Luther’s presentation of the positive role of good works for believers in the illustration of the incarnate Christ / *fides incarnata*.⁵⁸⁸

Luther’s definition of faith is important for the discussion in this section. Luther explains faith as a gift of God, as God’s work within human hearts. Faith is also defined by Luther as confidence of the heart (*fiducia cordis*) as against the scholastic understanding of faith as ‘an idle quality or an empty husk’ (*otiosa qualitas vel vacua silicua*) in the soul. Luther elucidates,

‘Therefore Christian faith is not an idle quality or an empty husk in the heart, which may exist in a state of mortal sin until love comes along to make it alive. But if it is true faith, it is a sure trust and firm acceptance in the heart. ... Thus faith is a sort of knowledge or darkness that nothing can see. ... Therefore our “formal righteousness” is not a love that informs faith; but it is faith itself, a cloud in our hearts, that is, trust in a thing we do not see, in Christ, who is present especially when He cannot be seen.’⁵⁸⁹

Faith has Christ as its only object, in accordance with the concept *solus Christus*. Faith justifies, not on account of itself, but on account of the Christ it apprehends.⁵⁹⁰ On similar lines, faith alone (*sola fide*) justifies, and the opposing point of view according to which faith plus love or faith plus works justifies, is rejected.⁵⁹¹

⁵⁸⁶Manns 1970: 125. Manns’ article originally appeared five years earlier in the publication *Reformata Reformanda* vol. 1. See bibliography for detail.

⁵⁸⁷Manns 1970: 131. See also Manns 1970: 125-126.

⁵⁸⁸See below for a brief discussion on Luther’s illustration of the two natures of Christ (Christ as divine and Christ as incarnate). Manns 1970: 126-131.

⁵⁸⁹Quare fides Christiana non est otiosa qualitas vel vacua silicua in corde quae possit existere in peccato mortali, donec charitas accedat et eam vivificet, Sed si est vera fides, est quaedam certa fiducia cordis et firmus assensus quo Christus apprehenditur, Sic ut Christus sit obiectum fidei, imo non obiectum, sed, ut ita dicam, in ipsa fide Christus adest. Fides ergo est cognitio quaedam vel tenebra quae nihil videt, Et tamen in istis tenebris Christus fide apprehensus sedet, Quemadmodum Deus in Sinai et in Templo sedebat in medio tenebrarum. Est ergo formalis nostra iustitia non charitas informans fidem, sed ipsa fides et nebula cordis, hoc est, fiducia in rem quam non videmus, hoc est, in Christum qui, ut maxime non videatur, tamen praesens est. Iustificat ergo fides, quia apprehendit et possidet istum thesaurum, scilicet Christum praesentem. Sed quo modo praesens sit, non est cogitabile, quia sunt tenebrae, ut dixi. Ubi ergo vera fiducia cordis est, ibi adest Christus in ipsa nebula et fide. WA 40a.228.31-229.25, on Gal. 2.16.

⁵⁹⁰Strelow draws attention to *apprehendere* (usually translated as ‘grasp’ or ‘to take hold of’ in Luther’s Works) as Luther’s favourite term for describing the relationship between faith and Christ in his *Galatians*. Strelow also notes the terms *fiducia* (trust) and *cognitio* (knowledge). Luther uses the latter in the context of the concept of faith as knowing in darkness, and apprehending Christ. See the quote to Luther in the footnote above, which includes all these three terms. See Strelow 1991: 99-102.

⁵⁹¹Est autem veritas Evangelii, quod iustitia nostra est ex sola fide, sine operibus legis. Falsitas seu depravatio Evangelii est, quod fide iustificemur, sed non sine operibus legis. Hac conditione annexa Pseudoapostoli praedicaverunt Evangelium. Sophistae nostri idem docuerunt Quod scilicet in Christum

Commenting on Gal. 3.11-12 Luther argues against a related concept of the ‘sophists’ (sophistae), according to which faith alone (sola fide) does not justify but that it must be formed by love (fides charitate formata). Luther explains that he could accept the notion if the distinction was made between a false or counterfeit faith (falsam seu fictam fidem) and a formed faith (fides formata).⁵⁹² In this case, a formed faith (fides formata) would be understood theologically, assigning the justifying function to faith, not to love. However, in reality, the ‘sophists’ did not understand an ‘unformed faith’ (fides non formata) as a false faith, but used the term to describe the nature of faith without love. According to them an ‘unformed faith’ could even coexist with mortal sin. Unless it was formed by love, it could not justify.⁵⁹³ This notion Luther rejects, and affirms that faith alone justifies, without love and without works of the law.⁵⁹⁴

However, Luther adds that also according to his understanding, faith does not remain alone or idle. Drawing an interesting parallel with the two natures of Christ, Luther maintains that just as the divine Christ does not remain in heaven, but becomes a man, so faith does not remain alone but becomes active in works.⁵⁹⁵ Commenting on Gal 5.6 (...sed fides per charitatem efficax), Luther stresses that in this context love is not discussed as a means to achieve justification,⁵⁹⁶ but in its proper sphere, in daily life where the believers work their faith out in performing deeds of love toward one’s neighbour.⁵⁹⁷ In this situation

sit credendum fidemque esse fundamentum salutis, sed eam non iustificare, nisi formata sit charitate. Haec non est veritas, sed fucus et simulatio Evangelii. Verum autem Evangelium est, quod opera aut charitas non est ornatus seu perfectio fidei, Sed quod fides per se est donum Dei et opus divinum in corde, quod ideo iustificat, quia apprehendit ipsum Christum Salvatorem. Ratio humana obiectum habet legem: hoc feci, hoc non feci. Fides autem, quando in proprio suo officio est, nullum prorsus aliud obiectum habet quam Iesum Christum filium Dei, traditum pro peccatis mundi. WA 40a.163.28, 40a.164.14-24; on Gal. 2.4-5. See also WA 40a.251.27-37 and WA 40a.254.26-35, 255.15-35; on Gal. 2.17.

⁵⁹²Although Luther does not refer to the Scripture passage here, he appears to be alluding to James 2.19, where a false faith is discussed, namely the faith, which even demons have recognising God’s existence.

⁵⁹³See WA 40a.421.14-31, 422.13-31, 423.14-19; on Gal. 3.11.

⁵⁹⁴Ex clarissimo igitur testimonio Prophetarum argumentatur Paulus, quod simpliciter nemini contingat iustificatio et vita coram Deo nisi credenti, qui iustitiam et vitam consequitur sine lege et dilectione ex fide. WA 40a.424.20-22; on Gal. 3.12.

⁵⁹⁵Quare fides perpetuo iustificat et vivificat, et tamen non manet sola, id est, otiosa. Non quod non sola in suo gradu et officio maneat, quia perpetuo sola iustificat, sed incarnatur et fit homo, hoc est, non est et manet otiosa vel sine charitate. Sic Christus secundum divinitatem et substantia vel natura divina et aeterna sine principio, Humanitas vero est natura in tempore creata. Hae duae naturae in Christo sunt inconfusae et impermixtae et utriusque proprium est distincte intelligendum. WA 40a.427.11-17, on Gal. 3.12. See also WA 40a.427.31, 428.9-11; on Gal. 3.12. See section 4.3 on good works for further discussion.

⁵⁹⁶Opera fieri dicit ex fide per Charitatem, non iustificari hominem per Charitatem. WA 40b.35.24-25, on Gal. 5.6.

⁵⁹⁷These include deeds such as wearing rags, and eating or not eating certain foods. See WA 40b.38.22-31, on Gal. 5.6. For further discussion, see section 4.3 on good works.

faith is the master and love the tool.⁵⁹⁸ Faith, inwardly understood, is faith in God who justifies, while outwardly perceived, faith is love or good works toward one's neighbour.⁵⁹⁹

It is therefore difficult to see in what way Luther's presentation could leave a degree of openness about a positive role for good works within justification, as Manns suggests.⁶⁰⁰ However, outside of justification, Luther clearly sees their importance.⁶⁰¹

In addition to the contrapositioning of faith vs. works / love, Luther draws a contrast between faith and reason in his discussion on Gal. 3.6. Gerhard Ebeling has given special attention to the relationship of faith and reason in Luther's exposition of this verse, but due to constraints of space, his rather detailed article is not discussed further here.⁶⁰² Luther states in his exposition of Gal. 3.6 that the Christian ought to kill the reason and, instead, to glorify God by having faith in Him. This is the 'morning and evening sacrifice of the New Testament'.⁶⁰³ Human reason sees it as more rational to try to achieve righteousness with its own resources, i.e. with outward acts of human righteousness, whereas faith gives glory to God – letting him be the Creator of all good and believing in him as the Giver of all righteousness.⁶⁰⁴ Two further concepts, those of *simul iustus et peccator* and

⁵⁹⁸Non enim dicit: Charitas est efficax, Sed: 'Fides est efficax', Non: Charitas operatur, sed: 'fides operatur'. Charitatem vero facit fidei velut instrumentum, per quod operetur. WA 40b.36.12-14, on Gal. 5.6.

⁵⁹⁹Nam de fideseu interna natura, vi et usu fidei supra disputavit, ubi eam docuit esse iusticiam seu potius iustificationem coram Deo. Hic coniungit Charitati et operibus, id est, de eius externo officio loquitur. Hic dicit eam esse impultricem et effectricem bonorum operum seu Charitatis erga proximum. WA 40b.38.6-10, on Gal. 5.6.

⁶⁰⁰Manns 1970: 126-131.

⁶⁰¹See section 4.4. for further discussion.

⁶⁰²Ebeling goes through sixteen concepts picked out of Luther's discussion of the theme faith vs. reason in Gal. 3.6 (quid fides, virtus fidei, dare gloriam Deo, reputare, facere Deo – facere Deum, fides creatrix divinitatis, non in persona sed in nobis, creatrix, Divinitas, fides, fides iustificans, fides abstracta – fides concreta, omnipotentia – omniinfirmitas, Deus loquens, verbum Dei – secundum rationem: diaboli verbum, sacrificium rationis). For further discussion of each of these concepts, see Ebeling 1979: 97-135. See also footnote 604 for further discussion of Ebeling's article.

⁶⁰³Quare, ut dixi, quilibet Christianus summus est Pontifex, quia primum offert et mactat suam rationem et sensum carnis, Deinde tribuit Deo gloriam, quod sit iustus, verax, patiens, miserator et misericors. Hocque est iuge illud sacrificium vespertinum et matutinum in novo Testamento, Vespertinum: mortificare rationem, Matutinum: glorificare Deum. WA 40a.370.12-16, on Gal. 3.6. See also WA 40a.362.15-363.15, on Gal. 3.6.

⁶⁰⁴See e.g. WA 40a.360.17-361.18, WA 40a.361.28-362.14 and WA 40a.362.28-363.15, on Gal. 3.6. Ebeling underlines Luther's striking statement on faith as the creator of divinity, *creatrix divinitatis*, within believers and discusses this as a concept of its own. (Ebeling primarily uses the shorthand notes of Luther's lectures 1531 rather than the written commentary of 1535.) See WA 40a.360.5-10, on Gal. 3.6 and Ebeling 1979: 106-113. In light of the whole discussion of Luther surrounding his reference to faith as *creatrix divinitatis*, this statement of Luther's emerges rather as an attention grabbing accentuation of the fact that faith alone gives glory to God (in that what is due to God is given him by faith), rather than as being an independent theological concept of faith as the creator of divinity. This is supported by the fact that Luther does not elucidate the concept of faith as the creator of divinity further, apart from the

imputation of Christ's righteousness are significant in this context.⁶⁰⁵ God counts the faith of believers in Christ as righteousness (*reputare*), even though both faith and the believers' lives are imperfect, and some sins remain in them (*simul iustus et peccator*). In a formal sense, Luther explains, the righteousness which faith grasps is outside of the human (*iustitia aliena*), in God's imputation (*imputatione*) and grace alone. How this can be is divine theology, and something entirely outside the sphere of the understanding of human reason.⁶⁰⁶

4.1.1.5. Abraham of Faith vs. Abraham of Works

Our final example of Luther's images of two kinds of righteousness, focuses on the Abraham of procreation vs. the Abraham of faith in Gal. 3.7-9.⁶⁰⁷ It seems unfortunate that Juhani Forsberg, who has written an insightful work on Luther's theology on Abraham, has given only scant attention to this passage in the part of his work dealing with Luther's *Galatians*.⁶⁰⁸ Here, Luther compares the two sons of

short paragraph where Luther uses this phrase. Instead, he continues his discussion on faith as giving the glory to God which he is due to receive as contrasted to human reason, which robs God of the glory he is due because it attempts to attain justification by human works. See WA 40a.359.17-373.17, on Gal. 3.6. Ebeling's emphasis on this statement of Luther's would have found more support if Luther would have explained this concept in more detail, which, however, he does not do. Further, though the statement *ut ita dicam* ('if I may put it this way') (WA 40a.360.24), immediately preceding Luther's allusion to faith as *creatrix divinitatis* (the creator of divinity), appears only in the written commentary, and not in the shorthand notes, it nevertheless lends some further support to the view that Luther saw this statement rather as an illustration than as a substantial concept of its own (as Luther gave his explicit approval for the text of the written commentary of 1535). Althaus has also given some attention to these 'bold statements' (Althaus 1966: 46) in Luther. Althaus' opinion appears to do justice to the whole context of the passage, that is, faith is *creatrix divinitatis* only in the sense that God is allowed to be our personal God, that we 'let him be our God in faith' (Althaus 1966: 46). God is God independent of us, and without our faith. Thus this corresponds closely with Luther's comment on the Lord's prayer in his *Kleine Katechismus* that, while God's name is holy despite us, we pray for His name to be holy also in us. Luther states, 'Gottes name ist zwar an yhm heilig, Aber wir bitten ynn diesem gebet, das er bey uns auch heilig werde.' WA 30a.300.2-4.

⁶⁰⁵See the discussion of these concepts, in the context of the concepts of faith vs. reason, in WA 40a.363.28-373.17, on Gal. 3.6.

⁶⁰⁶Et hic in alio prorsus mundo extra rationem sumus, ubi non disputatur, quid nos facere debeamus, quo genere operum gratiam et remissionem peccatorum mereamur, sed hic sumus in divina Theologia, ubi audimus hoc Evangelium, quod Christus pro nobis mortuus sit quodque hoc credentes reputemur iusti, manentibus nihilominus in nobis peccatis et quidem grandibus. WA 40a.371.21-25, on Gal. 3.6.

⁶⁰⁷Luther's discussion on Abraham from a human perspective vs. a perspective of faith is lengthy and thus seems to have held special importance for Luther. That is why it is included here as a separate section. See WA 40a.373.18-391.26.; on Gal. 3.7-9.

⁶⁰⁸See Forsberg 1985: 73-83. Forsberg sees it important to look at Luther's theology on Abraham in his *Galatians* in light of the believer's union with Christ. Christ's indwelling within the believer is not, however, discussed by Luther in reference to Abraham in any explicit detail. Forsberg's linking of Luther's theology on Abraham to the believer's union with Christ is connected to the fact that he sees Luther's reference to faith as *creatrix divinitatis* (Gal. 3.6), and hence the presence of God (*Gegenwart Gottes*) as central to Luther's understanding of justification and the theology of Abraham in his *Galatians*, on similar lines with Ebeling. Compare Forsberg 1985: 74-77 with Ebeling 1979: 106-113. (See footnote 604 for further discussion on Ebeling's view on faith as *creatrix divinitatis*.) Thus Forsberg

Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac, one born from Abraham in the natural way, and the other by the promise of God. Accordingly, Abraham seen from a human perspective (i.e. Abraham of procreation and of works) is the father of those who endeavour to achieve justification by works while Abraham elected and justified, the one trusting in the promise of God, is the father of those who believe.⁶⁰⁹ The same concept is also illustrated in the contrast between those who attempt to imitate Christ and follow his example (represented by Abraham of works) and those who want to have Christ for blessing and salvation (represented by Abraham the believer).⁶¹⁰ Luther summarises,

‘For us to be righteous in the sight of God a price far higher than human righteousness or the righteousness of the Law is required. Here we must have Christ to bless and save us, just as Abraham had Him as his Blessor and Savior. How? Not through works but through faith. ... Here Paul is dealing with Christ who redeems and Abraham who has faith, not with Christ the example and Abraham who does works.’⁶¹¹

looks back to Luther’s discussion on union with Christ (Gal. 2.16, 2.20) rather than looking at the immediate context of Gal. 3.6-9 to complete the picture of Luther’s discussion. The position taken in this study is that Luther’s discussion on Abraham does not necessitate looking back to the concept of Christ’s indwelling within the believer. This is supported by the fact that Luther himself does not do so. Instead, Luther introduces in this passage one more illustration of the contrast between two kinds of righteousness, a) that of the Abraham of faith vs. the Abraham of works in the discussion on Gal. 3.7-9 (WA 40a.373.18-391.26), and yet another image in b) the contradistinction of works done on the grounds of faith vs. works done in an attempt to be justified through them when discussing Gal. 3.10. The latter image is perceptively treated by Forsberg, too. See Forsberg 1985: 80-82. See also section 4.3.2. for further discussion on Luther’s comment on Gal. 3.10.

⁶⁰⁹Ergo qui vult esse filius credentis Abrahae, oportet ut et ipse credat; Alioqui non est filius electi, accepti et iustificati Abrahae, sed tantum generantis, Qui nihil aliud est quam homo in peccatis conceptus, natus et constitutus, sine remissione peccatorum, sine fide, sine Spiritu sancto, ut alius homo, Ergo damnatus. WA 40a.375.13-17; on Gal. 3.7. In the context of contrasting the Abraham of faith with the Abraham of works, faith is compared to reason. Following the dictates of reason, humans choose self-chosen works such as the monks did, while faith perceives God correctly, seeing his mercy and trusting in Christ for salvation. In this context, Luther gives a contemporary example of baptism. ‘The fanatics’ (phanatici) who argue that one must reach the age of reason and perform good deeds before baptism, represent righteousness of works. By way of contrast, those who maintain baptism as a sign of God’s good will towards humans, in which the infant is given righteousness and salvation, maintain righteousness by faith. See WA 40a.376.23-28,377.11-20; on Gal. 3.7.

⁶¹⁰See WA 389.12-390.16; on Gal. 3.9. Also, the fact that the promise was given to Abraham 430 years earlier than the law, exemplifies the superiority of righteousness by faith over righteousness by the law.

⁶¹¹Ad hoc enim, ut iusti simus coram Deo, longe maius pretium requiritur, quam est aut iustitia humana aut Legis. Hic Christum habere nos oportet qui benedicat et salvet nos, ut Abraham eum habuit Benedictorem et Salvatorem. Quomodo? Non per opera, sed per fidem. Ideo longe aliud est Abraham credens quam operans, longe aliud est Christus benedicens et redimens quam exemplum. Agit autem hic Paulus de Christo redimente et Abraham credente, non de Christo exemplo et Abraham operante. WA 40a.390.13-20, on Gal. 3.9. In the context of contrasting the Abraham of faith with the Abraham of works, Luther also compares faith to reason. Following the dictates of reason, humans choose self-chosen works such as the monks did, while faith perceives God correctly, seeing his mercy and trusting in Christ for salvation. See WA 40a.381.13-25; on Gal. 3.8. Luther gives a contemporary example of baptism in this context. The Anabaptists who argue that one must reach the age of reason and perform

Luther further affirms that justification happened in the same manner for both the patriarchs of the Old Testament and the people of the New Testament, the former being justified by their faith in the Saviour yet to come and the latter by faith in Christ who has already come.⁶¹² Both groups needed the hearing of the Word of the gospel, Abraham in the promise and the present-day believers through the ministry of the Word in the church.⁶¹³ Then, receiving the gospel by faith, the believers, whether those of the Old or the New Testaments, are counted righteous before God and receive the blessing of finding a merciful God who forgives their sin.⁶¹⁴

4.1.2. Role of Christ in Justification⁶¹⁵

Hans Thimme has drawn attention to the central importance of the work of Christ to the believer in their personal tribulations (Anfechtungen) in Luther's *Galatians*.⁶¹⁶

good deeds before baptism represent righteousness by works. By way of contrast, those who maintain baptism as a sign of God's good will towards humans, in which the infant is given righteousness and salvation, maintain righteousness by faith.

Kleinknecht, commenting on Luther's portrayal of Christ as the fulfilment of the promises of the Old Testament, draws attention to the concept of Christ as having become a curse for all. 'Der Verheissene konnte freilich nur so der Segenbringer für alle werden, dass er den Fluch aller auf sich nahm.' Kleinknecht 1981: 14. See a closely related discussion on Christ as the greatest sinner (*maximus peccator*) in section 4.1.1.3.

⁶¹²Abraham et alii patres tum nos, fide in Christum iustificamur, illi fide in futurum, nos in praesentem Christum... WA 40a.379.30-32; on Gal. 3.7. Forsberg draws attention to the fact that for Luther, it is possible also for people in the present day to be in a state where Christ has not yet existentially come for them, that is, if they are yet unbelieving. Forsberg states, 'Andererseits ist Christus auch für uns "der kommende Erlöser". Sozusagen "existentiell" gesehen ist Christus für die Gläubigen anwesend und schon gekommen, während er für die Ungläubigen noch nicht gekommen und anwesend ist' (Forsberg 1985: 93).

⁶¹³This is connected to Luther's view according to which believers in Old Testament times had the gospel Word only in written form, whereas since the coming of Christ, the spoken Word of the gospel has a primary role. Thus Luther calls the New Testament church a 'mouth-house, not a pen-house' (*mundhaws, nit eyn fedderhaws*). See also section 4.6.3. for further discussion on the task of ministry and the spoken Word. Luther states, 'Datzu stymmet das worttle Bethphage, wilchs auff deutsch, als etlich sagen, heyst mundhawss denn Paulus Ro. 1. sprict, das Euangelium sey tzuovor ynn der heyligen schrifft vorsprochen, aber es ward nit mundlich und offtelich predigt, biss das Christus kam und sandte die Apostelln auss. Darumb ist die kirch eyn mundhawss, nit eyn tedderhawss.' WA 10.1.2.48.1-5, Das Euangelium am ersten sonntag des Advents Mathei .xxi, 1522. See also Elenius 2005: 115.

⁶¹⁴Quare benedici Gentes est eis donari iustitiam et reputari eas iustas, Quod non fit nisi per Evangelium. Nam Abraham nulla alia ratione iustificatus est quam audito verbo promissionis, benedictionis et gratiae. Sicut igitur imputatio iustitiae contigit Abrahae per auditum fidei, sic et omnibus Gentibus contigit et adhuc contingit. WA 40a.387.14-19; on Gal. 3.9. See the larger context of this passage in WA 40a.387.13-388.24, on Gal. 3.9.

⁶¹⁵It should be noted once more that the division into sections is somewhat arbitrary. For instance, the themes of the union with Christ and the concept of Christ as 'given', and Christ's death in contrast to righteousness by works could have been discussed here. However, these themes fit better under the overall heading of Christian righteousness contrasted with righteousness by works.

⁶¹⁶Thimme states, referring to the *Anfechtungsmächten* (the powers of the law, death, devil and sin), 'In starrer Kompaktheit wird Christus den Anfechtungsmächten gegenübergestellt. ... Der Betrug des Teufels bzw. des Gesetzes spielt wieder eine grosse Rolle. Gesetz und Tod vergreifen sich an dem unscheinbaren Jesus und gehen an dessen Gottheit zugrunde. Oder ein ebenso massiv ausgeführtes Bild für den gleichen

Marc Lienhard, for his part, points to Christ's mediation, suffering of God's wrath, fulfilment of the law and battling against the powers which oppress the human as central in Luther's discussion of Christ's salvific work in his *Galatians*.⁶¹⁷ For the purposes of this study, we will focus on four specific illustrations of Luther's explaining from different angles Christ's role in justification, a) Christ as the Lawgiver vs. Saviour, b) Christ as the Greatest Sinner (*maximus peccator*), c) Christ as having been given 'for us' (*pro nobis*) and d) *Christus Victor*, the themes which also reflect, at least to some extent, the concerns raised by Thimme and Lienhard.

Commenting on Gal. 4.4-5, Luther discusses Christ's relationship to the law. Referring to the mediaeval notion of Christ as the new Lawgiver, who requires a perfect imitation of his example, Luther describes his continual personal struggle to get over this concept. Christ, he asserts, is not a new Lawgiver but a Comforter safeguarding the believer from the terrors of the law. In fact, Christ is the Killer of the law. Christ battled with the law and as a result, the law killed Christ. However, as it did this to the innocent Christ, without a legitimate reason, law committed an unpardonable sin, and Christ killed the law in turn. Thus, Christ conquered the law in himself passively by making himself its servant. He did not only do it in himself, but also did this in the person of the believer, making the believer a conqueror of the law as well. Now the law has no right to reign in the conscience, accusing the sinner. Thus, Christ is a Redeemer and Comforter in his role as a Conqueror over the law (*Christus Victor*).⁶¹⁸ On similar lines, on Gal. 5.8, Luther warns of an image of a false Christ, which the devil tries to create for the believer's conscience, presenting him as a Taskmaster and an Accuser, instead of the gentle and lowly Saviour and Comforter that he truly is. Luther affirms,

'Here the troubled mind should be encouraged in the manner in which Paul encouraged the Galatians, namely, by ... the Word of the Gospel, which portrays Christ, not as an accuser or a harsh taskmaster but as "gentle and lowly in heart", as a merciful Savior and Comforter.'⁶¹⁹

Further, Luther cautions against seeing Christ as being primarily an Example. For the Christian, Christ is principally a Gift (*donum*), who swallows up the believer's sin. Only secondly is Christ an example to imitate. Thus for those burdened under

Gedanken: Christus nimmt ganz konkret der ganzen Welt Sünden auf seine Schultern, stirbt ihretwegen in tiefster Erniedrigung .. den Martertod, nimmt sie mit sich ins Grab und bringt durch seine Auferstehung die *vita nova* des Gläubigen.' See Thimme 1933: 79.

⁶¹⁷Lienhard states, 'L'oeuvre du Christ est ainsi décrite de façon diverse, à la fois sous l'angle de la médiation, le Christ souffrant sous la colère de Dieu et accomplissant la loi, et sous l'angle du combat mené contre les puissances qui oppriment l'homme.' Lienhard 1973: 289.

⁶¹⁸The theme of *Christus Victor* is also implied in this passage. However, in the commentary overall, *Christus Victor*, although occasionally alluded to, is not a major theme, not even within the role of Christ.

⁶¹⁹*Hic erigendus est ad hunc modum conturbatus animus, quo Paulus Galatas erexit, Nempe istam cogitationem seu persuasionem non esse ex Christo, cum ea pugnet contra verbum Euangelii, quod pingit ipsum Christum non accusatorem, durum exactorem etc., sed mitem, humilem corde, misericordem, Salvatorem et consolatorem.* WA 40b.41.31-42.9, on Gal. 5.8.

their sin, one ought to present Christ as a Saviour and a Gift while for those who are smug in their hypocrisy, he ought to be presented as an Example, so that they would not use the gospel as a license for sin.

The other three illustrations of Christ's role in justification, Christ as having been given 'for us' (*pro nobis*), Christ as the Greatest Sinner (*maximus peccator*) and *Christus Victor* are each well presented in Luther's rather lengthy exposition of Gal. 3.13. Lienhard also points to the centrality of this exposition and terms it 'the most important' passage on the work of Christ in Luther's *Galatians*.⁶²⁰ Luther affirms that Paul's whole emphasis in this verse is on the phrase *pro nobis* (Gal. 3.13), the importance of which he later accentuates by including it in its Greek form ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν.⁶²¹ Similarly, he stresses Christ as having been *maximus peccator*, 'the greatest thief, murderer, adulterer, robber, desecrator, blasphemer... anywhere in the world', though not in himself, but in stead of humans.⁶²² Luther shows great liking for the concept of Christ as *maximus peccator*. For him, this is a 'most delightful comfort' (*consolatione suavissima*) 'the most joyous of all doctrines' (*iucundissima omnium doctrinarum*) and 'the most powerful and highest' (*potentissimum et summum*) of all arguments.⁶²³ The fact that Christ is sin, and that he is this 'for us' (*pro nobis*) is an especially apt antidote for the concept of righteousness by works. Further, as the Greatest Sinner (*maximus peccator*), Christ is the satisfaction (*satisfactio*) for human sin. The fact that Christ is a satisfaction for human sin is meant specifically 'for us' (*pro nobis*), which is the greatest comfort.

On the same note, Luther also stresses Christ's battle with three 'fierce and mighty tyrants' (*atrocissimos et potentissimos Tyrannos*), sin, death and the curse. In this confrontation Christ, being divine, was the Victor.⁶²⁴ This victory of Christ is that of the believer, too, and therefore, to the extent Christ reigns in the believers, they have neither sin, death nor curse. Luther calls this the 'chief doctrine of the Christian faith' (*praecipuus locus Christianae doctrinae*).⁶²⁵ Closely tied with the concepts of Christ as being *pro nobis*, *maximus peccator* and *Christus Victor*, is also the notion of the joyous exchange, or as here, the fortunate exchange (*feliciter commutans*). Luther states,

⁶²⁰Lienhard calls Luther's comments on Gal. 3.13 'le passage le plus important en ce qui concerne l'oeuvre du Christ'. Lienhard 1973: 288.

⁶²¹See a similar discussion of Luther on Gal 1.3 in WA 40.82.30-94.11 on the concept of Christ as having been given *pro peccatis nostris*.

⁶²²Et hoc viderunt omnes Prophetiae, quod Christus futurus esset omnium maximus latro, homicida, adulter, fur, sacrilegus, blasphemus etc., quo nullus maior unquam in mundo fuerit, Quia iam non gerit personam suam, iam non est natus de virgine Dei filius, sed peccator, qui habet et portat peccatum Pauli qui fuit blasphemus, persecutor et violentus; Petri qui negavit Christum; Davidis qui fuit adulter, homicida et blasphemare fecit Gentes nomen Domini; In summa, qui habet et portat omnia omnium peccata in corpore suo. WA 40a.433.26-32, on Gal. 3.13.

⁶²³See WA 40a.434.21-22, WA 40a.437.18-27, WA 40a.438.19-31, all on Gal. 3.13.

⁶²⁴See WA 40a.441.29-442.11, on Gal. 3.13.

⁶²⁵See WA 40a.440.26-441.14, on Gal. 3.13.

'By this fortunate exchange with us He took upon Himself our sinful person and granted us His innocent and victorious Person. Clothed and dressed in this, we are freed from the curse of the Law, because Christ Himself voluntarily became a curse for us.'⁶²⁶

Luther applies this concept both to individuals and to the church. As Christ's victorious person is given to the believer, the believers are freed from their burden of sin by a simultaneous transfer of their sin onto Christ. Likewise, the church, too, seen in Christ by faith, is completely holy. Without faith, however, it remains in sin.⁶²⁷

4.1.3. Law and Gospel

The theme of law and gospel is one of the concepts, which Luther frequently returns to in his *Galatians*.⁶²⁸ The concept of law and gospel can be understood as a broad theme overlapping and intertwining with other notions.⁶²⁹ Here, however, the discussion is primarily limited to those instances where Luther uses the actual terms gospel and law.

Luther states that the ability to distinguish between gospel and law is the sum of all Christian doctrine.⁶³⁰ Christ has come to transfer humans from the

⁶²⁶Sic feliciter commutans nobiscum suscepit nostram peccatricem et donavit nobis suam innocentem et vitricem personam. Hac induti et vestiti liberamur a maledictione legis, quia Christus ipse volens pro nobis factus est Maledictum. WA 40a.443.23-26, on Gal. 3.13.

⁶²⁷In this context, Luther also calls the Christian life the true 'speculative life' (speculativa vita), which is possible by grasping Christ through reason or the intellect illumined by faith. WA 40a.447.15-28, on Gal 3.13.

⁶²⁸See Appendix 4 for further detail. Law and gospel also emerges as a favourite theme of Luther's in his sermons on Galatians from 1531 onwards. He preaches on the theme at least seven times. See Kleinknecht's helpful summaries of these sermons in Kleinknecht 1980: 361-408, esp. 361-362, 386-387. The sermons can be found in WA 36.8-23, WA 36.24-42, WA 41.493-497, WA 41.658-662, WA 46.119-123, WA 47.678-685, WA 49.652-660 and WA 51.42-49.

⁶²⁹For instance, Hesselink treats the theme of law and gospel in a wider sense in his examination of this concept in Luther's *Galatians* including aspects of other concepts linked with justification as well as law and good works in his discussion in addition to the specific law and gospel relationship / contrast. See Hesselink 1984: 71-79. Vappula's MA thesis (1979) on Luther's position on the law and the gospel in his commentary on Galatians 1531/35 also represents this kind of very wide understanding of the two concepts. Markula's MA thesis (1979), for its part, presents a closely related study, dealing with the relationship of the law to the righteousness of faith in Luther's commentary on Galatians. His study is interesting in that it insightfully reflects the conclusions of the Lundian school of Luther interpretation, including a consideration of the relationship between the law and the gospel. See e.g. Markula 1979: 131-134. See also Mannermaa's review of the thesis on the last page of Markula's work.

⁶³⁰Luther on Gal. 2.14. Luther also draws attention to the distinction between the law and the gospel in his two sermons on Galatians preached soon after the closure of his Galatians lectures. Luther here points out a difference between the law and the gospel in that while the law requires humans to love one's neighbour and do other good works, the gospel is completely God's work where humans do nothing. Dilige proximum, benefac illi &c. Das heyst das gesez abgezirkelt ab Euangelio. Das uns heyst thun, Euangelion nihil mandat et exigit, Es heyst nur nhemen und lassen geben, scilicet promissione dei. Das schencke ich dyr, do kan ich nichts zw thun, WA 36.14.11-14, Vesperii Epistola ad Gal. 3 (Gal. 3.23-29),

law to the gospel, from wrath to grace, from sin to righteousness and from death to life.⁶³¹ The relationship between law and gospel is also illustrated in Luther's example taken from Abraham's taking of Isaac to be sacrificed. According to this example, the believer must learn to keep the ass (the law) in the valley and the conscience on the mount in the gospel.⁶³² The law has its proper sphere of influence on earth in civil affairs while the Christian conscience ought to remain in heaven with Christ.⁶³³

Luther further explains the superiority of the gospel over the law in his exposition of a duel between the law and the gospel in Gal. 3.16-18. Luther demonstrates, following Paul's reasoning, that since the promise of God was given 430 years before the law, the gospel is above the law and thus conquers the law. Accordingly, in a struggle of conscience one may tell 'lady law' that she comes 430 years too late.⁶³⁴

However, in Christian experience, law and gospel stay together, although in themselves, as doctrine, they must be kept far apart. This is demonstrated in Luther's notion on appropriate time periods for the law and the gospel. The time period for the law is superseded by that of the gospel in two ways, first by the coming of Christ to the earth and second, by Christ's coming to the believers in Spirit. The togetherness vs. contrast between the law and gospel is further clarified in Luther's explanation of the ongoing function of the law for the believer. The law terrifies by underlining the believers' sinfulness and keeps the flesh under control, while the gospel brings comfort to the conscience and directs the believer's faith to Christ. As much as believers still live under the flesh, they therefore need the law, and as much as they have faith in Christ, the law is abrogated for them.

Luther again illustrates the togetherness and contrast between the law and the gospel in his analogy of the boy and his schoolmaster. As long as a schoolboy is under the control of a schoolmaster, he hates the schoolmaster.

1 January 1532. See WA 36.8.17-42.37 for the text of both sermons on the law and the gospel Luther preached in 1532.

⁶³¹On Gal. 1.6, similarly also on 3.16.

⁶³²Commenting on Gal. 2.18, Luther refers to commandments in the gospel, which nevertheless are not the gospel, but appendices to it. *Quod autem praecepta in Evangelio reperiuntur, ista non sunt Evangelium, sed expositiones legis et appendices Evangelii.* WA 40a.260.13-14, on Gal. 2.17.

⁶³³See Luther on Gal 2.14. Interestingly, after having treated the concept of law and gospel quite extensively in his comments on Gal. 3.16-18, Luther concludes that the most important part of the epistle is over. See WA 40a.473.20-23, on Gal. 3.18. Having concluded the first two chapters of Galatians and having begun lecturing on Gal. 3.1, Luther had stated that Paul has now arrived at the middle of his proceedings (in media illa actione). WA 40a.309.14. However, later Luther says that he has only come to the conclusion of the main argument in the epistle at Gal. 4.8-9 or even only at Gal. 5.12. See WA 40a.600.25-26, on Gal. 4.8-9 and WA40b.59.20-30, on Gal. 5.12.

⁶³⁴Luther also points out 'the most effective and the most important' (*principale et efficacissimum*) argument in favour of the doctrine of justification, is the fact that promise is not the law. Since God has promised justification through the promise, it is not by the law. See WA 40a.470.24-471.26, on Gal. 3.17.

However, as soon as he has finished the training, is freed and has earned his inheritance, he realises how needful the discipline was. In the same way, the whippings of the law prepare the believer for faith in Christ. Then, at the time when the believer enters under the gospel and is justified by faith alone, the jurisdiction of the law comes to an end.

The last image of gospel and law addressed here comes from Luther's discussion on the two covenants on Gal. 4.25, represented alternatively by Hagar and Sarah, Mt. Sinai and the free Jerusalem above.⁶³⁵ The first covenant, the old one, is a physical and conditional covenant, which keeps its subjects in doubt of their status with God and corresponds to Mt. Sinai. The new covenant, on the other hand, represented by Sarah and the new Jerusalem, is a covenant of promise, unconditional and based on faith.⁶³⁶

4.1.4. Christian Liberty

Luther's position on Christian liberty is examined in three parts, first as a freedom from the law, second as presented in Luther's portrayal of three variant kinds of freedom and third, in Luther's contrast drawn between Christian liberty and licence.

Christian freedom, as a freedom from the law, is closely tied with the concept of the abrogation of the law for Christians. This freedom was jeopardized when Peter accepted a ceremonial observance as being necessary, namely that of the Jewish regulations for food⁶³⁷ and this imposed limitation on the consciences of Christians, Luther affirms, was strongly rejected by Paul.⁶³⁸ Luther further explains Christian freedom as a freedom from the law in the contrast between the old husband, the law and Sarah, the barren mother of the believers. The fact that the law (the old husband) has been abrogated and that the church (Sarah) is barren, without works or the law, is an offence to all the wisdom of human flesh (*contra omnem Sapientiam carnis*). For believers, however, this is an important comfort, since the 'terrors and troubles' (*terrirus et vexationibus*) of the law cannot oppress them.⁶³⁹

⁶³⁵This could perhaps been discussed under the heading of the relationship between the Old and New Testaments. However, as Luther's discussion of the two covenants is fairly short, it appears that it would not have provided sufficient material for a section of its own. For comparison, see Calvin's discussion on the relationship between the Old and New Testaments in section 5.1.3.

⁶³⁶WA 40a.658.21-659.15, on Gal. 4.25. The patriarchs of the Old Testament, despite the nature of the old covenant, put their faith in God's promise and therefore trusted in the Christ to come. See WA 40a.341.26-32 on Gal. 3.2. and the larger context of the discussion in WA 40a.339.20-341.32, on Gal. 3.2.

⁶³⁷WA 40a.210.22-211.31, on Gal. 2.14.

⁶³⁸*Ibi vides peccatum Petri, quod Paulus diligenter describit. Non accusat in eo malitiam vel ignorantiam sed infirmitatem. ... Quia vero se subtrahit et data opera vitat cibos quos prius edit, certissimum signum est, manducantes contra legem peccare, abstinentes vero a cibus in lege prohibitis iustificari.* WA 40a.199.19-20, 199.29-200.11-12, on Gal. 2.12.

⁶³⁹*Porro, quia iste locus etiam de abrogatione legis et de libertate Christiana loquitur, diligenter observandus est. ... Valde enim prodest ad confirmandam doctrinam nostram de fide et ad parandam*

Commenting on Gal. 5.1, Luther depicts three kinds of freedom. First, there is a political freedom of the land and second, a freedom with regard to the human flesh, that of doing what one desires. The third kind of freedom, the theological or spiritual freedom, is the true Christian freedom. This spiritual freedom is again of two kinds. On the one hand, it is freedom from God's wrath and on the other, freedom from the terrors of the law, sin and death.⁶⁴⁰ If the Christian were to fully understand this doctrine of Christian liberty, they would be completely kept from sin, law, death and the devil.⁶⁴¹

Luther illustrates the contrast and distinction between Christian liberty and licence in his comments on Gal. 5.13. He firstly reminds the reader that the Christian is completely free, and above all law.⁶⁴² Nevertheless, as Christian freedom is preached, there are dangers on two sides. On the one hand, if Christian freedom is not propagated, no one will be saved. On the other, if it is proclaimed, people become smug and lazy, using liberty as a pretext for the indulgence of the flesh.⁶⁴³ Luther affirms that the vast majority of people use Christian liberty precisely in this way. Despite this, for the sake of the few, who gain a liberty of conscience before God through an understanding of the gospel and the freedom it gives, the preaching and teaching of Christian freedom is well worth the effort. On the other hand, one must rebuke the wicked and the smug and testify to them that they are demonstrating that they do not have the true Christian freedom. Christians, too, whose conscience enjoys full freedom and comfort before God, need to remember to keep their flesh bound under the law.⁶⁴⁴

certain consolationem conscientiarum, praesertim in seriis pavoribus, si sciamus legem esse abrogatam. ... Idem docet hic locus Esaiae de libera matre generante liberos, scilicet abrogatam esse totam legem credentibus in Christum cum omnibus suis terroribus et vexationibus. ... Si sola gratia seu fides in Christum iustificat, ergo tota lex simpliciter abrogata est. ... hoc est, non habet discipulos, non applauditur ei, quia praedicat verbum crucis de Christo crucifixo etc. contra omnem Sapientiam carnis. WA 40a.669.32-670.12, 670.15-17,20-22, 674.11-12,14-16, on Gal. 4.27.

⁶⁴⁰WA 40b.2.28-4.25, on Gal. 5.1.

⁶⁴¹Ideo libertas illa, quam Christus nobis peperit, non tam cito creditur, quam nominatur. Sic certa a firma fide apprehendi posset, nullus furor aut terror mundi, legis, peccati, mortis, diaboli etc. tam magnus esse posset, qui non statim, ceu scintilla a mari, ab ea absorberetur. WA 40b.4.32-5.9, on Gal. 5.1. Luther further stresses that Christians are free, because they are altogether acceptable to God, and if there is any sin left in them, it is not imputed to them on account of Christ. Devictis autem his hostibus ac reconciliatis nobis Deo per mortem filii ipsius certum est nos iustos esse coram Deo omnesque actiones nostras placere illi, Et si quid peccati in nobis est reliquum, tamen illud non imputari, sed condonari nobis propter Christum. WA 40b.18-21, on Gal. 5.1.

⁶⁴²WA 40b.59.34-60.19, on Gal. 5.13.

⁶⁴³Itaque utrinque periculum est, alterum tamen altero tolerabilius. Si gratia seu fides non praedicatur, nemo fit salvus, Fides enim sola iustificat et salvat. Contra, si praedicatur Fides, ut necesse est eam praedicari, maior pars hominum carnaliter intelligit doctrinam de fide et libertatem spiritus in libertatem carnis rapit. WA 40b.60.27-31, on Gal. 5.13.

⁶⁴⁴WA 40b.63.13-64.23, on Gal. 5.13.

4.2. Work of the Holy Spirit

Even though the work of the Holy Spirit is not Luther's main theme in his *Galatians*, one gains a good understanding of various aspects of the Spirit's work from Luther's commentary. The same has been recognized by S. Femiano, who has given close attention to the work of the Spirit in Luther's *Galatians*.⁶⁴⁵

It is interesting to note that most of Luther's treatment does not discuss the essence and nature of the Holy Spirit but centres around his work. The four most important aspects of the work of the Holy Spirit that he discusses include hearing of faith, assurance of salvation, the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh and regeneration, the themes which have also been identified as central to Luther's understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit in his *Galatians* by Femiano and Erikson.⁶⁴⁶ In addition to discussing these four themes, Luther's contrast between genuine deeds of the Spirit with those of sectarians is discussed at the end of this section.

4.2.1. Hearing of Faith

The first major treatment of Luther on the work of the Holy Spirit (on hearing of faith in Gal. 3.2) deals largely with the theme of justification. The relationship of the Holy Spirit to justification in this treatment of Luther's can be looked at from three perspectives, the Holy Spirit as God's sign of approval, the connection of the Holy Spirit to the themes of gospel and law and the receiving of the Holy Spirit in the Old and New Testaments. Before looking at these notions, however, the manner of receiving the Holy Spirit is briefly given attention to.

The connection of the preached Word and the Spirit is central to Luther. He asserts that the Holy Spirit is received through the spoken Word, when the gospel is being purely proclaimed.⁶⁴⁷ When the gospel is preached effectively so

⁶⁴⁵Femiano explains that despite the fact that Luther's commentary on Galatians does not discuss the work of the Holy Spirit as the 'explicit' main subject, 'yet, because of the Spirit's close connection with the whole process of justification, it presents us with a fairly complete picture of his work.' Femiano 1962: 48.

⁶⁴⁶See Femiano 1962: 43-48 and Erikson 1980: 72-83. Erikson's treatment on Holy Spirit on Galatians treats several other aspects of Luther's commentary as well, including anthropology and justification, thus taking into account the larger context of the work of the Holy Spirit in the commentary. See Erikson 1980: 62-71.

⁶⁴⁷WA 40a.572.16-28, on Gal. 4.6. See also WA 40a.351.36-352.13, on Gal. 3.5. Luther maintains there are two major times when the Holy Spirit is sent. First, he was sent in a visible form at Pentecost, and second, he is received through the preached Word, which is the manner of receiving the Holy Spirit since the time of the early Christian church. In the same discussion, Luther also closely connects new birth with the receiving of the Holy Spirit through the preached Word. WA 40a.572.16-28, on Gal. 4.6. Also, the Word can be understood both in the outward and the inward sense. The outward, external Word comes first, which is followed by the internal Word which the Spirit affects in the heart of the believer. Hoc genus doctrinae quod revelat filium Dei, non discitur, non docetur, non indicatur ulla sapientia hominum nec per ipsam legem, sed per Deum revelatur, Primum externo verbo, deinde intus per spiritum. ... Primum ergo audivit verbum externum, deinde sequuntur revelationes, cognitio verbi,

that faith, love and patience follow, then the power of the Holy Spirit is also manifested.⁶⁴⁸

Luther points out that Paul's argument is that the Holy Spirit is received by the hearing of faith, not through works, thus confirming from the experience of Galatians the genuineness of the doctrine of justification.⁶⁴⁹ Luther further affirms that the whole book of Acts is written to confirm that the Holy Spirit is given through the hearing of faith, the Holy Spirit being given as God's sign of approval.⁶⁵⁰ Thus Cornelius and his companions received the Holy Spirit, although they had no chance to perform any good deeds. Instead, they simply sat and heard the gospel preached to them by Peter and received it by faith.⁶⁵¹

The fact that the Holy Spirit is received by faith also demonstrates the distinction between the gospel and the law. The law cannot give the Spirit; the gospel by way of contrast does when one hears it, receiving the gospel by faith. Luther affirms that this proves that 'the Law and the Gospel are altogether contrary doctrines.'⁶⁵²

In response to an objection, ascribed to Peter Lombard and Erasmus,⁶⁵³ which claimed that Cornelius was accepted on account of his alms and good deeds, Luther affirms, that not only Cornelius, but also other people such as the repenting Ninivites and Naman the leper, who had not yet heard the gospel of Jesus Christ, also received the Holy Spirit by faith, not works. The people of the Old Testament had their faith directed to the Christ to come, and although they did not obey the Mosaic law, they were justified on account of their faith. This was the underlying cause of their good deeds. Thus there is no difference in the way the Holy Spirit is received in the time of the Old and New Testaments.⁶⁵⁴

fides et spiritualia dona. WA 40a.142.14-16,21-22, on Gal. 1.16. It may also be asked whether Luther makes such a distinction between the hearing of faith and regeneration which would suggest that faith precedes the new creation, mirroring the question regarding whether the imputation of Christ's righteousness precedes the impartation of his righteousness. See section 4.2.4. for further discussion.

⁶⁴⁸Cum igitur Concionator sic praedicat, ut verbum non frustretur suis fructibus, sed efficax sit in auditoribus, Hoc est, cum sequitur Fides, Spes, Charitas, Patientia etc., Ibi Deus subministrat Spiritum et operatur virtutes in auditoribus. WA 40a.351.36-352.13, on Gal. 3.5.

⁶⁴⁹WA 40a.332.22-34, on Gal. 3.2.

⁶⁵⁰WA 40a.331.14-23, on Gal. 3.2. Conversely, if one were to return to righteousness by works, the Holy Spirit would be lost. WA 40a.349.19-29, on Gal. 3.3.

⁶⁵¹Sic Cornelius et amici ipsius quos ad se vocaverat, nihil faciunt nec spectant opera praecedentia, et tamen, quotquot adsunt, accipiunt spiritum sanctum. Solus Petrus loquitur, ipsi sedentes nihil agunt, non cogitant de lege, multo minus eam faciunt, non sacrificant, non sunt solliciti de suscipienda circumcissione, sed tantum intenti sunt in os Petri; is sua praedicatione attulit illis in cor spiritum sanctum etiam visibiliber; loquebantur enim linguis et magnificabant Deum. WA 40a.324.27-33, on Gal. 3.2.

⁶⁵²Ex his satis intelligi potest, quod sit discrimen inter Legem et Evangelium. Lex nunquam affert spiritum sanctum, ergo nec iustificat, quia solum docet, quid nos facere debeamus. Evangelium vero affert spiritum sanctum, quia docet, quid accipere debeamus. Ideo lex et Evangelium duae prorsus contrariae doctrinae sunt. WA 40a.336.32-35, on Gal. 3.2.

⁶⁵³Luther refers to Lombard's *Sentences* and Erasmus' *Diatrebe*. See WA 40a.337.23-27, on Gal. 3.2.

⁶⁵⁴WA 40a.337.23-341.32, on Gal. 3.2. The difference lies in where the faith is directed, either forward to Christ during Old Testament times or backward to Christ during New Testament times. Further, the law

4.2.2. Assurance of Salvation

Luther treats the theme of the assurance of salvation⁶⁵⁵ and the Holy Spirit in a lengthy address on the work of the Holy Spirit on Gal. 4.6. Luther affirms that the notion of the assurance of salvation is a chief point of Scripture while the opposing concept of the papacy requiring an element of uncertainty regarding one's salvation is indicated by Luther as particularly dangerous.⁶⁵⁶ Luther's treatment on assurance of salvation is examined in three parts, in reference to the internal and external witness regarding one's status with God, with regards to the person vs. the person's office as pleasing to God, and in relation to human weakness.

Luther maintains that there is both an external and an internal witness, which confirm and assure the believers of their salvation. The external witness includes things such as faithfulness in one's calling (which in the sight of the world seems to be as nothing), loving one's neighbour and hearing the Word gladly. The internal witness, on the other hand, is an inner assurance that one is accepted by God. This assurance makes certain the fact that God accepts not only one's calling in life, whether it be that of a magistrate or a housewife, but also has favour on one's whole person on account of Christ.⁶⁵⁷ Luther affirms,

is now abrogated by the coming of Christ. Et is articulus de fide in revelandum adhuc et iam revelatum Christum (ut hoc etiam obiter admoneam) scitu pernecessarius est. Nam revelato nunc Christo non possumus salvari fide in venturum Christum, sed cogimur credere eum iam venisse, implese omnia, Legem abrogasse. WA 40a.339.20-23, on Gal. 3.2. See also the end of section 4.1.1.5. and section 4.3.1. for further discussion on the relationship between the Old and New Testaments and on the abrogation of the law.

⁶⁵⁵Petri Järveläinen has drawn attention to the significance of Luther's *De servo arbitrio* for his view regarding assurance of salvation. Järveläinen posits, 'Luther argues that the Holy Spirit is not a skeptic, but that He has written upon the hearts of believers "assertions more sure and certain than life itself and all experience"' (Järveläinen refers to WA 18.605, and the translation is from LW 33, p. 24). Luther's statement in the original reads as follows, 'Spiritus sanctus non est Scepticus, nec dubia aut opiniones in cordibus nostris scripsit, sed assertiones ipsa vita et omni experientia certiores et firmiores.' Järveläinen further observes that in comparison to those who trust the worth of their own good works for their standing before God, true believers by way of contrast do not trust their own works. Even God's grace, working within them, is hidden. God, however gives them faith 'which testifies that they are in God's favour'. Järveläinen's study focuses on the nature of religious emotions and thus he further outlines that in Luther's view the gift of faith is supernatural, and includes both cognitive and affective-feeling aspects. See Järveläinen 2000: 102-103. Luther states regarding the hidden nature of faith and regarding the believer's assurance, 'Qui vero nihil dubitat, totum in voluntate Dei pendere, is prorsus de se desperat, nihil eligit, sed expectat operantem Deum, is proximus est gratiae, ut salvus fiat. Itaque propter electos ista vulgantur, ut isto modo humiliati et in nihilum redacti, salvi fiant.' WA 18.632-633. See also Elenius 2005: 114-122 for another interesting study on emotions in Luther's theology, including a delineation of the role of the spoken Word for one's assurance of salvation.

⁶⁵⁶Deinde tota scriptura hoc praecipue agit, ne dubitemus, sed certo speremus, confidamus et credamus Deum esse misericordem, benignum, patientem, non mentientem et fallentem, sed fidelem et veracem. WA 40a.588.12-14, on Gal. 4.6. Luther sees that the doctrine, which the papacy maintains, that one ought to remain in doubt whether one is in a state of grace, overthrows the whole gospel. See WA 40a.575.13-23, on Gal. 4.6.

⁶⁵⁷WA 40a.577.20-31, on Gal. 4.6.

‘Therefore anyone who exercises a position of authority in the church or in the government should believe for a certainty that his office is pleasing to God. But he would never be able to believe this if he did not have the Holy Spirit. ... We should believe for a certainty that not only our office but also our person is pleasing to God. Whatever our person says, does, or thinks in private is pleasing to God, not indeed on our account but on account of Christ.’⁶⁵⁸

The internal assurance believers have, however, often grows weak due to human weakness and sin, which still clings to human flesh. Amidst the terrors of conscience it is not easy to trust, with assurance, that God still is favourable toward oneself.⁶⁵⁹ The only trustworthy guide at these times is not the external witness of one’s willing obedience, but instead the Word of God, the promises of which give one comfort.⁶⁶⁰ It is at these times that the Holy Spirit, together with our hearts, which are in terror, emits a silent sigh or whisper pleading for help from God. In heaven, however, this silent whisper is so loud, Luther asserts, that the angels ‘suppose they cannot hear anything except this cry’.⁶⁶¹

4.2.3. The Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh

The struggle between the Spirit and the flesh is one of the most characterising and important concepts of Luther in his *Galatians*, particularly within concepts relating to the work of the Holy Spirit.⁶⁶² Luther’s notion on the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh in his *Galatians* is discussed a) with regards to a definition of the Spirit and the flesh, b) in reference to the relationship of justification to the battle between the Spirit and the flesh, c) in terms of the nature of the struggle and d) in relation to works of the flesh vs. fruit of the Spirit.

⁶⁵⁸Quare qui gerit magistratum in Ecclesia seu politia, certo statuere debet suum officium placere Deo. Illud autem nunquam statuere poterit, nisi habeat Spiritum sanctum. ... Ideo statuere certo debemus non solum officium nostrum placere Deo, sed etiam personam nostram: quicquid ea privatim etiam dixerit, gesserit, cogitaverit, placet Deo, Non quidem propter nos, sed propter Christum. WA 40a.576.16-18, 27-29, on Gal. 4.6. Similarly, believers ought to remember that on account of Christ, who is pleasing to God, they are pleasing to God as well. See WA 40a.576.30-33, on Gal. 4.6.

⁶⁵⁹Sed multa hanc fidem impediunt. Primum, quod cor nostrum natum est in peccatis, Deinde, quod ingenuum est nobis hoc malum, quod de divino favore erga nos dubitamus, non possumus certo statuere nos placere Deo. WA 40a.580.10-12, on Gal. 4.6. See also WA 40a.579.32-580.24, on Gal. 4.6.

⁶⁶⁰WA 40a.582.20-24, on Gal. 4.6.

⁶⁶¹Non frustra ergo Paulus hunc gemitum pii cordis afflicti vocat clamorem et gemitum inenarrabilem spiritus, replet enim totum coelum ac tam fortiter clamat, ut Angeli putent se nihil usquam audire praeter istum clamorem. WA 40a.582.31-33, on Gal. 4.6.

⁶⁶²The struggle between the Spirit and the flesh, together with the contrast between the law and the gospel, was Luther’s favourite theme in his sermons on Galatians from 1531 onwards. Luther preached on the theme at least seven times, each time focusing on the whole or part of the passage in Gal. 5.16-25. See Kleinknecht’s helpful summaries of these sermons in Kleinknecht 1980: 361-408, esp. 361-362, 386-387. For the sermons, see WA 34b.196-205, WA 41.675-680, WA 41.680-684, WA 46.498-502, WA 49.554-562, WA 51.50-57, WA 22.256.

There are at least two definitions of the Spirit and the flesh, which Luther outlines. Firstly, the Spirit represents forgiveness, justification, the believers' righteousness before God and their liberation from the law.⁶⁶³ The flesh, by way of contrast, represents everything in the human agent apart from Christ.⁶⁶⁴ This means that the flesh stands for, not only what is obviously flesh, for example immorality, but especially for what is most outstanding in humans, namely the wisdom of the flesh and human reason. Secondly, one can identify the Spirit with everything done with the Spirit (such as faithfulness in one's vocation) and the flesh with deeds performed in order to attain righteousness by the law.⁶⁶⁵

The struggle between the flesh and the Spirit deals with the experience of justification in one's daily life where the Christian feels the strong impact of sinful desires. Luther notes that the fact that he could not rid himself of sin was highly distressing to him in his earlier life as a monk. He found the reminiscences of the counsel of his superior Staupitz to him to be a great comfort. Luther explains how Staupitz affirmed that despite his thousands of vows not to sin again, he never became and never would become perfect on the earth. This, according to Luther, was a holy kind of despair. Thus it is a great comfort for the Christian to know that there is an ongoing struggle between the Spirit and the flesh within them.⁶⁶⁶ On this side of heaven, one is not yet perfect, but partly sinner and partly righteous (*partim iustus, partim peccator*), having only the firstfruits, but not the tithes of the Spirit.⁶⁶⁷ Despite the fact that Christians do feel sinful urges such as anger or sexual lust raging and arousing within them, they should not despair. This is part of the Christian life.⁶⁶⁸ While Christians experience the struggle with sin, they should remember that on account of Christ's imputed righteousness, they are accepted by God.⁶⁶⁹

⁶⁶³WA 40a.347.21-26, on Gal. 3.3.

⁶⁶⁴Quicquid praeter hunc in nobis est, sive sit intellectus, voluntas, sive actio, passio etc., caro, non spiritus est. Quicquid igitur mundus habet optimum et sanctissimum extra Christum, peccatum, error et caro est. WA 40b.30.20-23, on Gal. 5.5.

⁶⁶⁵WA 40a.347.26-348.26, on Gal. 3.3 and WA 40b.30.23-24, on Gal. 5.5.

⁶⁶⁶WA 40b.91.32-93.18, on Gal. 5.17. Luther elucidates the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh in his sermon on Gal. 5.16-24 (preached in 1531) and explains that both the flesh and the Spirit within the believer have contrary desires, the Spirit drawing upwards, and the flesh downwards. Yet, both of these entities live side by side in the one human. Luther states, 'Das ist eyn selczamer text Hominem concupiscere, attamen esse ex spiritu et carne, die ij zyhen die strebkacze. Caro tendit ad inferos, spiritus ad celum und ist dennoch j mensch, non duplex persona, quod diversos haberet affectus in carne et spiritu, scilicet peccati et bonae vitae. WA 34b.198.27-199.16, 10 September 1531, Epistola Ad Galatas V (Gal. 5.16-24).

⁶⁶⁷Nunc autem contrarium fit a nobis, caro enim adhuc fortis, fides autem imbecillis et spiritus infirmus est. Ideo recte ait Paulus 'nos tantum primitias spiritus in hac vita habere', illic nos habituros decimas. WA 40a.599.27-29, on Gal. 4.7. See also WA 40b.79.22-80.35, on Gal. 5.16.

⁶⁶⁸WA 40b.98.20-99.28, on Gal. 5.18.

⁶⁶⁹Interim tamen, ut et in hac vita iusti simus, habemus 'Propiciatorium' et Thronum gratiae Christum, in quem credentes, peccatum nobis non imputatur. Est igitur fides iusticia nostra in hac vita. WA 40b.79.31-80.13, on Gal. 5.16.

In the experience of the Christian, when the flesh presses one with sinful desires, one ought to control the flesh by the Spirit. While the flesh cannot be killed, it must be kept in check.⁶⁷⁰ Luther counsels,

‘We should take pains to be righteous outwardly as well, that is, not to yield to our flesh, which is always suggesting something evil, but to resist it through the Spirit.’⁶⁷¹

Luther further affirms that if some, due to their weakness, are unable to bridle their flesh, they ought at least not gratify the desire of the flesh. In this they are helped by the power of the Spirit and it is in fact thanks to the Holy Spirit that one does not put into practice in word or deed what one feels a sinful urge to do.⁶⁷²

Luther delineates some aspects of the works of the flesh and the fruit of the Spirit in his comment on Gal. 5.19-24. Luther highlights idolatry within the works of the flesh and identifies all works done without God’s command as idolatry.⁶⁷³ Luther counsels that the best way to restrain from the works of the flesh is to use the Word, faith and prayer, together with the Spirit, to resist the urge for sinning.⁶⁷⁴ Among the fruits of the Spirit, on the other hand, Luther regards love as supreme, which in a sense covers all the others.⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷⁰ Itaque cum aliquis sentit hanc carnis pugnam, non ideo abiiciat animum, sed resistat Spiritu et dicat: Ego sum peccator et peccatum sentio, quia carne nondum exutus sum, in qua tantisper haeret peccatum, donec vivit, Sed Spiritui, non Carni obsequar, Hoc est, apprehendam fide et spe Christum ac ipsius verbo me erigam atque hoc modo erectus concupiscentiam carnis non perficiam. WA 40b.91.25-30, on Gal. 5.17.

⁶⁷¹ Deinde operam dare debemus, ut etiam externe iusti simus, hoc est, ne assentiamur carni, quae semper suggerit aliquid mali, sed illi resistamus per Spiritum, WA 40b.90.26-28, on Gal. 5.17.

⁶⁷² Sed unusquisque se ipsum diligenter exploret, qua potissimum passione carnis afficiatur, et, ubi hoc deprehendit, non sit securus, non blandiatur sibi, sed vigilet et luctetur Spiritu contra eam, ut, si omnino refrenare non potest, saltem eam non perficiat. WA 40b.94.23-27, on Gal. 5.17. See also WA 40b.93.19-94.27, on Gal. 5.17. The battle between the Spirit and the flesh is also connected to the concept of the abrogation of the law and the notion of the law and gospel. The law is already fulfilled for the Christian in their conscience through their faith in Christ. To the extent that the Christian spontaneously does what the law requires in their outward works, the law is also abrogated in their works. Correspondingly, Christians are under the gospel as far as they are of the spirit, and as far as they are still under the flesh, they are still under the law. In this sense (corresponding to the civil use of the law), over human flesh, the law is always in effect. Compare WA 40b.121.13-24, on Gal. 5.23 with WA 40a.526.21-22, 528.6-14, on Gal. 3.23. See sections 4.1.2. and 4.3.1 for further discussion.

⁶⁷³ Summae religiones, sanctitates et ardentissimae devotiones eorum, qui sine verbo et mandato Dei colunt Deum, sunt Idolatria. ... Et tamen ista spiritualissima res, ut ratio iudicat, est iuxta Paulum opus carnis. WA 40b.110.14-15, 21-22, on Gal. 5.19-21. Idolatry includes especially those works which are performed in order to be justified. Luther explains that idolatry is a kind of spiritual witchcraft, because it attempts to make a pact with God, (in reality making the pact only with a false god) attempting to please God with one’s works for salvation. Magia enim pactum facit cum daemonibus, superstitione seu idolatria cum Deo, non vero tamen, sed facticio. Quare idolatria est vere Veneficium spirituale. WA 40b.113.16-18, on Gal. 5.19-21.

⁶⁷⁴ The threat of God’s punishment also helps in this struggle. Quod fit, cum non solum ieiuniis aut aliis exercitiis petulantiam carnis deprimunt, sed, ut supra Paulus dixit, cum Spiritu ambulant, hoc est, cum admoniti divinis comminationibus, quibus comminatur Deus se peccatum severe puniturum, a peccando

4.2.4. Regeneration

Luther addresses the subject of regeneration in his comment on Gal. 3.27 in connection with the theme of baptism. Baptism, Luther affirms, is where Christ is clothed on the infant signifying new birth and regeneration. In baptism, therefore, one receives all that Christ has, salvation, the Spirit and righteousness.⁶⁷⁶ Luther discusses regeneration further as one of the last themes before the close of his commentary on Gal. 6.15, where he contrasts external works with the new creation. What counts before God, Luther affirms, is Christ alone, and a new creation, not outward works.⁶⁷⁷ It is the Holy Spirit, who through the preached Word brings the new creation into being, creating new intellect, will, new motivations and new actions of the flesh.⁶⁷⁸ As a result, the Christian no longer boasts of one's own works, but thanks God joyfully for his goodness.⁶⁷⁹ In this state the Christian is pleasing to God, being both inwardly and outwardly righteous due to the new creation wrought by the Spirit. At the same time, the remnants of sin still clinging to the Christian are not imputed to them on account of Christ.⁶⁸⁰

It may be asked what Luther sees as being the relationship between the hearing of faith and regeneration. Are they aspects of one and the same reality in the sense that the already received Holy Spirit affects both in the heart of the believer? Or is faith the influence of the work of the Spirit (or the first gift of the Holy Spirit), which then consequently leads to the person receiving the Holy Spirit and the new creation? On the basis of Luther's *Galatians*, it seems that one does not

absterrentur, Item cum verbo, fide et oratione instructi non obsequuntur concupiscentiis carnis. WA 40b.122.11-16, on Gal. 5.24.

⁶⁷⁵Satis fuisset solam charitatem ponere, dilatatur enim in omnes fructus Spiritus. WA 40b.117.15-16, on Gal. 5.22. Christians love one another, honouring each other above themselves because of the Spirit and indwelling Christ, and because of the divine gifts the Christian has, the gifts including the Word and one's baptism. WA 40b.117.17-22, on Gal. 5.22-23.

⁶⁷⁶Induere vero Christum Evangelice non est imitationis, sed nativitatis et creationis novae, Quod videlicet ego induor ipso Christo, hoc est, ipsius innocentia, iustitia, sapientia, potentia, salute, vita, Spiritu etc. ... Hoc non fit mutatione vestis, non ullis legibus aut operibus, sed renascentia et renovatione quae fit in baptismo. WA 40a.540.17-19, 26-28, on Gal. 3.27. Luther affirms the powerful effect of baptism in contrast to the view of those sectarians, who saw baptism merely as a symbol of joining the Christian church. See WA 40a.541.21-35, on Gal. 3.27. See also footnote 516 on baptism under section 4.7.4.

⁶⁷⁷WA 40b.178.16-179.23, on Gal. 6.15.

⁶⁷⁸Altera est, qua Spiritussanctus per verbum mittitur in corda credentium, ut hic dicitur: 'Misit Deus Spiritum filii sui in corda' etc. Illa fit sine visibili specie, Quando videlicet per verbum vocale concipimus ardorem et lucem, qua alii et novi effimur, qua novum iudicium, novi sensus et motus in nobis oriuntur. Ista mutatio et novum iudicium non est opus humanae rationis aut virtutis, sed donum et effectus Spiritussancti, qui cum verbo praedicato venit, qui fide purificat corda et spirituales motus in nobis parit. WA 40a.572.16-23, on Gal. 4.6.

⁶⁷⁹Accordingly, it is not the externally good persons such as those belonging to the orders of the Minorites or the Franciscans, who are holy, but those who are created anew, being first inwardly righteous in spirit and then also outwardly righteous in the flesh. WA 40b.179.18-180.30, on Gal. 6.15-16.

⁶⁸⁰WA 40b.180.22-30, on Gal. 6.16.

find a precise answer to this question, similarly to how Luther does not clarify the exact relationship of the concepts *imputatio* and *unio* in his commentary.⁶⁸¹ There are passages where Luther affirms that it is faith which leads to renewal and to the new birth and that one must believe in Christ so that one can then be enabled to receive the Holy Spirit through this faith.⁶⁸² One could, however, also argue on the basis of other instances that faith is received together with the new creation.⁶⁸³ It seems therefore inadvisable to press Luther into answering this question, which does not yet appear to have been an issue of focal importance to him in his *Galatians*.

4.2.5. Genuine Deeds of the Spirit vs. Those of the Sectarians

Luther draws an interesting contrast between genuine deeds of the Spirit (*virtutes Spiritus*) and those of the Sectarians.⁶⁸⁴ Luther argues that the true sign of the Spirit's work in a person is the fact that a person who was formerly impatient, angry and hostile, becomes gentle and loving toward one's neighbour, and is patient amidst persecutions and personal affliction.⁶⁸⁵ Luther contrasts these true deeds of the Spirit with the radical works of those who tried to overthrow the papacy by force, using as their method the abrogation of ceremonial observances and the destruction of images.⁶⁸⁶ Luther affirms that the papacy would have been overthrown gradually, 'solely by the Spirit' (*solo Spiritu*), through the faithful teaching of the doctrine of justification, had the Sectarians not indirectly strengthened the power of the papacy by turning people against evangelical believers by their drastic actions.⁶⁸⁷

⁶⁸¹See section 4.1.1.2. for further discussion.

⁶⁸²Huic credendum est; ea vox promissionis Abrahae affert Christum, quo fide apprehenso mox donatur Spiritus sanctus propter Christum. WA 40a.401.16-18, on Gal. 3.10. Atque ita [lex] praeparat ad novam nativitatem quae fit per fidem in Christum Iesum, non per legem. WA 40a.539.20-21, on Gal. 3.26. See also WA 40a.421.14-28, on Gal. 3.11.

⁶⁸³S Ista mutatio et novum iudicium non est opus humanae rationis aut virtutis, sed donum et effectus Spiritus sancti, qui cum verbo praedicato venit, qui fide purificat corda et spirituales motus in nobis parit. Ideo maxima differentia est inter nos et inter hostes et depravatores verbi. WA 40a.572.20-23, on Gal. 4.6. See also WA 40a.542.22-544.32, on Gal. 3.27 and WA 40b.178.16-179.23, on Gal. 6.15.

⁶⁸⁴Luther probably mostly thinks of what he sees as Anabaptist teachings, although he refers to Sacramentarians, too, in this context. The term most often used in this passage is *Sectarii*. See the whole discussion in WA 40a.351.21-358.16, on Gal. 3.5 and WA 40a.359.17-24, on Gal. 3.6.

⁶⁸⁵Item eadem virtute Spiritus facti estis ex avaris, adulteris, iracundis, impatientibus, hostibus etc. largi, casti, mites, patientes, amantes proximorum. ... Amare autem proximum tam ardentem, ut paratus sis impendere pecuniam, rem, oculos, vitam et omnia pro ipsius salute, Deinde patienter tolerare omnia adversa etc., certe virtutes sunt Spiritus. WA 40a.352.16-18, 22-24, on Gal. 3.5.

⁶⁸⁶See WA 40a.353.13-354.20, on Gal. 3.5.

⁶⁸⁷See WA 40a.355.18-31, on Gal. 3.5.

4.3. Law

In addition to the theme of justification, Luther discusses the concept of the law more than any of the other themes.⁶⁸⁸ In this section, Luther's concept of the law is discussed in relation to its abrogation, and then in terms of its use and misuse. The debated third use of the law is briefly addressed, too, in this context. This is succeeded by an investigation of the two uses of the law, followed by a brief examination of Luther's practical instruction for the use of ceremonial observances in Christian life.

It must be borne in mind that the examination here partly overlaps the preceding section on justification, especially as the concept of the misuse of the law is roughly synonymous with righteousness of works.

4.3.1. Abrogation of the Law

It may be in place to note that Luther defines the law in Galatians as the whole law, including all three kinds of the law, whether civil, ceremonial or moral.⁶⁸⁹ Luther asserts that within this epistle of Paul it is the whole law that is in question, including the moral law of the Decalogue.⁶⁹⁰

Luther's comment on Gal. 2.19, 3.28, 4.27-28 and 5.23 gives an interesting picture of his view on the abrogation of the law. There are two types of abrogation of the law. The first deals with the inside, with the conscience of the believer. Commenting on the phrase 'Ego autem per legem legi mortuus sum, ut Deo vivam' (2.19), Luther maintains that Christ is a law, which damns the damning law, namely the moral law, which accuses humans of sin. Thus, just as Christ arose from the grave and is free from it, believers are free from the law, their grave, and it is completely abrogated for them.⁶⁹¹ In his comment on another passage (4.27),

⁶⁸⁸Hermann Kleinknecht remarks that Luther never grows tired of coming back to the themes relating to the law in his *Galatians*. Specifically, Kleinknecht refers to the second, convicting use of the law in Luther and the contrast between Christ and the law, 'Luther wird nicht müde, dieses Thema, dass das Gesetz die Sünde zeigt, abzuhandeln. ... Luther wird nicht müde, das klare Entweder-Oder (aut-aut) zu wiederholen, das keinerlei Verquickung, keine Verschmelzung und keinerlei Kombination zwischen Christus und dem Gesetz dulde' (Kleinknecht 1981: 29, 37). Luther himself also recognises the fact that he repeatedly, 'even to the point of excess' (saepe et fere ad fastidium usque inculco) returns to the theme of the law. Such statements can be found, for instance, in relation to Luther's comment on the second use of the law and in connection to the theme of misusing the law for justification. Nam lex, ut saepe iam diximus, in vero suo usu coeret improbos, perterrefacit et humiliat superbos. WA 40a.612.15-16, on Gal. 4.9. Ergo lex non iustificat.

Haec, ut saepe et fere ad fastidium usque inculco, vera est doctrina de lege ... WA 40a.504.27-29, on Gal. 3.20.

⁶⁸⁹See e.g. WA 40a.217.27-218.13, on Gal. 2.16.

⁶⁹⁰With this definition Luther rejects the distinction of Jerome and the mediaeval church between ceremonial laws and the Decalogue in Galatians. See e.g. WA 40a.218.12-219.14, on Gal. 2.16.

⁶⁹¹Est autem mori legi: lege non teneri, sed liberum esse a lege et nescire eam. Ergo qui vult vivus esse coram Deo, studeat inveniri extra legem et exeat cum Christo e sepulchro. WA 40a.270.14-16. Luther further affirms that believers are outside of the law as far as their consciences are concerned, but human

Luther deals with the same concept, the first abrogation of the law, namely that Christ has liberated believers from all the accusations of the law. Luther affirms,

‘The Law, that slave, no longer has a right to accuse and condemn us because of our sin; for this has been forgiven, and we have become free by the deliverance of the Son. Therefore the entire Law has been abrogated for the believers in Christ.’⁶⁹²

In line with Luther’s definition of the law in *Galatians*, it is all law that is abrogated for the believer in their conscience, whether civil, ceremonial or moral. None of them are of value before God. Instead, only the garment of Christ, received in baptism avails before Him.⁶⁹³

The second kind of abrogation of the law relates to the outward use of civil and ceremonial observances. Luther asserts that Christians have full freedom from both the observance of the Mosaic law and papal traditions. Luther elucidates,

‘A second kind of abrogation of the law, an outward one, is that the political laws of Moses do not apply to us at all. ... We are not bound by the ceremonies of Moses either, much less by those of the pope.’⁶⁹⁴

This freedom from ceremonies pertains, not only to being free to disregard these laws, but also to observe them without constraint, and without an attempt to be justified by them.⁶⁹⁵ At the same time, Luther is careful to add that Christians are not free from civil laws governing society – while their conscience is free, their body needs to remain subject to the laws of the country.⁶⁹⁶

The distinction between the two kinds of abrogation of the law is again, though slightly differently, reiterated by Luther in his comment on Gal. 5.23. Luther explains that the law is abrogated for the believer in two ways, first in the Spirit and then also in works. The law is abrogated for the believer in the Spirit in that through their faith in Christ, they have the righteousness they need before God.

flesh, however, ought to be kept under constraint in the grave together with the law. See WA 40a.266.26-270.27, on Gal. 2.19. See also WA 40a.272.29-273.25, on Gal. 2.19.

⁶⁹²Lex Serva ius accusandi et damnandi nos propter peccatum, cum nobis remissum sit ac iam Liberi facti simus liberante nos Filio. Quare credentibus in Christum tota lex abrogata est. WA 40a.672.26-28, on Gal. 4.27.

⁶⁹³Quidquid igitur est iustitiae Oeconomicae, Politicae et Divinae, qualis erat iustitia legis, cum summa obedientia, executione iuris et sanctitate, nihil prorsus valet coram Deo. Quid tum? Indumentum Christi quem in Baptismo induimus. ... Quotquot ergo iustificantur, non propter observationem legis humanae aut divinae iustificantur, sed propter Christum qui omnes legis in universum abrogavit. WA 40a.543.22-26, 544.26-28, on Gal. 3.28.

⁶⁹⁴Altera abrogatio, scilicet externa, legis est, quod politicae leges Mosi prorsus ad nos nihil pertinent ... Neque Caeremoniis Mosi nos astringimur, multominus Papae. WA 40a.673.14-15, 25, on Gal. 4.27.

⁶⁹⁵WA 40a.673.25-674.8, on Gal. 4.27

⁶⁹⁶WA 40a.673.14-24, on Gal. 4.27.

Then, as Christians freely and spontaneously do what the law requires, the law is also abrogated in their works.⁶⁹⁷

4.3.2. Misuse of the Law and the Third Use of the Law

In addition to briefer treatments on the law, Luther devotes two extended discussions of around twenty pages to the theme, the first of which, on Gal. 3.10, is addressed here. He argues that there are two contrary ways to keep the law, which also represent two classes of doers of the law.⁶⁹⁸ One group maintains righteousness by works and keeps the law in the moral way, while the other obeys God's law on the basis of faith, which is the theological or the spiritual way. The first command of the Decalogue is of significance here. Those who presume that they are able to achieve justification by outward obedience to the law, end up breaking the first commandment, because the first commandment requires that one must trust and fear God alone, thus connecting faith or trust with obedience. Therefore those, who attempt to keep the law without faith, err from the start. Moreover, the requirement of God's law is absolute, requiring perfect obedience, the attainment of which is impossible for humans.⁶⁹⁹

The difference between the two kinds of doers of the law is further illustrated by the parable of an apple tree and the example of Cain vs. Abel. Those, who keep God's law on the basis of faith, are likened to an apple tree. Justified by faith alone, they keep God's law on the basis of faith, giving God the honour due to him (thus keeping the first commandment) and loving their neighbour in daily life. However, as it is impossible for believers to keep the law perfectly and because sin still remains in them, their imperfections are covered by Christ's imputed

⁶⁹⁷Commenting on the abrogation of the law in reference to spontaneous obedience to the law by believers, Luther adds that while the law may not be abrogated in terms of perfect good deeds, the requirement of the law is nevertheless fulfilled through forgiveness. *Itaque lex eis simpliciter abrogata est, Primum in Spiritu, deinde etiam in operibus. Non habet igitur ius accusandi eos, sponte enim faciunt, quod lex requirit, si non perfecte sanctis operibus, saltem remissione peccatorum per fidem. Sic Christianus intus implet legem fide, Christus enim perfectio legis est ad iusticiam omni credenti, foris operibus et remissione peccatorum.* WA 40b.121.18-23, on Gal. 5.23.

⁶⁹⁸Later in the same discussion, Luther discusses a third way to obey the law, representing the obedience to the law by philosophers, who obey the law for the maintaining of order and for the benefit of society. Luther congratulates those using the law in a philosophical sense because this use stays within the proper limits, not using laws for the purpose of trying to be justified before God. See WA 40a.411.24-412.24, 418.12-17, on Gal. 3.10.

⁶⁹⁹Qui hoc considerat, facile intelligit, quod facere legem sit non tantum externe in speciem, sed in Spiritu, hoc est, re vera et perfecte praestare ea quae in Lege praecipuntur. ... Ergo legem hoc modo, ut ipsi somniant, impossibile est nos facere, multo minus per eam iustificari. ... Ideo faciendo legem non solum eam non faciunt, sed etiam negant primum praeceptum, divinas promissiones, benedictionem Abrahae promissam, negant fidem et seipsos suis operibus conantur benedicere, hoc est, iustificare, liberare a peccato et morte, diabolum vincere et vi coelum rapere, Quod est simpliciter negare Deum et esse in locum Dei constituere. WA 40a.398.30-32, 400.15-16, 404.27-31, on Gal. 3.10. See also WA 40a.399.17-28 and WA 40a.404.32-405.24.

righteousness.⁷⁰⁰ This is also the way in which Abel kept the law, placing his trust in Christ, represented by the sacrifice he offered. By way of contrast, those who attempt to keep the law outside of faith, are trying to make an apple tree by offering works (or fruit) without having first become an apple tree. They are exemplified by Cain, who offered the works of his own hands to God.⁷⁰¹

Therefore, those who attempt to keep the law without faith misuse it and only end up breaking God's commands. They replace trust in God with confidence in their works, which become their idol because they attempt justification through them. The right use of the law, by way of contrast, is obeying it on the basis of faith.⁷⁰²

In his exposition of Gal. 4.3, Luther further elucidates the concept of misusing the law. He points to Paul calling the law with 'loathsome names' (odiosissimas appellaciones), following Paul's identification of the law with the 'weak and beggarly elements' (infirmi et egeni elementa). Luther explains that apart from the conscience and before the coming of Christ, the law is good and holy, while in the conscience and after Christ, it is the devil and death. Accordingly, when misused for the purpose of justification, the law is 'loathsome' (odiosissimas).⁷⁰³ This is the principal way of abusing the law. Two other groups who misuse the law are, first, the 'openly wicked despisers' (contemptoribus palam impiis) of the law who disregard it altogether, exemplified in the peasants' revolt and second, those who, feeling the terror and condemnation of the law, remain in despair and do not accept the comfort and freedom through faith in Christ for justification.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰⁰Sed quia tantum primitias Spiritus, nondum decimas habemus et reliquiae peccati in nobis manent, legem perfecte non facimus. Sed hoc credentibus nobis in Christum qui Abrahae promissus est et nos benedixit, non imputatur. WA 40a.408.12-15, on Gal. 3.10. See also WA 40a.408.29-409.12, on Gal. 3.10 and for the larger context for the passage, see WA 40a.405.25-409.22, on Gal. 3.10.

⁷⁰¹Ut facere includat simul fidem, quae fides habet ipsum facientem et facit arborem, qua facta fiunt fructus. Oportet enim prius esse arborem, deinde fructus. Poma enim non faciunt arborem, sed arbor poma facit. Sic fides primum personam facit quae postea facit opera. Itaque facere Legem absque fide est facere poma sine arbore ex ligno et luto, quod non est facere poma sed mera phantasmata. WA 40a.402.13-19, on Gal. 3.10. Atque hinc dicit ille ad Ebraeos, Hostiam Abelis fuisse meliorem, quia credebat; Cain vero, quia impius et Hypocrita erat, fecit morale vel potius rationis opus quo querebat placere Deo. Fuit ergo hypocriticum et infidele opus Cain, ut nulla fides gratiae, sed sola praesumptio suae iustitiae fuit in eo. WA 40a.414.15-19, on Gal. 3.10. Luther further introduces an interesting concept of compound faith. Just as Christ in an absolute sense is divine, but as incarnate can be seen in a compound sense, as both divine and human, so also faith can be seen in a compound sense, including good works. Thus, in an absolute sense, in itself, faith is alone, but in a compound sense it includes works, too. Therefore all the statements of Scripture which praise works, praise them for the sake of the underlying faith. See WA 40a.414.24-417.21, on Gal. 3.10. For a brief discussion on Peter Manns' (Manns 1970) treatment on Luther's view of absolute and incarnate faith in his *Galatians*, see section 4.1.1.4.

⁷⁰²Compare WA 40a.406.17-18 with 40a.408.27-409.12, on Gal. 3.10. For the larger context, see WA 40a.404.27-409.22.

⁷⁰³WA 40a.553.27-554.14, on Gal. 4.3.

⁷⁰⁴WA 40a.552.28-553.25, on Gal.4.3. See also Gal. 3.23 for the three abuses of the law.

We now turn briefly to the debated issue of the third use of the law (*tertius usus legis*), that of its use in regenerate Christians (*usus in renatis*). It is evident that Luther rejected antinomianism. However, there has been a continuing debate between scholars of different persuasions regarding the question of how far Luther saw a positive role for the law in the life of a Christian. Most scholars see that there is no evidence in Luther for an explicit third use for the law,⁷⁰⁵ while at the same time, it is nevertheless recognized that there is an important role for good works in the life of the Christian.⁷⁰⁶ Examples of how the necessity of good works is maintained in Luther, can be seen in the positive use of biblical commands in Christian life of Paul Althaus,⁷⁰⁷ *usus practicus evangelii* of Wilfried Joest,⁷⁰⁸ and the spontaneous fulfilling of the law by love of Lauri Haikola,⁷⁰⁹ each of which is

⁷⁰⁵There is a statement in Luther's *Die zweite Disputation gegen die Antinomer*, which appears to include a reference to a third use of the law. *Quare lex est docenda? Lex docenda est propter disciplinam iuxta illud Pauli 1. Timoth. 1: Lex est iniustus posita, atque ut hac paedagogia homines ad Christum perveniant, quemadmodum paulus ad Galatas 3 ait: Lex est paedagogia in Christum. Secundo. Lex docenda est, ut ostendat peccatum, accuset, perterrefaciat et damnet conscientias, ad Romanos 3: Per legem cognitio peccati, item capite quarto: Lex iram operatur. Tertio. Lex est retinenda, ut sciant sancti, quatenam opera requirat Deus, in quibus obedientiam exercere erga Deum possint.* WA 39a.418.16-24, *Die zweite Disputation gegen die Antinomer*. 12 January 1538. This is thought to be a forgery, however due to the fact that the wording is suspiciously similar to Melancthon's second *Loci Communes*. See Paulson 2001: 271-272. The view that it is a forgery was introduced by Werner Elert, whom Paulson also refers to. See Werner Elert, *Law and Gospel*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, p. 39; quoted in Paulson 2001: 271. Even if Luther actually made the reference, it is ill-advised to base an argument on only one reference. It is important to look at his overall view to ascertain whether it accommodates a third use for the law.

⁷⁰⁶For instance, Georges Bavaud, discussing Luther's position in his *Galatians*, affirms that while Luther rejects a third use for the law, his theology pushes him to a recognition of good works in the Christian life, and that is why the believer also needs to behold Christ the legislator in this sense, though not for justification. Bavaud affirms, 'Luther n'a pas parlé d'un troisième usage de la loi alors que sa théologie profonde le pousse à reconnaître l'importance de l'obéissance dans la *vie* chrétienne. ... Cependant, au delà de ce problème de vocabulaire, il nous apparaît évident qu'aux yeux du Réformateur, le Christ doit être considéré comme un législateur, non dans l'acte de justification, mais dans la vie chrétienne qui suit le pardon gratuit de Dieu. ... La conséquence est claire : pour accomplir les bonnes oeuvres, le chrétien justifié doit jeter un regard sur le Christ législateur.' See Bavaud 1977: 239-240. For a helpful and brief review of the main influential positions of Luther scholars on the third use of the law (excluding the newest contributions such as that of Hütter), see Silcock 1993: 8-29.

⁷⁰⁷Althaus affirms, 'Wir sprechen nicht mehr vom dritten Gebrauch des Gesetzes (noch weniger von "Evangelium und Gesetz"), wohl aber von einem Gebrauch der biblischen Gebote und Weisungen im Christenleben.' See Althaus 1952: 37.

⁷⁰⁸Joest states, 'Wir möchten statt dessen lieber einen *usus legalis* und einen *usus evangelicus* des Gebotes unterscheiden. Unter dieser Bedingung aber leben wir den Weg frei zu einer positiv evangelischen Aufrichtung des Gebotes Gottes über allen Bereichen praktischer Lebensordnung im Einklang sowohl mit Luther als mit der heiligen Schrift.' See Joest 1956: 200. For the specific term *usus practicus evangelii*, see e.g. Joest 1956: 198.

⁷⁰⁹Haikola argues, 'Gerade weil die christliche Liebe mehr hat und mehr tut, als irgendeine Gesetzesordnung fordert, ist es ihm ein Anliegen, das freie Recht der Liebe zum Zerbrechen gegenener und zum Aufstellen neuer Gesetzesordnungen zu betonen. Die "Antinomisten" sind an diesem Punkte Luthers treue Nachfolger gewesen. Wir haben dagegen gesehen, dass die historische Vorstellung des

defined against an explicit third use of the law.⁷¹⁰ Attention is now turned to Luther's exposition of Gal. 3.10, which is meaningful in this context.

In his comment on Gal. 3.10, as noted above, Luther sees the keeping of God's law, when performed on the grounds of faith, only in a positive sense. This keeping of the law is characterised in both tables of the Decalogue, in honouring God by faith and in placing our trust in him (the first table) and in loving our neighbour in daily life (the second table).⁷¹¹ Which use of the law is in question in this discussion of Luther's? A similar concept is also found in Luther's exposition of Gal. 4.4-5 where Luther maintains that the 'final cause' (*finalis causa*) for believers to keep the law is 'the peace of the world, gratitude toward God, and a good example by which others are invited to believe the gospel.'⁷¹² It is clear that neither the first use – restraining the wicked nor the second use of the law – law as showing sin, and preparing for Christ, is in question here. Is this then an occasion in which a third use of the law is discussed by Luther? It seems that one could say so, if one is only to look at the concept itself. One could easily draw a close parallel between keeping the law on the ground of faith and the third use of the law in Melancthon or Calvin.⁷¹³ As far as the concept itself goes, it would therefore seem

usus tertius von einem Gesetzesverständnis ausgeht, bei dem Gottes Wille und die christliche Liebe von einer ewig gültigen objektiven Gesetzesordnung eingeschlossen sind.' See Haikola 1981: 152. See also Haikola 1981: 150-151.

⁷¹⁰Silcock, for his part, sees an implicit agreement in Luther with the Formula of Concord. Silcock rejects a legalistic understanding of the third use for the law and instead affirms a subordination of the law under the use of the gospel. He states, 'The term "third use of the law" suggests that in the Christian life it is the law as rule, norm, and guide which ultimately accomplishes our sanctification, whereas we have argued that this is the task of the gospel, and that when the law (specifically, the Decalogue) is used by the Holy Spirit for our sanctification, this happens precisely because the law is now taken into service by the gospel so that the gospel remains the power of God both in justification and sanctification.' See Silcock 1993: 116.

⁷¹¹Quare facere est primum credere et sic per fidem praestare legem. Oportet enim nos accipere Spiritum sanctum, quo illuminati et renovati incipimus facere legem, diligere Deum et proximum. WA 40a.400.31-33, on Gal. 3.10. For the larger context of Luther's lengthy discussion, see WA 40a.396.26-419.21, on Gal. 3.10.

⁷¹²Finalis causa obedientiae legis in iustis non est iustitia coram Deo, quae sola fide accipitur, sed pax mundi, gratificatio erga Deum et bonum exemplum, quo alios invitant ad credendum Evangelio etc. WA 40a.570.18-21, on Gal. 4.4-5.

⁷¹³For instance, in his *Loci Communes* from 1535, Melancthon states, 'Tertium officium legis in his, qui sunt fide iusti, est, ut et doceat eos de bonis operibus, quatenus opera Deo placeant, et praecipiat certa opera, in quibus obedientiam erga Deum exercent. Etsi enim liberi sumus a lege, quod ad iustificacionem attinet, tamen, quod ad obedientiam attinet, manet Lex. Nam iustificatos necesse est obedire Deo. Et quidem incipient aliqua ex parte facere legem. Et placet illa inchoate obedientia, propterea quia personae placent propter Christum. Haec satis sit hic admonuisse de legis usu seu officiis. CR 21.406. For the relationship of Luther and Melancthon's positions on the question of tertius usus legis and good works, see e.g. Greschat 1965: 189-193 and Finn Andersen's well researched article, which I could unfortunately only find from the internet. See Andersen, Finn, Lovens Tredje brug hos Luther og Melancthon, Available at: <http://www.lutherdansk.dk/Web-Lovens%20tredje%brug/Lovenstr.htm>. See section 5.3.3. for a discussion on Calvin's concept of the third use of the law and section 6.3.2. for a comparison of Luther's and Calvin's positions.

acceptable to recognize a third use of the law in Luther's *Galatians*.⁷¹⁴ David P. Scaer, and more recently Reinhard Hütter, indeed identify a third, positive (Scaer)⁷¹⁵ or spiritual (Hütter)⁷¹⁶ use of the law in Luther. Nevertheless, the question must be weighed against the fact that Luther does not explicitly talk of a separate third use of the law, and on the contrary states that there are only two uses for the law, the civil and the theological. The fact that Luther only explicitly identifies two must be respected. It appears that for him, the freedom of the gospel is so central that, while recognizing the necessity of obedience, he protected the spontaneity of Christian freedom in not identifying an explicit third use for the law.

⁷¹⁴Markula concludes in his MA thesis on Luther's *Galatians* that one can talk of a third use of the law in Luther's *Galatians* in reference to the old human ('vanha ihminen'). However, as a whole, there is hardly any independent role left for a third use of the law since Luther's two uses of the law and his understanding of God's total will already explain the main concepts, which could otherwise have been connected to the concept of a third use of the law. See Markula 1979: 124-130.

⁷¹⁵Scaer states, 'In Luther's theology the third use [of the law] means that the negative prohibitions of the law are transferred into positive indicatives and descriptions of the life lived with Christ. ... Even if, with the advent of sin into the world, God's holiness can be described only in negative terms as opposed to sin, certainly His holiness has an existence not dependent on sin for definition. In the same vein the law for man in pristine bliss was positive and not negative. Man's fall is responsible for viewing God and His will in negative terms. The advent of sin puts a negative cast on God's will, but with the coming of Christ, Christ and salvation now comprise God's will to the world.' Scaer 1985: 191-192.

⁷¹⁶Hütter states, 'Because the law is fulfilled once and for all through God's own costly intervention in Christ, for Luther Christ is such incredibly good news – Gospel. ... The law is abrogated through Christ insofar as it terrorizes the sinners' consciences by constraining, unmasking, and convicting them. Yet the law's content is restituted to its original intent as the genuine expression of God's will: the law of love. It provides the creaturely *gestalt* of genuine freedom, the freedom of communion with God as received by faith. Now it is God's own law of love received in Christ, a "law" therefore welcomed with delight.' Hütter 2001: 144. Hütter identifies this as the spiritual use of the law in Luther. Hütter does not generally use the term 'third use of the law' for the concept. However, the fact that he equates 'the third use of the law' with 'spiritual use of the law' appears implied, for instance, in the fact that any query on the third or pedagogical use of the law in the index is directed to the concept of the spiritual use of the law. See Hütter 2004: 140-142, 154-158, 177-179, 309-310. Vainio appears to agree with Hütter, at least to a large extent, in seeing the Christian as 'bound to be free', as the title of Hütter's book states. (Vainio also explicitly refers to Hütter's view; Vainio 2006: 183ff.) Vainio posits that Christian freedom finds its form from God's commandments and is realised in them. Vainio states, 'Ihminen on vapaa vain silloin, kun hän iloittelee Jumalan käskyihin. Kristityn vapaus toteutuu ja saa muotonsa Jumalan käskyistä. Uskossa laki ei häviä olemasta, vaan se on täytetty Kristuksessa. ... Uskossa Kristus asettuu asumaan ihmiseen, ja hän antaa muodon sekä uskolle että elämälle. Näin toteutuu todellinen vapaus, joka on osallisuutta Jumalan omasta vapaudesta.' Vainio 2006: 198-199. While there appears much truth to Hütter's position, it also appears that perhaps he crosses too easily from the two uses of the law identified explicitly in Luther to a third one, that of the spiritual, 'free' use of the law. While a spiritual use of the law in Luther can be supported by some of his statements, the stress Hütter places on this aspect of the law easily leads to losing sight of Luther's own emphasis. That is why it appears preferable to stay with Luther's own explicit identification of only two uses of the law, while maintaining the necessity of good works as well.

4.3.3. Two Uses of the Law

This section is primarily based on Luther's second lengthy treatment on the law in Gal. 3.19, where he expounds the notion of the two uses of the law.

Luther identifies the two uses as the civic use (*usus civilis*) and the spiritual and theological use (*usus theologicus seu spiritualis*).⁷¹⁷ He illuminates the civic use and its necessity by an illustration of the human being as a dangerous, wild beast, who has to be caged in by laws to constrain him from doing evil incessantly.⁷¹⁸ Laws are therefore necessary, ordained by God for the keeping of order and for the benefit of society.⁷¹⁹

The principal and proper use of the law, however, is its theological use. In this function, the law acts as a hammer which crushes and destroys human pride and shows the futility of attempting to attain to righteousness by one's own good works.⁷²⁰ This role of the law can be embodied in two distinct aspects of the effect the law has on the human. On the one hand, the law drives the human sinner to despair and, in a sense, magnifies their transgression, while on the other, it prepares them for justification in that it drives them to Christ to find forgiveness. In other words, the law kills, but with the purpose of making one alive for Christ.⁷²¹ Thus, in this function, the law is not against God's promise and the gospel, since it produces a thirst for Christ. This preparation for Christ is termed 'the best and most perfect use of the law' (*optimus ac perfectissimus legis usus*).⁷²² Another interesting picture of the theological use of the law can be found in Luther's example of the veil of Moses.⁷²³ The impact of the law on the Israelites at the giving of the law was so powerful and terrifying that if there were no veil of Moses, they would have been instantly killed. Similarly, today, when the law directs its rays on the sinner, there

⁷¹⁷See WA 40a.479.17-481.25, on Gal.3.19 and WA 40a.499.30-500.24, on Gal. 3.19.

⁷¹⁸*Deus ordinavit civiles, imo omnes leges ad coercedas transgressiones. ... Ut ergo furenti et indomitae bestiae iniicitur vinculum, ne saeviat in quaeque sibi obvia, ita lex insanum et furentem hominem coerceat, ne ulterius peccet.* WA 40a.479.17-18,24-26, on Gal. 3.19.

⁷¹⁹WA 40a.479.30-480.31, on Gal. 3.19.

⁷²⁰*Quare magnum et horribile monstrum est Opinio iustitiae. Ut ergo Deus eam contundat et conterat, opus habet ingenti et forti malleo, lege scilicet, quae malleus est mortis, tonitru inferni et fulmen irae divinae.* WA 40a.482.22-24, on Gal. 3.19. In addition to comparing the law to a hammer, Luther also likens the law to a civic prison which restrains from crime, and to a theological prison showing transgression and human sinfulness in preparation for the gospel. See WA 40a.519.34-520.24, on Gal. 3.24.

⁷²¹*Legis ergo officium est tantum occidere, sic tamen, ut Deus possit vivificare.* WA 40a.517.26, on Gal. 3.23. See also WA 40a.517.26-518.24, on Gal. 3.23.

⁷²²*Quando lex sic te urget, desperatis omnibus rebus tuis, ad quaerendum auxilium et solatium apud Christum, tum est in vero usu, Sicque servit per Evangelium ad iustificationem. Et is est optimus ac perfectissimus legis usus.* WA 40a.490.21-24, on Gal. 3.20.

⁷²³Luther points to the need for the veil of Moses (*Moses cum suo velo*; WA 40a.502.15, on Gal. 3.20) illustrating the necessity of having a mediator to protect the sinner from the terrifying power of the law. Earlier, in his comment on Gal. 2.6, Luther discusses a different concept with a similar illustration, the masks of God (*larva Dei*, WA 40a.174.14, on Gal. 2.6). In this discussion *larva Dei* represents social positions which are necessary in this world. Compare WA 40a.501.12-503.30, on Gal. 3.20 with WA 40a.173.24-179.19, on Gal. 2.6.

are only two alternatives – death or turning to Christ, the Mediator, who saves the sinner from the terror of the law.⁷²⁴

In his exposition on the theological use of the law, Luther alludes to human reason several times. This is especially well presented in his depiction of the law as the sun. When the human agent has not yet correctly comprehended the true nature of the law, seeing only ‘the outward mask’ (*externa legis larva*) of the law, human reason imagines that it can keep the law.⁷²⁵ However, when the beams of the sun (the law in its true sense) shine on the human, he flees in terror just like the Israelites at Sinai, and hates the light of the law.⁷²⁶ This fleeing from the law demonstrates human sinfulness in two ways. First, it proves that human reason is against the law and far from being capable of fulfilling it (in that human reason rejects the true light of the law and runs away from it).⁷²⁷ Second, the contempt and blasphemy hidden in human hearts against their Author becomes evident in the fact that when the law reveals human sin, humans wish that the law was abolished and intensely hate God’s good and holy law.⁷²⁸

On the other hand, in the daily life of a Christian, the function of the law can be seen somewhat differently. There the law has a continuing function. The time of the law and the time of grace are constantly alternating, the law keeping the flesh under control and preparing for Christ and grace comforting sinners in their conscience and assuring them of God’s acceptance and forgiveness.⁷²⁹

4.3.4. Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life

Two additional treatments of Luther’s on the law, those of his exposition of Gal. 4.9-10 and 4.27, provide a distinct view of Luther’s practical instruction regarding the proper use of ceremonial observances, whether papal and Mosaic, in Christian life. Luther considers that one may observe the laws of the pope, as long as this is

⁷²⁴Interestingly, Luther maintains that if one uses the veil of Moses in between oneself and the law, one becomes a hypocrite, thinking one can achieve justification by one’s own good deeds. See WA 40a.502.16-24, on Gal. 3.20. See WA 40a.501.12-503.30, on Gal. 3.20 for the larger context of the discussion.

⁷²⁵WA 40a.498.30-499.12, on Gal. 3.19.

⁷²⁶*Sed Historia legis latae testatur omnes homines in toto mundo quantumvis sanctos (praesertim cum hi qui mundati et sanctificati erant, non potuerunt legem audire) adversari, horrere et fugere legem et cupere eam non esse.* WA 40a.497.30-33, on Gal. 3.19.

⁷²⁷WA 40a.499.18-29, on Gal. 3.19.

⁷²⁸*Sic revelato peccato per radios quos lex in cor spargit, nihil est homini odiosius et intolerabilius lege. Ibi tum mortem potius eligeret, quam quod perferre deberet vel brevissimum tempus istos terrores legis. ... Quare ista fuga indicat infinitum odium cordis humani contra legem et per consequens contra ipsum Deum.* WA 40a.496.21-24, 30-31, on Gal. 3.19. See also WA 40a.497.30-33, on Gal. 3.19.

⁷²⁹*Est igitur in Christiano utrumque tempus legis et gratiae in affectu. Legis tempus est, quando lex me exercet, divexat, contristat et redigit in cognitionem peccati ac illud auget. ... Tempus gratiae est, cum cor iterum erigitur promissione gratuitae misericordiae Dei et dicit: ‘Quare tristis es, anima mea, et quare conturbas me?’ ... Sic ergo Christianus divisus est in duo tempora. Quatenus est caro, sub lege est, quatenus Spiritus, sub Evangelio est.* WA 40a.524.32-34, 525.23-24, 526.21-22, on Gal. 3.23. For the larger context of this discussion, see WA 40a.524.32-527.27, on Gal. 3.23.

done freely, without constraint and without attempting to use them for justification.⁷³⁰ Despite this, Luther sees papal traditions in a much more negative light than the ceremonial laws of Moses, since papal observances do not have any command of God behind them. The ceremonial laws of Moses, for their part, Luther affirms, are not binding on Christians either.⁷³¹ Neither are other ceremonies, such as celebrating Christmas, Easter, and coming to church on Sunday. They are nevertheless important when they are used freely, not for the purpose of justification, but for the purpose of bringing people together for the hearing of the Word of God.⁷³²

4.4. Good Works

Luther clearly indicates that in his view the most important part of the epistle to the Galatians is the first part dealing with justification. The part relating to good works is therefore secondary.⁷³³ Nonetheless, Luther devotes a significant part of his comments on the epistle to discussing the notion of good works. There are at least three significant aspects of Luther's discussion, those of a) the relationship of good works to justification and Christian liberty, b) the contrast Luther draws between genuine and spurious good works, c) love toward one's neighbour as the motivation for good works and d) practical aspects of Luther's exhortation on good works.

4.4.1. Relationship of Good Works to Justification and Christian Liberty

Luther's assertion on false faith on Gal. 2.18 may be taken as an introductory statement to his comments on good works. Here Luther affirms the necessity of good works while rejecting the view that justification takes place partly by faith and partly by works. Luther maintains the doctrine of justification by faith alone and regards good works as a result and a fruit of justification.

'Therefore we, too, say that faith without works is worthless and useless. The papists and the fanatics take this to mean that faith without works does not justify, or that if faith does not have works, it is of no avail, no matter how true it is. That is false. But faith without works – that is, a fantastic

⁷³⁰Itaque si voles observare leges Papae sine offensione conscientiae, serves illas sine opinione iustitiae, ea namque per solum Christum donatur. WA 40a.620.25-27, on Gal. 4.9.

⁷³¹Neque Caeremoniis Mosi nos astringimur, multominus Papae. WA 40a.673.25, on Gal. 4.27. Si autem Lex ipsa per Mosen divino mandato tradita eos maledictioni obnoxios facit qui sub ea sunt, multo magis hoc facient leges seu traditiones humana ratione inventae. WA 40a.391.30-33, on Gal. 3.10. See also WA 40a.361.28-362.14 on Gal. 3.6 and WA 40a.418.12-419.21, on Gal. 3.10.

⁷³²WA 40a.623.17-624.21, on Gal. 4.10.

⁷³³Interestingly, as Luther's lectures proceed, his identification of the point at which the secondary, less central part of the epistle starts, moves forward. First, Luther identifies this as Gal. 3.17-18 onwards, then, Gal. 4.8-9 onwards. Finally, the secondary part of the epistle is identified by Luther as being from Gal. 5.12 onwards. Luther makes statements to this effect in WA 40a.470.24-27, on Gal. 3.17, WA 40a.473.20-23, on Gal. 3.18, WA40a.600.25-26, on Gal. 4.8-9 and WA40b.59.20-30, on Gal. 5.12.

idea and mere vanity and a dream of the heart – is a false faith and does not justify.⁷³⁴

Luther's longest treatment of good works is his exposition of Gal. 5.14. This exposition is important in this context and complements the picture of good works as the fruit of justification. The ground of genuine good works is always faith. The interrelationship between faith and love is further important in this context. Love acts as the servant of faith.⁷³⁵ Thus, faith expresses itself through love, and leads to true and genuine good works.⁷³⁶ It is very important to maintain a proper balance. Both faith and works must be taught. When the foundation of faith has been laid, good works must follow and Christians should be admonished and urged to do good works.⁷³⁷ In accordance with Luther's concept *simul iustus et peccator*, he maintains that the love and good works of Christians cannot attain to complete perfection on this side of heaven. Believers begin to love God and their neighbour, and serve their neighbour with good works, though not perfectly.⁷³⁸

⁷³⁴Concludimus ergo cum Paulo, Sola fide in Christum nos iustificari sine lege et operibus. Postquam vero homo fide iustificatus est et iam Christum fide possidet et novit eum esse iustitiam et vitam suam, certe non erit otiosus sed ut bona arbor proferet bonos fructus, Quia credens habet Spiritum sanctum; ubi is est, non sinit hominem esse otiosum, sed impellit eum ad omnia exercitia pietatis, ad dilectionem Dei, ad patientiam in afflictionibus, Ad invocationem, gratiarum actionem, ad exhibendam charitatem erga omne. Quare et nos dicimus fidem sine operibus nihili esse et inanem. Hoc Papistae et phanatici sic intelligunt: Fidem absque operibus non iustificare Vel fidem quantumvis veram, si opera non habeat, nihil valere. Hoc falsum est, Sed fides sine operibus, id est, phanatica cogitatio et mera vanitas et somnium cordis, falsa est et non iustificat. WA 40a.265.29-266.19, on Gal. 2.18. The quotation above is taken from WA 40a.266.15-19, on Gal. 2.18. In his exposition of Gal. 5.15, Luther affirms similarly with regard to Christian preaching and explains that when ministers preach on good works, great care needs to be taken that the doctrine of righteousness by works is rejected. At the same time, however, it needs to be carefully maintained that if no good works follow faith, this is sure evidence that there is no true faith present. See WA 40b.78.17-23, on Gal. 5.15.

⁷³⁵Raunio, in his work on the golden rule ('love your neighbour as yourself'), expresses the interesting thought that love and faith are complementary and as important aspects of Luther's theology. Raunio states, 'Erstens wird gezeigt, dass die Liebe kein zweitrangiger Bestandteil in Luthers Theologie ist, sondern dass gerade die Verwirklichung der göttlichen Liebe sogar das entscheidende Anliegen seines Denkens ist.' Raunio 1993: 362. While Raunio's thesis cannot be fully examined here, it appears that at least in Luther's *Galatians* love seems to take a secondary role compared to the concept of faith. This is indicated also in Luther's statement ascribing a serving, subservient role to love in comparison to faith, 'Paulus contra dicit charitatem debere esse servam'. WA 40b.65.21, on Gal. 5.14. See the following footnote for the full quote.

⁷³⁶Paulus contra dicit charitatem debere esse servam, et nisi sit in officio servitutis, non esse charitatem. ... Destructo enim fundamento Christo et obscurata doctrina fidei impossibile est remanere ullum verum usum, exercitium et opinionem bonorum operum. Sublata arbore necesse est auferri quoque fructus. ... Fides tamen primum plantanda est, sine ea enim impossibile est intelligi, quid bonum opus sit, quid Deo placeat. WA 40b.65.21-22, 66.15-17, 66.30-32, on Gal. 5.14.

⁷³⁷WA 40b.67.33-68.19, on Gal. 5.14.

⁷³⁸Luther affirms that in heaven, however, believers will be righteous inwardly, too, namely, by the perfect love they will have then. Si ab omnibus peccatis puri essemus et perfecte arderemus charitate erga Deum et proximum, tum certe iusti et sancti essemus per charitatem, nihilque esset, quod ultra Deus a nobis requirere posset. Hoc in praesenti vita non fit, sed differtur in futuram. WA 40b.80.31-34, on Gal. 5.16. Luther, discussing the relationship of faith and hope, encourages Christians, when faced with their

However, their remaining imperfection and sin is not imputed to them because of Christ, in whom they believe.⁷³⁹

Further, Luther also looks at good works from the perspective of their relationship to Christian freedom. Justified before God by faith, the believers are free from the law and thus perform good works freely, without constraint. They do not use faith as a licence for sin, but serve their neighbour and remain faithful in their calling.⁷⁴⁰ Luther elucidates,

‘Therefore every Christian should know that in his conscience he has been established by Christ as a lord over the Law, sin, and death, and that they do not have jurisdiction over him. On the other hand, he should know also that this external obligation has been imposed on his body, that through love he should serve his neighbour.’⁷⁴¹

4.4.2. Genuine Good Works vs. Spurious Good Works

Much of Luther’s discussion on good works handles the difference between genuine and spurious good works. This is illustrated in a parable of a tree. If the root and ground of a tree is wrong from the start (no faith), the works that follow are of the wrong kind as well.⁷⁴² Accordingly, true believers perform their deeds on the grounds of faith and understand that genuine good works are those done to help and serve one’s neighbour in acts of love.⁷⁴³ As Robert Bertram poignantly affirms: ‘The fundamental truth remains: God “does not need our works,” our neighbors do.’⁷⁴⁴ By way of contrast, those who try to attain to righteousness by their own

imperfection, that they can have hope in Christ who is their righteousness all through this life. It is only in heaven that their actual righteousness will be fully perfect. See WA 40b.25.19-26, on Gal. 5.5.

⁷³⁹Interim tamen, ut et in hac vita iusti simus, habemus ‘Propiciatorium’ et Thronum gratiae Christum, in quem credentes, peccatum nobis non imputatur. Est igitur fides iusticia nostra in hac vita. WA 40b.79.31-80.13, on Gal. 5.16.

⁷⁴⁰Quare meminerint pii, se in conscientia coram Deo esse liberos a legis maledicto, a peccato et moret propter Christum, corpore autem esse servos. Hic alter alteri per charitatem iuxta hoc Pauli praeceptum servire debet. Unusquisque igitur studeat, in sua vocatione diligenter facere officium suum et, quacunq̄ re potest, adiuvere proximum. WA 40b.62.14-19, on Gal. 5.13.

⁷⁴¹Quare unusquisque Christianus sciat, se per Christum constitutum esse in conscientia dominum legis, peccati, mortis etc., ita quod illa non habeant ius in eum etc. Contra sciat quoque hanc servitutem externam corpori suo impositam esse, ut per charitatem serviat proximo. WA 40b.64.15-19, on Gal. 5.13.

⁷⁴²Fides tamen primum plantanda est, sine ea enim impossibile est intelligi, quid bonum opus sit, quid Deo placeat. WA 40b.66.30-32. See also WA 40b.70.24-71.21, on Gal. 5.14.

⁷⁴³WA 40b.65.23-66.32, on Gal. 5.14. Luther further explains, however, that even in the justified it is a struggle to both understand and practice the true works of love, and not to have high regard for self-chosen ceremonial observances, which are much more appealing to human reason and flesh. Manent enim etiam in iustificatis peccati reliquiae, quae, ut a fide, ita et a vere bonis operibus abhorrent et avocant. Deinde ratio humana et caro, quae in Sanctis resistit Spiritui (in impiis vero potentissime dominatur), naturaliter afficitur Pharisaeis superstitionibus et, ut Psalm 4. ait: ‘Diligit vanitatem et quaerit mendacium’, Hoc est, plus delectatur, Deum metiri ex suis cogitationibus, quam ex verbo ipsius, Et longe maiori ardore facit opera, quae ipsa elegit, quam quae Deus praecipit. WA 40b.67.34-68.17, on Gal. 5.14.

⁷⁴⁴Bertram 1968: 235.

works observe foolish ceremonies such as paying special attention to seasons, wearing special clothing, and adhering to beliefs about places. This they do on the basis of human reason, which does not understand the pure teaching of the gospel.⁷⁴⁵

4.4.3. Love of One's Neighbour

As expressed in *Galatians*, Luther believes that love of one's neighbour, resulting from faith, the Spirit and the Word, is the primary motivator for good deeds. He rejects the mediaeval definition of love as 'wishing someone well' and explains instead that spiritually perceived, love refers to having husky shoulders for bearing the needs of one's neighbour.⁷⁴⁶ The neighbour of the Christian is identified by Luther as anyone in need. There is a natural knowledge in human hearts, connected with the notion of natural law, which tells each person just what kind of deeds they ought to do to help their needy neighbour.⁷⁴⁷ Luther further explains that just as people are ready to excuse their own sins, according to the law of love they ought to

⁷⁴⁵Neque tanti facerent et inflarent suas bullas, hoc est, nugas et superstitiones, ut sunt: tristi vultu et demisso capite incedere, coelibem esse, vicitare pane et aqua, in Eremo agere, sordido vestitu uti et similia. Illa prodigiosa et superstitiosa opera, quae neque Deo mandante neque approbante eligunt, iudicant tam praeclara et sancta, ut charitatem, quae est sol omnium operum, longissime superent et obscurant. Adeo incomprehensibilis et infinita est caecitas humanae rationis, ut non solum de doctrina fidei sed etiam de vita et operibus rite iudicare non possit. WA 40b.71.26-34, on Gal. 5.14.

⁷⁴⁶WA 40b.144.15-145.25, on Gal. 6.2.

⁷⁴⁷Antti Raunio elucidates Luther's critique of the Augustinian interpretation of the golden rule ('Love your neighbour as yourself', Matt. 7.12) and explains how Luther did not accept the view of Augustine according to which one must find a proper balance between loving oneself and one's neighbour. By way of contrast, naturally humans only love themselves and this is only an indicator of how much humans ought to love others, instead of themselves. See Raunio 2007: 58-60. Raunio further insightfully explains how in Luther's view every person has a god from whom they expect to receive good. It is only those who receive all good things as a gift from God, who then pass this good on to others. Raunio states, 'Kultaisen säännön perusidea Lutherin mukaan on, että ihmisen tulee ottaa kaikki hyvä vastaan Jumalalta ja lahjoittaa sitä eteenpäin tarvitseville.' Raunio 2007: 62. For Raunio's comparison on Luther and Melancthon's view on the golden rule and Christian ethics, see Raunio 2007: 121-137. For more detail on Luther's explanation of the golden rule, see also his expositions of Gal. 5.6 in the 1519 commentary on Galatians, WA 2.575.31-582.34 and his comment on Matt. 7.12, WA 32.493.38-499.4. Mannermaa, for his part, draws attention to two kinds of love which Luther describes. Luther critiques the view (ascribed to Aquinas for instance) according to which humans ought to direct their love toward what is above the human, toward God, and toward all good things. In contrast to this position, Luther stresses that God's love came down to humans instead of waiting for them to come to him and gave everything which is good to them. In the same way, humans ought to direct their love 'downward', toward one's neighbour and all those who are needy. See Mannermaa 1983. Mannermaa argues that it is possible to look at the whole theology of Luther from the perspective of these two kinds of love. Mannermaa affirms, 'Uskonpuhdistajan kaikki teologia voidaan itse asiassa avata näiden kahden rakkauden lajin tarjoamasta näkökulmasta.' Mannermaa 1983: 14.

bear with the faults of others, too, which is especially important both for those in positions of leadership, whether in civil authority, in the family or in ministry.⁷⁴⁸

4.4.4. Good Works in Practice

Serving one's needy neighbour and remaining faithful in one's daily calling and vocation are two principal ways in which Luther exhorts his hearers to put their faith into practice. Luther elucidates,

‘Thus we shall learn to praise the works that each man performs in his calling – even though in external appearance they appear to be trivial and contemptible. ... Finally, no creature toward which you should practice love is nobler than your neighbour.’⁷⁴⁹

A further issue, which Luther attends to in some detail in the exposition of Gal. 6.6-10, is providing for ministers. He affirms that the devil is on the attack in this issue, evidenced by the fact that during the papacy the priests were abundantly remunerated, while many evangelical ministers were now suffering want since those in the Lutheran areas had grown neglectful in giving.⁷⁵⁰ Luther asserts that this state of affairs is sure evidence that Christian freedom is not appreciated, and that the Word has already been lost.⁷⁵¹ However, while Luther asserts that ministers ought to be provided for liberally in order that they can live with reasonable comfort, he also cautions that in giving one ought not deprive oneself of the necessities of life.⁷⁵²

Luther concludes his presentation on good works by exhorting believers to persevere in the performing of good works for all those who are in need. He states,

‘As Paul is about to conclude the epistle, he ... exhorts us in general to all good works. ... For it is easy to do good once or twice, but to stay with it

⁷⁴⁸WA 40b.144.30-145.25, on Gal. 6.2. However, Luther advises that the bearing of each other's burdens and sins does not apply to open despisers of Christian doctrine, who ought to be avoided so that one does not share in their sins. WA 40b.145.25-29, on Gal. 6.2.

⁷⁴⁹Ut ita discamus magnificare opera, quae unusquisque in sua vocatione facit, etiamsi in speciem levia et despecta videantur, modo habeant mandatum Dei, Et e contra contemnere ea, quae ratio eligit sine mandato Dei, ut maxime praeclara, gravia, magna, sancta videantur. ... Postremo nullum animal, erga quod exercere debes charitatem, nobilium est proximo tuo. Non est diabolus, non leo, ursus, lupus, non lapis, lignum etc., sed animal tui simillimum, quo nullum vivit in terris iucundius, amabilius, utilius, benignius, magis consolatorium et necessarium, quodque naturaliter conditum est ad civilitatem et societatem. WA 40b.71.36-72.12, 72.31-35, on Gal. 5.14.

⁷⁵⁰Prius, cum impia et falsa docerentur, tam abunde affluebant omnia, ut ex Patrimonio Petri, qui negat se argentum et aurum habere, et ex spiritualibus, ut vocant, bonis Papa, Caesar, Cardinales et Episcopi etc. Reges et Principes mundi facti sint. Nunc autem, cum Euangelium doceri est coeptum, tam divites sunt professores ipsius, quam olim fuerunt Christus et Apostoli. WA 40b.156.21-26, on Gal. 6.6. See the larger context in WA 40b.156.21-159.22, on Gal. 6.6.

⁷⁵¹WA 40b.158.23-32, on Gal. 6.6.

⁷⁵²Quod autem dicit: ‘In omnibus bonis’, non sic accipiendum est, ut singuli omnia sua bona communicent doctoribus suis, sed ut liberaliter eos alant, quantum satis sit ad vitam commode tuendam. WA 40b.159.23-25, on Gal. 6.6.

and not to be overcome by the ingratitude or malice of those you are helping – this is work and labor. There he exhorts us not only to do good but also not to grow weary in doing good.⁷⁵³

4.5. Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian

Luther's notion of the scandal of the cross (*scandalum crucis*)⁷⁵⁴ is intimately tied with the theme of suffering, and the two notions are generally treated together. Luther discusses this theme several times, treating it in some detail.⁷⁵⁵ The analysis of the notion of the scandal of the cross is divided into four parts, starting with a) the definition of the theme, followed by b) the idea of suffering as training for the Christian, continued with c) the inevitability of the scandal of the cross and concluded by giving attention to d) the comfort Christian has in one's sufferings.

The theme of the scandal of the cross and suffering as a Christian can be briefly defined by looking at Luther's explanation of the *infirmirate* ('weakness') or *stigmata* ('marks') which Paul had (Gal. 4.13-14, 6.17) and *scandalum crucis* (Gal. 5.11). Luther affirms that the *infirmirate* Paul had referred to the sufferings Paul encountered for the sake of preaching Christ.⁷⁵⁶ Similarly, the *stigmata* of Paul were not any outward physical marks,⁷⁵⁷ but his sufferings as a believer. These sufferings, experienced by all true Christians, are both physical, in the form of outward persecution, and internal, taking place as terror and anxiety of heart. Luther elucidates,

⁷⁵³Conclusurus Epistolam a specie ad genus transit, et in genere ad omne bonum opus hortatur, Quasi dicat: Non solum erga ministros verbi, sed etiam erga omnes simus liberales et benefici, idque sine defatigatione. Nam facile est semel atque iterum benefacere, sed perdurare nec vinci ingratitude ad malicia eorum, quibus benefacias, hoc opus, hic labor est. Ideo non solum adhortatur nos ad benefaciendum, sed ut benefacientes non defatigemur. WA 40b.163.26-32, on Gal. 6.9. See the larger context in WA 40b.163.26-164.27, on Gal. 6.9-10.

⁷⁵⁴For a discussion of the theme the theology of the cross (theologia crucis) in Luther, closely related to that of *scandalum crucis*, see e.g. McGrath 1985 and Kadai 1999.

⁷⁵⁵For the passages dealing with the theme of the scandal of the cross and Christian suffering, see WA 40a.626.13-628.27, on Gal. 4.12, WA 40a.633.17-639.18 on Gal. 4.13-14, WA 40a.640.19-640.31, on Gal. 4.15, WA 40a. 644.14-648.15 on Gal. 4.17, WA 40a.675.29-684.35 on Gal. 4.29-30, WA 40b.52.29-56.15, on Gal. 5.11, WA 40b.58.14-59.19, on Gal. 5.12, WA 40b.169.34-176.10, on Gal. 6.14 and WA 40b.181.18-183.19 on Gal. 6.17.

⁷⁵⁶WA 40a.634.32-635.24, on Gal. 4.13-14.

⁷⁵⁷Luther alludes to the *stigmata* St. Francis (of Assisi) is said to have had and affirms them to have been either 'pure fiction and a joke' or, if he truly had them, he did not have them for Christ's sake but because of vainglory or 'foolish devotion'. Sicut superiorem sententiam: 'Quicunque iuxta hand regulam incedunt' intelligent Minoritae de sua regula dictam esse, ita et hanc fingunt de stigmatibus Francisci sui intelligentiam esse. Ego puto merum figmentum et ludibrium esse, quod ipsi de hac re dixerunt. Esto sane, quod portaverit Franciscus in corpore stigmata, ut pingitur, tamen ipsi non impressa sunt propter Christum, sed ea ipse sibi impressit ex stulta aliqua devotione seu potius inani gloria, qua titillare se potuit, quod tam charus fuerit Christo, ut etiam sua vulnera corpori ipsius impresserit. WA 40b.181.18-25, on Gal. 6.17.

‘These are the true stigmata, that is, imprinted marks, about which the apostle is speaking here; we, too, by the grace of God, bear them on our body today on account of Christ. For the world persecutes and slays us, false brethren hate us bitterly, and Satan terrifies us inwardly in our hearts with his flaming darts ... all this for no other reason than that we teach that Christ is our righteousness and life.’⁷⁵⁸

As evident also in the quote above, Luther sees persecution as coming to believers from two directions, first, from the physical persecution of papists and the world, and second, from the spiritual persecution by sectarian teachers, the latter of which, Luther affirms, is the harder one to bear.⁷⁵⁹

Scandalum crucis, on the other hand, refers to the offence human reason takes for the ‘ugly shape of the cross’ (*vilibus formis crucis*).⁷⁶⁰ Human reason cannot understand why Christians boast of their happiness and victory over sin while they are at the same time weak, despised and condemned by both ecclesiastical and secular powers.⁷⁶¹ Further, *scandalum crucis* (Gal. 5.11) can be understood either actively or passively. Understood in an active sense, it refers to persecutions, and in a passive sense to the fact that the church must suffer persecution for the simple reason that it is preaching the gospel purely.⁷⁶²

Explaining how suffering as a Christian can be seen as training, Luther affirms that in case there is no persecution for the Christian, they inevitably become smug and proud. The afflictions the Christians have to undergo are therefore useful for them, training them, and keeping them humble.⁷⁶³

⁷⁵⁸ *Illia sunt vera stigmata, hoc est, notae impressae, de quibus hic Apostolus loquitur, quas et nos hodie, gratia Dei, gestamus in corpore nostro propter Christum. Mundus enim persequitur et occidit nos, falsi fratres acerrime oderunt nos, Satan intus in corde suis ignitis telis perterrefacit nos, nullam ob aliam causam, quam quod docemus Christum iusticiam et vitam nostram esse. WA 40b.183.9-14, on Gal. 6.17. See also WA 40a.637.10-31, on Gal. 4.13-14.*

⁷⁵⁹ *Spiritualis, qua phanatici nos hodie impugnant, molestissima ac prorsus intolerabilis nobis est propter scandala, quibus diabolus deformat doctrinam nostram, quia cogimur audire sectas Anabaptistarum et Sacramentariorum et omnia mala orta esse ex doctrina nostra. Corporalis, qua rebus et corporibus nostris insidiantur Tyranni, longe tolerabilior est, quia non fit propter peccata nostra, sed confessionem verbi Dei. WA 40a.681.32-682.15, on Gal. 4.29.*

⁷⁶⁰ *WA 40a.638.10-25, on Gal. 4.13-14.*

⁷⁶¹ *Humana enim ratio facile offenditur illis vilibus formis crucis et pro insanis habet eos, qui alios volunt consolari, iuvare et curare, Item qui iactant magnas opes, iustitiam, fortitudinem, victoriam peccati, mortis et omnium malorum, laetitiam, salutem et vitam aeternam, Et illi ipsi interim egent, infirmi, tristes, despecti sunt, indignissime tractantur et occiduntur ut nocentissimae pestes rerum publicarum et religionis, Et non a vulgo, sed ab optimatibus, qui sunt in administratione politica et Ecclesiastica. WA 40a.638.10-20, on Gal. 4.13-14.*

⁷⁶² *WA 40b.54.17-55.27, on Gal. 5.11.*

⁷⁶³ *Et nisi exerceremur vi et dolis per Tyrannos et Haereticos et in corde pavoribus et ignitis Satanae telis, tam obscurus et ignotus esset nobis Paulus, quam superioribus seculis fuit toti mundo et adhuc hodie adversariis nostris, Papistis et phanaticis est. Ideo donum prophetiae et studium nostrum una cum tentationibus internis et externis aperiunt nobis sensum Pauli et omnium scripturarum. WA 40a.634.26-34, on Gal. 4.13-14.*

Moreover, persecutions are inevitable, on the one hand because the true children of God are always persecuted by Ishmael (those who seek righteousness through works) and on the other hand because Satan is incensed when the gospel is purely preached. He cannot stand the fact that his kingdom is invaded when people put their faith in Christ.⁷⁶⁴

Despite their trials, Christians can rejoice amidst their sufferings. The fact that one is persecuted for one's faith in Christ and hated for purely preaching about him, is a cause for joy because this testifies to the truth of the message one is preaching. Therefore the believers can feel comforted because they are not persecuted for their own sakes, but on account of Christ.⁷⁶⁵ Furthermore, Christians can stand above their afflictions and sufferings by faith because Christ, who is in them, stands as Victor above their tribulations.⁷⁶⁶ Thus they can leave their cause in the care of Christ. Luther affirms,

We shall commend this cause of His to Him; and we shall watch and see, happy and secure, who will win, Christ or they. According to the flesh, of course, we are sorry that they, our Ishmaelites, hate and persecute us so furiously. But according to the spirit, we boast of our afflictions, both because we know that we are not bearing them on account of our sins but are bearing them on account of Christ.⁷⁶⁷

4.6. Ministry

Ministry is the third most frequent concept in Luther's *Galatians* following the themes of justification and the law. There are discussions of ministry, not only at the beginning of the epistle dealing with Paul's calling as an apostle, but throughout the commentary. Naturally, Luther's comment on ministry in his *Galatians* does not provide a comprehensive treatment of all aspects of his total view on this subject. Nevertheless, a well rounded picture emerges in an analysis of Luther's comments on the notions of call to ministry, the authority and purity of the gospel, the task of ministry, the importance of fatherly tenderness and the concept of κενοδοξία (vainglory)⁷⁶⁸ in ministry.

⁷⁶⁴WA 40a.680.32-681.26, on Gal. 4.29.

⁷⁶⁵WA 40b.170.24-171.22, on Gal. 6.14.

⁷⁶⁶WA 40a.635.25-636.11, on Gal. 4.13-14.

⁷⁶⁷Nos hanc suam causam illi commendantes, laeti et securi interim erimus spectatores, visuri, utri vicerint, Christusne, an ipsi. Dolet quidem nobis secundum carnem, quod ipsi, Ismaelitae nostri, tam furenter nos oderunt et persequuntur, secundum spiritum tamen gloriamur in afflictionibus nostris, tum quia scimus eas nos ferre non propter peccata nostra, sed propter Christum. WA 40a.681.37-682.14, on Gal. 4.29.

⁷⁶⁸Luther refers to the actual Greek word κενοδοξία frequently in his treatment of the theme. See e.g. WA 40b.123.15-124.20, on Gal. 5.25, and WA 40b.147.31-148.25, on Gal. 6.4.

4.6.1. Call to Ministry

Luther distinguishes two types of calling to ministry. He maintains that God can assign persons to gospel ministry without means, through direct appointment, as he did in the case of Paul. The other type of calling comes by the mouth of the prince (mandatum Dei per os Principis), and is an appointment of God just as well as the direct call.⁷⁶⁹ This is maintained in opposition to ‘sectarians’ (Sectarii) who maintained that a private, instead of a public call was sufficient for ministry.

Luther explains another issue dealing with the call to ministry, the relationship between the Word and the genuineness of the call, in his exposition of Gal. 1.19 and 2.9.⁷⁷⁰ The authenticity of the call to ministry is a central issue, because the Word of the gospel is so important. Everything, Luther affirms, depends on the Word of the gospel. Luther asserts,

‘Thus the necessity of Paul’s ministry ... demanded that with a necessary and holy pride he should boast of his vocation and of the knowledge of the Gospel revealed to him by Christ. Then their consciences would be completely persuaded that Paul’s doctrine was the Word of God. Here Paul was dealing with a great and serious issue, namely, that all the churches might be preserved in sound doctrine. In short, the issue in the controversy was a matter of eternal life and death.’⁷⁷¹

Accordingly, in response to the objection of Porphyry, who argued that Paul was motivated by personal pride in defence of his calling, Luther affirms that Paul guarded the authenticity of his appointment for the sake of the Word, and not because of his own private concerns.⁷⁷²

4.6.2. Authority and Purity of the Gospel

The theme of the authority and purity of the gospel is one of the most important concepts relating to ministry in Luther’s *Galatians*. Although the theme is not always explicitly connected to ministers, it is self-evident from the subject at issue that this notion is focal to Luther’s view.

⁷⁶⁹See WA 40a.59.16-60.26, on Gal. 1.1. From Luther’s writings elsewhere, it is clear that he saw the appointment for the task of ministry as the task of the bishop. With no appointed bishop present, however, the prince of the land acted instead of the bishop and appointed ministers to their task. For further information and sources on this issue, see Beyer 1983: vol. I, 107-108, vol. II, 762.

⁷⁷⁰Luther identifies Paul’s human and divine appointment to ministry as the main theme in the beginning of the epistle to Galatians until Gal. 2.9. WA 40a.190.25-191.10, on Gal. 2.9.

⁷⁷¹Requirebat igitur necessitas ministerii Pauli et omnium Ecclesiarum, ut necessaria ac sancta superbia iactaret suam vocationem et revelationem Evangelii sibi a Christo factam, Ut certae redderentur conscientiae, Pauli doctrinam esse Dei verbum. Res hic magna et seria agebatur, nempe, ut omnes Ecclesiae conservarentur in sana doctrina. In summa, agebatur de vita et morte aeterna. Ablato enim puro et certo verbo non existit amplius consolatio, salus, vita etc. WA 40a.147.25-32, on Gal. 1.19.

⁷⁷²Ablato enim puro et certo verbo non existit amplius consolatio, salus, vita etc. Est ergo ibi hoc Pauli consilium, ut Ecclesias retineat in vera doctrina, non dimicat pro defendenda gloria sua, ut Porphyrius calumniatur. WA 40a.147.31-148.11, on Gal. 1.19.

Luther affirms that just as Paul's gospel is from God alone, the evangelical gospel is from God alone, and not from the pope.⁷⁷³ Further, being from God, the doctrine of the gospel has authority.

The authority of the gospel is closely connected to the notion of the purity of the gospel, which Luther sees as an issue of focal importance. One should strive with all one's might, by prayer and study of Scripture, to retain pure gospel teaching and doctrine.⁷⁷⁴ Doctrine is an area where no compromises can be made. Luther asserts,

Where faith is involved, there we should be invincible, inflexible, stubborn, and harder than adamant, if this were possible; ... The struggle is over the glory of God, the Word of God, the true worship of God, true religion, and the righteousness of faith—these things had to be and remain pure.⁷⁷⁵

That is why both Paul in his time and evangelical believers at Luther's time display holy pride when defending the purity of doctrine, because nothing is as important as this issue, namely, the Word of God, the truth of the gospel and in a special sense, the doctrine of justification.⁷⁷⁶ Luther summarises,

'In short, the issue in the controversy was a matter of eternal life and death. For once the pure and certain Word is taken away, there remains no consolation, no salvation, no life.'⁷⁷⁷

Compromises can be made in any other areas when, motivated by love, the believers yield and submit. However, when the question at issue is the gospel and its purity one should strongly reject all teaching threatening pure doctrine.⁷⁷⁸

4.6.3. Task of Ministry

The task of ministry, as discussed by Luther in his *Galatians*, relates primarily to two subjects, that of the preached Word and that of opposing false teachers.

⁷⁷³See WA 40a.145.18-24, on Gal. 1.17.

⁷⁷⁴See WA 40a.130.23-31, on Gal. 1.11-12.

⁷⁷⁵Secundum fidem autem oportet nos esse invictos, inflexibiles et pertinacissimos et, si possemus, duriores Adamante; Secundum charitatem vero molliores et flexibiliores omni arundine et folio et ad omnia obsequentes. Non ergo dimicatur hic de superbia, gloria et praegrogativa etc., ut in Papistis videmus. Sed certamen est de gloria Dei, de verbo Dei, vero cultu, religione et iustitia fidei, ut ista pura habeamus et conservemus. WA 40a.188.12-18, on Gal. 2.8.

⁷⁷⁶See WA 40a.171.32-172.25, on Gal. 2.6 and WA 40a.192.19-193.19, on Gal. 2.11. Leif Erikson affirms, in his analysis of authority and the means of grace (auktoritet och nådemedel) in Luther's *Galatians*, that for Luther, everything either 'stands or falls' with the maintaining or losing of the purity of the doctrine of justification. Erikson states, 'Vi har sett hur starkt Luther betonar artikeln om rättfärdiggörelsen i Stora galaterbrevskomentaren och hur allt står och faller med att den bevaras ren.' See Erikson 1994: 83-84.

⁷⁷⁷Res hic magna et seria agebatur, nempe, ut omnes Ecclesiae conservarentur in sana doctrina. In summa, agebatur de vita et morte aeterna. Ablato enim puro et certo verbo non existit amplius consolatio, salus, vita etc. WA 40a.147.29-32, on Gal. 1.18-19.

⁷⁷⁸See WA 40a.188.12-18, on Gal. 2.8.

Antti Elenius has drawn attention to Luther's distinction between the church as a 'mouth-house' and 'pen house' (Darumb ist die kirch eyn mundhaws, nit eyn fedderhaws) in his sermon in 1522, a distinction which closely relates to the focal role of the spoken Word for Luther in his *Galatians*.⁷⁷⁹ Luther delineates the central function of the preached Word in a short but pregnant passage in his comment on Gal. 4.19. Luther affirms that ministers function as spiritual parents for their congregation. Just as children are born to their physical parents, believers are born through the preached Word. The preachers, however, cannot accomplish this birth by mere words – instead, the work of the Holy Spirit, enabling the hearing of faith in the hearers is essential. Luther explains,

'For the Word proceeds from the mouth of the apostle and reaches the heart of the hearer; there the Holy Spirit is present and impresses that Word on the heart, so that it is heard. In this way every preacher is a parent, who produces and forms the true shape of the Christian mind through the ministry of the Word.'⁷⁸⁰

Other more practical issues relating to the preached Word include Luther's recommendation of illustrations and stories, which help the common people to remember and understand the gospel.⁷⁸¹ Another interesting aspect of Luther's comment is the fact that he extols the advantages of the preached Word as 'a Queen' (Regina) over the written word, which is 'a dead messenger' (mortuum

⁷⁷⁹Luther discusses the meaning of the word Bethphage, which in Greek means 'mouth-house' (mundhaws) and explains how until the time of Christ the Word had been hidden in the written form, but since His coming has been preached as a spoken Word. Luther states, 'Datzu stymmet das wortle Bethphage, wilchs auff deutsch, alss ettlich sagen, heyst mundhawss denn Paulus Ro. 1. sprickt, das Euangelium sey tzuvor ynn der heyiligen schriffit vorsprochen, aber es ward nit mundlich und offtelich predigt, biss das Christus kam and sandte die Apostelln auss. Darumb ist die kirch eyn mundhawss, nit eyn tedderhawss.' WA 10.1.2.48.1-5, Das Euangelium am ersten sontag des Advents Mathei .xxi, 1522. Elenius emphasises the fact that Luther sees God's Word, together with the Holy Spirit, as bearing the power in itself to arouse spiritual feelings, such as that of assurance of salvation. This Word is better heard through the spoken Word, although it is present in the written form as well. Elenius states, 'Vaikka lukijalta ja kuulijalta toisaalta edellytetään näitä kykyjä, ymmärtää Luther toisaalta elävän Sanan sellaiseksi, joka ikään kuin kantaa näitä tunteita synnyttävän voiman itsessään. Sana synnyttää ihmisessä paitsi hengelliset tunteet myös kyvyn kokea sellaisia tunteita.' ... Jumalan Sana on elävää myös kirjoitettuna, mutta se on tarkoitettu nimeomaan puhuttavaksi, jolloin sen ilmaiset tunteet ovat paremmin läsnä.' Elenius 2005: 114-115.

⁷⁸⁰Verbum enim procedit ex ore Apostoli et pertingit ad cor audientis; ibi Spiritussanctus adest et imprimat in cor illud verbum, ut sonat. Hoc modo omnis Doctor pius est parens, qui per ministerium verbi generat et format veram figuram Christiani animi. WA 40a.649.27-30, on Gal. 4.19. Luther further explains that there is a second sending of the Holy Spirit (the first took place at Pentecost), which occurs when a person hears the preached Word through faith. See WA 572.16-28, on Gal. 4.6.

⁷⁸¹See WA 40a.548.15-549.26, on Gal. 4.1-2. Luther also notes that common people love allegories, but their use is dangerous and can only be correctly used by those who already have a perfect knowledge of Christian doctrine. WA 40a.652.30-653.20, on Gal. 4.21.

nuntium), grounded in the fact that the spoken word can be adjusted to the needs of the hearers.⁷⁸²

One of the first references of Luther to ministry is his bemoaning of the fact that just one fanatical teacher can cause so much damage and cause many to fall from faith. Luther therefore accentuates the importance of being sharp against false teachers, especially because the erroneous teaching of false teachers strikes against the core issue, justification, through their imposed requirement of works as necessary in justification.⁷⁸³ Therefore ministers ought to do everything possible to keep those under their care from being misled.⁷⁸⁴

4.6.4. Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry

Luther affirms several times how important it is for the minister to demonstrate fatherly care in their work.⁷⁸⁵ Tenderness is especially necessary in dealing with the flock, the ordinary people of the church. However, false teachers of spurious doctrine, by way of contrast, are to be treated with sharpness and indignation.⁷⁸⁶

Even opponents of true and pure doctrine must not be treated with hatred, however. Luther comments on his sharpness against papists and Anabaptists,

‘Our rebukes are harsh too, and our pen vigorous. But our heart is certainly not bitter or envious or vindictive against our opponents. On the contrary, there is in us a godly agitation and sorrow of spirit. I do not hate papists and other erring spirits in such a way that I invoke evil upon them or wish

⁷⁸²Contra viva vox in comparatione ad Epistolam Regina est, quia potest demere et addere et sese vertere in omnes figuras et qualitates affectuum, temporum, locorum et personarum. WA 40a.652.14-16, on Gal. 4.20. See also the whole passage in WA 40a.651.21-652.28, on Gal. 4.20. However, this is not to be seen as indicating Luther’s rejection of the written Scripture in any sense. Rather, the gospel is more easily accepted when it is heard in the spoken form.

⁷⁸³See WA 40a.102.21-104.19, on Gal. 1.6 and WA 40a.110.28-113.26, on Gal. 1.7.

⁷⁸⁴Est et hic Rhetoricum exemplum, quod pius Pastor sollicitus esse debeat pro ovibus suis seque in omnia vertere, ut obiurgando, blandiendo, rogando etc. eas retineat in sana doctrina et a seductoribus abalienet. WA 40a.648.30-32, on Gal. 4.18.

⁷⁸⁵See e.g. WA 40a.100.17-102.19 and 40a.104.21-30, on Gal. 1.6, WA 40a.308.33-311.29, on Gal. 3.1, WA 40a.350.25-351.18, on Gal. 3.4, WA 40a.624.23-626.12, on Gal. 4.11-12 and WA 40b.138.21-144.13, on Gal. 6.1. In his MA thesis on the concept of hope in Luther’s 1531/35 commentary on Galatians, Koivisto pinpoints two differing functions of a minister in his shepherding role. First, the minister ought carefully to maintain doctrinal purity in his ministry, and second, the minister ought to act as a comforter, with fatherly tenderness, to those under his care. The Word of God and its promises are an important tool in comforting the weak. See Koivisto 2004: 81-88, 90-92

⁷⁸⁶In articulis fidei nihil parvum aut tenue nobis videri debet, quod remittere debeamus aut possimus. Remissio enim peccatorum pertinet ad infirmos in fide et moribus, qui agnoscunt peccatum et veniam petunt, non ad eversores doctrinae, qui non agnoscunt suum errorem et peccatum, sed hostiliter defendunt veritatem et iusticiam esse. WA 40b.138.12-16, on Gal. 6.1. Simul autem hic docet exemplo suo, Pastores et Episcopos paterno et materno animo affectos esse, non erga rapaces lupos, sed erga miseras, seductas et errantes oves, ut earum infirmitatem et lapsum patienter ferant et eas summa mansuetudine tractent. WA 40a.625.29-626.10, on Gal. 4.12. See also WA 40b.137.18-22, on Gal. 6.1, WA 40a.100.17-29, on Gal. 1.6 and WA 40a.116.26-28, on Gal. 1.7.

they would perish. No, I would wish that they would return to the way and be saved together with us.⁷⁸⁷

Accordingly, discipline is important in ministry, but it needs to originate from love and from a desire for the other person's benefit. As a father punishes his children for their good, and after punishment displays his continuing love for his offspring in a practical way by giving apples or pears to the child, so the minister ought to balance rebuke and discipline with soothing words.⁷⁸⁸ This principle is exhibited in the minister's care and kindness for the fallen. While one must rebuke the lapsed and the stubborn, all possible comfort is needed for those who grieve for their sins.⁷⁸⁹

4.6.5. *Κενοδοξία* (Vainglory) in Ministry

The last subject examined in reference to Luther's concept of ministry is his exposition of *κενοδοξία*, vainglory in ministry, which he expounds in some detail on Gal. 5.25-26, 6.3-5 and 6.11-13. Luther draws a contrast between genuine and vainglorious ministers. He affirms that the Holy Spirit is given through authentic gospel work while the ministry of those asserting their own glory is without the Spirit and without Christ, propagating righteousness through human works instead.⁷⁹⁰ While vainglorious ministers seek their own glory (*κενοδοξία*), true ministers look for God's approval and strive for his honour. The ministry which exalts the propagator leads to the formation of sects, while good order, sacraments and the honour of God's Word are preserved by humble, authentic ministry.⁷⁹¹ Both

⁷⁸⁷Est et nostra castigatio dura et stylus vehemens, sed profecto cor non est amarum, non invidum, non expetens vindictam de adversariis, Sed pia turbatio et dolor spiritus est in nobis. Non sic odi Papistas et alios erroneos spiritus, ut imprecer eis malum et cupiam eos perire, sed optarem potius eos redire in viam et una nobiscum salvari. WA 40a.630.18-22, on Gal. 4.12.

⁷⁸⁸WA 40a.630.23-632.29, on Gal. 4.12. See also WA 40a.648.30-32, on Gal. 4.18.

⁷⁸⁹Quare Pastores acriter quidem obiurgare debent lapsos, sed ubi viderint eos contristatos, incipiant erigere et consolari eos et peccata ipsorum, quantum possunt, extenuare, per misericordiam tamen, quam peccatis opponere debent, ne lapsi immodica tristitia absorbeantur. WA 40b.139.30-140.14, on Gal. 6.1. Luther contrasts the tender attitude of true pastors toward the fallen with the practice of the papacy, who, Luther affirms, place further burdens for those already terrified under their sin by requiring adherence to new ceremonial observances and by commending a feeling of guilt. See WA 40b.140.17-141.15, on Gal. 6.1.

⁷⁹⁰Lex enim sine Spiritu sancto non potest impleri. Sine Christo autem non accipitur Spiritus sanctus, quo non accepto manet Spiritus immundus, id est, contemnens Deum et quaerens suam gloriam. Ideo quicquid legis facit, hypocriticum est et duplex peccatum. Immundum enim cor non implet, sed foris tantum simulat se implere legem, atque ita fortius corroboratur in impietate et hypocrisi sua. WA 40b.168.15-20, on Gal. 6.13. See also the larger context in WA 40b.165.31-169.31, on Gal. 6.12-13.

⁷⁹¹Itaque omnibus modis hoc nobis praestandum est, ut 'Bonum nostrum', hoc est, ministerium verbi, Sacramenta etc., honore afficiamus, Item ut invicem alii aliis honorem habeant, auditores doctoribus et econtra, Juxta illud: 'Honore alii alios praevenientes.' WA 40b.130.23-26, on Gal. 5.25. Hic describit effectum inanis gloriae. Magister erroris et novi dogmatis autor non potest non provocare alios, qui si dogma ipsius non approbant et recipiunt, statim incipit eos acerbissime odisse. Vidimus nostra aetate, quam implacabili odio contra nos arserint Phanatici spiritus, quod ipsis cedere et eorum errores approbare noluimus. WA 40b.134.12-16, on Gal. 5.26. Luther proceeds to mention doctrines where these

true and illegitimate ministers have their own source for approval and boasting. The illegitimate ministers, being vainglorious, have their boast in what is external and in what is of human origin, seeking praise from other people's mouths and delighting in 'the applause of the crowd' (plausum vulgi).⁷⁹² By way of contrast, the genuine minister has his boast on the inside, in a good testimony of his own conscience, when he knows he has performed his task honestly, sincerely and well. Luther affirms,

'Thus one who carries out his office correctly and faithfully does not care what the world says about him, he does not care whether it praises him or blames him. He has his boast within himself, which is the testimony of his conscience and a boasting in God.'⁷⁹³

4.7. Other Concepts

The purpose of this section on other concepts in Luther's *Galatians* is briefly to outline other themes, which could have been treated in a section of their own. They were not major themes in the commentaries as a whole, however. Nevertheless, they are treated as principal notions in some parts of Luther's commentary. The treatments here are very succinct, in the form of a brief summarising analysis of some of the central ideas on each of the subjects.

The other concepts identified in Luther's *Galatians* differ from those sketched for Calvin's *Galatians* which also reflects some specific emphases of the two reformers. For instance, the concepts of the devil and the theology of hope are treated in relative detail only in Luther's commentary while the notions on interpretation of Scripture, human depravity and God's providence are of more importance for Calvin's view.⁷⁹⁴ Nevertheless, in case a specific theme is treated only in reference to Luther or Calvin's *Galatians*, some aspects of the

false teachers (Anabaptists) have gone astray, including sacraments, original sin and the oral Word. WA 40b.134.17-26, on Gal. 5.26.

⁷⁹²Est autem hoc proprium eorum, qui κενοδοξία laborant, quod prorsus nihil curant, an opus, id est, ministerium suum, purum sit nec ne, sed id unicum spectant, ut plausum vulgi acquirant. WA 40b.148.18-20, on Gal. 6.4. See also WA 40b.20-30, on Gal. 6.4.

⁷⁹³Quare qui recte et fideliter administraverit officium suum, nihil curat, quid mundus de se loquatur, non curat, sive laudet sive vituperet eum, sed habet gloriam in semetipso, quae est testimonium conscientiae et gloria in Deo. WA 40b.149.32-35, on Gal. 6.4. Luther adds that genuine ministry is not perfect, and stands in need of forgiveness. Nevertheless, the minister can and still ought to have a good conscience knowing his task has been conscientiously and well performed. See WA 40b.154.25-155.25, on Gal. 6.5.

⁷⁹⁴This is not to say that there is nothing significant Luther says on interpretation of Scripture, human depravity and God's providence in his commentary or that Calvin does not mention ideas connected to his view regarding the devil or the concept of hope in his *Galatians*. They do treat these themes, but in proportionately much less detail than the other reformer.

corresponding theme in the other reformer's commentary are briefly outlined in a footnote.⁷⁹⁵

4.7.1. Church

There are several interesting aspects of Luther's concept of the church, which he briefly alludes to in his commentary. For instance, Luther comments on the reason why Paul identified the Galatian believers as a church despite the fact that they had fallen away from the gospel. Luther explains that they were nevertheless called a church because the gospel, the authentic call to ministry, baptism and the name of Christ still continued among them despite their adherence to new false teachings.⁷⁹⁶ On similar lines, Luther rejects the notion suggested by scholastics and monks who saw the church as perfect and holy. Luther instead asserts that the church, as well as an individual believer, is righteous and sinner at the same time (*sancta, tamen simul peccatrix*).⁷⁹⁷

Further aspects of Luther's notion of the church can be identified in his comments on Gal. 3.28, 4.26-27 and 5.19. Luther affirms, in the context of the doctrine of two kingdoms (the spiritual kingdom of the church as distinct from the secular kingdom of the civil society),⁷⁹⁸ that in contrast to the world, where there are social differences, in the church all believers are one. The same benefits, the Spirit, gospel, faith, baptism, Father and Christ, belong to all, including even infants in their midst. In the world, by way of contrast, the difference in outward positions ought to be maintained.⁷⁹⁹ Another aspect of Luther's concept of the church in his *Galatians* is the fact that the church is unseen in its character. Its true location is in heaven by faith. The true church is therefore 'invisible, dwelling in the Spirit'

⁷⁹⁵See footnotes 502 and 509 in sections 4.7.2. and 4.7.3. for an indication of the nature of Calvin's comment on the devil and the theme of hope and footnotes 1005, 1028 and 1033 under sections 5.6.1, 5.6.5 and 5.6.6 for a brief summary of Luther's comment on interpretation of Scripture, human depravity and God's providence.

⁷⁹⁶Manet in Romana urbe, quanquam Sodoma et Gomorra peiore, Baptismus, Sacramentum, Vox et textus Evangelii, Sacra scriptura, Ministeria, nomen Christi, nomen Dei. Qui habent, habent qui non habent, non sunt excusati, Thesaurus enim est ibi. ... Licet igitur Galatae subversi fuerunt, tamen mansit apud eos Baptismus, Verbum, nomen Christi etc. ... Quare Ecclesia sancta est, etiam ubi phanatici spiritus regnant, modo ipsi non negent Verbum et Sacramenta. Negantes enim ea non sunt Ecclesia. WA 40a.69.23-27, 70.23-24, 71.29-21, on Gal. 1.2. For the larger context, see WA 40a.68.25-71.28, on Gal. 1.2.

⁷⁹⁷Hoc dico contra monstrosa praeconia et laudes quibus stulti Sophistae et Monachi ornauerunt Sanctos, et dixerunt Ecclesiam sic sanctam esse, quod omnino sine peccato sit. Est quidem Ecclesia sancta, tamen simul peccatrix est. WA 40a.197.21-24, on Gal. 2.11.

⁷⁹⁸According to the doctrine of two kingdoms relating to the church vs. secular society, these two are distinct kingdoms with different purposes. The task of the church is spiritual and connected with the gospel while the duty of society is to maintain civil order. The two ought not to be confused or united with one another. There is also another sense in which one may identify a doctrine of two kingdoms in Luther, namely, a contrast drawn between the kingdom of God in contrast to the kingdom of the devil. This theme, however, is not at issue here.

⁷⁹⁹WA 40a.544.34-545.23, on Gal. 3.28.

(invisibilis, habitans in Spiritu),⁸⁰⁰ and is scattered throughout the world wherever the Word of the gospel, sacraments, faith and the Spirit reign. Living by faith, the true church is an offence to the world, because it denies any saving value to good works. In doctrine, it is characterised by Christian liberty and freedom from righteousness by works, and in daily life it is set apart by the fact that it continues in faithfulness to its calling, practising spiritual gifts, and being kept by the Spirit from fleshly desires. The false church, by way of contrast, is a church, which, as in sorcery, fascinates and misleads people from the pure gospel by a show of its outwardly impressive deeds.⁸⁰¹

4.7.2. Doctrine of the Devil

Luther discusses the influence and the work of the devil in some detail in his exposition of Galatians 3.1, focusing on the concept of bewitchment (*fascinum*).⁸⁰² Luther affirms that the whole world with all its people is under the power of the devil.⁸⁰³ While Luther asserts the reality of the power of witchcraft and its deluding influence, he is no dualist. Luther clearly recognises God as greater than the devil. The believer can counteract the devil's influence by being armed with the Word of God and with faith, and by not trusting in one's own strength, but in Christ. Luther asserts,

‘Look, Satan has tempted us before and has urged us with his plots to lose faith, despise God, and despair. Yet he has not accomplished anything, and he will not accomplish anything. He who is in us is greater than he who is

⁸⁰⁰Recte igitur fatemur in Simbolo, Nos credere Ecclesiam Sanctam. Est enim invisibilis, habitans in Spiritu, in loco ‘inaccessibili’, ideo non potest videri eius sanctitas. WA 40b.106.19-21, on Gal. 5.19.

⁸⁰¹See WA 40a.663.29-664.26, on Gal. 4.26 and 40b.106.19-107.21, on Gal. 5.19.

⁸⁰²WA 40a.313.25-324.22, on Gal. 3.1. Calvin, for his part, occasionally refers to the devil or Satan, but does not treat the subject in any detail. Examples of Satan's work in Calvin's discussion can be seen in the division caused on the issue of the Lord's Supper, the papal rejection of assurance of faith, the departure of the allegorical interpretation from the plain meaning of Scripture and the reluctance of people to support godly ministers while giving plenty to Satan's ministers. See COR 16.32, on Gal. 2.2; COR 16.95, on Gal. 4.6; COR 16.106, on Gal. 4.22 and COR 16.141, on Gal. 6.6. Calvin explains that Satan deceives people, often leading astray indirectly and through false teaching instead of overthrowing the whole gospel. See COR 16.7, Argumentum; COR 16.22, on Gal. 1.10; COR 16.59, on Gal. 3.1; COR 16.65, on Gal. 3.6; COR 16.103, on Gal. 4.17; COR 16.122, on Gal. 5.9; COR 16.128, on Gal. 5.15 and COR 16.137, on Gal. 6.1. However, God has saved his people from the power of ‘sin, Satan and death’. Quia [Christus] vim Legis abrogavit, quatenus Dei iudicio nos tenebat obnoxios sub reatu aeternae mortis; quia denique a tyrannide peccati, Satanae, et mortis nos asseruit. See COR 16.115, on Gal. 5.1. It appears that there is evident similarity in the foundational concept of Luther and Calvin regarding the devil. Both assert the reality of the devil and his activity both in the world and through false doctrines in the church, yet firmly trust in God's power over him. Nevertheless, there is a clear difference in the emphasis each reformer places on the theme. For Luther the theme of the devil is more central than for Calvin - one would not expect to find a scholarly work describing Calvin as ‘the man between God and the devil’, for instance. Luther, however, has been identified in this way by Heiko Oberman in his fairly recent biography of Luther. See Oberman 1989b.

⁸⁰³Negari enim non potest, quin Diabolus vivat, imo regnet in toto mundo. WA 40a.314.14-15, on Gal. 3.1.

in the world. Christ is stronger; He has overcome, is overcoming, and will overcome that strong man in us.⁸⁰⁴

Luther further distinguishes physical witchcraft from spiritual witchcraft. Physical witchcraft (*fascino corporali*) is the direct form of witchcraft, which creates an external illusion, exemplified for instance by someone's body being debilitated by sorcery. This is, however, the crude form (*crasso modo*) of how Satan leads people astray.⁸⁰⁵ Spiritual witchcraft (*fascino spirituali*), originating from the white, disguised devil, is more dangerous, because it deceives on the inside. Spiritual sorcery is again of two forms, the first in the form of false doctrine such as the doctrines of Münzer, Zwingli, the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians.⁸⁰⁶ The second type of spiritual sorcery is personal in character, referring to those whom the devil has led either to pride or to discouragement. The proud have been deceived to trust in their own righteousness while the discouraged are those from whom the devil has obscured their hope in Christ.⁸⁰⁷

Luther nevertheless sees also a positive role for the temptations of the devil in Christian life. The temptations train the Christian to remain faithful in pure doctrine and also impel them to put their faith in Christ, and in his victory over Satan.⁸⁰⁸

4.7.3. Theology of Hope

Luther discusses hope and its relationship to faith in some detail in his exposition of Gal. 5.5.⁸⁰⁹ Luther distinguishes hope as a thing hoped for (*pro re sperata*) from

⁸⁰⁴Ecce antea quoque tentavit et insidiis suis sollicitavit nos Satan ad incredulitatem, contemptum dei, desperationem, et tamen nihil effecit, — ideo neque in posterum aliquid efficiet; Maior enim est in nobis quam qui in mundo est; Christus fortior est qui illum fortem in nobis vicit, vincit et vincet. WA 40a.318.19-23, on Gal. 3.1.

⁸⁰⁵Having just concluded the section where Luther deals with direct witchcraft, he states, Non solum autem hoc crasso modo, sed etiam subtiliore eoque magis periculoso dementat homines Ibi praecipue est optimus artifex. WA 40a.316.21-22, on Gal. 3.1. For the section dealing with direct witchcraft, see WA 40a.313.28-316.20, on Gal. 3.1.

⁸⁰⁶Hoc modo fascinavit nostro tempore Muntzerum, Cinglium et alios per quos alios innumerabiles fascinavit. WA 40a.317.19-20, on Gal. 3.1. See also WA 40a.317.16-20, on Gal. 3.1.

⁸⁰⁷WA 40a.317.21-36, on Gal. 3.1.

⁸⁰⁸WA 40a.318.12-25, on Gal. 3.1. Tulisalo has dealt with the doctrine of the devil in Luther's commentary on Galatians 1531/35 in his MA thesis from 1979. As Mannermaa in his evaluation of the work affirms, Tulisalo's thesis is a solid piece of work (see the last page of the thesis for the review), despite some minor weaknesses. The work gives a good overall picture of the total context of the doctrine of the devil in Luther's commentary. The alleged dualism of Luther's theology of God and the devil, the hidden work of God through the devil, the rulership of the devil over fallen humans and the victory of Christ, the gospel and the preached Word of the gospel over the devil, are each briefly and interestingly delineated. See Tulisalo 1979. Tulisalo's work includes also a helpful listing of research relating to this rarely discussed theme of Luther's (pp. 76-79). See also section 5.2. in Koivisto 2004 for another brief discussion on the doctrine of the devil in Luther's *Galatians*.

⁸⁰⁹Calvin, for his part, does not treat the subject of hope in any greater detail in his commentary although the word hope (*spe*) itself is mentioned several times. Therefore one cannot identify any specific concept of a theology of hope in Calvin's commentary as compared to that of Luther. Nevertheless, Calvin makes

hope as feeling (*pro affectu sperante*).⁸¹⁰ As a thing hoped for (*pro re sperata*), hope refers to the fact that the righteousness of the believers is perceived in hope. This righteousness is not yet seen, since perfect righteousness (or justification) awaits the believer only in heaven. Thus, in line with the concept of *simul iustus et peccator* the believers are still imperfect but can nevertheless have hope (*pro affectu sperante*) because they can rely on Christ and his righteousness on their behalf.⁸¹¹

Most of Luther's discussion on hope focuses on hope as feeling, an interpretation which Luther prefers over faith as a thing hoped for (*pro re sperata*), because the former (*pro affectu sperante*) 'brings more abundant comfort'.⁸¹² The relationship between faith and hope is important in this context. Hope and faith overlap somewhat, but nevertheless Luther sees a clear difference between the two. While faith is the theologian and the judge, perceiving right knowledge and teaching correctly, hope is a captain against despair, bringing comfort and peace in the Spirit, exhorting the Christian. Similarly, while faith is prudence, hope is fortitude and whereas faith is dialectic, hope is rhetoric, representing the perceiving function of faith and the encouraging purpose of hope.⁸¹³ Luther elucidates,

a brief application after an exegetical comment on the phrase 'spem iusticiae expectamus' in Gal. 5.5 (the instance which led Luther to discuss the theology of hope). Calvin notes that the phrase *spem iusticiae expectamus* refers to the believers' confidence on a certain object. Calvin sees it likely that there is an exhortation intended in this phrase for fortitude in expecting righteousness to be received by faith. COR 16.118, on Gal. 5.5. A brief delineation of some of Calvin's other comments on hope is included below.

Hope of salvation is strengthened by seeing God as our loving Father. COR 16.66, on Gal. 3.6. This hope is to be grounded on God's mercy, not works or the law. COR 16.50, on Gal. 2.15; COR 16.66, on Gal. 3.7 and COR 16.87, on Gal. 3.28. Hope of eternal life, on the other hand, is enjoyed by Christians since they have God as their Father, and believers ought to place more of their hope in the blessed immortality awaiting them at the end. COR 16.66, on Gal. 3.6 and COR 16.142, on Gal. 6.7. Also, Calvin reminds his readers that it is important that hope and patience are exercised by Christians. COR 16.144, on Gal. 6.9.

However, in Calvin's *Institutio* 1543/45 one can find Calvin discussing the relationship between hope and faith in more detail. The concepts Calvin introduces there are similar to Luther's though much briefer and less comprehensive than in Luther's *Galatians*. See CO 1.5.37 for further detail.

⁸¹⁰Spes usu Scripturae dupliciter accipitur, pro re sperata et pro affectu sperante. WA 40b.23.27-28, on Gal. 5.5..

⁸¹¹WA 40b.23.27-25.18, on Gal. 5.5.

⁸¹²Utraque sententia bona est, sed prior de affectu sperante uberiorem affert consolationem. WA 40b.25.19-20, on Gal. 5.5.

⁸¹³ Luther further instructs that one ought not to consult one's own heart but the Word of God as grounds for one's hope. WA 40b.32.25-30, on Gal. 5.5. A more detailed description of hope in Luther's commentary on Galatians can be found in two MA theses written on the theme at Helsinki University (Nivala 1992, Koivisto 2004). Nivala focuses on concepts connecting to hope, first on the law leading humans to despair, and second on faith in Christ and in God's promise, which lay the groundwork for hope. The last section of Nivala's work (chapter 4) describes Luther's theology of hope outlining a) hope as a thing hoped for and hope as a feeling (*pro re sperata*, *pro affectu sperante*), b) the difference between hope and faith, c) hope as a fighting entity, which defends and sustains faith and d) the relationship of hope to love, especially relating to the end of faith and hope when love is perfected in the life to come. See Nivala 1992. Koivisto, in his more detailed study on Luther's theology of hope in his *Galatians*,

‘Therefore faith is like dialectic, which conceives the idea of all the things that are to be believed; and hope is like rhetoric, which develops, urges, persuades, and exhorts to steadiness, so that faith does not collapse in temptation but keeps the Word and holds firmly to it.’⁸¹⁴

4.7.4. Lord’s Supper

Luther discusses the theme of the Lord’s Supper⁸¹⁵ at some length on two occasions (on Gal. 5.9-10, 6.1).⁸¹⁶ On each occasion the main theme is purity of doctrine.

Luther makes a distinction between doctrine and faith on the one hand and life and love on the other (on Gal. 5.9).⁸¹⁷ The distinction is slightly differently termed in Luther’s exposition of Gal. 6.1 where he contrasts concord of faith and Spirit (concordiam fidei seu Spiritus) with concord of life and love (concordiam vitae, charitatis concordiam).⁸¹⁸ Luther responds with this distinction to the complaint by ‘Sacramentarians’ (Sacramentarii) that the followers of Luther (or Luther himself) are dividing Christian concord by their insistence on their particular view of the doctrine on the Eucharist.⁸¹⁹ Luther asserts, however, that doctrine and faith must be kept absolutely pure and free from all error, or otherwise

focuses a) on the difference between hope and faith, b) on hope as a feeling (‘affekti’), c) on hope seen in the context of Luther’s anthropology and d) on hope in the counselling function of a minister. Koivisto’s work contains some interesting insights. For instance, there is correspondence between Luther’s emphasis on faith as the right understanding of doctrine vs. hope as comfort and Luther’s stress on true ministry as a) maintaining the right doctrine (function of faith) and b) being tender to the weak and fallen (function of hope). Thus, maintaining both pure faith on the one hand and engendering hope in one’s flock through God’s promises on the other, connect in a vital way to the work of the minister (Koivisto 2004: 84-88). Both Nivala and Koivisto’s works also highlight Luther’s theology of hope as important in view of the *Anfechtungen* of the believer. Perhaps Luther stresses hope much more than Calvin in his commentary precisely because hope found from God’s promises is so important in the struggles and tribulations the believers experience, a theme present in a significant way only in Luther.

⁸¹⁴Fides igitur est Dialectica, quae concipit ideam omnium credendorum, Spes Rhetorica, quae amplificat, urget, persuadet et exhortatur ad constantiam, ne fides in tentatione succumbat, sed retineat verbum et firmiter ille adhaereat. WA 40b.28.12-14, on Gal. 5.5. See also WA 40b.25.27-30.16, on Gal. 5.5.

⁸¹⁵For the larger context of Luther’s doctrine on the Eucharist and its context in reference to Gabriel Biel’s corresponding view, see Cleve 1968. While recognizing there is much continuity between Luther’s doctrine of the Eucharist and that of Gabriel Biel, especially in terms of Christ’s real presence in the sacrament, Cleve posits that Luther’s specific teachings on ‘word, faith and justification’ intimately associated with the Lord’s Supper nevertheless do not ‘allow us to consider him a nominalist.’ Cleve 1968: 399.

⁸¹⁶An interesting parallel discussion is found in Luther’s exposition of Gal. 3.27, where Luther briefly addresses the concept of baptism. Baptism, according to Luther, is a powerful event, in which Christ is put on the infant, and where the new birth and regeneration take place. What Christ has the infant therefore has, in opposition to the concept according to which baptism is merely a symbol of entrance to the Christian community. For further discussion on Luther’s view of baptism, and for a selection of Luther’s writings on baptism, see Huovinen 1991a and 1991b.

⁸¹⁷WA 40b.45.23-46.28, on Gal. 5.9.

⁸¹⁸WA 40b.136.28-31, on Gal. 6.1.

⁸¹⁹WA 40b.45.23-46.28, on Gal. 5.9.

both the Holy Spirit and the purity of doctrine are lost. A little philosophical error ‘is very great at the end’ (*fine est maximus*).⁸²⁰ In life, however, love, concord and mildness ought to reign.⁸²¹ Therefore Luther maintains that as soon as the Sacramentarians are ready to return to right doctrine, (implying an acceptance of the doctrine of Christ’s bodily presence in the Eucharist), Christian concord can take place and Lutherans will demonstrate loving regard for them. However, as long as the Sacramentarians are not ready to do this, Luther asserts that the Sacramentarians are to be regarded as condemned and excommunicated since they regard the doctrine of the Lord’s Supper as an uncertain issue, and thus do violence to Christ’s words.⁸²²

⁸²⁰ Ad hoc ipsorum argumentum respondemus cum Paulo: ‘Modicum fermenti totam massam corrumpit’. In *Philosophia modicus error in principio in fine est maximus*. Sic in *Theologia modicus error totam doctrinam evertit*. WA 40b.46.16-19, on Gal. 5.9.

⁸²¹ WA 40b.46.21-24, on Gal. 5.9 and WA 40b.51.28-52.25, on Gal. 5.10. Luther maintains that doctrine is like a mathematical point, which cannot be divided. Life, however, is like a physical point, which can always be divided. *Est enim doctrina instar Mathematici puncti, non potest igitur dividi, hoc est, neque ademptionem neque additionem ferre potest. Contra vita, quae est instar Physici puncti, semper dividi, semper aliquid concedere potest*. WA 40b.46.25-28, on Gal. 5.9.

⁸²² WA 40b.47.22-34, on Gal. 5.9 and WA 40b.136.20-137.34, on Gal. 6.1.

5. Substantial Concepts in Calvin's *Commentary on Galatians*

Calvin's analysis of Galatians appears very compact in comparison to Luther's commentary, where there is ample material for an analysis of his theology. Nevertheless, Calvin addresses the substantial themes of his *Galatians* in sufficient detail for an examination.

Similar to the approach taken with Luther's *Galatians*, there is no single overarching viewpoint under which we could present Calvin's theology in his *Galatians*. That is why the various substantial concepts of Calvin's *Galatians* have been treated each in turn, as in the previous section.

As there are only three publications found in the literature search which deal specifically with Calvin's *Galatians*,⁸²³ each of them is briefly introduced (differing from the consideration of only the most relevant works preceding that of Luther's commentary). The four publications which compare some aspects of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* are not again reviewed here as they were briefly outlined in the introduction (section 1.1.).

Introduction to Chapter 5 – Previous Research on Calvin's Galatians

Peter and Gilmont's *Bibliotheca Calviniana: Les oeuvres de Jean Calvin publiées au XVIe siècle: I. Écrits théologiques, littéraires et juridiques 1532-1554*, in addition to giving precise information on extant manuscripts of Calvin's commentary, includes a delineation of about a page of the history of the writing of Calvin's *Galatians*. Thus their study has been helpful for the section of this study (2.1) dealing with the historical background of Calvin's commentary.⁸²⁴ Understandably, their work does not deal with the theological content of the commentary.

Faber's article 'The Influence of Erasmus' *Annotationes* on Calvin's Galatians Commentary' examines issues relating to exegesis and translation focusing primarily on the question of the extent to which Calvin follows Erasmus' translations of the Greek to Latin in his commentary. Faber's article was helpful for the introductory sections of this paper dealing with translation (2.2.1)

⁸²³See Peter and Gilmont 1991. Additionally, Louis Goumaz' two books, *La Doctrine du Salut d'Après les Commentaires de Jean Calvin sur le Nouveau Testament* (1917) and *Timothée ou le Ministère Évangélique d'après Calvin et ses Commentaires sur le Nouveau Testament* (1948) occasionally refer to Calvin's *Galatians* as they discuss Calvin's concept of salvation (Goumaz 1917) and ministry (Goumaz 1948) in his commentaries on the New Testament. However, there is no specific treatment of these concepts in Calvin's *Galatians* in particular. Some other works may occasionally refer to Calvin's *Galatians* as well, but not as the main focus. See e.g. Holder 2006: 230, 256, where Holder, in his analysis on Calvin as a commentator of Paul, makes a passing reference to the time of the writing of Calvin's commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians.

⁸²⁴See also footnote 58 under section 2.1. for a discussion on the date of the composition of Galatians where Peter and Gilmont's work is also discussed briefly.

and Calvin's references to Erasmus in his *Galatians* (2.4.3.3). However, as Faber's focus is not the theology of Calvin's *Galatians*, it is not examined any further in this context.⁸²⁵

Feld's *Einleitung* to vol. 16 of *Ioannis Calvini Opera Exegetica* includes a helpful introduction not only to the sources Calvin used, and the hermeneutic of his commentary, but also to the theology of his *Galatians*. The principal limitation of Feld's introduction for the purposes of this study is the fact that Feld's comment does not discuss Calvin's *Galatians* specifically but relates generally to the group of his commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians.⁸²⁶ Bearing this in mind, some aspects of Feld's introduction relating to the theology of Calvin's *Galatians* are outlined.

Due to constraints of space, only Feld's choice of substantial concepts, not their content, is discussed here. Feld notes in his introduction that his purpose is to introduce some representative aspects of the theology of the four commentaries of Calvin, which makes his choice of concepts interesting in comparison to this study.⁸²⁷ Feld's treatment includes a consideration of righteousness by faith,⁸²⁸ election, Calvin's theology of the cross and suffering (Passions- und Kreuzestheologie Calvins) and ecclesiology. Feld's treatment on righteousness by faith includes aspects of several themes relating to faith, the notion of merit, the relationship between the Old and New Testaments, the first use of the law (*usus elencticus legis*) and human depravity. Feld's discussion on Calvin's method and hermeneutic also includes an additional consideration of biblical interpretation, and interestingly, ministry.⁸²⁹ Out of these themes, the ones on righteousness by faith, ecclesiology, ministry and interpretation of Scripture, are referenced by Feld specifically to Calvin's *Galatians* in a significant way.⁸³⁰ It is

⁸²⁵See Faber 2004.

⁸²⁶Originally, Calvin's commentaries on Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians and Colossians were published as one commentary in 1548.

⁸²⁷Having stated that Calvin highlights many of his foundational theological ideas in these commentaries, Feld states, 'Einige davon sollen im folgenden kurz skizziert werden.' See Feld 1992: xxxii. Thus he does not necessarily attempt to identify all of the substantial concepts of the commentaries, but instead, points to some examples of the substantial concepts.

⁸²⁸Feld refers to the subject he discusses (referenced to Calvin's discussion on Galatians 3) as 'faith, righteousness by faith and the relationship between faith and works'. He states, 'Mit seiner Auffassung des Glaubens, der Gerechtigkeit aus dem Glauben, des Verhältnisses von Glauben und Werken, wie er sie insbesondere im Zusammenhang der Erläuterung des dritten Kapitels des Galaterbriefes darlegt, steht Calvin auf dem gemeinsamen Boden reformatorischer Theologie.' See Feld 1992: xxxii.

⁸²⁹See Feld 1992: xxix-xxxii. This is connected to Calvin's hermeneutic in that his commentary is intended for ministers in their service of the Word. Feld states, 'Calvin bei der Abfassung seiner Kommentare vor allem an die "Diener des Wortes", die Pastoren und Doktoren, gedacht hat' (Feld 1992: xxix).

⁸³⁰Feld identifies the themes of election and the theology of the cross and suffering (Passions – und Kreuzestheologie Calvins) primarily within Calvin's commentaries on Ephesians (election) and Philippians (theology of the cross and suffering), and to a lesser extent, within his commentary on Galatians. See Feld 1992: xxxv-xxxix.

noteworthy that each of Feld's references to *Galatians* within his discussion on ecclesiology relates to the relationship between the Old and New Testaments.

Comparing Feld's choice of substantial concepts to those highlighted by this study, it becomes evident that those of justification and ministry, and to some extent, the law and the relationship between the Old and New Testaments correspond to the themes identified by Feld. On the other hand, those of the work of the Holy Spirit (especially with regards to the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh) and the notion of good works, which according to this study are themes of significance within Calvin's *Galatians*, are not singled out in Feld's introduction, probably partly due to the fact that Feld's brief treatment does not address Calvin's *Galatians* specifically.

As Peter and Gilmonts' and Faber's works do not address Calvin's theology and Feld's examination does not focus specifically on Calvin's *Galatians*, it seems therefore especially important to analyse the substantial concepts of Calvin's commentary. As far as I am aware, the examination below, despite its limitations, represents the most comprehensive treatment to date on the specific theology of Calvin's *Galatians*.⁸³¹ Some aspects of the theology of Calvin's *Galatians* have been discussed in Hesselink's article comparing his and Luther's commentaries, and to a more limited sense, in Parker's, Noordegraaf's and Engel's works,⁸³² but other than these publications, the theology of Calvin's commentary on Galatians has not yet been studied in greater detail.

The themes presented below are in a roughly thematic order, while the significance of these concepts to Calvin's commentary is also taken into account. Thus, the theme of Christian liberty is discussed before the theme of the law and gospel in distinction to Luther's *Galatians* where law and gospel was discussed first. Calvin's concept of ministry is discussed last, however, because this seems better thematically despite the fact that Calvin gives clearly more attention to it than to the subjects of the law, good works and the Holy Spirit.

⁸³¹My search for works on Calvin's *Galatians* included D. Alfredus Erichson's (ed.) *Bibliographia Calviniana: Catalogus chronologicus operum Calvini* (lists all works dealing with Calvin from Calvin's lifetime to year 1900), Wilhelm Niesel's *Calvin - Bibliographie 1901-1959* (1961), Pierre Fraenkel's 'Petit supplément aux bibliographies calviniennes 1901-1963' (1971), D. Kempf's, *A Bibliography of Calviniana 1959-1974* (1975), and the subsequent yearly bibliographies available in the Calvin Theological Journal, up to and including year 2006.

⁸³²Parker's work is limited due to the fact that he focuses on Calvin's method of interpretation rather than theology, while Hesselink's and especially Noordegraaf's analyses of Calvin's *Galatians* are limited due to their brevity. Engels' work is limited due to the fact that he treats all of Calvin's commentaries on Paul, not only his *Galatians*. See Parker 1963, Engels 1967, Hesselink 1984 and Noordegraaf 1989. See also the section on previous research in the introduction.

5.1. Justification

The concept of justification is clearly the most important theme in Calvin's *Galatians*. When discussing justification, Calvin most often treats it in contrast to the opposing notion of justification by works.⁸³³ Differing somewhat from Luther, Calvin lays greater emphasis on the relationship between the Old and New Testaments. The role of Christ in justification and gospel and law are further notions treated by Calvin.

Again, it needs to be borne in mind that the division into themes below is at times somewhat arbitrary. Just as in Luther's *Galatians*, the theme of gospel and law, for instance, could have covered much of the material treated elsewhere. However, the limit was here drawn on those occasions where Calvin, in one way or another, draws a contrast between the law and the gospel.⁸³⁴

5.1.1. Justification by Faith, not Works

In preparation for the writing of this section, it seemed that it might be easiest to discuss Calvin's concept of justification by faith by focusing on his view of the Reformation 'solus', *solus Christus, sola gratia, sola fide, solus Deus, solum promissum Deum*⁸³⁵ in a somewhat similar way to that of H. Robert Santmire in his article on Calvin's concept of justification in his commentary on Romans.⁸³⁶ However, it appears that this would not do full justice to Calvin's treatment of the subject in his *Galatians* and would end up neglecting certain important aspects of his exposition. Thus, after remarks on the concept of justification by faith, not works, the notion of human righteousness in contrast to Christ's righteousness is examined, followed by a brief analysis of Calvin's delineation of the notion of faith in Gal. 3.6-11.

In the first part of his commentary (*Argumentum epistolae*), Calvin names justification a fundamental article, since it deals with the method of obtaining salvation, the most important of all matters.⁸³⁷ Already in this connection, Calvin

⁸³³ Calvin sees that Paul is 'continually employed in contrasting' (*perpetua opponit*) the righteousness of the law and God's free acceptance. Calvin states, 'Deinde iustitia Legis gratuitam acceptionem, qua nos dignatur Deus, perpetuo opponit.' COR 16.49, on Gal. 2.15.

⁸³⁴ For instance, the theme of the gospel and law in Calvin's *Galatians* has been discussed in some detail by Hesselink. He includes much of the subject matter treated here under the heading of justification into his discussion of gospel and law. See Hesselink 1984: 71-79.

⁸³⁵ All the above named 'solus' can be identified, for instance, in the passage in COR 16.63-71, on Gal. 3.6-14.

⁸³⁶ See Santmire 2004: 298-304.

⁸³⁷ At Paulus tanquam de primario Christianae fidei capite dimicat. Neque immerito. Non enim leve malum est suffocari Euangelii claritatem, laqueum iniici conscientiis, tolli discrimen Veteris et Novi testamenti. Videbat praeterea his erroribus coniunctam quoque esse impiam et perniciosam opinionem promerendae iustitiae. Haec causa est, cur tanta vehementia et contentione depugnet. Nos quoque admoniti, quam gravis et seria disputatio hic tractetur. COR 16.6, Argumentum.

notes that justification takes place by grace, not works.⁸³⁸ In contradistinction to Santmire's accentuation of predestination in Calvin's view of justification in his commentary on Romans,⁸³⁹ there does not seem to be any general emphasis on God's predestination and election in Calvin's presentation of justification in his *Galatians*. This is despite the fact Calvin occasionally, though not frequently, alludes to the theme.⁸⁴⁰

Calvin does not accept any kind of notion of what he terms 'half-justification' (*dimidia iustitia*) ascribed to papists.⁸⁴¹ Justification takes place either by faith or by the law. The way Paul explains justification is exclusive and since justification is by faith, it cannot be through the law. Calvin affirms,

'Let it therefore remain settled that this proposition is exclusive, that we are justified in no other way than by faith, or, nothing but faith justifies, or, which comes to the same thing, that we are justified but by faith alone.'⁸⁴²

Another aspect of Calvin's argumentation deals with an objection which questioned whether the issue of ceremonies in Galatians had anything to do with justification. Calvin affirms, both in the Argument for the epistle and in his exposition of Gal. 2.15, that it was necessary for Paul to discuss the general principle (*generali principio*)⁸⁴³ before dealing with the particular error (*particularis error*) relating to ceremonies. In fact, it is this general principle, justification by God's grace, not works, which is the more important one for Paul.⁸⁴⁴

Deinde Paulum non tam sollicitum fuisse de caeremoniis quam de impia opinione acquirendae ex operibus salutis. Notemus ergo Paulum non inepte ab ovo (quod aiunt) ordiri, sed necessario fontem ipsum indicare, ut sciant lectores non hic de umbra asini litigari, sed de re omnium maxima, qua ratione salutem obtineamus. COR 16.9, Argumentum.

⁸³⁸Gratuito nos iustificari coram Deo, non operibus legis... Primo non potuisse aliter expediri quaestionem quam sumpto generali principio: Iustificari nos mera Dei gratia. Quod non caeremonias modo, sed alia etiam opera excludit. COR 16.8-9, Argumentum

⁸³⁹See Santmire 2004: 295-296, 298.

⁸⁴⁰See section 5.6.2. for further discussion.

⁸⁴¹Sed Paulo scilicet theologia Papistarum ignota erat. Fide hominem iustificari dictitant, partem iustitiae locant in operibus. Talem dimidiam iustitiam nesciebat Paulus. COR 16.51, on Gal. 2.16.

⁸⁴²Maneat igitur illud constitutum hic propositionem esse exclusivam: Nos non aliter iustificare quam per fidem, aut: Non nisi fide iustificare, cui ista aequipollet: Nos sola fide iustificari. COR 16.51, on Gal. 2.16. In this instance, Parker, in his English translation of the passage, probably by mistake, omits the translation of the phrase, 'non nisi fide iustificare'. This has been included in the translation above, however. See Torrance and Torrance (eds), Parker (trans) 1965: 39.

⁸⁴³Calvin uses the terms 'generali principio', 'universali principio' and the phrase 'ab ovo (quod aiunt) ordiri' (- starts from the egg, as they say). See COR 16.8-9, Argumentum.

⁸⁴⁴Primo non potuisse aliter expediri quaestionem quam sumpto generali principio: Iustificari nos mera Dei gratia. Quod non caeremonias modo, sed alia etiam opera excludit. Deinde Paulum non tam sollicitum fuisse de caeremoniis quam de impia opinione acquirendae ex operibus legis. COR 16.8-9, Argumentum.

5.1.1.1. Christ's Righteousness vs. Human Righteousness

Calvin presents the contrast between Christ's righteousness and human righteousness in a different way from Luther, although both emerge as being in large degree of agreement on the content of the concepts. Calvin affirms that there are only two (theoretically) possible ways to justification, by one's own righteousness, achieved by works of the law or by Christ's righteousness.⁸⁴⁵ However, it is not possible for humans to obey the law perfectly,⁸⁴⁶ and fulfil its requirements because of human depravity.⁸⁴⁷ Therefore, the only correct way to find justification lays in taking hold of the righteousness of another, that is, of Christ's righteousness.⁸⁴⁸ Calvin further elucidates the contrast between human righteousness and Christ's righteousness in his comments on Gal. 3.17-18, affirming the presence of the two possible ways to justification, a) by law and works or b) by God's free promise and faith. Since it is established in Paul's words that God's free promise is accepted by faith, Calvin argues, therefore the opposite conclusion of including human works in justification is proven impossible.⁸⁴⁹ Correspondingly, true believers in Christ are characterised by the fact that they recognize themselves as being sinners and renounce righteousness by works.⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁵See e.g. COR 16.47-48, on Gal. 2.15, COR 16.57-58, on Gal. 2.21, COR 16.68-69, on Gal. 3.10-11 and COR 16.74-76, on Gal. 3.17-18. Hubert Goudineau, commenting on Calvin's view of justification in his commentary on Romans, also identifies the importance of the contrast between righteousness by faith and righteousness by works for Calvin's discussion, 'En tant que "système" de justification, elle se trouve à l'opposé de la justification par les oeuvres' (Goudineau 1996: 43)

⁸⁴⁶For further discussion on the human impossibility of fulfilling the law from around the time of the composition of Calvin's *Galatians*, see Calvin's *Acta Synodi Tridentinae Cum Antidoto* (1547) on this issue. CO 7.459-463.

⁸⁴⁷Calvin further argues that if humans could achieve justification by their works, Christ would have died in vain. Similarly, because there is redemption, satisfaction, atonement and cleansing in Christ, humans are guilty and thus in need of justification in Christ. Si promeremur ipsi iustitiam, ergo frustra Christus passus est. Nam ideo passus est, ut eam nobis acquireret. Quid opus fuit aliunde nobis comparari, quod dare ipsi nobis possumus? Certe si mors Christi redemptio nostra est, ergo captivi eramus; si satisfactio, ergo eramus debitores; si expiatio, rei ergo eramus; si ablatio, eramus immundi. See COR 16.57; on Gal. 2.21. Calvin further explains the role of faith and the Spirit in justification by specifying that righteousness depends on faith, and is obtained through the Spirit. See COR 16.118, on Gal. 5.5.

⁸⁴⁸Sed Paulus extra controversiam hic ponit, quod Papistae hodie pro execrabili dogmate habent: homines viribus destitui ad servandam Legem. Ita audacter concludit maledictos esse omnes, quia sit omnibus praeceptum Legem in solidum servare; nempe quia in hac naturae corruptione deficit eos facultas. ... Haec simul non possunt convenire: iustificari proprio merito et aliena gratia. Ideo alterum evertitur ab altero. COR 16.68-69, on Gal. 3.10, 3.11. See also COR 16.47-48, on Gal. 2.15.

⁸⁴⁹COR 16.74-76, on Gal. 3.17-18.

⁸⁵⁰Calvin sees the fact that true believers confess their sinfulness and renounce legal righteousness as a focal point in the controversy at issue in Galatians. Quemadmodum enim propriam operum iustitiam volentes stabilire 'iustitiae Dei non sunt subiecti', ita e converso qui in Christum credunt, peccatores se esse confitentur et operum iustitiae renuntiant. Hic iam versatur in praecipua quaestione, imo in hac una propositione tota fere controversiae summa inclusa est. COR 16.48, on Gal. 2.15.

5.1.1.2. Role of Faith in Justification

Goudineau's brief summary of Calvin's view of faith in his commentary on Romans, of Christ as the 'material' (la matière) of justification and faith as the 'means' (l'instrument) of justification is reflected also in Calvin's rather detailed explanation of the notion of faith in his *Galatians*.⁸⁵¹ Commenting on Gal. 3.6, Calvin explains the meaning of the concepts of 1) faith, 2) righteousness and 3) the question of why faith is given the honour of being called the cause (causa) of justification.⁸⁵² First, faith, according to Calvin, is not any conviction regarding the truth of God. Thus even though Cain may have believed the truth of God's chastisement on him, this was not true faith. True faith relates to God's Word in such a way that it 'rests and trusts' (acquiescere) in God and his promise. This is exemplified by Abraham who was sure regarding God's promise of His fatherly favour.⁸⁵³

Second, righteousness is received through the imputation of Christ's righteousness in that God accounts the faith of the Christian as righteousness. This, however, is not because faith is inherently worthy of God's

⁸⁵¹Goudineau states, 'Il met, pour cela, en évidence le rapport existant entre le Christ et la foi: le Christ est la matière de notre justice, tandis que la foi est l'instrument pour recevoir le Christ' (Goudineau 1996: 43). Santmire and Goumaz both refer to Calvin's use of the Aristotelian four causes, *causa formalis, efficiens, materialis, finalis* in their descriptions of Calvin's concept of justification (Santmire) and salvation (Goumaz). Goumaz uses Calvin's view on these four causes as a key to explain his concept of salvation. Compare Santmire 2004: 298-304 with Goumaz 1917: 129-276. For further information on the use of Aristotles' four causes in the history of theology, and how they have been used also by Luther, see also Braw 2007: 156-157 (127, 214). While it is true that Calvin uses the four Aristotelian causes in his explanation of justification in the *Institutio* and one may legitimately utilise them in an attempt to describe Calvin's total concept, it needs to be borne in mind that in Calvin's own extended discussion, the four causes (causa) of justification only constitute a fraction of his treatment of the theme. Calvin explains the four causes as follows, for instance, 'C'est, que l'origine et effect de nostre salut gist en la dilection du Pere celeste: la matiere et substance, en l'obeissance de Christ, l'instrument, en l'illumination du Sainct Esprit, c'est à dire en la Foy que la fin est à ce que la bonté de Dieu soit glorifiée.' InstFa 390. Compare Calvin's compact statements on the four causes of justification in different versions of his *Institutio* in *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne* 1541 (InstFa, pp. 387-388, 390), *Institutio* 1539-54 (CO 1.10.44 and CO 1.10.48) and *Institutio* 1559 (CO 2.3.14.17 and CO 2.3.14.21) with the lengthy and comprehensive discussion in the chapter on justification in the same versions of *Institutio* in *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne* 1541 (InstFa 354-432), *Institutio* 1539-54 (CO 1.10.1-1.10.87) and *Institutio* 1559 (CO 2.3.11.1-CO 2.3.18.10). It is noteworthy that in his *Galatians* Calvin gives some attention to faith as the instrumental cause of justification (causa instrumentalis) as compared to the principal cause of justification (causa principalis). For further discussion and for the reference, see section 5.1.1.2. and COR 16.64, on Gal. 3.6.

⁸⁵²In his comment on the phrase 'iustus ex fide vivet' (Gal. 3.11), Calvin refers backward to Romans, where the issue has been more fully expounded. COR 16.69, on Gal. 3.11. See for more detail in CO 49.20-22, on Rom. 1.17 and CO 49.60-86, on Rom. 3.23-4.23.

⁸⁵³Fides non pro quavis persuasione capitur, quam habere possent homines de veritate Dei. Nam ut credentes fidem habuisset Cain Deo poenam sibi denuntianti, nihil hoc ad consequendam iustitiam. Credendo ideo iustificatus est Abraham, quia quum promissionem a Deo haberet paterni favoris, eam certo amplexus sit. Ergo fides hic relationem habet ac respectum ad tale verbum Dei, quo freti homines acquiescere in ipso possint. COR 16.64, on Gal. 3.6.

acceptance or that some kind of special habit or quality is infused into the human agent in justification, but because God freely accepts the human who believes.⁸⁵⁴ In accordance with the concepts *iustitia aliena* and *extra nos*, Calvin exhorts the believers to remember that they are righteous outside of themselves, in Christ.⁸⁵⁵

Third, Calvin further asks why faith is called the cause of justification because strictly speaking, it is only the instrumental cause (*causa instrumentalis*) of justification and not the principal cause (*causa principalis*) of righteousness, which is God's free acceptance.⁸⁵⁶ Answering his own question, Calvin replies that faith is the way in which the believer attains to true righteousness. This also provides the answer why faith is called the cause of righteousness – faith looks to God's mercy and embraces Christ with all his benefits.⁸⁵⁷ Faith receives God's blessing, trusts in God's mercy and his promise alone, and has no regard for one's own qualities, personal excellence or works.⁸⁵⁸

5.1.2. Christian Liberty

Christian liberty is treated by Calvin with reference to the nature of liberty, and in relation to the use of Christian liberty. Following Calvin's emphasis, most of the

⁸⁵⁴COR 16.64, on Gal. 3.6. Calvin elucidates the definition of 'to be justified' (*d'estre iustifiez*) in his Sermons on Galatians and affirms that 'to be justified' refers to being accounted or regarded as just before God. Calvin states, 'Quand il [Paul] parle d'estre iustifiez, notons que c'est autant comme d'estre reputez ou tenus pour iustes devant Dieu.' CO 50.420, Douzieme Sermon, Galatians 2.15-16. Calvin mirrors the same concept later in his *Deux congrégations* in 1563, where he rejects the view according to which justification would refer to an actual change in the believer. Instead, the believer is accepted by grace, and considered righteous. Il est certain que là, ce mot de iustifier n'importe point que Dieu nous face iustes, mais c'est qu'il nous recoit à merci et, en nous pardonnant nos pechez, il nous tient et repute comme iustes, combien que nous ne le soyons pas. DC 13, (28). The references to Calvin's *Deux congrégations* (DC) indicate the page numbering in Rodolphe Peter's edition (1964) of the original. The original page numbering is indicated in parenthesis e.g. DC 13 (28).

⁸⁵⁵*Meminerimus ergo, qui fide iusti sunt, eos extra se iustos esse, nempe in Christo.* COR 16.65, on Gal. 3.6. The same concept of justification outside of the person of the believer (*hors de nos personnes*), is reiterated by Calvin in his *Deux congrégations* Brief que Dieu nous iustifie hors de nos personnes, en la satisfaction qu'il trouve au sacrifice de sa mort et passion. DC 14 (30).

⁸⁵⁶*Cur autem fidei tribuitur tantus honor, ut vocetur causa iustitiae nostrae? Primo sciendum est esse causam instrumentalem duntaxat. Nam proprie loquendo iustitia nostra nihil aliud est quam gratuita Dei acceptio, in qua fundata est nostra salus.* COR 16.64, on Gal. 3.6. Later in the discussion Calvin refers also to *causa principalis* of justification, which in the context is shown to be God's grace or God's gift (*Dei donum*), just like *proprie loquendo* of justification is God's grace, not faith (faith being *causa instrumentalis*), in the sentence quoted above. See COR 16.64, on Gal. 3.6.

⁸⁵⁷COR 16.64, on Gal. 3.6. Niesel highlights the same thought, 'Faith [for Calvin] in itself has no value, no meaning for salvation. It is nothing more than an empty vessel. It acquires a saving significance only in relation to its content: Jesus Christ.' Niesel 1980: 124. Calvin further notes that justification by faith is not only momentary but is preserved also amidst dangers that the Christian has to meet. Calvin states, *Quo significant non ad tempus eos modo sustentari, ut adveniente aliqua procella ruant, sed in perpetuum tempus stare, ut ne in media quidem morte desinant vivere.* COR 16.69, on Gal. 3.11. One may possibly see a reference here to the concept of the perseverance of the faith of the righteous. The reference is not very clear in this respect, however.

⁸⁵⁸COR 16.66-67, on Gal. 3.7-8.

discussion here deals with the nature of Christian liberty, while its appropriate use is also outlined.

Calvin affirms that Christian liberty is obtained by the blood of Christ, and received through faith.⁸⁵⁹ He further outlines two examples of Christian liberty from the time of Galatians. Commenting on Paul's refusal to circumcise Titus, Calvin stresses that Paul would have been free to have Titus circumcised. However, in this case there was an attempt to compel circumcision as a necessary observance, and therefore Paul, having regard for the higher matter involved, declined to circumcise Titus in defence of Christian liberty.⁸⁶⁰ Similarly, when Peter refused to eat with the Gentiles, Paul identified Peter's action as Judaizing and rebuked him publicly in order to defend Christian freedom.⁸⁶¹ In line with Paul's example, Calvin declares that it is impossible to maintain one's connection with Christ unless it is recognized that Christians are free from the bondage of the law.⁸⁶² Therefore, there is freedom in the Christian church regarding all outward matters. The only thing that is required now, is simple faith (*nunc fides*).⁸⁶³ When any observances are used, they ought neither be many nor be burdensome on believers.⁸⁶⁴

In addition to freedom from the bondage of the law, Christian liberty can be viewed at least from two further points of view, from the perspective of redemption and from the perspective of the two dispensations of the Old and New Testaments. Viewed from the first perspective, Christ redeemed humans by placing himself under the yoke of the law in their stead so that he could grant liberty to them.⁸⁶⁵ Thus believers are now free from subjection to the law.⁸⁶⁶ When the

⁸⁵⁹See COR 16.9, *Argumentum* and COR 16.86, on Gal. 3.26.

⁸⁶⁰*Non erat periculum, ne libertate sua Paulus spoliaretur, etiam aliis se subiiciendo. Sed aliis nocuisset exemplum. Prudenter ergo consideravit, quid expediret. Ita videmus et quatenus vitanda sint scandala et quid semper in rebus mediis sit spectandum, nempe aedificatio. ... Nam quia volebant false fratres in servitutum adigere pios, non fuit illis mos gerendus.* COR 16.34, on Gal. 2.5. See the larger context in COR 16.33-34, on Gal. 2.4-5.

⁸⁶¹COR 16.44, on Gal. 2.11. Calvin reiterates the importance of Christian liberty, which Peter's action threatened, in his *Deux congrégations*. Il [S. Pierre] met sous le pied la liberté des Chrestiens, et a constraint mesmes les povres Payens de prendre le ioug de la Loy et les a voulu reduire en servitude. DC 9 (17).

⁸⁶²*Nam Christum tenere aliter non poterant, quam si agnoscerent eius beneficio nos manumissos esse a servitute Legis.* COR 16.17, on Gal. 1.6.

⁸⁶³On Gal. 5.6. See also COR 16.119, on Gal. 5.5.

⁸⁶⁴*Fateor quidem liberas hodie nobis esse res omnes externas, sed ita, ut caeremoniarum multitudine Ecclesia nequaquam oneretur, nisi velimus Christianismus cum Iudaismo confundere.* COR 16.92, on Gal. 4.1.

⁸⁶⁵COR 16.93, on Gal. 4.4.

⁸⁶⁶Calvin adds that the freedom from subjection to the law does not imply that the law no longer needs to be obeyed. It is subjection to 'the law with its appendages' (*Legis ... suis appendicibus*) that believers are free from. COR 16.93, on Gal. 4.4. Though one may see a reference to the freedom Christians have with regards to ceremonial observances here, it nevertheless appears in the context that it is Christian freedom understood in a wider sense that is in question, namely, that in relation to the issue of

issue is looked at from the second perspective, on the other hand, the Christian church now enjoys liberty with regard to outward ceremonies in contrast to the time of the Old Testament when ceremonial observances were necessary and in accordance with the command of God.⁸⁶⁷

Calvin's discussion on Gal. 5.1-6 provides his fullest single exposition on the issue of Christian liberty. At the start of his discussion Calvin underlines the focal importance of Christian liberty to the doctrine of salvation.⁸⁶⁸ He affirms,

‘For it is not a matter of whether you are to eat this or that food, whether you are to observe or neglect a particular day (as many foolishly think and some accuse us of) but of what is permitted before God, what is necessary for salvation and what it is wrong to omit. In short, the controversy relates to the state of conscience when it comes to the judgment seat of God.’⁸⁶⁹

Calvin further reminds his readers that Christian liberty as a freedom with regard to ceremonial observances is of minor importance when compared to the underlying greater issue, namely, the fact that through Christ's work on the cross the believer has freedom from God's judgment and liberty from ‘the tyranny of sin, Satan and death’ (tyrannide peccati, Satanae et mortis).⁸⁷⁰ It is because any imposed legal observances compromise salvation by Christ alone that it is so important to maintain the pure doctrine of Christian liberty. Calvin asserts that one ought rather die in defence of Christian liberty than to allow consciences to be burdened with legal observances, and thus insult Christ.⁸⁷¹

Considering the appropriate use of Christian liberty, on the other hand, Calvin distinguishes Christian freedom seen as an internal quality from Christian freedom considered from the outside. Calvin explains that Christian liberty, in itself, is an internal freedom before God, located in the conscience of the Christian. The use of Christian liberty, by way of contrast, deals with the outside

justification Christians are free from all law, because they believe in Christ. Compare COR 16.93, on Gal. 4.4 with COR 16.46-47, on Gal. 2.14-15.

⁸⁶⁷In Ecclesia Christiana non amplius est servitus, sed liberalis conditio filiorum. Qualiter autem servi fuerint Patres sub Lege, iam dictum est: quia scilicet libertas eorum nondum erat revelata, sed inclusa sub Legis involucribus et iugo. COR 16.96, on Gal. 4.7.

⁸⁶⁸Sed prudentes et exercitati norunt hoc in salutis doctrina unum esse ex praecibus capitibus. COR 16.115, on Gal. 5.1.

⁸⁶⁹Non enim hic agitur, hocne an illo cibo vescaris, celebresne hunc diem an praetereas (quemadmodum stulte existimant multi, nonnulli vero calumniantur), sed quidnam tibi coram Deo liceat, quid ad salutem sit necessarium, quid omittere sit nefas. Denique disceptatio est de conscientiae conditione, ubi ad tribunal Dei venit. COR 16.115, on Gal. 5.1.

⁸⁷⁰COR 16.115, on Gal. 5.1.

⁸⁷¹Namsi onus humeris nostris iniquum imponant homines, sustineri potest; conscientias si redigere velint in servitutem, fortiter et usque ad mortem resistendum. Spoliabitur enim inaestimabili beneficio, si licebit hominibus conscientias nostras ligare. COR 16.116, on Gal. 5.1. See the larger context in COR 16.115-116, on Gal. 5.1-2.

and with human affairs.⁸⁷² Some outward observances ought to be maintained and are beneficial – sacraments, for instance, are maintained because they are aids to faith. On the other hand, Christian liberty ought not be understood as entailing freedom given to human flesh. The flesh is given no freedom, but is instead kept under the constraint of love.⁸⁷³

5.1.3. Relationship between the Old and New Testaments

Engels has drawn attention to the importance of Calvin's concept of God's covenant and the significance of the relationship of the Old Testament to the New in Calvin's discussion in his commentaries on Pauline epistles.⁸⁷⁴ The relationship between the Old and New Testaments is important within Calvin's commentary on Galatians as well. Calvin's *Galatians* treats the theme several times, and discusses it in some depth in its exposition of Gal. 3.23 and 4.1.

Commenting on Gal. 3.23 Calvin compares faith in the time of the Old Testament to faith in the time of the New Testament. He states that while faith itself in both time periods was the same, the substance of faith was presented to the people of the Old Testament as in a mirror, while the people of the New Testament are in possession of the true substance of faith. Thus the patriarchs directed their faith to the absent Christ, while those of the New Testament have him as already present,⁸⁷⁵ which closely mirrors Niesel's position on Calvin's concept according to which 'the decisive point is the recognition that the Old Testament promises what the New Testament offers to us in Christ.'⁸⁷⁶

Calvin's exposition on Gal. 4.1 deals with the issue of freedom from the point of view of the Old and New Testaments. Calvin asserts that while the people of the Old Testament were free, they were not yet in full possession of this freedom, since they were still under the guardianship and tutorship of the law. Nonetheless, they were in possession of the same inheritance and blessing as the people of the New Testament and their consciences were free despite the outward slavery under the law.⁸⁷⁷ Therefore, Calvin maintains, using a Trinitarian affirmation, that the believers of both dispensations had one Mediator, God their Father, and the same Spirit. The substance of doctrine, therefore, is the same. The differences deal with less important issues such as ceremonial observances and the

⁸⁷²Nam libertas in conscientia est Deumque respicit. Usus autem est in rebus externis et negotium habet cum hominibus, non cum solo Deo. COR 16.125, on Gal. 5.13.

⁸⁷³COR 16.125-126, on Gal. 5.13. See also COR 16.117-118, on Gal. 5.3 and COR 16.119, on Gal. 5.6.

⁸⁷⁴Engels sees Calvin's view on God's covenant and his view on the relationship between the Old and New Testaments as central to Calvin's understanding of the law in his commentaries on the Pauline epistles. This is undoubtedly a correct observation and gives an essential background to understanding the law in the context of the larger view of Calvin on salvation history. See Engels 1967, vol. 1: 17-105.

⁸⁷⁵Nam quum illic caeremoniae Christum adumbrarent tanquam absentem, nobis hodie veluti coram representatur. Sic pro speculo, quod illi [Patres] habebant, nos substantiam hodie habemus. COR 16.84, on Gal. 3.23. See the whole context in COR 16.83-84, on Gal. 3.23.

⁸⁷⁶Niesel 1980: 105.

⁸⁷⁷COR 16.89-90, on Gal. 4.1.

utilised form of church government.⁸⁷⁸ When it comes to the use of ceremonies, on the other hand, God is more lenient in the new dispensation.⁸⁷⁹

Additionally, Calvin maintains that for the people of the Old Testament, the ceremonies were genuinely efficacious means of grace, because they were appointed for that purpose by God at the time. Nevertheless, their true efficacy lies in Christ, to whom the ceremonies pointed. The outward ceremonies have now been replaced by the presence of the Holy Spirit – all that God requires now for obtaining righteousness, is simple faith (*nunc fidem*).⁸⁸⁰

5.1.4. Role of Christ in Justification

The role of Christ in justification is handled here with respect to the theme of Christ alone and to the concept of union with Christ. This slightly differs from how the theme was handled in Luther, where the notion of union with Christ (i.e. faith formed by love vs. faith formed by Christ) was not treated under this heading, but under the heading of two kinds of righteousness. In Luther the theme was addressed in contrast to the opposing notion (faith formed by love vs. faith formed by Christ), whereas in Calvin it is treated more on its own.

Calvin affirms, commenting on Gal. 1.4, that the best remedy for purifying the mind is remembering our relationship to Christ. Calvin sees it as very important that Christ alone is atonement for sin.⁸⁸¹ There was cooperation between the Father and the Son in the accomplishment of the plan of redemption - the Father

⁸⁷⁸Inde constituendum est eandem semper fuisse doctrinam et vera fidei unitate nobiscum fuisse coniunctos, unios etiam Mediatoris fiducia nobiscum fretos Deum patrem invocasse et eodem Spiritu fuisse gubernatos. His omnibus consentaneum est discrimen inter nos et veteres Patres non in substantia esse, sed in accidentibus. Nam quae praecipua sunt in testamento vel foedere, in iis convenimus. Caeremoniae et totum illud regimen, in quibus differimus, sunt quasi accessiones. COR 16.90, on Gal. 4.1.

⁸⁷⁹COR 16.91, on Gal. 4.1.

⁸⁸⁰Ideoque iustitiam in fide sitam esse, et hanc iustitiam obtineri in Spiritu absque caeremoniis. ... Quod autem iustitiam fide nobis constare dicit, id cum Patribus nobis commune est. Omnes enim fide placuerunt Deo, ut Scriptura testatur. Sed fides illorum caeremoniarum velo erat implicita. Ideo nos ab illis decernit per verbum Spiritus, quod externis umbris opponitur. Intelligit ergo nudam esse nunc fidem, quae ad consequendam iustitiam sufficiat et quae non caeremoniarum pompis ornetur, sed spirituali Dei cultu sit contenta. COR 16.118-119, on Gal. 5.5. See also COR 16.97, on Gal. 4.9. In another sense, the Old Testament ceremonies have been replaced by sacraments in the New Testament. Thus, for instance, circumcision is succeeded by baptism in the New Testament. However, in both time periods the outward ceremonies (Old Testament) and sacraments (New Testament), were subservient to faith. See COR 16.117-118, on Gal. 5.3, COR 16.97, on Gal. 4.9 and COR 16.119, on Gal. 5.6. Calvin explicitly rejects the Catholic concept of *opus operatum*, and explains that in baptism and in the Lord's Supper, it is God alone who works, not humans, and thus there is no merit in the performance of the rites themselves (*opus operatum*). COR 16.118, on Gal. 5.3. In line with this, Calvin uses the term 'aids to faith' (*fidei adminicula*) to describe the purpose of sacraments. COR 16.119, on Gal. 5.6.

⁸⁸¹Neque exigua res significatur his verbis: 'Qui semetipsum pro peccatis nostris dedit.' Praemonere enim Galatas voluit peccatorum expiationem et hac ratione perfectam iustitiam non alibi quaerendam esse quam in Christo, quia se obtulerit Patri in sacrificium, et talem esse hostiam, cui alias quasvis satisfactiones opponere sit nefas. See COR 16.15, on Gal. 1.4.

decreed our atonement while Christ put it into practice by giving himself as a satisfaction for human sin.⁸⁸² Further, because humans are atoned for and justified by Christ alone, one ought not to require the observance of ceremonial observances as necessary to justification – faith in Christ alone means deliverance from bondage to the law.⁸⁸³ Moreover, Christ has removed the distinction between the Jews and other nations in making the Jew and the Greek one, by the fact that adoption and salvation are found in him alone for both alike.⁸⁸⁴

Union with Christ (*unio cum Christo*) is not a frequently occurring concept in Calvin's *Galatians* but it is nevertheless once described in illuminating detail with a number of brief further allusions to the theme. Union with Christ will be examined here in reference to Calvin's metaphors of the concept, with regard to ways in which one's union with Christ may be understood and in relation to an explanation of how and why union with Christ takes place.

Calvin mentions three different metaphors to picture the believer's union with Christ. Wendel has indicated appropriately that for Calvin union with Christ does not suggest any kind of mystic union (or deification) between the believer and Christ.⁸⁸⁵ It is with this perspective in mind that Calvin's metaphors for the believer's union with Christ in his *Galatians* can be properly evaluated. First, Calvin notes that believers are united to Christ and become one with him as sap is connected its the root.⁸⁸⁶ Having become one with Christ, the Christian is crucified

⁸⁸²Goumaz notes on the central role of Christ for salvation in Calvin's New Testament Commentaries, 'Christ seul a réalisé cette compensation pour le péché, et il l'a réalisée tout entière, rendant ainsi Dieu présent à ses enfants. En lui se trouve donc la plénitude du salut, d'un salut dans lequel il nous garde à jamais et dont « accidentellement », sont exclus ceux-là seuls que leur malice écarte. Ainsi, la « fonction » propre du Christ est de sauver, bien que plusieurs de ceux qui ont été « appelés » restent condamnés'. Goumaz 1917: 433.

⁸⁸³COR 116.15, on Gal. 1.4 and COR 116.17, on Gal. 1.6.

⁸⁸⁴Omnes enim unum Christus facit. Utcunque iquitur alia sint diversa, sufficit unus Christus ad omnes copulandos. Ideo dicit: "Unus estis." COR 16.87, on Gal. 3.28. For the larger context, see COR 16.87-88, on Gal. 3.28.

⁸⁸⁵Wendel affirms, 'In ne s'agit pas, lorsque Calvin parle d'union ou de communion avec Christ, d'une absorption en Christ ou d'une identification mystique qui diminuerait tant soit peu la personnalité humaine ou qui tirerait le Christ à nous. L'auteur de l'*Institution* s'était montré trop hostile, jusqu'à présent, à toute glorification ou déification de l'homme, et surtout de l'homme terrestre et pécheur, pour qu'on pût le soupçonner de vouloir y revenir par ce détour. Mais la communion avec Christ n'en est pas moins des plus étroites, tout en laissant subsister intégralement les propriétés de l'homme et celles du Christ.' Wendel 1950: 176-177. This is further clarified in Calvin's explicit rejection of Osiander's views. See Wendel 1950: 177 and the 1559 version of the *Instituto* 3.11.5-11 (CO 2.3.11.5-11).

⁸⁸⁶Modum exprimit, qualiter Legi mortui Deo vivamus, quum scilicet insiti in mortem Christi arcanam inde vim, tanquam surculus a radice, haurimus. ... Sed meminerimus non aliter nos solvi a iugo Legis, quam dum efficimur unum cum Christo. COR 16. 54-55, on Gal. 2.19. In this instance, Calvin already explains the phrase 'Cum Christo sum crucifixus', which is a part of Gal. 2.20, not Gal. 2.19 as COR 16 appears to suggest. COR 16 seems to have followed CO 50 (Corpus Reformationum), which also includes the explanation of this phrase ('Cum Christo sum crucifixus') under Calvin's exposition of the phrase 'Ut Deo viverem' of Gal. 2.19. Compare COR 16.54-55 with CO 50.198-199, on Gal. 2.19. The English translations appear to have noticed the discrepancy, as Achtebarder begins Gal. 2.20 from the

with him, and thus delivered from the bondage of the law. According to the second metaphor, the believers live outside of themselves in Christ and in heaven seen through the eye of faith, while outwardly perceived they remain in the world.⁸⁸⁷ According to the third metaphor, the believer's union with Christ is illustrated by a garment of Christ put on the believer, which indicates that the Christian is so closely united with the Saviour that he is viewed in him by God, and what is Christ's is seen to be the believer's.⁸⁸⁸

Calvin draws an interesting delineation of two ways in which the believer's union with Christ may be understood in Gal. 2.20. On the one hand, it may refer to the Spirit of regeneration⁸⁸⁹ and on the other, to justification, which would in that case be a reference to sharing Christ's righteousness.⁸⁹⁰ Calvin considers exegetically more probable that Gal. 2.20 refers to justification, but has no qualms over seeing both regeneration and justification alluded to here.⁸⁹¹

phrase 'Cum Christo sum crucifixus' and Parker omits verse numbering altogether for Gal. 2.20. Compare Achtebarder 1854 with Parker 1965 in their translations of Gal. 2.19-20.

⁸⁸⁷Insignis sententia, fideles extra se vivere, hoc est in Christo. Quod fieri nequit, quin veram cum ipso et substantialem communicationem habeant. ... Plenus denique est Paulus talibus testimoniis, quibus asserit ita nos vivere in mundo, ut in caelo tamen etiam vivamus; non modo quia illic est caput nostrum, sed etiam quod iure unionis vitam habemus cum ipso communem, ut loquitur Iohan.14,1. COR 16.55-56, on Gal. 2.20. Calvin discusses a similar concept in his sermon on Gal. 2.20-21, where he maintains that believers are dead towards their own nature, but alive elsewhere, in Christ. Calvin affirms, 'Dieu nous a donné sa parole, que nous estans morts en nostre nature, nous avons nostre vie ailleurs, d'autant que nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ nous esté envoyé à ceste condition-là de nous amener de mort à vie. CO 50.446, Quatorzieme sermon, Galates 2.20-21.

⁸⁸⁸Utitur similitudine vestis, quum dicit Galatas Christum induisse. Sed intelligit Christo sic esse insitos, ut coram Deo nomen ac personam Christi gerant ac in ipso magis quam in seipsis censeantur. COR 16.86, on Gal. 3.27. The notion of Christ as having been put on the believer as a garment is closely connected to the sacrament of baptism in Calvin's discussion. Calvin asks himself in what way the sacrament of baptism is efficacious in putting on Christ since it appears so evident that many do not receive its benefit. He replies that the sacrament remains effective and true – the difference lies in the recipient. The wicked reject it and the believers accept it. On the other hand, the symbol itself is ineffective for those who proudly lay claim to the bare symbol itself, probably referring to the Catholic concept *opus operatum* associated with the sacraments. COR 16.86-87, on Gal. 3.27. See also footnote 880 in the section dealing with the difference between the Old and New Testaments.

⁸⁸⁹See also Calvin's exposition of Gal. 4.19 where he explicitly associates union with Christ with the renewal and new life of the Christian. Calvin states, Porro Christum in nobis formari et nos in Christo idem est. Nascimur enim, ut simus novae in ipso creaturae, et ipse vicissim nascitur in nobis, ut vivamus eius vitam. COR 16.104, on Gal. 4.19.

⁸⁹⁰It is in this sense, as being united to Christ in order to be justified that Calvin interprets the same passage in *Deux congrégations*. C'est que nous ne vivons point en nous, mais en Iesus Christ; c'est à dire que nostre salut est hors de nous-mesmes. ... Nostre vie est en Iesus Christ, que nous sommes participans de tous ses biens et par consequent de sa justice.' DC 28,29 (62,65).

⁸⁹¹Porro vivit Christus in nobis dupliciter. Una vita est, quum nos Spiritu suo gubernat atque actiones nostras omnes dirigit; altera, quod participatione suae iustitiae nos donat, ut quando in nobis non possumus, in ipso accepti simus Deo. Prior ad regenerationem pertinet, secunda ad gratuitam iustitiae acceptationem, de qua hunc locum intelligo, quanquam si quis de utraque accipere malit, minime repugnem. COR 16.55, on Gal. 2.20. Neuser argues that a concept of a double justification (*doppelten Rechtfertigung*) is central to Calvin's understanding of justification. (See the above statement of

Calvin also explains how and why union with Christ takes place. The love of Christ lies behind the union in that it is Christ's love which led to the fact that Christ chose to unite himself with humans and suffer in our person. Christ became a sinner, not in himself, but in us, freeing us from God's wrath and making the Christian a partaker of the benefits of Christ, including atonement, cleansing and satisfaction.⁸⁹²

5.1.5. Law and Gospel

Law and gospel is a theme, which could easily cover much more ground than discussed below. However, the analysis here is limited to the passages where the relationship or the contrast between law and gospel is being treated.

There are at least two ways in which gospel and law relate to each other in Calvin's *Galatians*. On the one hand their relationship is either/or while on the other there is no contradiction between them, recognized also in Hesselink's study of the law and gospel in Calvin's *Galatians*.⁸⁹³

The relationship of the law and gospel as either/or is first briefly examined. When it comes to the issue of justification, as noted in section 5.1.1., law and gospel are contraries, law on one side, and faith and God's promise against it on the other. Calvin affirms,

'The contradiction between the law and faith lies in the cause of justification. You will more easily unite fire and water than reconcile the two statements that men are justified by faith and by the law. The law is not of faith, that is, it has a method of justifying a man which is completely foreign to faith.'⁸⁹⁴

Calvin's, 'Porro vivit Christus in nobis dupliciter'). However, mirroring Calvin's strict exclusion of regeneration and good works from justification, Neuser also points to the priority of righteousness by faith (Glaubensgerechtigkeit) over the imperfect righteousness represented by the believer's good works (Gerechtigkeit aus den [Glaubens]- Werken), a prioritising which seems central to Calvin's position also, according to this study. Neuser states, 'Calvin argumentiert mit grosser Vorsicht. Die Lehre von der doppelten Rechtfertigung – das war Voraussetzung für jeden evangelischen Theologen – löst den Glauben nicht in die Werke auf, sondern lässt die Glaubensgerechtigkeit unversehrt bestehen. Sie ist die eigentliche Gerechtigkeit. ... Auch in einer zweiten Überlegung will er den Vorrang der Glaubensgerechtigkeit wahren. ... Neben der Glaubensgerechtigkeit muss eine Gerechtigkeit aus den (Glaubens-) Werken gelehrt werden. Doch ist diese die hauptsächliche Gerechtigkeit, jene muss ihr untergeordnet werden. Was untergeordnet wird, widerspricht der Hauptaussage nicht.' Neuser 1969: 182.⁸⁹² COR 16.56, on Gal. 2.20 and COR 16.71, on Gal. 3.13.

⁸⁹³Hesselink explains the 'surprise' relating to Calvin's notion on the law and gospel in his *Galatians* by affirming that there is 'not only a *relative* difference but also an *antithesis* between the law and the gospel' in Calvin's commentary. See Hesselink 1984: 78-79.

⁸⁹⁴Ergo repugnantia Legis et fides est in causa iustificacionis. Facilius enim aquam igni copulabis, quam haec duo concilies: homines fide et Lege esse iustos. Lex ergo non est ex fide, hoc est: rationem iustificandi hominis a fide prorsus alienam habet. COR 16.69-70, on Gal. 3.12.

When one deals with justification, one must put aside all ceremonial observances and works of the law, and look to God's grace and Christ alone.⁸⁹⁵ The law only leads to death, condemning humans, while it is God's grace which raises one to another kind of life, the life of faith.⁸⁹⁶

A further contrast between the law and gospel is found in Calvin's discussion on Hagar and Sarah. He maintains that as there were two mothers in Abraham's household, there are also two mothers in the church today. The two mothers are represented by two kinds of doctrine, the legal and the evangelical, representing bondage and freedom.⁸⁹⁷ These two kinds of doctrine are looked at by Paul from two perspectives. First, law and gospel can be seen as representing two time periods. During the time of the law in the Old Testament the law functioned as a schoolmaster, keeping the people as slaves outwardly, under the law. Despite this, in the sight of God, the patriarchs of the Old Testament were inwardly free. During the time of the gospel, on the other hand, there is both an inward and an outward freedom, which begins at the birth of the Christian.⁸⁹⁸ Second, law and gospel can be viewed as two contrary ways to salvation. The law represents the law of the hypocrites, who, like Ishmael and the papists today, seek salvation by law and its works.⁸⁹⁹ The gospel, by way of contrast, stands for heavenly grace, the Holy Spirit, faith, promise, free grace and the blessing of God, which belong to the true church and to the true children of God.⁹⁰⁰ Calvin sums up,

'All the promises, being grounded in the Messiah, are free. It was because the apostle took this for granted that he so fearlessly contrasted the promise to the law.'⁹⁰¹

⁸⁹⁵ Anticipat omnes tergiversationes asserens haec esse contraria: salutem ex Lege et ex promissione nobis obvenire. Quis hoc de solis caeremoniis audeat exponere, quum generaliter comprehendat Paulus, quicquid gratuita promissioni repugnat? COR 16.76, on Gal. 3.18.

⁸⁹⁶ COR 16.54, on Gal. 2.19.

⁸⁹⁷ Doctrina enim mater est, ex qua nos Deus generat. Ea est duplex, legalis et euangelica. Legalis in servitutum generat; est igitur similis Agar. Sara autem repraesentat secundam, quae generat in libertatem. COR 16.108, on Gal. 4.24.

⁸⁹⁸ See the whole exposition of Gal. 4.24 in COR 16.108-109. See also a related discussion above on the relationship between Old and New Testaments in section 5.1.3.

⁸⁹⁹ Admonet ergo non esse mirum, si faciant hodie filii Legis, quod fecit initio pater ipsorum Ismael, qui verum haeredem Isaac vexavit primogenitura sua fretus. ... Ita larvam concedit Legis et operum sectatoribus, rem vero ipsam vendicat iis, qui sola Dei vocatione nituntur et pendent ex eius gratia. COR 16.112, on Gal. 4.29. See also the whole discussion in COR 16.108-109, on Gal. 4.24 and COR 16.110-112, on Gal. 4.26-29. Calvin draws attention to Paul's contrast between circumcision and the gospel in his exposition of Gal. 5.2-3. Calvin explains that when viewed as meritorious and as an aspect of the legal covenant, circumcision became a threat to the pure gospel. This corresponds to the notion of the contemporary papacy claiming merit for their ceremonial observances. Ascribing part of the justification to works, they lose Christ altogether. See COR 16.116-117, on Gal. 5.2-3.

⁹⁰⁰ COR 16.110-111, on Gal. 4.26-27.

⁹⁰¹ Promissiones omnes in Messia fundatas esse gratuitas. Id pro confesso quia sumebat Apostolus, ideo tam secure promissionem Legi opposuit. COR 16.111, on Gal. 4.27.

On the other hand, when the relationship between the law and the gospel is looked at from a wider perspective, there is no real contradiction between them. There would be a true contradiction only if the law could justify. If the law could justify, then there would be two possible, yet contrary ways to salvation, one through the law and another through faith. However, as the law cannot justify, there is no disagreement between law and gospel.⁹⁰² The law has its legitimate purpose elsewhere, but in the issue of justification, one must look to God's grace alone.⁹⁰³

5.2. Work of the Holy Spirit

There are a number of brief treatments on the work of the Holy Spirit in Calvin's *Galatians* in addition to one fairly lengthy address on the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh in Gal. 5.15-26. Calvin's theological comment relating to the work of the Holy Spirit is examined in reference to the hearing of faith, regeneration, assurance of salvation and the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh.

5.2.1. Hearing of Faith

Calvin's comment on the role of the Holy Spirit relating to the hearing of faith is very brief. Calvin affirms that the Holy Spirit is received *at the hearing of*, and *through* the gospel. The receiving of the Spirit takes place by faith, not law.⁹⁰⁴ In the same context Calvin further considers whether the Spirit in this instance referred to regeneration or the visible gifts of the Spirit⁹⁰⁵ and prefers the view that it is regeneration, bringing into view an aspect not present in Luther's discussion of the hearing of faith.⁹⁰⁶

⁹⁰²Nam Legem et promissiones ab eo profectas esse constat. Quisquis ergo aliquid inter eas repugnantiae inducit, in Deum est blasphemus. Repugnant autem, si Lex iustificat. ... Tunc enim adversaretur Lex promissionibus, si vim haberet iustificandi. Essent enim duae rationes contrariae iustificandi hominis et veluti duae viae inter se dissidentes ad consequendam iustitiam. Paulus autem hoc adimit Legi. Sublata igitur est repugnantia. COR 16.81-82, on Gal. 3.21.

⁹⁰³See COR 16.69-70, on Gal. 3.12 and COR 16.74-76, on Gal. 3.17-18.

⁹⁰⁴Spiritum receperant audito Euangelio. Ergo fidei, non Legi debebant acceptum referre hoc bonum. ... Mihi videtur alluisse Paulus ad id, quod dixerat de Spiritus, acsi dixisset: Quum Euangelii doctrina Spiritum sanctum vobis attulerit, ergo exordium vestrum fuit spirituale. COR 16.61 and COR 16.62 on Gal. 3.2 and Gal. 3.3. See also COR 16.78, on Gal. 3.19.

⁹⁰⁵Calvin briefly addresses the notion of the gifts of the Spirit in his exposition of Gal. 3.5 and explains that the gifts of the Spirit are fruits of the gospel. However, they can be lost through the influence of false teaching.

⁹⁰⁶Fidem hic metonymice appellat Euangelium, quod alibi vocat doctrinam fidei: quia illic nobis proponitur mera Dei gratia in Christo, sine operum meritis. Spiritum hic pro gratia regenerationis, quae communis est omnium fidelium, accipio. Quanquam si quis malit accipere pro donis particularibus, quibus tunc Dominus Euangelii praedicationem ornabat, per me erit liberum. COR 16.61, on Gal. 3.2. See also COR 16.62-63, on Gal. 3.5.

5.2.2. Regeneration

Calvin nowhere treats the concept of regeneration in much detail. There are a number of brief references to the notion, however.

Regeneration is defined by Calvin as a contrast to the world, just as spirit is a contrast to the flesh.⁹⁰⁷ Regeneration also refers to the renewed nature or to the Holy Spirit.⁹⁰⁸ Furthermore, regeneration is something that belongs to all genuine Christians, and is a testimony before God of one's renewed status.⁹⁰⁹ Commenting on the relationship of regeneration, the Spirit and the law, Calvin affirms that until the Spirit regenerates a person, the law only increases one's guilt. In regeneration, however, the Spirit writes the law on the believer's heart.⁹¹⁰

The relationship of regeneration to justification is briefly explained twice by Calvin and is rather interesting in relation to Luther's position on the concept. On the one hand Calvin sees regeneration and justification as connected while on the other he sees them as distinct. The first deals with Calvin's comments on union with Christ, or Christ living in the believer. Calvin has no qualms about regarding union with Christ as referring both to the Spirit of regeneration and to justification at the same time (though he thinks it exegetically more likely that justification is referred to in this passage). Calvin explains that regeneration in this context refers to the Spirit's governing and direction of all the believer's actions. Justification, on the other hand, is seen as indicating that the believer shares in Christ's righteousness by faith.⁹¹¹ In his comment on Galatians 5.6, Calvin further explains the nature of regeneration. He affirms that the Spirit of regeneration cannot be separated from faith. However, when one discusses justification, the exclusive particle must be maintained and all works be set aside, pointing to the fact that

⁹⁰⁷Sung igitur mundus et regeneratio res inter se oppositae, sicuti natura et gratia, caro et spiritus. COR 16.15, on Gal. 1.4.

⁹⁰⁸At times Calvin comments on the Holy Spirit in an impersonal way, for instance maintaining that the Spirit denotes regeneration (COR 16.61, on Gal. 3.2, COR 16.129, on Gal. 5.17) or one's renewed nature (COR 16.129, on Gal. 5.17). This, however, ought by no means to be seen as indicating that Calvin would see the Holy Spirit as impersonal. It seems more plausible to regard the reason for these comments to be the fact that regeneration and the renewed nature of the Christian are so completely dependent on the Holy Spirit, that Calvin sometimes saw it as appropriate to treat these concepts as if they were synonyms for the Spirit.

⁹⁰⁹Regeneration as a testimony of being God's own is contrasted by Calvin with regarding circumcision as one's rightful claim to God's family. See COR 16.61, on Gal. 3.2 and COR 16.149, on Gal. 6.16.

⁹¹⁰COR 16.78, on Gal. 3.19. Calvin also maintains that everything which is not new creature must perish – conversely, if one wants to count oneself as belonging to Christ's kingdom, one ought to be created anew. Ratio est, cur sit mundo crucifixus et mundus illi, quia in Christo, cui insitus est, solum valet nova creatura. Alia igitur omnia facessere, imo interire oportet. COR 16.148, on Gal. 6.15.

⁹¹¹Porro vivit Christus in nobis dupliciter. Una vita est, quum nos Spiritu suo gubernat atque actiones nostras omnes dirigit; altera, quod participatione suae iustitiae nos donat, ut quando in nobis non possumus, in ipso accepti simus Deo. Prior ad regenerationem pertinet, secunda ad gratuitam iustitiae acceptionem, de qua hunc locum intelligere licebit, quanquam si quis de utraque accipere malit, minime repugnet. COR 16.55, on Gal. 2.20.

Calvin nevertheless strictly distinguishes between justification and regeneration when one's acceptance with God is considered.⁹¹²

5.2.3. Assurance of Salvation

Calvin maintains that the Holy Spirit directs the believers to regard God as their Father.⁹¹³ It is by faith that one receives an assurance of the Father's love toward oneself.⁹¹⁴ The adoption by God of the believer into God's family is certain, in contrast to the uncertainty and doubt required by the scholastic theologians regarding whether or not one has God's Spirit.⁹¹⁵ Calvin sees the issue as so central that he asserts,

'For where the pledge of the divine love towards us is wanting, there is assuredly no faith. Hence it is plain what sort of Christianity there is in the papacy, where they accuse of pious presumption any man who says that he has the Spirit of God. ... For they imagine a faith without the Spirit of God and without certainty. This single dogma that they hold is clear proof that in all the schools of the Papists, the devil, the father of unbelief, reigns.'⁹¹⁶

⁹¹²Nos autem veram fidem negamus a Spiritu regenerationis posse divelli. Sed quum de iustificationis causa agitur, tunc excludimus omnia opera. COR 16.120, on Gal. 5.6.

⁹¹³Spiritus Christi, inquit, vobis author est atque hortator, ut audeatis Patrem vocare Deum. Ergo certum est vos esse Dei filios. COR 16.94, on Gal. 4.6.

⁹¹⁴In his sermons on Galatians, Calvin draws attention to the importance of coming to trust in God's favour toward oneself despite one's unworthiness. He further maintains that it is impossible not to have confidence before God if one keeps before one's eyes the remission (quittance) of sin accomplished for us (qui nous a esté faite) through Jesus' death. In n'y aura donc nulle franchise en nos ames, iusques à ce que nous ayons cognu et que nous soyons bien persuadez que Dieu nous est propice, et qu'il nous recoit en son amour et en sa grace, combien que nous n'en soyons pas dignes. Or il est impossible d'avoir nulle certitude, sinon que tousiours nous ayons devant les yeux nostre quittance qui nous a esté faite en la mort et passion de nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ.' CO 50.658, Trenteunieme Sermon, on Gal. 5.1-3. Further, in his *Deux congrégations*, Calvin closely associates the believer's union with Christ with one's assurance of salvation. C'est que nous ne vivons point en nous, mais en Iesus Christ; c'est à dire que nostre salut est hors de nous-mesmes. Non pas que nous n'ayons l'assurance en nous, car *le S. Esprit nous en est une arre*, comme il est dit par S. Paul, et nous avons la signature de nostre adoption par luy, que la certitude de la grace de Dieu nous est seellée. Et au reste, Iesus Christ habite en nous, qui est aussi matiere de nostre salut. DC 28 (62). Emphasis in the original.

⁹¹⁵Calvin sharply critiques the council of Trent for its rejection of the evangelical doctrine highlighting the importance of assurance of faith in 1547, the year following the composition of Calvin's *Galatians*. Calvin asserts that the removal of assurance which the papal church does by its doctrine, equals the destruction of one's faith. Imo omnem veram Dei invocationem isti evertunt, cum piorum animos trepidatione suspendunt, quae sola nobis ianuam praecludit. Qui haesitat, inquit Iacobus (1,6) similes est fluctui maris, qui a vento circumfertur. Non ergo existimes tales, se quidquam impetraturos a Domino, sed qui vult exorare, nihil haesitet. Notande est antithesis inter fidem, et haesitationem: unde colligere promptum est, fidem destrui, simul ac tollitur certitudo. CO 7.456. Also in Busch et al 1999 (Calvin Studienausgabe – band 3): 168.

⁹¹⁶Sicuti revera nulla est fides, ubi non est pignus hoc divini erga nos amoris. Hinc apparet, qualis sit in Papatu Christianismus, ubi impiae praesumptionis damnant, si quis Dei Spiritum habere se dicat. Fidem enim sine Dei Spiritu et sine certitudine imaginantur. Hoc unum dogma illustri argumento est diabolium infidelitatis patrem in omnibus Papistarum scholis regnare. COR 16.95, on Gal. 4.6.

Therefore, the believers ought not to listen to argumentation grounded on human judgment which questions one's assurance of salvation, but instead believe the testimony of the Spirit in one's heart, which confirms to the believers that they are children of God. The crying for the Father (*Clamantem: Abba Pater*)⁹¹⁷ of the Christian is therefore crying with boldness and unwavering confidence.⁹¹⁸ The last comment of the whole commentary is Calvin's further accentuation of the importance of assurance of salvation. Calvin stresses, commenting on the last phrase of the epistle (*Gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi cum spiritu vestro*), how important it is that the feeling of grace reaches to 'our spirit' (*spiritum nostrum*).⁹¹⁹

Calvin's *Galatians* does not consider in any detail the question of the works of regenerate Christians as confirmation for the fact that they are the children of God.⁹²⁰ Instead, Calvin gives some attention to the concept of adoption. Calvin sees a direct connection between assurance of salvation and adoption, and states that 'the effect is the sign of the cause' (*effectus signum est causae*).⁹²¹ Thus, if one has the confidence to call God one's Father, it is a sure sign that one has indeed been adopted into the family of God.⁹²²

5.2.4. Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh

The struggle between the Spirit and the flesh is examined in reference to Calvin's definition of the Spirit and the flesh, the nature of the struggle and finally, briefly examining Calvin's comment on the works of the flesh and the fruits of the Spirit.

The Spirit and the flesh are defined differently in various parts of Calvin's discussion. On the one hand, the Spirit refers to renewed nature while the flesh represents the natural human nature or human corruption, which is as far from righteousness as fire is distinct from water.⁹²³ On the other hand, the flesh

⁹¹⁷To be exact, Calvin only mentions the word *Clamantem* in his comment. However, it is clear from the context that he refers to crying to the Father with boldness. See on Gal. 4.6.

⁹¹⁸COR 16.95, on Gal. 4.6. See the whole context in COR 16.94-96, on Gal. 4.6. See also Goumaz 1917: 432 on the relationship between the gratuitous nature of salvation and assurance of faith.

⁹¹⁹*Ita gratiam illis precatur, ut non modo se liberaliter in eos effundat, sed eam quoque vero animi sensu apprehendant. Tunc enim vere illa fruimur, dum ad spiritum nostrum pervenit.* COR 16.150, on Gal. 6.18. Calvin makes no direct reference to the Holy Spirit in his last comment. However, as the work of the Holy Spirit is clearly connected with assurance of salvation elsewhere in Calvin's commentary, it seems appropriate to discuss this reference, too, under the theme of the work of the Holy Spirit.

⁹²⁰Järveläinen argues that while Calvin sees assurance of salvation as a 'sign for election', in contrast to Luther, he does not 'elaborate any detailed theory for distinguishing between subjective and objective certainty.' The notion was developed further by Jonathan Edwards in later Calvinism, however, Järveläinen affirms. Järveläinen 2000: 100, 104-113.

⁹²¹*Adoptionem cuius meminerat, ad Galatas pertinere ostendit argumento a consequenti. Prius enim est adoptatum esse a Deo quam habere a Spiritu Dei testimonium adoptionis. Sed effectus signum est causae. Spiritus Christi, inquit, vobis autor est atque hortator, ut audeatis Patrem vocare Deum. Ergo certum est vos esse Dei filios.* COR 16.94, on Gal. 4.6.

⁹²²COR 16.94, on Gal. 4.6.

⁹²³COR 16.129-130, on Gal. 5.17. See also COR 16.135, on Gal. 5.24.

represents concern for earthly things and the Spirit for the heavenly.⁹²⁴ Also, the flesh can be seen as referring to ceremonies without Christ or dead doctrine, while the Spirit is the opposite of seeing oneself as belonging to God by virtue of circumcision and lineal descent.⁹²⁵

The nature of the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh is outlined in some detail in Calvin's exposition of Gal. 5.16-20. Without God's Spirit humans are totally depraved and corrupt. Corruption permeates the total human being including what is best in them - their free will, for instance. Calvin explains that in themselves humans are nothing but flesh. That is why in their natural carnal state humans experience no battle between the Spirit and the flesh because they are completely under sin.⁹²⁶ When a person has been regenerated by the Spirit, however, holy affections come into being and a struggle begins in which both the flesh and the Spirit strive for domination. In this struggle, the Spirit has the upper hand so that one does not fulfil the lusts of the flesh. The death of the flesh, Calvin asserts, is the life of the Spirit.⁹²⁷ The human agent cooperates with the Spirit in this struggle by labour, fighting and self-denial.⁹²⁸ Despite the rule of the Spirit over the flesh, however, one is not perfect. Calvin affirms,

'Paul therefore declares that believers, so long as they are in this life, are not so victorious that they serve God perfectly, however much they strive.'⁹²⁹

Nonetheless, because the believers are no longer under the law, God regards them as if their conduct was totally perfect. The Spirit liberates one from the dominion of the law and therefore one can rest assured of one's acceptance in God's sight.⁹³⁰

It seems unnecessary to outline Calvin's explanation of the works of the flesh and the fruit of the Spirit in much detail. Instead, we will indicate only one important aspect of Calvin's exposition relating to both the works of the flesh and the fruit of the Spirit. First, following his comment on the works of the flesh

⁹²⁴COR 16.142-143, on Gal. 6.8.

⁹²⁵COR 16.62, on Gal. 3.3 and COR 16.71, on Gal. 3.14.

⁹²⁶Quum itaque tota hominis natura rebellis sit ac contumax adversus Dei Spiritum. ... Hic videmus, quo encomio Dominus ingenium nostrum ornet, quod scilicet nihilo melius illi cum rectitudine conveniat quam igni cum aqua. COR 16.129-130, on Gal. 5.17. For further comment on Calvin's view on the depravity of man, see section 5.6.5.

⁹²⁷Non quia penitus adhuc interierit caro, sed quia regnum exercere non debeat, quin potius Spiritui cedere. COR 16.135, on Gal. 5.24. For the larger context, see COR 16.133-135, on Gal. 5.22-25.

⁹²⁸Sudandum est ac serio pugnandum visque nobis inferenda, ut Spiritui obsequamur. Quare incipiendum a nostri abnegatione. COR 16.129-130, on Gal. 5.17.

⁹²⁹Pronuntiat itaque Paulus fideles, quantumcunque nitantur, non tamen eo usque eluctari, quandiu sunt in hac vita, ut perfecte Deo serviant. Volunt quidem et cupiunt, sed non respondet plenus affectus. COR 16.130, on Gal. 5.17.

⁹³⁰Hic est enim Spiritus, quem prius vocavit adoptionis. Qui quum liberos faciat homines, manumittit eos a iugo Legis. ... Nam tunc soluti eritis a Legis imperio, quia Lex erit tantum liberalis doctrina, quae vos admoveat. COR 16.130, on Gal. 5.18.

Calvin maintains that flesh includes, not only sensuality, but also the highest faculties of human beings, in accordance with his concept on the corruption of humans.⁹³¹ Conversely, following his exposition of some of the fruits of the Spirit, he comments that anything good in humans is due to the Spirit of God and God's grace.⁹³²

5.3. Law

The concept of the law is expounded in less detail in Calvin's *Galatians* than in Luther's *Galatians*. Therefore, there is no clear point by point description of the three uses of the law to be found in Calvin's *Galatians*, as there is in his *Institutio*, for instance. Nevertheless, the notion of the law is an important concept in the commentary.

Engels has given focused attention to Calvin's idea of the law in his commentaries on Paul. Compared to Engels' presentation of the subject, Calvin's concept of the law is presented here in a narrower sense than in Engels'. In his discussion Engels insightfully considers the larger context for Calvin's concept of the law relating to God's covenant and the relationship between the Old and New Testaments.⁹³³ While recognizing the validity of Engels linking of these themes, due to constraints of space and due to the fact that the relationship between the Old and New Testaments has already been discussed above, it seems better to limit the discussion here to Calvin's explicit treatment on the law in his *Galatians*.

Calvin's theological comment will be treated in three parts, relating to a) law as abrogated, b) the second and third uses of the law and c) ceremonial observances in Christian life. There are no direct references to Calvin's second use of the law (the law as a restraint in society for the wicked) in the commentary, and that is why this concept of Calvin's is not discussed any further here.

5.3.1. Abrogation of the Law

First, we will highlight a consideration relating to the definition of the law in Calvin's *Galatians*. Calvin, as well as Luther, rejects the notion that the abrogation of the law in Galatians deals exclusively with the ceremonial law. The abolishing of the law, which Paul discusses in Galatians, relates to all law, whether the moral or

⁹³¹COR 16.132, on Gal. 5.19. See also COR 16.129, on Gal. 5.17.

⁹³²COR 16.133, on Gal. 5.22. Calvin also affirms that it is not sufficient to identify one of the fruits of the Spirit in a person and conclude that they are true fruits of the Spirit. Other vices in the person may reveal that the flesh still reigns. Ita non aestimandum esse hominem spiritualement ab una virtute. Nam interea perspicuum fiet ex aliis vitiis carnem in illo dominari. See COR 16.134, on Gal. 5.22.

⁹³³See Engels 1967, vol.1: 17-73.

the ceremonial. Thus Calvin defines the law in Galatians in the same way as Luther - the law which Paul discusses is the whole law.⁹³⁴

Calvin's *Galatians*, much alike Luther's commentary, identifies and rejects what Luther calls the abuse of the law – law used for the purpose of attaining righteousness. This, according to Calvin, is antithetical to the concept of grace alone, whether one maintains the whole or a part of one's righteousness as being based on the works of the law.⁹³⁵ In this sense the whole law is abolished. The law had a legitimate role until the coming of Christ, but after his coming it had performed its function and the Mosaic office came to its end. Having affirmed in his comment on Gal. 3.19 and 3.25 that the law is abolished, however, Calvin on both occasions takes care to add that the law is not abolished completely or in that sense that it would have no meaning for the Christian.⁹³⁶ Its abrogation relates only to the issue of justification.⁹³⁷

In his exposition of Gal. 5.23, Calvin further illuminates the relationship between the law and the Christian. The freedom of the Christian from the law, both from its condemnation and from the observance of the ceremonies connected to the Old Testament covenant, is closely tied to the reign of the Spirit in the Christian heart.⁹³⁸ While the law continues its role of 'teaching and exhorting'

⁹³⁴For the definition of the law in Galatians as the whole law in Calvin's *Galatians*, see COR 16.8-9, Argumentum and COR 16.24, on Gal. 1.13.

⁹³⁵Unde apparet, quam pueriliter hodie ineptiant Papistae de dictione sola nobiscum rixando, perinde acsi nostra esset. Sed Paulo scilicet theologia Papistarum ignota erat. ... Ergo aut nihil aut totum adscribi debet fidei vel operibus. ... Porro quemquam mortalium iustificari negans tantundem sumit, acsi diceret exclude cunctos mortales a iustitia Legis nec fieri posse, ut quis ad eam perveniat. COR 16.51-52, on Gal. 2.16. See the larger context of the discussion in COR 16.48-52, on Gal. 2.15-16.

⁹³⁶Sed quaeritur, an non debuerit durare nisi ad Christi adventum. Nam si ita est, sequitur nunc esse abrogatam. Respondeo totam illam administrationem temporalem fuisse, quoniam in eum finem posita erat, ut populum veterem in Christi fide contineret. Non tamen concede Christi adventu totam Legem fuisse abrogatam. Neque hoc voluit Apostolus, sed tantum, sed tantum genus illud regiminis, quod interpositum fuerat, debuisset finem accipere in Christo, qui est promissionis complementum. COR 16.78-79, on Gal. 3.19. See also COR 16.86, on Gal. 3.25. The ceremonial Mosaic law had its purpose before Christ, but at his coming it was abolished. Utrunque breviter definit: suo tempore non fuisse supervacuas et nunc abrogatas esse Christ [sic] adventu, quia sit ipsarum veritas et finis. Quare in eo manendum esse docet. COR 16.9, Argumentum.

⁹³⁷Niesel makes a similar observation, 'From all this it should have become clear that Calvin does not teach in the strict sense an abolition of the law. In this regard he is at one with the New Testament witness. Because he interprets the law exclusively in the light of Christ there can be no question of its annulment. Jesus Christ is the heart of the law. For this reason, while we are free from the curse and compulsion of the law, from its ceremonies and political ordinances, we remain bound to its inner content. Christ came precisely in order to fulfil the law and in view of our transgression to provide relief.' Niesel 1980: 100.

⁹³⁸Irena Backus, in her consideration of natural law in Calvin, draws attention to the fact that there is a sense in which the Mosaic law is in effect for the believer. Nevertheless, it is only the moral part of the law Calvin refers to as being still in effect, summed up in love toward God and love toward one's neighbour. Backus states, 'He [Calvin] then explains that only the moral part of Mosaic law pertains to Christians. This moral law can be summed up in one universal law, valid for all times and for all nations, which is the love of God and one's neighbour.' This, in turn, is the ground for natural law in Calvin. See

(officium docendo et exhortando), the believer lives a new life aside from the law, being adopted and regulated by the Spirit.⁹³⁹

5.3.2. First Use of the Law

The greater part of Calvin's examination of the role of the law deals with its first use (roughly synonymous with Luther's second use of the law), that of the law as showing human sin and preparing one for Christ (usus elencticus legis). The third use of the law, on the other hand, that of the positive function of the law in the life of the Christian (usus in renatiis), is alluded to briefly, but on several occasions.⁹⁴⁰ The first use of the law is discussed a) relating to the nature of the convicting role of the law, b) in terms of the differing roles of the law in the Old and New Testaments and c) in reference to the temporal nature of the first use of the law.

The first use of the law is treated on several occasions in Calvin's *Galatians*. In his comment on Gal. 3.19 and Gal. 3.22, Calvin explains that the law shows humans their sin in such a way that it only condemns, and by its sentence of everlasting destruction strikes fear into the heart, thus compelling humans to admit their guilt.⁹⁴¹ In his exposition of Gal. 2.19, Calvin points to the same reality in a way that appears even more forceful. Calvin contrasts two kinds of death, that of the human agent with that of Christ. Calvin maintains that the law, in condemning humans, leads them both to despair and to death.⁹⁴² This death needs an antidote,

Backus 2003: 25. Neither the concept of natural law nor the second use of the law relating to civil society is, however, referred to in any significant way in Calvin's *Galatians*. It also needs to be borne in mind that the concept of the abrogation of the law is important for the specific issues in Calvin's commentary on *Galatians*, because the abolishing of the law relates to justification. However, elsewhere the law, including the moral law, has its purpose and is necessary.

⁹³⁹Nempe quod ubi regit Spiritus, Lex non habeat amplius imperium. Nam Dominus corda nostra formando in suam iustitiam liberat nos a Legis rigore, ut non agat nobiscum ex eius pacto, nec conscientias nostras sub reatu teneat. Lex interea officium suum facere non desinit docendo et exhortando. Sed Spiritus adoptionis a subiectione liberat. COR 16.134, on Gal. 5.23. See also section 5.3.3. for further discussion on the third use of the law.

⁹⁴⁰In *Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis* 1545 Calvin classifies two offices for the law (duplex legis officium). The first is a condemning function toward unbelievers (corresponding to what is termed the second use elsewhere). The second function relates to believers and has three parts, including a) the preparing, humiliating function, leading the person to seek Christ b) the office of showing the inability of believers to obey the law perfectly, thus reminding of their guilt and keeping them from pride and c) the role of acting as a restraint for believers to keep them in the fear of the Lord. These three roles of the law for the believer loosely correspond to the first and third uses of the law as discussed by Calvin elsewhere. Compare e.g. OC 111.227-112.228 with InstFa: 176-184.

⁹⁴¹Legem enim latam fuisse intelligit, ut transgressiones palam faceret eoque modo homines cogeret ad agnitionem sui reatus. ... Respondeo, utcunque veram iustitiam demonstret, tamen in hac naturae corruptione nihil quam augeri transgressiones eius doctrina, donec accedat Spiritus regenerationis, qui ipsam cordibus inscribat. COR 16.77-78, on Gal. 3.19. See also COR 16.82, on Gal. 3.22.

⁹⁴²Calvin discusses the first use of the law also in his *Deux congrégations*, pointing to the fact that the law 'kills' the one it convicts (Gal. 2.19) before the new life is obtained in Christ. Le péché est découvert par la Loy et voyla comme elle nous occit. ... La Loy donc par accident nous tue, d'autant qu'elle nous est un miroir pour nous faire contempler nostre condamnation. ... S. Paul montre que nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ ne nous met point en condamnation, mais c'est la Loy ; et au reste, combien que

another death, that of crucifixion with Christ for the purpose of finding life with God.⁹⁴³ Thus the law, in its first convicting role (*usus elencticus legis*), has the specific purpose of preparing humans to find a remedy to their predicament through faith in Christ's free righteousness.

Calvin also briefly outlines the slightly differing roles of the law in the Old and New Testaments in his *Galatians*. Discussing Gal. 3.23-24, Calvin describes the law as a preparation for Christ in two ways, as a prison and as a schoolmaster. The law as a prison refers to the temporary function of the law for the people of the Old Testament. The law restricted them and limited them for their benefit, while at the same time the symbols of the law pointed them to Christ. The law as a schoolmaster, on the other hand, illustrates the function of the law as the grammar of theology for Christians today, leading them to faith.⁹⁴⁴ In this function (*usus elencticus legis*), the law works as a mirror, showing how far one is from the righteousness required by the law. Until something better than the law is found, one finds no rest.⁹⁴⁵

It is also evident in Calvin's discussion that the first role of the law is temporal. The convicting role of the law (*usus elencticus legis*) comes to an end when the person, having sought the only possible remedy of Christ's grace, is clothed by Christ's righteousness through faith. It is therefore when the Spirit, in regeneration, comes and writes the law on human hearts (*usus in renatiis*) that the believer is freed from the convicting function of law.⁹⁴⁶

5.3.3. Christ the Mediator of the Law and the Third Use of the Law

Engels has demonstrated the significance of the concept of Christ as the Mediator of the law in Calvin's commentaries on the epistles of Paul.⁹⁴⁷ The same concept

nous mourons à la Loy quand nous sommes morts avec Christ, toutesfois que nous obtenons vie nouvelle. ... que nous apprenions de detester nos pechez et estre effrayez en telle sorte de son iugement, qu'estans desesperes en nous-mesmes, nous puissions confesser à bon escient les misereres et corruptions qui sont en nous ; à fin que nous embrassions nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ, pour nous tenir du tout à luy et ne mesler point nos ordures parmi sa pureté, mais que nous cognoissions qu'il est la racine et source de toute iustice. DC 24,25,27,31 (55, 60-61,70)

⁹⁴³COR 16.53-54, on Gal. 2.19. In his recent consideration of the first use of the law in Calvin, Elonheimo also maintains that the purpose of the law is not to lead the person to despair, but to prod them forward to seek God. Elonheimo states, 'Obwohl das Gesetz ihn unentschuldigbar macht, ist sein Ziel nicht, den Menschen zur Verzweiflung und Hoffnungslosigkeit zu führen, sondern zur Suche nach Gott zu bringen.' Elonheimo 2006: 178.

⁹⁴⁴The illustration of prison as a description of the purpose of the law for the people of the Old Testament and the illustration of a schoolmaster delineating the role of the law for Christians are partly interchangeable. However, Calvin primarily treats them as separate concepts in the way they are outlined above.

⁹⁴⁵COR 16.83-85, on Gal. 3.23-24.

⁹⁴⁶COR 16.77-78, on Gal. 3.19 and COR 16.83-85, on Gal. 3.23-24.

⁹⁴⁷See Engels 1967, vol. 1: 48-54. Engels states, 'Christus ist der einzige Mittler; ausschliesslich durch die intercession meriti Christi wird Gottes Bund zu allen Zeiten vermittelt und zugeeignet. Auf Grund seiner gottheitlichen Gewalt ... ist Christus sogar Geber und Urheber des Gesetzes ... Christus als die

appears also in Calvin's *Galatians*. Calvin creates no contrast between Moses and Christ in the way Luther does. While Luther identifies the mediator of the law as either angels or Moses in contrast to Christ who ordained only the Gospel,⁹⁴⁸ Calvin, in contradistinction to Luther, identifies Christ as the Mediator of the law.⁹⁴⁹ Thus Calvin regards Christ as the Giver of both the law and the gospel. This is evident also in his reference to three different mediatory roles of Christ, 1) the Mediator of reconciliation (Mediator reconciliationis), 2) Mediator of intercession (Mediator patrocinii) and 3) Mediator of all doctrine (Mediator omnis doctrinae), the last one of which is the role assumed by Christ in his giving of the law. Calvin elucidates Paul's intent in the passage,

'He wanted to state this expressly that the Galatians might learn that He who is the foundation of the free covenant held also the primacy in giving the law.'⁹⁵⁰

Calvin's view on the third use of the law, that of its positive function in the life of the Christian, is also interesting in this context. Corresponding to his identification of Christ as the Mediator of both the law and the gospel, Calvin also regards the law as having not only a negative function of showing human sin, but also a positive function of instructing and correcting regenerate Christians. Calvin sees this as the primary role of the law, although he sees that Paul's letter to the Galatians focuses more on the convicting function of the law.⁹⁵¹

Interestingly, Calvin believes it important to caution that while Paul limits himself to one use of the law in the discussion regarding Gal. 3.19 (the convicting function), there are several other uses of the law, which it is dangerous to forget.⁹⁵² In the same context, Calvin only mentions one further use of the law here, however, that of law as profitable for doctrine and exhortations (in reference to 2. Tim. 3.16).⁹⁵³ It is also attention-grabbing that almost every time Calvin discusses

Erfüllung und der Erfüller des Bundes ist Mittler von Gesetz und Evangelium. ' Engels 1967, vol. 1: 51, 53.

⁹⁴⁸Compare WA 40a.494.28-32, on Gal. 3.19 with COR 16.79-80, on Gal. 3.19.

⁹⁴⁹At the same time, it needs to be borne in mind that in the same manner as Calvin draws a contrast between the law and the gospel with regards to justification, he can also talk of a contrast between Christ and the law (Christ does not condemn, the law does), as evident in his later statement in *Deux congrégations*. Nous avons donc encore maintenant l'intelligence de ce passage: c'est que S. Paul monstre que nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ ne nous met point en condamnation, mais c'est la Loy; et au reste, combien que nous mourons à la Loy quand nous sommes avec Christ, toutesfois que nous obtenons vie nouvelle. DC 27 (60-61).

⁹⁵⁰Et hoc nominatim exprimere voluit, ut discerent Galatae eundem, qui fundamentum sit gratuitum foederis, primas etiam tenuisse in Lege promulganda. COR 16.80, on Gal. 3.19.

⁹⁵¹Compare Calvin's *Institutio* CO 1.3.101 with his statement in his commentary on Galatians in COR 16.77, on Gal. 3.19.

⁹⁵²Video enim plerosque hallucinari, quod nullam aliam Legis utilitatem agnoscunt, quam quae hic notatur. COR 16.77, on Gal. 3.19. It could be postulated that Calvin here indirectly refers to Luther as seeing only one beneficial role for the law. See a brief discussion on the issue in section 2.4.3.4.

⁹⁵³COR 16.77, on Gal. 3.19. Presumably Calvin means by the many other uses of the law the second, civil use of the law and the various functions of the law under the heading of its third use, that of the law

the first use of the law, he also briefly mentions the third use of the law, that of law as a positive guide for the Christian, not wanting to give the impression that there is no law whatsoever for the Christian. The content of these instances is briefly summarised here.

While the first function of the law is only temporal, the law in its third function is perpetual. In this function, the law acts as an everlasting rule for the Christian life. Calvin affirms,

‘The Law, so far as it is a rule of life, is a bridle which keeps us in the fear of the Lord, a spur to correct the slackness of our flesh, in short, so far as it is profitable for teaching, correcting, reproof, that believers may be instructed in every good work, is as much in force as ever, and remains intact.’⁹⁵⁴

Accordingly, believers are under the law in all other senses except in relation to justification, a point at which the law is abrogated for believers.⁹⁵⁵ The third role of the law is therefore to be seen as a positive one, where the law acts kindly, teaching and exhorting, but not condemning or restraining the Christian conscience, which is free on account of Christ’s righteousness.⁹⁵⁶

5.3.4. Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life

Calvin maintains that the Mosaic ceremonial observances had their purpose and legitimate role during the time of the Old Testament. Now, however, after the coming of Christ, they are no longer in effect. Nevertheless, Christians are free to use ceremonies for the purpose of edification (*usus in aedificationem*), bearing in mind that their use does not deprive Christians of their liberty. The imposing of ceremonies to bind the conscience by the mediaeval church is therefore rejected.⁹⁵⁷ Sacraments, on the other hand, are maintained because they act as aids to faith (*fidei adminicula*) in Christ.⁹⁵⁸

as a positive guide in the Christian life. See also *Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis* 1545, where Calvin lists one role of the law relating to unbelievers and three functions of the law with reference to believers. OC 111.227-112.228. See footnote 540 under section 5.3.2 for further detail.

⁹⁵⁴ *Respondeo Legem, quatenus regula est bene vivendi et fraenum, quo in timore Domini retinemur, et stimulus ad corrigendam pigritiam carnis nostrae, denique quatenus utilis est ad docendum, corrigendum, redarguendum, ut instituantur fideles ad omne bonum opus, hodie non minus valere quam olim menereque intactam.* COR 16.87, on Gal. 3.23. See also COR 16.93, on Gal. 4.4, where Calvin states of the law in its third function, ‘Regula enim bene et sancta vivendi perpetua est.’

⁹⁵⁵ COR 16.236, on Gal. 4.21.

⁹⁵⁶ COR 16.130, on Gal. 5.18 and COR 16.134, on Gal. 5.23.

⁹⁵⁷ *Liber enim erat caeremoniarum usus in aedificationem, modo non spoliarentur fideles sua libertate, nec illis necessitas imponeretur, a qua eos eximit Euangelium.* COR 16.46-47, on Gal. 2.14. See also COR 16.91-92, on Gal. 4.1 and COR 16.33, on Gal. 2.3. The observances of the Old Testament had the command of God behind them, while those required by the pope were demanded exclusively by a human authority. COR 16.91-92, on Gal. 4.1. See also on Gal. 2.14.

⁹⁵⁸ COR 16.119, on Gal. 5.6. See section 5.6.4. for a brief discussion on Calvin’s comment on the sacraments in his *Galatians*.

Commenting on Gal. 4.10, Calvin discusses the observance of days in civil society and affirms that civil observance of days contributes in a positive way to agriculture, politics, ordinary life and church government. These observances, however, ought not to be taken as binding, as they are in the papacy.⁹⁵⁹

Thus, with regard to all outward matters, Christians are free. In determining how to relate to issues which are indifferent (*quum res media esset*), what to observe and what to leave out, Calvin affirms, love for one's neighbour is the best guide.⁹⁶⁰

5.4. Good Works

The concept of good works is discussed in three parts, beginning a) with a delineation of the relationship of good works to justification and Christian liberty and b) followed by an analysis of Calvin's exhortation relating to love as the motivation for good works and c) with regards to his comment on good works in practice.

5.4.1. Relationship of Good Works to Justification and Christian Liberty

When Calvin expounds Gal. 3.12, 3.17-18 and 5.6, he gives focused attention to the issue of good works in relation to justification.⁹⁶¹ Calvin strongly emphasises the importance of retaining the exclusive particle (regarding the exclusion of good works from justification) in the matter of justification (*mordicus retine particulam exclusivam*). Faith cannot be separated from the Spirit of regeneration, but when one discusses justification, one must take great care that love and works are excluded.⁹⁶² Nevertheless, corresponding to Calvin's view regarding the positive, third use of the law, he explains that it is only in relation to the issue of justification that good works are antithetical to faith. While justification is by faith alone, faith never remains alone. Calvin asserts,

⁹⁵⁹COR 16.97-98, on Gal. 4.10. See also COR 16.91-92, on Gal. 4.1.

⁹⁶⁰*Ergo charitas in usu rerum indifferentium optima erit moderatrix, si modo semper primus habeatur fidea respectus.* COR 16.33, on Gal. 2.3.

⁹⁶¹See also Calvin's *Acta Synodi Tridentinae Cum Antidoto* (1547) on the relationship of faith and good works. CO 7.453-455.

⁹⁶²*Nos autem veram fidem negamus a spiritu regenerationis posse divelli. Sed quum de iustificationis causa agitur, tunc excludimus omnia opera. ... Ergo quum versaris in causa iustificationis, cave ullam caritatis vel operum mentionem admittas: sed mordicus retine particulam exclusivam.* COR 16.120, on Gal. 5.6. Goumaz argues that Calvin's view of the new life of the Christian does not threaten Christian freedom, instead, it establishes it. Goumaz states, 'La vie nouvelle, avec son abnégation, nous laisse-t-elle libres? demandions-nous. Réponse: non seulement elle nous laisse libres, mais elle nous rend libres.' Goumaz 1948: 168.

'It is not our doctrine that the faith which justifies is alone. We maintain that it is always joined with good works. But we contend that faith avails by itself for justification.'⁹⁶³

Faith leads to good works and consequently God's law ought to be kept. On the other hand, Calvin specifies, it is only those good works which are performed on the grounds of God's preceding acceptance of the person and faith which are acceptable in God's sight.⁹⁶⁴

How, on the other hand, is the notion of human merit relating to good works to be explained? Calvin answers by a four point clarification of the issue. He affirms, first of all that humans only perform good deeds on the basis of God's grace.⁹⁶⁵ Second, good works, done under the direction of the Spirit, are fruits of having been adopted by God and third, even these good deeds, performed by regenerated Christians, are stained by sin and thus, in themselves, would deserve only condemnation. Fourth, it must be borne in mind that a reward is due only if God's law is obeyed perfectly, which humans are far from achieving.⁹⁶⁶ Thus the papal position, that of merit acquired by works for the purpose of attaining eternal life, is rejected. According to Paul, as Calvin affirms, merit is indeed granted for good works, namely, for the benefits resulting from the believers' good deeds. This notion can be accepted because any good that the believers do is a result of God's free grace.⁹⁶⁷

Calvin also gives some attention to the relationship of good works to Christian liberty. He reaffirms that the conscience of the Christian is free, and

⁹⁶³Neque enim fidem, quae iustificat, docemus solam esse, sed bonis operibus perpetuo coniunctam esse asserimus. COR 16.120, on Gal. 5.6.

⁹⁶⁴COR 16.143, on Gal. 6.8. See also COR 16.75, on Gal. 3.17.

⁹⁶⁵Calvin maintains in his sermons on Galatians, rather like Luther, that it is only works performed on the grounds of faith, which God accepts and rewards. Compare with sections 4.3.2. and 4.4.2. Or notons aussi quand Dieu nous iustifie, que c'est par foy : c'est à dire par sa bonté gratuite et pure : et qu'alors il faut que nous acquiescions à sa promesse, en vertu de laquelle il nous approuve et accepte, voire et nos oeuvres quant et quant: non pas entant qu'elles procedent de nous: mais d'autant que nous les faisons par la grace de son S. Esprit, il les approuve et les alloué comme iustes, voire iusques à les remunerer, comme toute l'Escriture en es pleine. Mais tout cela aussi procede de la foy. Car quand nous sommes iustifiez de Dieu: c'est à dire reputez iustes, nos oeuvres sont aussi iustifiees: c'est à dire Dieu les repute pour iustes encores qu'il n'ay ait aucune dignité. CO 50: 489, Dixseptieme sermon, on Gal. 3.7-9.

⁹⁶⁶Despite the fact that Calvin holds that humans will never reach perfection in the present life, he holds to a high view of sanctification, as indicated in his later sermons on Galatians. He exhorts the believers to pray and repent before God until there would be 'nothing but purity left in us' (qu'il n'a ait plus que pureté en nous). See CO 50.620. Vingtseptieme Sermon. Galatians 4.11-14.

⁹⁶⁷COR 16.143, on Gal. 6.8. In a related discussion in Calvin's exposition of Gal. 3.17, Calvin treats a scholastic notion in a positive sense, namely, that good works can be seen as meritorious on the grounds of God's acceptance. Calvin asserts, however, that good works are accepted only because of the underlying acceptance of God, and because of God's covenant, not because of any merit inherent in human works. Nihil affirmo quod non concedant scholastici theologi. Neque enim opera docent intriuseca dignitate meritoria esse salutis, sed acceptatione Dei (ut loquuntur) et ratione pacti. COR 16.75, on Gal. 3.17.

enjoys Christian liberty. Yet, to demonstrate that Christians are not passive blocks of wood, they are to control their flesh by love and show the reality of their faith in the exercise of love in good works.⁹⁶⁸

5.4.2. Love of One's Neighbour

Calvin's treatment of love towards one's neighbour is central to his understanding of good works.⁹⁶⁹ Calvin first enquires in his discussion why it is love toward one's neighbour, representing the second table of the Decalogue, which Paul refers to as fulfilling the whole law ('tota lex' as fulfilled by 'diliges proximum') instead of alluding to the superior first table of the Ten Commandments on love towards God. In response, Calvin affirms that love toward one's neighbour proves whether the love of the Christian is real.⁹⁷⁰ Calvin further considers to whom one ought to show love and proceeds to identify all humans as our neighbours. Thus one ought to love one's enemies as well, for they, too, bear the image of God. Considering the practical side of Christian love, Calvin explains that love towards one's neighbour ought to be shown by acts of kindness, preferring all others to oneself,⁹⁷¹ doing no harm to one's neighbour, but instead rendering every one their right and doing good to all as much as one can.⁹⁷²

The attention is now turned to practical examples of good works Calvin outlines.

5.4.3. Good Works in Practice

Calvin likens good works to seed sowing. He affirms that seed sowing aptly illustrates acts of goodness, which, if one perseveres in them, will bear fruit in time.⁹⁷³ Three kinds of examples of good works are outlined in some detail by Calvin, namely, those of correcting others / bearing others' burdens, being faithful in one's calling, and providing financially for ministers.

⁹⁶⁸COR 16.125-126, on Gal. 5.13, COR 16.119-121, on Gal. 5.6. In the same way as the Jews were regulated by ceremonies, Christians are regulated by love. Nam sicuti in Christo Iesu fidem cum charitate commendat, ita ante Christi adventum requirebantur caeremoniae. COR 16.121, on Gal. 5.6.

⁹⁶⁹See also the importance of the command to love for Calvin's concept of good works, especially toward one's neighbour, in *Catechismus Ecclesiae Genevensis* (1545) in OS: 110.217-111.223.

⁹⁷⁰COR 16.126-127, on Gal. 5.14.

⁹⁷¹Calvin rejects a view ascribed to the Sorbonnists (Sorbonici – a theological viewpoint associated with the university of Sorbonne) who argued the love of oneself to be primary based on the principle 'what is ruled is inferior to what rules' (regulatum inferius sit sua regula). Calvin affirms, by way of contrast that love towards others is primary. COR 16.127, on Gal. 5.14.

⁹⁷²Nam qui diligent, unicuique ius suum reddet, nemini erit iniurius aut nocebit, benefaciet quoad poterit omnibus. Quid autem aliud tota secunda tabula agit? ... Praesertim vero imago Dei vinculum coniunctionis sacrosanctum esse debet. Itaque hic amici et inimici discrimen non est. Neque enim hominum improbitas ius naturae delere potest. Particular 'sicut teipsum' hoc valet: quemadmodum quisque affectu carnis propensus est ad se amandum, ita nobis commendari a Deo amorem erga proximos. COR 16.127, on Gal. 5.14. See also COR 16.127-128, on Gal. 5.14, COR 16.138-139, on Gal. 6.2 and COR 16.144, Gal. 6.9.

⁹⁷³COR 16.142, on Gal. 6.7 and COR 16.144, on Gal. 6.9.

In distinction to Luther who discusses the correction of one's neighbour (primarily) in the context of ministry, Calvin treats this issue in reference to Christian good works in general. Calvin maintains that one always ought to take care that correction of each other is done gently. One ought to begin by censuring oneself,⁹⁷⁴ and only then, bearing one's own weakness in mind, in a lenient way caution the other person. However, one should not overlook the others' faults but ease their burden by correcting them in a friendly way.⁹⁷⁵

Calvin also addresses the question of being faithful to one's calling, though much more briefly than Luther. Calvin admonishes that one ought not to draw comparisons between oneself and others and highlights that only praise based on faithfulness to one's own task is truly deserving of commendation. He elucidates Paul's comment,

“Let him lay aside all regard to others, examine just his own conscience and inquire what is his own work.” It is not what we gain by detracting from others, but what we have without any comparison, that is truly praiseworthy.⁹⁷⁶

Further, Calvin, as well as Luther, bemoans the unfortunate situation that Christian ministers were frequently not remunerated properly, even leaving them at times with hardly any food.⁹⁷⁷ Turning to the question on how much the pastors should be provided with, he notes that the provision ought to be moderate though not luxurious. In response to an expected excuse, namely, the complaint of the people that they do not have sufficient means to provide for their pastors, Calvin responds that the appreciation of Christ and the gospel is indicated by the faithfulness of each person also in this issue.⁹⁷⁸

⁹⁷⁴Calvin, quoting a proverb, exhorts one to remember ‘the wallet that hangs behind our own back’ when correcting others. *Tu quisquis es, inquit, qui censorem agis in alios, te quoque respice. Nihil enim difficilium quam nos adducere ad propriae infirmitatis recognitionem vel examen. Quum simus in notandis aliorum vitiis plus quam acuti, quod ad nostra ‘non videmus maticae quod in tergo est’, ut inquit ille. ... Meminerimus ergo a nobis incipere, quoties agenda est de vitiis censura, ut infirmitatis [sic] nostrae memores erga alios simus moderati.* COR 16.137-138, on Gal. 6.1.

⁹⁷⁵*Portare autem onera iubet, non ut indulgentia aut dissimulatione foveamus mala, quibus premuntur fratres, sed potius ut illos exoneremus.* COR 16.138, on Gal. 6.2.

⁹⁷⁶*Sed omisso aliorum respectu suam unius conscientiam excutiat, et quale sit suum opus consideret. Ea demum est vera laus, non quam aliis detrahendo nobis conciliamus, sed quam habemus sine comparatione.* COR 16.129, on Gal. 6.4. See the whole passage in COR 16.129-130, on Gal. 6.4.

⁹⁷⁷Calvin states rather stringently on the meagre provision often given for evangelical ministers, ‘Deinde hic astus est Satanae, alimentis fraudare pios ministros, ut Ecclesia talibus destituatur.’ COR 16.141, on Gal. 6.7. See also COR 16.141-142, on Gal. 6.6.

⁹⁷⁸COR 16.141-142, on Gal. 6.6-7.

5.5. Ministry

Calvin treats the theme of ministry frequently within his commentary. It seems fully justified that Feld has identified it as one of the significant themes of Calvin's *Galatians*.⁹⁷⁹ Most of Calvin's comment on ministry is in the form of brief exhortation on various unrelated aspects of ministry instead of being a systematic treatise on the subject.⁹⁸⁰ Calvin's treatment of the concept is addressed in five parts, first on the calling to and honour of the position of ministry, second, on the true and false gospel in ministry, third, on the task of ministry, fourth, on restoring the fallen and fifth, on popularity in ministry.

5.5.1. Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry

Calvin, as well as Luther, affirms in his comment on Gal. 1.1 that the calling to gospel ministry can come either directly from God (immediate ab ipso Domino), which was the case in the calling of the apostles, or through a human instrument (per hominem). Calvin, in distinction to Luther, however, affirms that the ordinary call coming through a human instrument originates in the vote of the people rather than in a prince's choice.⁹⁸¹

There are several occasions where Calvin affirms the honour of the position of gospel ministry. Commenting on Gal. 4.19, Calvin notes how remarkable it is that God's task, that of forming Christ in their hearers, is performed through human agents, the ministers. On this account, their work deserves praise. However, in their own person, without their office and without the Holy Spirit working through them, the ministers are nothing.⁹⁸² Calvin asserts the honour of ministry in the fact that ministers perform a task similar to that of angels in being God's messengers and in spreading 'the most excellent of all blessings', (bonum omnium longe excellentissimum) the doctrine of eternal salvation.⁹⁸³ In response, the congregation ought not only to honour, but also to love their minister, a love

⁹⁷⁹See Feld 1992: xxix.

⁹⁸⁰Much of Calvin's comment relating to ministry is exegetical in nature, dealing with his discussion on Paul's ministry as addressed in Galatians. Calvin's theological comment relating to ministry tends to be brief and thus does not always form a clear overall picture of the subject. Nevertheless, his exposition gives sufficient material for the aspects of ministry outlined above.

⁹⁸¹Paulus ipse oppidatim cum Barnaba suffragiis presbyteros creabat. ... Atque ista est ordinaria ratio eligendi Pastores. COR 16.12, on Gal. 1.1. For more detail on Calvin's discussion on a calling to ministry *per hominem* in distinction to *non per hominem / immediate ab ipso Domino*, see COR 16.12-13, on Gal. 1.1.

⁹⁸²Et hic insignis est locus de efficacia ministerii. Proprium quidem Dei est spiritualiter gignere et parere. Sed quia instrumentis ad id utitur, ministro et praedicatione, quod suum est, illis adscribit, propterea quod cum hominis opera coniungit Spiritus sui virtutem. Semper retineamus illam distinctionem, quod quum Deo minister opponitur, nihil est ac nihil potest, sed organum est inutile. Caeterum quia efficaciter Spiritus sanctus per ipsum operatur, transfertur etiam ad ipsum laus et titulus agendi. COR 16.104, on Gal. 4.19.

⁹⁸³COR 16.101, on Gal. 4.14. While recognising the honour of their work, the ministers should, following the example of Paul, admit their weakness. COR 16.101, on Gal. 4.14.

which in turn encourages a positive attitude towards the gospel.⁹⁸⁴ Accordingly, Calvin affirms that wherever God's grace is truly perceived in ministry, one should submit to it, not worshiping men, but honouring God, the Giver of the gifts.⁹⁸⁵ Calvin does not extend this kind of honour to any kind of ministry, however. Addressing the papists who maintain their authority on account of their position, he affirms that they ought first hold to the pure Word before any honour is due to them.⁹⁸⁶

5.5.2. True vs. False Gospel in Ministry

In his discussion of Gal. 1.7-9 Calvin contrasts true gospel ministry with a false one. The latter is primarily ascribed to papists. Calvin affirms that true gospel ministry purely exhibits Christ while a false one has no clarity regarding the issue of justification.⁹⁸⁷ Accordingly, Calvin rejects the claim of the papists that Paul only forbids other gospels, not all additions to the Word of God. By way of contrast, Calvin affirms that the gospel is sufficiently and clearly expounded by Paul.⁹⁸⁸ That is why it ought to be presented without any additions, and with certainty and conviction.⁹⁸⁹ Similarly, all gospel ministry, following Paul's example, ought to remain in subjection to God's Word, and be founded on pure knowledge in contrast to the implicit trust required in the papacy.⁹⁹⁰

⁹⁸⁴Non satis est exhiberi Pastoribus reverentiam, nisi etiam animos. Haec enim duo sunt necessaria, quia alioqui suavis non erit doctrinae gustus. COR 16.102, on Gal. 4.15.

⁹⁸⁵COR 16.29, on Gal. 1.24 and COR 16.40-41, on Gal. 2.9.

⁹⁸⁶Caeterum frustra hoc praetextu superbiunt Papistae. Nam quum sint manifesti Christi hostes, quam ridiculum est arripere plumas servorum Christi, quibus sese venditent? Ergo qui volunt pro Angelis coli, officium faciant Angelorum. Qui instar Christi audiri volunt, purum eius verbum fideliter nobis afferent. COR 16.101, on Gal. 4.14.

⁹⁸⁷Neque enim stat Christus, et Euangelii doctrina corrui, ubi alio transfertur laus hominis iustificandi et conscientii laqueus induitur. Semper enim videndum, quae sint in Euangelio praecipua. Haec qui oppugnat, destructor est Euangelii. COR 16.18, on Gal. 1.7.

⁹⁸⁸Puerile igitur est Papistarum subterfugium, quum sic Pauli verba eludunt ... Deinde non prohiberi, quin aliquid addatur, sed tantum alia euangelia damnari. Nam Pauli quale ferit, quoad nostra scire interest, non obscure ex eius scriptis colligimus. COR 16.20, on Gal. 1.9. Calvin highlights the importance of purity in doctrine in his *Deux congrégations*. He maintains that while Christian concord is important, the whole gospel needs to be retained as pure, because even one error corrupts the whole. Quand donc il est question de nourrir concorde et union entre nous, il nous faut avoir ce que Dieu approuve, c'est à scavoire d'être humbles et d'obéir à sa Parole. ... Car nous devons bien poiser ce mot, que ce n'est pas assez d'avoir l'Evangile en confus et une portion: mais il nous le faut avoir entier, ou autrement il est corrompu. DC 6,7 (13-14, 15).

⁹⁸⁹COR 16.20, on Gal. 1.9.

⁹⁹⁰Quid enim profuerit dare nomen Euangelio et nescire, quid sibi velit? Apud Papistas quidem id forte sufficeret, ubi valed fides implicita. Sed apud Christianos nulla est fides, ubi nulla est cognitio. ... Non alios sibi hoc modo subiicit, sed omnes secum, ut par est, cogit in ordinem, ut verbo Dei sint subiecti. COR 16.19, on Gal. 1.8.

5.5.3. Task of Ministry

Calvin's comment on the task of ministry relates to 1) the relationship of ministry to the work of the Holy Spirit, 2) the issue of opposing false teachers, 3) God's gifts in ministry, 4) preaching and 5) other issues.

The minister's task is highly honoured by God (as noted above) because ministers participate, as God's agents, in the task of forming Christ in their hearers, an aspect of Calvin's commentary drawn attention to also by Feld.⁹⁹¹ Calvin elucidates Paul's comment on the forming of Christ in people through his ministry (donec formetur [in vobis Christus]; Gal. 4.19),

'True, it is the work of God that we are begotten and born; but because He employs a minister and preaching as His instruments for that purpose, He ascribes to them what is His, so joining the power of His Spirit with the activity of man.'⁹⁹²

Calvin is careful to explain, however, that it is God's Spirit, who makes the ministry efficacious. This is also connected to a related concept of God's Spirit employing humans as His agents. When the Spirit gives grace and gifts for the task of ministry, one ought to be careful to glorify God the Giver of the gifts rather than honour the humans employed as agents.⁹⁹³

Calvin, in a rather interesting passage, explains Paul's opposition to false teachers in relation to the concept of the glory of God in relation to human affairs. Referring to Paul's imprecation directed at false teachers ('Utinam et abscindantur, qui vos conturbant'; Gal. 5.12) Calvin explains the kind of zeal that 'every true pastor of the church' will burn with. Calvin points out that the desire to promote the glory of God and the welfare of the Church ought to supercede the desire for the salvation of the individual false teacher, who threatens the flock of God.

'Believers, earnestly intent on promoting the glory of God, forget men and the world and would rather that the whole world should perish than that any part of God's glory should be lost. ... It is a cruel mercy that prefers one man to the whole Church. On one side I see the flock of God in danger;

⁹⁹¹Feld states, 'Der *Evangelii minister* ist *organum* Gottes: durch ihn ist der Geist Gottes *efficaciter* tätig. Er vollzieht als *instrumentum* das Wirken Gottes, weil Gott in der Predigt die Kraft seines Geistes mit dem Werk des Menschen verbindet.' Emphasis in the original. See Feld 1992 : xxix.

⁹⁹²*Proprium quidem Dei est spiritualiter gignere et parere. Sed quia instrumentis ad id utitur, ministro et praedicatione, quod suum est, illis adscribit, propterea quod cum hominis opear coniungit Spiritus sui virtutem.* COR 16.104, on Gal. 4.19.

⁹⁹³See COR 16.41, on Gal. 2.9 and COR 16.29, on Gal. 1.22-24. Similarly, Calvin cautions in his sermon on Ephesians that Scripture ought to be handled with reverence and care so that the interpretation may truly be in step with the Spirit's work. It appears evident that this applies especially to ministers. Car là nous avons un advertisement pour nous tenir en bride, à fin que nous soyons vraiment disciples de Dieu, nous deffians de nous-mesmes, et que nous n'allions point chercher ciq pieds en un mouton (comme on dit) mais que nous traittions l'Escriture sainte en telle reverence, que Dieu nous conduise en la vraye intelligence d'icelle par son saint Esprit. CO 51.773, Quarantedeuxieme sermon, on Eph. 5.31-33. See also Zachman 2003: 481-507 for further discussion on Calvin's theology connected with preaching.

on the other I see a wolf on the attack, spurred on by Satan. Ought not care for the Church to swallow up all my thoughts so that I desire to purchase its salvation with the destruction of the wolf? And yet I would not wish that any should perish like this...⁹⁹⁴

Calvin also comments on some aspects of preaching. The first relates to the content of preaching. He affirms that in one's preaching one ought to focus on the cross of Christ and paint Christ crucified so clearly that there is no need for pictures in the churches.⁹⁹⁵ As with Luther, the second point is an exhortation for ministers to accommodate their style to one's hearers so that the people are capable of understanding what the minister has to say.

Other themes addressed by Calvin on ministry include his stress on a holy zeal and jealousy which all pastors ought to display in their work.⁹⁹⁶ Furthermore, one of Calvin's last comments in the epistle exhorts ministers to be orderly and habitual, following the good pattern of Paul, a passage which makes one think of Calvin's own well disciplined lifestyle.⁹⁹⁷

5.5.4. Gentleness in Restoring the Fallen

Calvin's comment on Gal. 4.12 and 4.20 aptly represents Calvin's argument on the appropriate form of correction which the minister ought to practice. Calvin affirms that one ought not to have primary regard for mere justice in correcting the lapsed but rather do all one can to win the fallen person back to God. Calvin affirms,

'It is the part of a wise pastor to consider, not what those who have erred may justly deserve, but how he can call them back to the way. He must

⁹⁹⁴Ita fit, ut in gloriam Dei promovendam intenti fideles mundi et hominum obliviscantur, ideoque malint totum mundum interire quam decedere aliquid gloriae Dei. ... Crudelis enim misericordia, quae hominem unum toti Ecclesiae praefert. Video ab una parte gregem Domini, qui periclitatur, video eregione lupum Satanae instinctu grassantem. An non Ecclesiae cura sic absorbere totam meam cogitationem debet, ut eius salutem lupi exitio redimi cupiam? Neque tamen hoc modo quenquam velim perditum. Sed Ecclesiae amor et solitudine me rapit quasi in ecstasin, ut nihil aliud curem. Nemo igitur verus erit Ecclesiae Pastor, qui non simili zelo ardeat.' COR 16.124, on Gal. 5.12. For the whole discussion, see COR 16.124-125, on Gal. 5.12.

⁹⁹⁵COR 16.60-61, on Gal 3.1. One may see a reference here to Calvin's negative relation to images in churches. See CO 1.384-393 for the larger context of Calvin's discussion on images. It is interesting to note that Calvin has added material on the commandment forbidding images in the successive editions of Institutes, adding sections both for the 1543-45 and the 1550-54 editions. Finally, in 1559, Calvin moved the lengthy discussion from its place as the exposition of the second commandment to form a separate chapter of its own in Institutio, book 1, chapter 11, thus leaving the exposition of the second commandment much shorter and more compact in the 1559 edition. See CO 1.1I and CO 1.384-393.

⁹⁹⁶COR 16.103, on Gal. 4.17-18.

⁹⁹⁷Nomen regulae posuit ad exprimentum certum et perpetuum tenorem, cui insistere debent omnis pii Euangelii ministri. Quemadmodum enim architecti, quae extruunt aedificia, ad normam exigent, ut singulae partes iusta proportione inter se ac symmetria cohaereant, ita canonem assignat Verbi ministries, quo rite et ordine Ecclesiam aedificant. COR 16.149, on Gal. 6.15.

charge them in season and out of season, but with all gentleness and patience, as he [Paul] elsewhere commands.⁹⁹⁸

One must come to the level of the fallen, and to demonstrate gentleness, in accordance with the proverb, ‘to be loved, you must be lovable’ (Ut ameris, amabilis esto).⁹⁹⁹

5.5.5. Popularity in Ministry

In parallel to Luther’s discussion on *κεδοδοξία* (vainglory), Calvin also treats the issue of popularity in ministry.

Calvin affirms that gospel ministers ought not to attempt to gain honour from humans. True ministers must on the one hand be strong enough to ‘despise the favour of men’ while on the other it is important not to cause offence to the weak.¹⁰⁰⁰ False apostles, by way of contrast, strive after popularity, applause and their own ease. Calvin gives an example of these kind of apostles by affirming the existence of ministers who asked the people to honour the Roman papacy only for the sake of protecting themselves. In reality, these ministers loved their own advantage and the smell of the kitchen rather than the Roman church.¹⁰⁰¹ The true apostle, by way of contrast, endeavours to remain faithful to Christ and strives to edify the church.¹⁰⁰²

5.6. Other Concepts

According to this study the concepts discussed above were clearly the most important in Calvin’s *Galatians*. There are some other notions as well, however, which Calvin treats more briefly. Six of these are succinctly addressed here, including Calvin’s view on God’s providence, the scandal of the cross / suffering as

⁹⁹⁸Hoc prudentis est Pastoris, non respicere, quid mereantur, qui errarunt, sed quid conveniat ipsis in viam revocandis. Itaque arguere debet opportune, importune, sed cum omni lenitate et patientia, quemadmodum alibi praecipit. COR 16.99, on Gal. 4.12. See also COR 16.104, on Gal. 4.20. Calvin adds the name Paul explicitly in the edition of Galatians 1556. See COR 16.99, note ‘t-u’.

⁹⁹⁹Atque hic rursus officii sui admonentur Pastores, ut quoad possunt, accedant ad populum seque conformet (ut loquuntur) eorum ingenii, quibuscum agunt, si velint illos habere morigeros. Valet enim semper illud: ‘Ut ameris, amabilis esto.’ COR 16.100, on Gal. 4.12.

¹⁰⁰⁰Sec hinc colligenda est generalis illa doctrina, quam dixi: Quicumque volunt fideliter Christo servire, eos debere fortiter contemnere hominum gratiam. ... Nostrum igitur est quasvis offensas non reformidare, modo tamen infirmos a Christo non alienemus. COR 16.22, on Gal. 1.10.

¹⁰⁰¹Calvin affirms that these ministers, while apparently honouring the papacy, cared in fact as little for the decisions of the Roman see as they did for the braying of an ass. Loquor de aulicis apostolis et quicumque nidorem culinarum sequuntur. Tanquam ex tripode pronuntiabunt sanctae Romanae ecclesiae reverenter observanda esse statute. Quid ipsi interim? Nihilo pluris faciunt omnia Romanae sedis oracula quam asini ruditum. COR 16.146, on Gal. 6.13. See the larger context of the discussion in COR 16.145-146, on Gal. 6.12-13.

¹⁰⁰²COR 16.145-146, on Gal. 6.12-13.

a Christian, the church, the Lord's Supper, human depravity and interpretation of Scripture. Some aspects of Luther's comment on the corresponding minor themes of God's providence, human depravity and interpretation of Scripture in his *Galatians* have been briefly noted here in a footnote to facilitate comparison (as these three were not treated in section 4.7 above).

Some thought was given to including a consideration of the theme of edification in this section,¹⁰⁰³ which T. D. Parker considers as central in Calvin's commentary. However, most of what Parker appears to include under the heading of edification, has been sufficiently treated in the sections above.¹⁰⁰⁴

5.6.1. Predestination

Calvin does not treat predestination in much detail in his commentary. It is noteworthy, however, that he alludes to the theme clearly more frequently than Luther.¹⁰⁰⁵ Calvin's fullest treatment of God's providence (on Gal. 1.15) includes an interesting three step description, according to which the first step is the 'eternal predestination of God' (aeternam Dei praedestinationem), followed by the 'destination from the womb' (designationem ab utero), succeeded by 'calling' (vocatio), 'the effect and accomplishment of both' (effectus et complementum utriusque).¹⁰⁰⁶ Thus, for instance, 1) Paul had been predestined from eternity, and 2) his destination as a preacher to the Gentiles was known to God already at his birth, but 3) this became a living reality to Paul only at his calling on the road of Damascus.¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰³ Calvin typically follows his exegetical comment with a brief application to either doctrinal themes or practical issues in Christian life. (This differs from Luther, who usually treats a certain issue in some detail in an extended, coherent discussion.) Some of the applications Calvin makes could have appropriately been included under the heading of edification. For some examples, see Calvin's comment on COR 16.16, on Gal. 1.5 (exhortation on thankfulness to God for his mercy), COR 16.29, on Gal. 1.20 (exhortation on swearing) and COR 16.46, on Gal. 2.14 (instruction regarding public rebuke of public sin in church).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Parker defines the theme of edification as follows, 'What Calvin is interested in as the goal of Bible study is the edification of Christians, 'learning to place our trust in God and to walk in the fear of Him,' through Jesus Christ, who, as the end of the law and essence of the gospel, is the only right object of a Christian's faith.' See Parker 1963: 68-69.

¹⁰⁰⁵ For Calvin's references to the theme of predestination, see COR 16.16, on Gal. 1.4, COR 16.25-26, on Gal. 1.15, COR 16.73-74, on Gal. 3.16, COR 16.92, Gal. 4.4 and COR 16.107, on Gal. 4.23. In the passages above, the closely related themes of God's providence, predestination and election have all been included together. Luther does not appear to address the issues of election and predestination in a significant way in his *Galatians*, apart from cursory remarks on Gal. 1.15. There Luther maintains that predestination removes the possibility of all human merit. All physical and spiritual gifts and every good deed that one ever does, come to the Christian by God's predestination and grace before one's birth. This was the reason underlying Paul's knowledge of the gospel and his appointment to ministry. WA 40a.139.30-140.24, on Gal. 1.15.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Sed interdum Scriptura solet ponere istos tres gradus: aeternam Dei praedestinationem, designationem ab utero et vocationem, qua est effectus et complementum utriusque. COR 16.25, on Gal. 1.15. See the whole exposition of the verse in COR 16.25-26, on Gal. 1.15.

¹⁰⁰⁷ COR 16.26, on Gal. 1.15.

It is important to bear in mind that for Calvin, as for Luther, the theme of God's predestination does not appear in a negative light in the commentary, which differs significantly from the commonly held repulsion against Calvin's doctrine of predestination in some modern literature.¹⁰⁰⁸ The conclusion Calvin draws from the doctrine of predestination is that it excludes the possibility of all human merit.¹⁰⁰⁹ Thus the Israelites, chosen from their birth on the basis of physical ancestry in the time of the Old Testament, were not called because of their own worthiness, but because of God's mercy. Similarly, the salvation and faith of Gentile believers, whose calling involves no physical ancestry, depends on God's free election, not on their good works.¹⁰¹⁰

5.6.2. Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian

There is no such explicit and consistent linking of the notions of the scandal of the cross and the theme of suffering as a Christian in Calvin's commentary as there is in Luther. Calvin affirms the scandal of the cross to be, in the eyes of the world, that Christ takes our sins, and becomes a sinner in our stead.¹⁰¹¹ When discussing persecution, Calvin maintains that there is nothing which ought so to alarm Christians as the fact that the gospel, God's adoption, promise and grace are despised and persecuted.¹⁰¹² Calvin exhorts believers to fortitude in persecutions¹⁰¹³ and reminds that one can find consolation in God's promises of peace and mercy to

¹⁰⁰⁸F. For instance, Cameron states, 'According to Calvin, purely of his own pleasure God has predestined us to either salvation or damnation. In terms of the nature of perversion, Calvin's doctrine is ingenious in terms of the implication it has for thinking about authority. Not only does it create a void by presenting a God indifferent to human affairs, but who, on the contrary, chooses to arbitrarily save some of His unworthy subjects.' Cameron 2003: 31. For studies with more detail and depth on Luther's doctrine of predestination see e.g. Brosche 1978. For a treatment of Calvin's doctrine on God's providence as well as for background information on Augustinian and Thomistic doctrines on predestination, see Davies 1992.

¹⁰⁰⁹Calvin links the doctrines of election, calling and justification together in his comment on the phrase 'Gratia estis salvati' (Eph 2.8) in his commentary on Ephesians. *Est quasi conclusio superiorum. Ideo enim et de electione, et de vocatione gratuita disseruit, ut ad hanc summam perveniret, eos sola fide salutem consequutos esse. Primum ergo salutem Ephesiorum asserit Dei unius esse opus, et quidem gratuitum. Eos vero hanc gratiam fide amplexos. Hic enim considerandus est Deus: inde homines. Deum quidquam nobis debere negat. Est igitur mera gratia, non merces aut retributio, quod salvat. Nunc quaeritur, quomodo salutem ex manu Dei sibi oblatam percipient homines. Respondet, fide. Hinc concludit, nihil igitur hic esse nostrum. Nam si ex parte Dei est sola gratia: nos autem nihil praeter fidem afferimus, quae nos spoliat omni laude: sequitur, non esse ex nobis. CO 51.165, on Gal. 2.8.*

¹⁰¹⁰Calvin refers to the Jews who claimed that it was their merit which set them apart from other nations and rebuts their view by ascribing their election to God's calling alone, 'Iactabant quidem id se consequutos esse suo merito. Verum Scriptura ex adverso reclamationem totum e Dei vocatione pendere.' See COR 16.73, on Gal. 3.16. See also COR 16.25-26, on Gal. 1.15 and COR 16.73-74, on Gal. 3.16.

¹⁰¹¹COR 16.70-71, on Gal. 3.13.

¹⁰¹²COR 16.111-113, on Gal. 4.29.

¹⁰¹³COR 16.4, Christophoro Duci Wirt. Calvin affirms that believers should make no compromises to please others even in the face of persecution; instead, they should strictly and fully hold to the pure doctrine of the gospel. COR 16.123-124, on Gal. 5.11.

his own and in the fact that ‘Ishmael’ will no longer persecute ‘Isaac’ in the world to come.¹⁰¹⁴

There are two passages, however, where Calvin, at least to some extent, links the scandal of the cross and Christian suffering, namely, his comment on Gal. 5.11 and Gal. 6.17. Calvin affirms that a false gospel meets with the favour of the world, while the true gospel, upholding the offence of the cross (*scandalum crucis*), invites persecution.¹⁰¹⁵ Further, Calvin identifies the *stigmata* of Paul as his physical sufferings for the sake of the gospel (as does Luther) and asserts that in the same way Christians partake of Christ’s cross and its shame.¹⁰¹⁶

5.6.3. Church

Despite the brevity of Calvin’s comments on the church in his commentary, there are several aspects of Calvin’s thinking on the church which he outlines clearly. Commenting on Gal. 1.2, Calvin identifies the external marks of a church as professing Christianity and worshipping one God, having a form of ministry of the gospel and maintaining the sacraments. Also, the fact that the Galatian church is still called a church by Paul indicates that churches are not perfect although what is wrong in them needs to be condemned. The notion of the church as a communion of believers in contrast to a conception of church as an institution, seems reflected in Calvin’s assertion that Paul, if he were there in Calvin’s day, would not identify the church as a building, but instead perceive a scattered church.¹⁰¹⁷ Accordingly, in Calvin’s exposition of Gal. 4.26-27, he maintains that believers are strangers and pilgrims in this world, and they belong to the true church, having the heavenly Jerusalem above as their mother, chosen on the grounds of grace and faith, by the Spirit. Calvin regards the church as essential to salvation, however. He asserts that there is no salvation outside of the church, because the church is the instrument, chosen by God to bring up believers from childhood to maturity.¹⁰¹⁸

¹⁰¹⁴COR 16.149, on Gal. 6.16 and COR 16.113, on Gal. 4.30. Calvin affirms here that the persecution of the Epicureans is even more distressing than that of the papists. Calvin probably refers to the Genevan party of the Libertines who constantly opposed him. See section 2.1.2 for further detail on Calvin and the Libertines.

¹⁰¹⁵COR 16.123-124, on Gal. 5.11.

¹⁰¹⁶Nam sicut militiae terrenae sunt sua decora, quibus militum virtutem imperatores insigniunt, ita dux noster Christus suis insignibus ormate, quorum egregia opera usus est, ut inter alios emineant conspicui. Sed multum haec differunt ab illis prioribus. Resepiunt enim crucem. Ideo sunt ignimiosa coram mundo. COR 16.150, on Gal. 6.17.

¹⁰¹⁷Respondeo, quum illic esset professio Christianismi, quum esset unius Dei invocatio, sacramentorum usus et quaecunque ministerium, superfuisse adhuc Ecclesiae insignia. Non igitur semper ea extat in Ecclesiis puritas, quae desiderari possit. ... Si Paulus hodie viveret, miseris illic Ecclesiae ruinas et horrendam dissipationem agnosceret, nullum aedificium. COR 16.14, on Gal. 1.2.

¹⁰¹⁸COR 16.110-111, on Gal. 4.26-27. This does not, however, apply to the Roman church who appeal for the Protestants to return to them, because, Calvin affirms, they have adulterated the true meaning of a church. See COR 16.110-111, on Gal. 4.26.

5.6.4. Lord's Supper and the Sacraments

Calvin refers directly to the Lord's Supper only twice, while he addresses the subject of the sacraments in general on a few more occasions. The content of the general references to sacraments is briefly outlined here, too, as they also apply to the issue of the Lord's Supper.

Calvin affirms that sacraments are aids to faith (*fidei adminicula*),¹⁰¹⁹ and that their purpose is to preserve faith.¹⁰²⁰ Further, God's grace is present in the sacraments. However, God's grace is a benefit only to those who recognise their true meaning while the wicked derive no benefit from them. In this way the true meaning of the sacrament is preserved, namely, that God's grace is truly present in the sacrament, while God's divine action is not confused with the symbol.¹⁰²¹ Accordingly, despite the reality of God's grace being present, not all receive its benefit.¹⁰²² In baptism and in the Lord's Supper humans do nothing, but passively receive God's grace. At the same time, God's grace is received by faith in Christ, and not by virtue of the act itself (*opus operatum*) as the Catholics maintained. Calvin considers circumcision as the sacrament of the Old Testament, replaced by baptism and Lord's Supper in the New Testament. However, sacraments ought not to be confused into the issue of obtaining righteousness. It is outside of justification that sacraments are consistent with God's promise. Calvin further affirms that the use of the Lord's Supper and baptism ought to be perpetual, according to the will of Christ.¹⁰²³

On the specific controversy over the Lord's Supper, Calvin's comment is very brief. He bemoans the fact that many, having seen significant representatives of the faith taking opposite sides, were led astray by the controversy over Christ's bodily presence in the sacrament.¹⁰²⁴ Calvin relates to the controversy in a different manner than does Luther. Luther highlights the importance of strict purity in doctrine and warns of making any compromise with the Sacramentarians (*Sacramentarii*).¹⁰²⁵ Calvin's brief statement, on the other hand, appears to mirror the attitude according to which the variant understanding on the Lord's Supper ought not to have become a matter to divide the church, a view ascribed by Luther

¹⁰¹⁹Interim tamen non excludit nostra sacramenta, quae fidei adminicula sunt, sed breviter confirmat, quod attigerat de spirituali Dei cultu. COR 16.119, on Gal. 5.6.

¹⁰²⁰COR 16.74-75, on Gal. 3.17.

¹⁰²¹Hoc modo neque ad signum transfertur, quod proprium Dei est, et tamen sacramentis vis sua constat, ne pro inanibus et frigidis spectaculis habeantur. COR 16.87, on Gal. 3.27. See the whole discussion in COR 16.86-87, on Gal. 3.27.

¹⁰²²COR 16.86-87, on Gal. 3.27.

¹⁰²³See COR 16.75, on Gal. 3.17 and COR 16.117-118, on Gal. 5.3.

¹⁰²⁴Dici vix potest, quam multos retardaverit ab Euangelio, quam multorum fidem concusserit infausta illa de Christi corpore digladiatio, eo quod primariae autoritatis viros cernebant adeo hostiliter pugnare de quaestione maxima. COR 16.32, on Gal. 2.2.

¹⁰²⁵See section 4.7.4. for further discussion and references.

to Sacramentarians.¹⁰²⁶ Calvin's brief comment on Gal. 5.15 seems to lend some further support to this view. The whole of Calvin's statement is quoted below,

'Would that we always remembered, when the devil tempts us to disputes, that the disagreement of members within the Church can lead to nothing but the ruin and consumption of the whole body. How unhappy, how mad it is, that we who are members of the same body should voluntarily conspire together for mutual destruction!'¹⁰²⁷

5.6.5. Human Depravity

Calvin discusses the theme of human depravity in some detail on two occasions in his commentary.¹⁰²⁸ Both times Calvin's treatment of human depravity is closely tied with his discussion on justification. The depth of human depravity indicates the absolute necessity for humans of Christ's help in bringing about anything good. In his exposition of Gal. 1.4, Calvin affirms that the whole world has 'nothing but sin and wickedness'.¹⁰²⁹ Further, unless Christ's grace renews humans, Calvin repeats even more strongly that there is 'nothing in us but unmixed wickedness'.¹⁰³⁰ The purpose for which Christ died, was therefore to redeem humans from their sin and separate them from the world.¹⁰³¹

¹⁰²⁶See WA 40b.45.23-46.28, on Gal. 5.9.

¹⁰²⁷Utinam istud semper occurreret, quoties diabolus nos ad contentiones sollicitat, ex intestines scilicet membrorum dissidiis non posse aliud provenire quam totius corporis exitium et consumptionem. Quam miserum autem ac insanum est sponte nos, qui eiusdem sumus corporis membra, in mutuam perniciem conspirare? COR 16.128, on Gal. 5.15. However, Calvin makes no direct reference to the issue of the Lord's Supper in this instance and therefore his statement could also be seen to refer to local disputes. Due to the fact that Calvin does not elucidate his statements on the Lord's Supper in his *Galatians* any further, one should not draw any far-reaching conclusions on the basis of his commentary in one direction or the other.

¹⁰²⁸Luther's view on human depravity is similar to Calvin's, but he does not appear to stress it as strongly as does Calvin in his *Galatians*. One of the most characteristic ways of Luther to describe human sinfulness is in the context of the *simul iustus et peccator* concept. See e.g. WA 40a.194.14-198.17, on Gal. 2.11 and WA 40a.312.14-313.23 on Gal. 3.1. In his statements on human depravity, Luther maintains the complete depravity of human reason and spiritual endowments (spiritualia) in all issues pertaining to salvation. Natural endowments (naturalia) are sound, but only in the physical realm such as in governing society and in building a house. Thus, similarly to Calvin, Luther maintains that due to human incapacity, Christ took the initiative to save humans. WA 40a.293.18-294.30, on Gal. 2.20. Further, human nature, or 'the old man' (Luther quotes Paul for this term - Paulus vocare solet Veterem hominem), is evil from birth. This old nature is put off in baptism where humans are born again, receive Christ and are regenerated so that new holy impulses come into being. WA 40a.540.17-541.25, on Gal. 3.27. Nevertheless, the corrupt human flesh remains even in believers and resists the work of the Holy Spirit. In this struggle, however, the Spirit holds the upper hand. Also, God accounts the believers as righteous, despite their remaining sin, through Christ's imputed righteousness (*simul iustus et peccator*). WA 40b.83.34-86.19, on Gal. 5.16. See section 4.2.3. for further discussion.

¹⁰²⁹Ita qui ex mundo nati sunt, nihil habent praeter peccatum et malitiam, non creatione, sed corruptione. COR 16.15, on Gal. 1.4.

¹⁰³⁰Testatur enim extra renovationem, quae fit Christi gratia, nihil esse in nobis nisi meram nequitiam. COR 16.16, on Gal. 1.4.

¹⁰³¹See COR 16.15, on Gal. 1.4.

Calvin's second treatment of human depravity is briefer. In his comment on Gal. 2.17, Calvin affirms that the Jews mistakenly believed that they were holy above other nations, and this apart from Christ. Instead, Calvin indicates that they share human sin and pollution in the same manner as the Gentiles and that is why for them, too, the only way to righteousness is through the grace of Christ.¹⁰³²

5.6.6. Interpretation of Scripture

Calvin briefly addresses the issue of the interpretation of Scripture on two occasions.¹⁰³³ First, commenting on Gal. 1.8, Calvin upholds the primacy of Scripture over human authority. He affirms that implicit faith in the interpretation of the church is not sufficient for the Christian, implying that every believer ought to study the Scripture for themselves and to submit to its authority.¹⁰³⁴ Calvin further specifies, expounding Gal. 4.22, that the true (*verum*), literal (*literalis*) or natural

¹⁰³²See COR 16.52-53, on Gal. 2.17 and 2.18.

¹⁰³³Luther does not treat the interpretation of Scripture in the commentary in any longer expositions. However, there are some brief allusions to the concept.

Neither the church nor the pope ought to have authority over the interpretation of Scripture. Instead, Scripture itself has the primary authority. WA 40a.119.21-120.25, on Gal. 1.9. The authority of Scripture is set against papal interpretation on the one hand, which seeks to affirm righteousness by works and the Anabaptist interpretation on the other, which claims that it is they who have found the true spiritual meaning of the Scriptures. Compare WA 40a.362.28-363.27, 364.29-365.17, on Gal. 3.6 and WA 40b.96.17-97.16, on Gal. 5.17 with WA 40a.323.20-30, on Gal. 3.1 and WA 40a.627.30-628.20, on Gal. 4.12.

Scripture can only be understood correctly through the help of the Holy Spirit. WA 40a.449.33-450.14, on Gal. 3.13, WA 40a.423.20-31, on Gal. 3.11. The right way of interpreting the Scripture is to leave one's preconceived ideas behind and to pay careful attention to the text itself and its preceding and consequent context. WA 40b.36.24-37.15, on Gal. 5.6. Accordingly, the plain literal meaning of the text is preferred and the fourfold sense of Scripture of mediaeval scholasticism is rejected, a point which is in agreement with Calvin. (According to the fourfold sense of Scripture, Jerusalem, for example, is literally Jerusalem as the earthly city, topologically a pure conscience, allegorically the church militant on earth and anagogically the church triumphant in heaven). The fourfold sense of Scripture, Luther asserts, obscures the true meaning of Scripture so that consciences are deprived of the certainty they need. Nevertheless, and this is where Luther deviates from Calvin, Luther admits that allegories may be used where appropriate, such as when Paul used the allegory relating to Hagar and Ishmael, the earthly and the heavenly Jerusalem. However, utilising the allegorical interpretation of Scripture is dangerous if one does not know Christian doctrine perfectly. Compare WA 40a.652.30-653.20, on Gal. 4.21 with WA 40a.662.12-28, on Gal. 4.26. It is further important in Luther's view that Christ has authority over all Scripture. Therefore, when one is challenged, it is important to stay with Christ, the King of Scripture, against those scriptural passages, which apparently assert righteousness of works. WA 40a.458.19-459.24, on Gal. 3.14. See also WA 40a.414.24-418.11, on Gal. 3.10. For a fuller treatment of Luther's approach to allegories in his 1531/35 commentary on Galatians, see e.g. Maschke 1997: 28-29.

¹⁰³⁴Calvin affirms that 'there is no faith where there is no knowledge'. Apud Papistas quidem id forte sufficeret, ubi valed fides implicita. Sed apud Christianos nulla est fides, ubi nulla est cognitio. ... Non alios sibi hoc modo subiicit, sed omnes secum, ut par est, cogit in ordinem, ut verbo Dei sint subiecti. COR 16.19, on Gal. 1.8.

and obvious (*germanus et simplex*) meaning of Scripture ought to be preferred.¹⁰³⁵ Calvin rejects the method of allegorical interpretation, which he affirms to be Satan's strategy to divert the readers of Scripture from its pure meaning.

¹⁰³⁵Sciamus ergo eum esse verum Scripturae sensum, qui germanus est ac simplex, eumque amplectamur et mordicus teneamus. COR 16.107, on Gal. 4.22. See the whole discussion on the passage in COR 16.106-107, on Gal. 4.22.

6. Comparison of Substantial Concepts in Luther's and Calvin's *Commentaries on Galatians*

The comparison of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* below demonstrates a far-reaching agreement between the two reformers encompassing nearly all main subjects relevant to their commentaries. It should therefore not come as a surprise that Luther at one stage commended Calvin's books and that Calvin saw Luther as an eminent servant of God.¹⁰³⁶ Nevertheless, as much as Calvin held Luther in high regard, he is by no means a carbon-copy of his predecessor. Despite some early influences from Luther, he expresses his theology in an independent way.¹⁰³⁷ Rather, it seems that both reformers, considering the same Biblical text, without any direct dependence of Calvin's commentary on Luther's, have come to largely the same conclusions.¹⁰³⁸

This is not to say that the commentaries of Luther and Calvin are similar. There is great variance in the way the German and the Swiss reformers present their theology. Where Luther is profound, creative and personal in his presentation of theological concepts, Calvin is precise and systematic focusing on the concepts themselves rather than in their colourful illustration. The observation seems to mirror Marc Lienhard's comparison of the two reformers' interpretation of the Lord's Prayer, where Luther's style is seen as existential and concrete as compared to the more philosophically oriented Calvin.¹⁰³⁹ For instance, we would not find in Calvin the kind of vivid illustrations of the duel of Christ with the law or of the law as being the ass which must be left behind in the valley while the conscience stays with the gospel on the mount with Abraham. Instead, we find a point-by-point presentation of the meaning of faith, or a caution not to overlook the exhorting function of the law, when focusing on its accusing office, for example. In the comparison below, the differences in style are sidelined, however, for the purpose of focusing on similarities and differences in the concepts themselves.

¹⁰³⁶The books Luther had read probably included also Calvin's *Institutio* 1539, which introduces the basic content of the theology present in Calvin's commentary on Galatians as well. See section 2.4.3.4. for further discussion.

¹⁰³⁷With 'independent', in addition to the fact that there does not appear any direct interdependence between the commentaries, I mean the fact that Calvin differs from Luther significantly in style and in the way he presents theological concepts. See sections 2.2. and 2.4.3.4. for further discussion. Despite the difference in style, however, the subject matter of the theological concepts in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* appears to be in large degree of agreement, while some differences remain.

¹⁰³⁸At the same time, it needs to borne in mind that Luther and Calvin did not live in a vacuum but had been influenced by various factors during their reformatory careers. For instance, both shared the 16th century situation where the evangelical faith was defined against Catholic beliefs on the one hand and Anabaptist ideas on the other. Calvin had also been affected by other reformers and, as Hesselink observes, he was, at least in some sense, a second generation reformer. See Hesselink 1984: 69.

¹⁰³⁹See Lienhard 1992: 86-87.

In addition to the different styles and personalities of the two reformers as evident in their commentaries, there is another caution to be made. As Gottfried W. Locher poignantly notes, there is a tendency in comparisons between the reformers to stress their differences, which easily leads to overlooking the great extent of existing agreement.¹⁰⁴⁰ Accordingly, an attempt is made below to outline both agreements and differences to a sufficient degree.¹⁰⁴¹

Further, when evaluating the results of the present study, it needs to be borne in mind that the results are partly influenced by the chosen subject. In a study of this kind, where the focus is on a biblical commentary, the subjects treated are limited, to a large extent, to the ideas present in Paul's epistle to the Galatians. That is why Calvin, for instance, does not emphasize the third use of the law as much as he may have done had he been commenting on another book in the Bible, and he, like Luther, stresses the second use of the law, as this is a key subject within the epistle.¹⁰⁴² Therefore, when evaluating the results of this study, it is useful to bear in mind also other kinds of studies which focus on a single subject or on the whole of Luther's and Calvin's theology. These other kinds of studies can pay more attention to the larger context and the underlying key notions than a study which compares a number of substantial concepts in a biblical commentary. There are strengths and weaknesses in studies of each kind. Studies on a single subject or on the whole of Luther's and Calvin's theology tend to prioritize interpretative insight while they run the risk of being subjective. Studies examining and comparing the main themes in a biblical commentary, on the other hand, have as their strength that they can be more comprehensive and objective while they may risk having too little depth. Studies of both kinds can therefore complement each other.

The results of this study, therefore, ought to be seen in the larger context of other studies which compare Luther's and Calvin's thought. At the same time, one ought to bear in mind the significance of studies of the present kind. It is significant that a far reaching agreement emerges on key notions of Galatians. This is further accentuated by the fact that the identified large degree of agreement deals not only with which themes Luther and Calvin have identified as central in Paul's epistle to the Galatians but also with the two reformers' respective understanding of the central concepts. It is also important to bear in mind what is meant in the discussion below with the words 'difference' and 'disagreement' and on the other

¹⁰⁴⁰Locher states, 'To compare the Reformers and to reach deeper understanding of them, it is necessary to distinguish one from the other. But immediately there arises the danger of overemphasizing their differences, of laying too much stress upon contrasting attitudes instead of properly assessing their similarities. ... When we question the motives of the Reformation movement we must not be surprised at the different answers we reach ... rather we should be amazed at the complete fullness of what they have in common.' Locher 1967: 6-7.

¹⁰⁴¹Even then, it is recognized, the description of the differences may be liable to take up proportionately too much attention. Nevertheless, they have to be highlighted in a comparison of this kind.

¹⁰⁴²Conversely, focusing on a biblical book which highlights a theme where Luther and Calvin obviously differ, would produce different results.

hand, ‘identical’ and ‘similar’. The more polarised words ‘identical’ and ‘disagreement’ have been used with caution in the present study, while the more elliptical words ‘similarity’ and ‘difference’ have been generally preferred. Some further explanation appears necessary regarding the sense in which the word ‘difference’ is used below. It usually does not indicate outright disagreement, but instead refers to a) variance in emphasis or b) variance to some degree in the subject matter of the issues treated. For instance, there is a difference in that Luther talks much about the comfort for one’s conscience when addressing the concepts of justification and the work of the Holy Spirit. It would be wrong to say Calvin disagrees, although he does not discuss the theme much in his *Galatians*. Instead, this represents a difference in emphasis. An example of a certain degree of variance in the subject matter of the issues treated can be found in Luther’s and Calvin’s notions on the second and third uses of the law, for instance. Both similarities and differences have been identified below in Luther’s and Calvin’s concepts on this subject. Although some would also identify a disagreement, the word difference has been preferred below. There is similarity in that there is a large degree of agreement on the convicting function of the law, and further similarity/difference in what Luther identifies as the second use of the law, since these partly overlap with what Calvin sees as part of the third use of the law. Further, there is clear difference on Calvin’s stress on a separate third use of the law, its function as a positive guide in the believers’ lives, a separate identification for which cannot be found in Luther. Nevertheless, the word ‘difference’ has been preferred to ‘disagreement’ since Luther also discusses the law as a positive guide in the believers’ lives.

The comparison of the substantial concepts in Luther’s and Calvin’s commentaries is facilitated by the fact that the major themes in each commentary are largely the same. Therefore, each of the substantial themes is addressed, including justification, the work of the Holy Spirit, law, good works and ministry in addition to the theme of the scandal of the cross and suffering as a Christian, present in Luther, but only in little detail in Calvin.

Three kinds of variance are highlighted, a) issues where the difference is primarily in emphasis, b) subjects where the difference is more significant and c) clear disagreements. However, as shown below, there are only a few subjects which fall into the second category, and even fewer, which fall into the third.

6.1. Similarities and Differences on Justification

It is noteworthy that both Luther and Calvin regard justification as fundamental to their understanding of doctrine. Both also cover much of the same ground in their discussion. This section includes a comparison of Luther’s and Calvin’s concepts on

justification in their *Galatians* in reference to the contrast between righteousness by works to that by faith, the role of Christ in justification, law and gospel, the relationship between the Old and New Testaments and Christian liberty.

6.1.1. Similarities and Differences in the Contrast between Righteousness by Faith and Righteousness by Works

The two reformers hold a far-reaching agreement in the concepts underlying justification as also maintained by Boyer and Hesselink.¹⁰⁴³ Both Luther and Calvin most often discuss justification in terms of its contrast to righteousness by works. Luther and Calvin see eye to eye on the fact that justification takes place by faith alone, excluding works and the law. Both also see justification as grounded in God's mercy and free imputation of Christ's righteousness to the believer, categorically excluding the consideration of the person's inner qualities such as one's love or merits as playing any part in being justified. Further, both Luther and Calvin, presenting the doctrine of righteousness by faith, contrast it with the teaching of the Catholic church (Luther and Calvin) or the Anabaptists (Luther) on justification, rejecting the mediaeval notion of congruous and condign merit (Luther and Calvin) and the Anabaptist stress on the necessity of new obedience for justification (Luther).¹⁰⁴⁴

However, one can find several differences in the *manner* in which Luther and Calvin present the contrast between righteousness by faith and by works. Luther is more extensive than Calvin, which is understandable considering the comparative length of the two commentaries. Luther also uses more illustrations on the meaning of justification including, among others, the contrast between passive and active righteousness and the Abraham of faith against the Abraham of procreation, which do not appear in Calvin in this form. For instance, in the introduction to the commentary, while Luther contrasts human-produced active righteousness to the one of faith, which passively receives Christ's righteousness from God, Calvin outlines the importance of paying attention to the general principle of justification by faith alone, which determines one's correct relation not only to ceremonies but to all law. Further, where Luther contrasts two 'kinds' of Abraham on Gal. 3.7-9, pointing to the natural human way by which Ishmael was

¹⁰⁴³Boyer states, 'Calvin reste fidèle à Luther pour le maintien d'une seule justice, celle qui n'est pas nôtre, celle qui ne devient pas réelle en nous, celle qui est seulement du Christ et qui nous est imputée.' Boyer 1973 : 69. See also Boyer 1973: 68-75. Hesselink, for his part, affirms, 'Concerning the basic issue at stake here there is again no difference at all. That is, justification is not by works but by faith. ... Calvin appears to be as much in harmony with the thrust of the apostle in this epistle as Luther when it comes to the fundamental question of salvation by grace through faith as over against salvation by works of the law; here there is no divergence whatsoever.' Hesselink 1984: 72-73.

¹⁰⁴⁴The fact that Calvin refers to the Anabaptists only once in his polemics, does not mean that he would disagree with Luther's rejection of their teaching. As pointed out above, Calvin indirectly refers to certain Anabaptists, who believed that the people of the Old Testament could not be saved. See COR 16.90, on Gal. 4.1. See also CO 1.11.1.

born in opposition to Isaac, born by faith in God's promise, Calvin for his part defines Abraham as the universal type of faith, which means to trust in God's promise alone, by faith alone, without considering one's personal qualities.¹⁰⁴⁵

On the other hand, Calvin often presents Christ's righteousness and human righteousness as opposite and alternative ways to justification, of which the latter, human righteousness as a way to justification is impossible.¹⁰⁴⁶ This is a less common, though not unknown, way to describe justification in Luther.

Another example of how Calvin's view of justification relates to how Luther's can be found in Calvin's portrayal of faith and righteousness in Gal. 3.6. Calvin defines faith as trust in God and as taking as certain God's fatherly kindness¹⁰⁴⁷ while Luther in this instance describes faith as having two functions, those of slaying human reason and of glorifying God in giving him all the honour for one's justification.¹⁰⁴⁸

Calvin further defines true righteousness as God's freely imputed righteousness in that God in his grace counts the faith of the believers as righteousness. Luther, for his part, sees Christian righteousness as consisting of two parts, of faith and of God's imputation, which forgives the remaining sin of the believers. This includes forgiveness of the imperfection of one's faith, in disparity with Boyer's view according to which only Calvin considers that the faith of believer is in need of God's forgiving grace.¹⁰⁴⁹

¹⁰⁴⁵Compare WA 40a.373.19-391.27, on Gal. 3.7-9 with COR 16.66-67, on Gal. 3.7-8. (Calvin treats also Gal. 3.9 within his treatment of Gal. 3.8.)

¹⁰⁴⁶See e.g. COR 16.47-48, on Gal. 2.15, COR 16.57-58, on Gal. 2.21, COR 16.68-69, on Gal. 3.10-11 and COR 16.74-76, on Gal. 3.17-18.

¹⁰⁴⁷*Credendo ideo iustificatus est Abraham, quia, quum promissionem a Deo haberet paterni favoris, eam certo amplexus sit. Ergo fides hic relationem habet ac respectum ad tale verbum Dei, quo freti homines acquiescere in ipso possint.* COR 16.64. It needs to be borne in mind that not only Calvin, but also Luther elsewhere defines faith as trust in God (*fiducia*). See e.g. WA 40a.228.31-229.25, on Gal. 2.16 where Luther calls faith '*fiducia cordis et firmus assensus quo Christus apprehenditur*'. See section 4.1.4. for further discussion.

¹⁰⁴⁸*Hocque est iuge illud sacrificium vespertinum et matutinum in novo Testamento, Vespertinum: mortificare rationem, Matutinum: glorificare Deum.* WA 40a.370.14-16. See also WA 40a.362.26-363.16, on Gal. 3.6. Interestingly, in his sermons Calvin also affirms that faith in God's promises gives him the honour he is due while when doubt reigns, there is no reverence or authority for God's word. *Quand donc nous avons ceste promesse de Dieu, voilà comme il sera honoré par nous. Puis qu'ainsi est, ce seul mot nous doit suffire : et si nous y sommes arreztez et resoluz, c'est signe que nous signons la verité de Dieu, comme saint lean en parle, comme ceux qui luy sont fideles tesmoins. Au contraire quand nous sommes en doute ou en branele, la parole de Dieu n'ai nulle autorité ni reverence en nous.* CO 50.446, Quatorzieme sermon, on Gal. 2.20-21.

¹⁰⁴⁹Boyer states, 'Luther donne a la foi un rôle plus positif. Sans doute elle est mise en nous par Dieu et nous la recevons passivement. Toutefois, elle est notre acte et elle possède une efficacité particulière pour nous relier à la justice du Christ. Calvin répète bien que la foi nous unit au Christ, qu'elle est un instrument par lequel nous obtenons la justice du Christ ... Mais il insiste pour dire qu'elle ne le fait pas de sa propre vertu, car elle est toujours trop débile et elle a besoin elle-même d'être acceptée par pure grace.' Boyer 1973: 73-74.

Boyer also argues that Luther gives a more positive role to faith than Calvin - for Luther faith is a human act (though given by God) but for Calvin it is strictly and only an instrument.¹⁰⁵⁰ However, this position does not seem to find support in Luther's *Galatians*. The fact that faith gives all the honour to God is totally exclusive, leaving neither honour nor room for human initiative. Further, in accordance with Luther's view which identifies human righteousness as passive, the human agent contributes nothing at all to their justification, leaving no place for an 'act' of faith. In support of his view according to which only Calvin attributes absolutely everything to God, Boyer quotes Calvin to the effect that it is not faith by its own worth (*de sa propre vertu*) which justifies, but Christ.¹⁰⁵¹ However, Luther also points to the fact that it is only on account of Christ, the treasure that faith apprehends and holds onto, that faith justifies.¹⁰⁵² Therefore, in regarding faith as having only instrumental value in justification, there appear no convincing grounds to see Luther and Calvin in disagreement.¹⁰⁵³

¹⁰⁵⁰See Boyer 1973: 73-74. For the quotation, see the footnote above.

¹⁰⁵¹See the footnote above for the quotation from Boyer. Unfortunately, Boyer gives no references to Luther's writings in his discussion of this issue. He quotes Calvin as follows, 'Nous disons que la foi justifie, non point qu'elle nous mérite justice par sa dignité, mais parce que c'est un instrument par lequel nous obtenons gratuitement la justice Christ (*Institutio* 1559 3.18.8, p. 307)' and 'Quand donc la foi est ainsi débile en nous, il semblerait que nous ne fussions agréables à Dieu qu'en partie, et que d'autre côté nous fussions réprouvés de lui; mais notons que la foi ne nous justifie point de sa vertu; et voilà pourquoi aussi il ne faut point avoird égard à la perfection d'icelle pour dire que notre salut soit parfait. A parler proprement, il n'y a que Dieu seul qui nous justifie (CO 23.722)'. Quoted in Boyer 1973: 74.

¹⁰⁵²See section 4.1.1.4 for further discussion.

¹⁰⁵³Althaus also sees faith in Luther as 'an act of the will' (while maintaining that God's word creates faith in believers and while maintaining faith as trust, too), corresponding to Boyer's position. Compare Althaus 1966: 46 with Boyer 1973: 73-74. Prenter, by way of contrast, rejects the view according to which faith is understood as a 'free acceptance of the Word' (Prenter 1953: 293; emphasis in the original). Instead, he maintains that the Spirit is the sovereign Lord over faith, which He 'freely and sovereignly gives.' See Prenter 1953: 292. Closely connected with Prenter's argumentation is his view of God's real presence in the sacraments and in the believer which makes faith possible. This, again, links with Mannermaa's view according to which the believer participates in God's own being by faith. Mannermaa explicitly refers to Prenter as being close to his position in reference to this issue. Compare e.g. Prenter 1953: 289 and Mannermaa 1979: 15. The position taken here is similar to that taken with regards to the precise relationship between forensic and effective aspects of justification in Luther's *Galatians*. Luther ought not to be pressed into answering a question he does not himself address, because it could very easily lead to superimposing an accent alien to Luther's own view. See the beginning of section 4.1. and section 4.1.1.2 for further discussion. Althaus refers to WA 40c.50.3-4 in support of his argument, where Luther states, 'Natura fidei voluntas, quae pendet in verbo, quod praescribit invisibilia quædia, auxilia et patrocinia'. Althaus' translation reads 'It is the nature of faith that the will holds to the word which provides invisible joys, help, and defense.' Althaus 1966: 46. This statement of Luther's, however, does not, strictly speaking, seem to be a definition of faith. Instead, it appears to describe faith in action, affecting the human will so that it holds on to the Word. It is also noteworthy that preceding the quote Althaus makes, Luther refers to faith as *fiducia*, which may rather be seen as Luther's definition for faith in that passage. Hoc (Heb. 11.1) docet his cersus, fides discat, quod 'fiducia est rerum invisibilium et expectantiarum'. WA 40c.49.13-15. Further, Luther's statement (which Althaus refers to) needs to be taken in light of the fact that faith in its justifying role is passive (see sections 4.1.1.1 and 4.1.1.4). In the least, it would seem injudicious to found on this statement of Luther's a view according to

Both Luther and Calvin affirm that believers are righteous outside of themselves, ‘in Christ’¹⁰⁵⁴ (Calvin) and ‘solely in the grace of God and in His imputation’ (Luther),¹⁰⁵⁵ an agreement noted also by Wendel.¹⁰⁵⁶ Again, there are some differences between the reformers concerning the manner and aspects of justification each sees as important. Calvin affirms, discussing faith as the cause of justification (*causa instrumentalis*), that the reason for calling faith the cause of justification (despite the fact that the principal cause of righteousness is God’s free acceptance, not faith) is the fact that faith is the means, the instrumental cause, by which believers arrive at righteousness. Luther, on the other hand, describes the believers in the context of the concepts *simul iustus et peccator* and the joyous exchange. He affirms that believers are sinners, yet holy because Christ’s righteousness is counted as theirs, and their sin as Christ’s.

One can quite easily see that there is no evident disagreement between the concepts of Luther and Calvin on the contrast between righteousness by faith and works. Instead, the existing differences lay primarily in the way they present their thought.

6.1.2. Similarities and Differences on the Role of Christ in Justification

Scaer posits, that Luther sees God as loving humans for their own and Christ’s sake, while Calvin, to whom God’s sovereignty is paramount, sees God as redeeming ‘not for the sake of the sinner but for Himself’.¹⁰⁵⁷ This position is not find supported by the present research. The role of Christ in justification appears to be perceived generally along similar lines by Luther and Calvin. Both lay great emphasis on the fact that salvation is by Christ alone and see importance in the fact that his work is

which there would be a cooperating interrelationship between the human will and justification (faith = use of the will > justification). The sovereignty of the Spirit over faith affirmed by Prenter, by way of contrast, appears in line with Luther’s emphasis on Christian righteousness as passive (section 4.1.1.1), the nature of faith as giving glory to God and as apprehending Christ (section 4.1.1.4) and the creating role of the Spirit in the hearing of faith (section 4.2.1). However, the emphasis present in Mannermaa (and alluded to in Prenter) on *theosis*, on participation into God’s being in faith, does not seem suggested in Luther’s *Galatians* according to this research (see section 4.1.1.2).

¹⁰⁵⁴Meminerimus ergo, qui fide iusti sunt, eos extra se iustos esse, nempe in Christo. COR 16.65, on Gal. 3.6.

¹⁰⁵⁵Iustitiam non esse formaliter in nobis ... sed extra nos is sola gratia et reputatione divina. WA 40a.370.28-30, on Gal. 3.6.

¹⁰⁵⁶Wendel states, ‘La notion de la justification comporte donc bien, comme chez Luther et Mélancthon, l’idée d’une justice étrangère et qui nous est seulement imputée, sans rien laisser préjuger de l’état réel dans lequel nous nous trouvons.’ Wendel 1950 : 195.

¹⁰⁵⁷Scaer states, ‘For Luther God loves the sinner for Christ’s sake [sic]. It is not a question of what God will get for Himself out of His expenditure of redemptive love. For Calvin God moves from the motive of divine sovereignty. God redeems not for the sake of the sinner but for Himself. The question is no longer Luther’s, what God can do for man, but what man can do for God.’ Scaer 1985: 191. See also Cameron 2003: 17-18, 20-21.

on behalf of each believer individually, that Christ gave himself ‘for us’ (pro nobis).¹⁰⁵⁸ Luther exhorts,

‘Therefore read these words “*me*” and “*for me*” with great emphasis, and accustom yourself to accepting this “*me*” with a sure faith and applying it to yourself. Do not doubt that you belong to the number of those who speak this “*me*”.¹⁰⁵⁹

Calvin for his part admonishes,

For me is very emphatic. It is not enough to regard Christ as having died for the salvation of the world; each man must claim the effect and possession of this grace for himself personally.¹⁰⁶⁰

Illustrations specific to Luther such as seeing Christ as the greatest sinner (maximus peccator) who conquered sin and overcame the battle against the law for the benefit of the believer (Christus victor), though not expressed by Calvin in the same way, nonetheless appear to present no theological subjects foreign to the Swiss reformer’s teaching.

However, some interesting variances can be identified in the way Luther and Calvin understand the believer’s union with Christ. This is a subject which led Boyer, for instance, to regard Calvin’s insistence on faith alone as less stringent than that of Luther, because Calvin ‘joins justification and sanctification in an indissoluble union’.¹⁰⁶¹ There is striking similarity in the illustrations Luther and Calvin use of the believer’s union with Christ, Luther describing the closeness of the union as a ring (faith) enclosing a gem (Christ), both Luther and Calvin seeing the union as becoming one with Christ and Calvin comparing the believer to sap joining the root (Christ), or as a garment (Christ) belonging to the believer. Nevertheless, one would not expect Luther to say the following,

‘Christ lives in us in two ways. The one consists in His governing us by His Spirit and directing all our actions. The other is what He grants us by participation in His righteousness, that, since we can do nothing of ourselves, we are accepted in Him by God. The first relates to regeneration, the second to the free acceptance of righteousness, and this is how I take

¹⁰⁵⁸Compare WA 40a.295.36-300.22, on Gal. 2.20 with COR 16.56, on Gal 2.20.

¹⁰⁵⁹Lege igitur cum magna Emphasi has voces: ‘ME’, ‘PRO ME’, et assuefacias te, ut illud, ‘ME’ possis certa fide concipere et applicare tibi, Neque dubites, quin etiam sis ex numero eorum, qui dicuntur ‘ME’. WA 40a.299.29-30, on Gal. 2.20 (Pro me). Emphasis in the original.

¹⁰⁶⁰Neque parum energiae habet pronomen, quia non satis fuerit Christum pro mundi salute mortuum reputare, nisi sibi quisque effectum ac possessionem huius gratiae privatim vindicet. COR 16.56, on Gal. 2.20.

¹⁰⁶¹Boyer states, ‘Mais voici que nous arrivons à une diversité très importante à laquelle Calvin a été conduit par ses tendances personnelles. C’est qu’il unit indissolublement justification et sanctification.’ Boyer 1973: 74.

the passage. But if anyone would rather apply it to both, I will willingly agree.¹⁰⁶²

As evident in Calvin's statements in the *Institutio* of 1543/45 and in the statement above, while maintaining that justification is grounded in the imputation of Christ's righteousness alone, and excluded any assessment of the believer's inner qualities, Calvin nevertheless regards that one cannot have Christ for justification without having him at the same time for one's sanctification as well.¹⁰⁶³ Despite the fact that Luther also describes union with Christ in terms of Christ's presence in the believer, he never connects justification and sanctification in such explicit terms.¹⁰⁶⁴ Instead, one can find other illustrations of justification, which exclude sanctification from the event of justification.¹⁰⁶⁵

Another area in the role of Christ where one may see a difference between Luther and Calvin, deals with Luther's contrast of seeing Christ as an Example and a Lawgiver versus regarding him as a Redeemer and a Comforter. Although Calvin never discusses Christ as an example in his commentary, it is clear from his statements, as discussed in more detail on his concept on the law, that he has no qualms about seeing Christ as giving laws in a positive sense for the purpose of instructing and guiding the Christian. At the same time, however, it must be maintained that Calvin, and in no uncertain terms, excludes the law from justification. Further, although Calvin also sees assurance of salvation as important (as Luther sees the role of Christ as the Comforter as important), Calvin does not emphasize the personal comfort received from the gospel in quite the same way as Luther, to whom the concept of *Anfechtung* is very important.¹⁰⁶⁶

¹⁰⁶²Porro vivit Christus in nobis dupliciter. Una vita est, quum nos Spiritu suo gubernat atque actiones nostras omnes dirigit; altera, quod participatione suae iustitiae nos donat, ut quando in nobis non possumus, in ipso accepti simus Deo. Prior ad regenerationem pertinet, secunda ad gratuitam iustitiae acceptionem, de qua hunc locum intelligere licebit, quanquam si quis de utraque accipere malit, minime repugnem. COR 16.55, on Gal. 2.20.

¹⁰⁶³Vis ergo iustitiam in Christo adipisci? Christum ante possideas oportet: possidere autem non potes, quin fias sanctificationis eius particeps; quia in frustra discerpi non potest. CO 1.10.57.

¹⁰⁶⁴McGrath represents a view according to which precisely through his view on union with Christ in relationship to imputed righteousness, Calvin developed and clarified what had been only introduced in Luther. According to McGrath, this became clear especially in Calvin's response to Osiander. McGrath states, 'It was left to Calvin to demonstrate how Osiander's legitimate protest against the externalisation of Christ might be appropriated while maintaining a *forensic* doctrine of justification.' McGrath 1998: 213. See also McGrath 1998: 201.

¹⁰⁶⁵See e.g. sections 4.1.1.1. and 4.1.1.5. of this paper for a discussion of Luther's emphasis on imputation, excluding the consideration of any inner quality or reality within the Christian. See section 6.2.2. for further discussion on the relationship between the concepts of *unio* and *imputatio* as they relate to the work of the Holy Spirit.

¹⁰⁶⁶See section 6.2. for further discussion.

6.1.3. Similarities and Differences on Law and Gospel

Law and gospel is a subject which can be seen to cover more than is treated here, where the discussion of the theme is limited to those passages where Luther and Calvin explicitly mention the two terms.

Hesselink has devoted his brief article comparing Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* to the theme of the law and gospel. However, many of the subjects he treats under this heading, is here dealt with in the section on the law.

Hesselink concludes that the perception of Calvin as a 'Gesetzlehrer' (Teacher of the Law) in distinction to Luther, the teacher of grace, is false. The results of this study fall in line with Hesselink's observation. As Hesselink also affirms, both Luther and Calvin perceive a contrast between the law and the gospel, and not merely a difference which is relative.¹⁰⁶⁷ This ought to be borne in mind in contrast to the view which affirms only a quantitative difference between the law and the gospel in Calvin while ascribing a qualitative difference between the law and the gospel only in Luther.¹⁰⁶⁸

The theme of gospel and law is treated here in reference to Luther's and Calvin's definitions of the time periods for the law and the gospel, the way they contrast the two concepts and how both see law and gospel as in agreement in the daily life of the Christian.

Both Luther and Calvin define the law and the gospel as representing different time periods, the time of the law relating to the Old Testament and the time of the gospel to the New Testament. Luther adds that the times of the law and gospel also relate to the life of the believers. The time of the law refers to the accusing function of the law, showing the persons their need for the gospel. The time of the gospel, on the other hand, refers to the receiving of the comforting Word of the gospel and grace. Calvin gives another definition for the law and the gospel, which Luther would heartily agree with; Calvin defines the law (in contrast to the gospel) as the law of the hypocrites who seek salvation by works while the gospel represents the free promise of the gospel, the Holy Spirit, faith and grace.

Luther, as well as Calvin, sees the law and the gospel as being in contrast to each other. Calvin presents the law and the gospel as two opposite ways to salvation. Luther, for his part, accentuates that the sum of Christian doctrine is to be able to distinguish between the law and the gospel, illustrated in his affirmation of the place of the law as being in the valley with the ass while the conscience ascends to the mount with Abraham to the freedom of the gospel.

¹⁰⁶⁷Hesselink elucidates, 'The second surprise is the fact that Calvin, the so-called man of law, the alleged "Gesetzlehrer", teaches in his Galatians Commentary and elsewhere not only a *relative* difference but also an *antithesis* between the law and the gospel, when the former is portrayed as letter, as a bare law, and the latter is equated with the new dispensation of the Spirit.' Hesselink 1984: 78-79.

¹⁰⁶⁸For a recent example of this view, see e.g. Couenhoven 2000: 70.

Despite the contrast between the law and the gospel, both Luther and Calvin maintain the connection of the law and the gospel in one's daily life. Calvin affirms that it is only in the issue of justification that the law and the gospel must be kept separate. In all other areas of life the exhortations of the law are beneficial. Luther for his part affirms that in one's daily life the law and the gospel are very near each other and that there is a continuing need for the law, too. The flesh of the Christians needs perpetual controlling by the law, while the conscience continually needs the comfort of the gospel.

Luther and Calvin are in near total agreement on the themes of the law and gospel when limited to the themes presented above. There are some differences of emphasis such as Luther's focus on the comfort of the conscience in a struggle of faith, for instance. The existing differences are discussed in more detail on the concept of the law, which seems a more appropriate place to address the variance of their views (section 6.3.).

6.1.4. Similarities and Differences on Christian Liberty

Christian liberty is another area, where it is difficult to identify any substantial conceptual difference between Luther and Calvin. The theme is a little more discussed in Calvin's commentary than in Luther's, while Luther's treatment of Christian liberty appears in some ways more detailed. Luther's and Calvin's respective notions on the theme are here compared in terms of Christian liberty itself, the relationship of Christian liberty to the law and the use of Christian liberty.

Christian liberty is seen to be of two kinds in Luther, referring to both freedom from God's wrath and to freedom from the terrors of the law. Calvin sees Christian liberty as an internal quality in the conscience of the Christian, but he does not detail its properties in the commentary further than by affirming it to be a liberty from the bondage of the law. Luther, paralleling his presentation of the subject of Christ as the lawgiver vs. Comforter, regards Christian liberty as a freedom from one's personal tribulations (*Anfechtungen*). While Calvin would hardly disagree at this point, he does not focus on this aspect of the theme in any substantial detail in his commentary.

Both Luther and Calvin pay considerable attention to the relationship of Christian liberty to the law and to ceremonies. Both assert that Christian liberty entails freedom from the law and its bondage. Luther affirms,

'Now if our sin has been forgiven through Christ Himself, the Lord of the Law – and forgiven by His having given Himself for it – the Law, that slave, no longer has a right to accuse and condemn us because of our sin; for this has been forgiven, and we have become free by the deliverance of the Son. Therefore the entire law has been abrogated for the believer in Christ.'¹⁰⁶⁹

¹⁰⁶⁹Remisso autem nobis peccato per Christum ipsum Dominum legis (sic tamen remisso, quod se ipsum tradiderit pro eo) non habet amplius lex Serva ius accusandi et damnandi nos propter peccatum, cum

Calvin for his part asserts,

‘For what a small thing it would be, if He had freed us only from ceremonies. This is a stream which flows from a higher source. It is because He was made a curse that He might redeem us from the curse of the law, because He has revoked the power of the law, so far as it held us liable to the judgment of God under the pain of eternal death, because, in a word, He has rescued us from the tyranny of sin, Satan and death.’¹⁰⁷⁰

Accordingly, both Luther and Calvin hold it as very important that no ceremonial observances are imposed on people as necessary for justification – consciences ought to be left free to find their acceptance with God through faith alone.

The appropriate use of Christian liberty is treated in some detail by both Luther and Calvin.¹⁰⁷¹ Luther contrasts two kinds of freedom, the true Christian liberty and liberty understood as licence for sin. True Christian liberty of the conscience has nothing to do with freedom to sin, which nevertheless is the way in which most people use it. Therefore law also has its place restraining both the wicked and the believers, whose flesh (though not conscience) also needs restrictions. In line with Luther, Calvin affirms that the flesh ought to have no freedom, but to be kept under the constraint of love toward one’s neighbour. Further, Luther affirms that it is important to maintain certain observances in the church, such as set times for the purpose of hearing the Word of God. Calvin, mirroring his German counterpart’s views, affirms that while Christians are free from ceremonies, it is nevertheless beneficial to hold to certain observances. Sacraments, for instance, are aids to faith and therefore advantageous.

It is evident that both Luther and Calvin are in essential agreement on the issue of Christian liberty. At the same time, it is clear that their thought on the issue is independent. The same foundational concepts are discussed in significantly different ways by each reformer.

6.1.5. Similarities and Differences on the Relationship between the Old and New Testaments

When comparing Luther’s and Calvin’s *Galatians*, it transpires that the relationship between the Old and New Testaments is an issue especially important for Calvin. It is also treated in Luther, though perhaps not in as much detail.

nobis remissum sit ac iam Liberi facti simus liberante nos Filio. Quare credentibus in Christum tota lex abrogata est. WA 40a.672.24-28, on Gal. 4.27.

¹⁰⁷⁰Quantulum enim id foret, si nos tantum liberasset a caeremoniis? Hic ergo rivus ex altiore fonte manat: nempe quia factus est maledictum, ut nos a Legis maledictione redimeret; quia vim Legis abrogavit, quatenus Dei iudicio nos tenebat obnoxios sub reatu aeternae mortis; quia denique a tyrannide peccati, Satanae et mortis nos asseruit. COR 16.115, on Gal. 5.1.

¹⁰⁷¹Boyer sees that Luther and Calvin attempt to avoid creating a problematic relationship between Christian liberty and good works. For Boyer, Luther does not show sufficient care in addressing the question, while Calvin for his part does not succeed in explaining the relationship of Christian liberty to the reality of both justification and sanctification. See Boyer 1973: 86-88.

Both Luther and Calvin affirm that the patriarchs and believers of the Old Testament were saved by their faith in Christ, just as well as the believers of the New Testament. While the people of the Old Testament put their faith in an absent Christ (Calvin) or in the Christ to come (Luther), the believers of the New Testament have their faith directed to the present Christ (Calvin), who has already come (Luther). Further, both Luther and Calvin affirm the freedom of Christians from Mosaic ceremonies, which had been necessary at the time of the Old Testament, as Christ whom the ceremonies pointed to, has now come.

Calvin, describing two further differences between the Old and New Testaments, affirms first that while the patriarchs of the Old Testament perceived the substance of faith as in a mirror, the believers now have the true substance in Christ. Second, while Christians now enjoy Christian liberty, it did not apply at the time of the Old Testament in the same sense. At that time the people were still outwardly under the guardianship of the law, despite the fact that inwardly their consciences were free. These differences between the Old and New Testaments are not as specifically treated by Luther, although he agrees with the general concept.

Although it appears that the theme of the relationship between the Old and New Testaments seems to be somewhat more developed in Calvin, the underpinning concepts of both Luther and Calvin are roughly the same on this issue, too. Bearing in mind the difference in emphasis, it is noteworthy that in his examination, Engels also comes to the conclusion that there is a large degree of agreement between Luther's and Calvin's views regarding the relationship between the Old and New Testaments.¹⁰⁷²

6.2. Similarities and Differences on the Work of the Holy Spirit

In comparisons between Luther and Calvin, it is often the differences regarding the role of the Holy Spirit, especially as they relate to regeneration, which are alluded to instead of indicating their substantial and far-reaching agreement.¹⁰⁷³ This can be

¹⁰⁷²Engels states, 'Dort bezieht Luther ebenso alle Väterverheissungen auf Christus und kommt von daher wie Calvin zu der Feststellung, dass der Glaube der Väter mit unserem Galuben identisch sei. ... Mit diesen Aussagen folgen beide, Calvin wie Luther, weder Augustin, der die Väterverheissungen lediglich als Schatten oder Abbilder des neuen Bundes, im Grunde aber als irdische Verheissungen gewertet wissen will.' Engels 1967: 30.

¹⁰⁷³See e.g. Boyer 1973: 74-78, Lose 1996: 287-288, 290, Couenhoven 2000: 71-72. Parker, for his part, sees a difference between Luther and Calvin in that 'there is no confusion of the Spirit with human historical existence in Calvin as there is in Luther' (Parker 1963: 75). Wetmore, on the other hand, highlights a difference between the Spirit and the means of grace (sacraments and the preached Word) in Luther and Calvin. He affirms that for Calvin the Spirit can and does work directly and independently of the means of grace, in opposition to Luther where the Spirit works only through the preached Word and the sacraments. See Wetmore 1992: 126-130.

seen, at least in part, as a result of the fact that the role of the Holy Spirit is generally referred to in context of comparisons, the primary focus of which is on other themes, and not on the work of the Holy Spirit. Accordingly, there is an unfortunate lack of systematic comparisons of Luther and Calvin on this central and illuminating subject.

Luther's and Calvin's concept of the work of the Holy Spirit as presented in their *Galatians* is compared below in reference to the hearing of faith, regeneration, assurance of salvation, the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh and Luther's notion of the genuine deeds of the Spirit vs. those of the sectarians.

The differences between Luther and Calvin with regards to the work of the Holy Spirit deal primarily with the concepts of the hearing of faith and regeneration. The former is discussed in more detail by Luther while the latter, regeneration, is more frequently alluded to by Calvin. While there is a large amount of agreement between the two reformers in their understanding of these concepts, too, there also appear some differences in their understanding of the hearing of faith and regeneration (see sections 6.2.1 and 6.2.4). On the other hand, there is no significant deviance between the German the Swiss reformers on the concepts of assurance of faith and the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh.

6.2.1. Hearing of Faith

Calvin's brief allusion to the hearing of faith in his comment on Gal. 3.2-3 affirms, in line with Luther's much longer treatment, that the Holy Spirit is received by faith and through the gospel. Luther shows that the Holy Spirit was received by faith and the gospel, not the law, both in the Old Testament as well as now, which confirms the evangelical understanding of justification. However, while Luther focuses in his discussion on the confirmation the giving of the Holy Spirit provides for the doctrine of justification, Calvin considers what the receiving of the Holy Spirit referred to, preferring to see it as the grace of adoption and regeneration. It is also noteworthy that Luther's assertion that the Holy Spirit is received through the medium of the purely preached Word of the gospel is an aspect absent in Calvin's commentary. This is not to say that Calvin does not link the Word with the receiving of the Spirit, but it nevertheless highlights the importance of the intimate relationship between the preached Word and the Spirit in Luther.¹⁰⁷⁴

¹⁰⁷⁴While the consideration of Calvin's *Galatians* is limited due to the brevity of Calvin's references, the comparison of the commentaries is in line with, at least to some extent, the conclusions presented in Wetmore's study. Wetmore asserts that in Calvin the Holy Spirit, while working through preaching, has a more direct role without the indispensable role ascribed by Luther to the preached Word and the sacraments. See Wetmore 1992: 126-130. Wetmore asserts, 'The point of difference between Luther and Calvin is this. Luther insists that God has chosen to bring His grace to man exclusively through common things such as words, voices, bread, wine and water. Calvin replies that "the inner grace of the Spirit, as distinct from the outward ministry, ought to be considered and pondered separately." ... Even though Calvin did not use the phrase "immediate grace," the way he describes the dynamics involved in the Lord's Supper argues that he did indeed regard grace as coming immediately, through the direct work of

6.2.2. Regeneration

Luther and Calvin discuss regeneration in somewhat differing contexts. Nevertheless, to a large extent, again, their notions agree. Parallel to Luther's contrasting of the new creation brought about by the Spirit with human works, Calvin addresses the relationship of regeneration and the law. Luther's assertion that it is Christ alone and a new creation that count before God, not human works, is in line with Calvin's thinking. Similarly, Calvin's notion of the fact that until regeneration the law increases one's guilt, and that in regeneration the law is written in the believers' hearts, is a concept not alien to Luther. Further, both connect assurance of salvation with regeneration, maintaining that the believer rejoices in God's goodness, not in his own works (Luther) and that one's regeneration testifies of one's new status before God (Calvin).

The difference of Luther and Calvin on the issue of regeneration in their *Galatians* corresponds to the difference of their conceptions on the believer's union with Christ. On the surface, their concepts may seem similar in that Luther, as well as Calvin, in discussing regeneration, makes no explicit separation between justification and regeneration. Luther affirms that in baptism one puts on Christ, is regenerated, and receives Christ's benefits including salvation, righteousness and the Holy Spirit. Calvin, for his part, affirms that the Spirit of regeneration is intimately connected with faith. Nevertheless, as portrayed in the respective concepts of the two reformers regarding the believer's union with Christ, Luther makes no explicit connection between justification and regeneration. Calvin, however, does. Calvin sees no difficulty in asserting that justification and the Spirit of regeneration are connected because believers have both justification and the Spirit through their union with Christ (though justification is exclusively based on Christ's imputed righteousness).

Luther, however, it must be borne in mind, does not discuss the relationship between faith and regeneration in his commentary in detail.¹⁰⁷⁵ That is

the Holy Spirit.' See Wetmore 1992: 129, emphasis in the original. Wetmore asserts a fundamental disagreement between the views of Luther and Calvin on the issue. This conclusion is too polarised. It appears rather that there is a significant difference of emphasis. See Wetmore 1992: 130. See also CO 1.16.7-11, where Calvin draws attention to the role of the Spirit in illuminating and making the preached Word powerful, indicating the importance of this concept to Calvin as well, despite the fact that he does not explicitly treat this concept in his *Galatians*.

¹⁰⁷⁵For instance, Luther's statements on Gal. 3.11 suggest that it is faith which leads to renewal. His discussion in this context centres on describing a false idea of faith, a faith which does not renew a person. He states, 'Ficta est quae audit de Deo, Christo et omnibus my steriis incarnationis et redemptionis et apprehendit illas res auditas et pulcherrime de eis novit loqui, et tamen mera opinio et inanis auditus manet qui tantum relinquit bombum in corde de Evangelio, de quo multa garrit, re vera autem non est fides, quia non renovat nec immutat cor, non generat novum hominem, sed relinquit eum in priori sua opinione et conversatione.' WA 40a.421.21-26. On the other hand, Luther's discussion of baptism could be read in such a way as to suggest that regeneration occurring in baptism leads to trust in God (instead of faith [which is also a gift of God] working together with the Spirit bringing the new birth about). However, there is no explicit discussion of Luther on the relationship between faith and regeneration in his commentary. This corresponds to the remaining tension between various illustrations

why, Luther's statements on faith and regeneration are as inconclusive as his comments on *imputatio* and *unio*, since he does not explicitly address their relationship.

6.2.3. Assurance of Salvation

Zachmann explicitly examines the notion of assurance of salvation in Luther and Calvin, though not specifically in their commentaries on Galatians. Zachmann's insightful work relates the assurance of salvation to several other concepts of the two reformers, and it is specifically these other concepts which appear to underlie most of the differences Zachmann perceives in Luther and Calvin.¹⁰⁷⁶ As far as the assurance of salvation itself goes, there seems to be a far reaching agreement despite the different ways in which the underlying ideas are presented by the two reformers. Perhaps with the exception of Luther's focus on the struggle of conscience, not present in Calvin,¹⁰⁷⁷ there do not seem to be any substantial differences between the two reformers in their *Galatians*. Luther's and Calvin's concepts on the assurance of salvation are briefly compared below in terms of their rejection of the scholastic doctrine requiring doubt concerning salvation, the nature of the assurance and the relationship of the assurance of salvation to the struggle of conscience.

Both Luther and Calvin discuss assurance of salvation in opposition to the scholastic position, which leaves one in doubt regarding one's salvation. Luther affirms that such a doctrine overthrows the whole gospel, while Calvin, for his part, explains that such a view is based on the judgment of human flesh, and not the testimony of the Spirit.

of justification. Some of them can be seen as connecting justification and sanctification (union with Christ) while others present justification in light of Christ's imputed righteousness alone (passive vs. active righteousness, the Abraham of faith vs. the Abraham of works / procreation). See sections 4.1.1.1, 4.1.1.2, 4.1.1.3, 4.1.1.4. and 4.1.1.5. of this study. Luther's later statement in his disputation concerning justifying faith (An fides iustificat) is interesting in this context in that it addresses the relationship of imputation and cleansing. There Luther prioritises imputation, which is followed by a real cleansing of the believer. The following includes both the proposition and the first part of Luther's response, 'Contra definitionem verbi iustificari, quod sit reputari iusticia. In Act. cap. 5: Fide corda purificans. Ergo iustificari est renovari, seu purificari id est accipere novas qualitates. Includitur his ipsis verbis, quod Deus purgat scilicet imputative. Sic induc itinitium repurgationis. Sed postea personaliter et realiter purgat.' WA 39a.122.17-21, Disputatio Lutheri. An fides iustificat, 1536. This statement, it must be borne in mind, is made in 1536, five years after the composing of the commentary.

¹⁰⁷⁶Zachmann sees, for instance, a disagreement in Luther's and Calvin's understanding of justification in relationship to sanctification. Also, he considers that due to this difference, Calvin came to emphasize the importance of external actions as more binding to one's conscience than Luther, who regarded all rites as indifferent. Nevertheless, states Zachmann, 'the relationship of the testimony of the good conscience to the assurance of faith' is an issue where Luther and Calvin 'fundamentally agree'. See Zachmann 1993: 247. See also pp. 242-248 for a more detailed account of agreements and differences Zachmann enumerates in Luther and Calvin regarding conscience and the assurance of salvation.

¹⁰⁷⁷Regarding the absence of the theme of the struggle of conscience in Calvin's *Galatians*, as well as regarding the absence of other concepts, it needs to be borne in mind that this study is limited, in the first place, only to Calvin's *Galatians*.

Luther explains that there is both an external and an internal witness assuring the Christian of their salvation. The external witness relates to acts of love done with a glad heart in order to help one's needy neighbour and in faithfulness in one's calling. This corresponds to Calvin's view, who presents regeneration as a confirmation of one's acceptance and new status before God (though Calvin does not discuss good works as confirmation of one's adoption in his commentary). Luther describes the internal witness as certainty of the fact that not only one's outward acts but one's whole person is acceptable before God on account of Christ while Calvin portrays assurance of salvation as an inner boldness and an unwavering confidence, and as having come to regard God as our Father.¹⁰⁷⁸ Both assert that the assurance is not a mere intellectual ascent but that it is also felt in a real way.

Luther relates the notion of the assurance to one's personal struggle of conscience. When one has difficulty believing in God's favour, it is God's Word and its promises that are one's only comfort. While Calvin does not discuss individual tribulation in reference to the assurance of salvation, he nevertheless also affirms at the close of his commentary on Galatians how important it is that the confidence of God's favour reaches to one's own spirit.¹⁰⁷⁹

6.2.4. Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh

Luther's and Calvin's notion on the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh is addressed here in reference to their definitions of the Spirit and the flesh, the nature of the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh and the focus of Luther on personal tribulations relating to the struggle.

Luther and Calvin define the Spirit and the flesh in much the same way. Both maintain, in opposition to a scholastic view that the flesh includes, not only sensuality, but also, and especially, the higher faculties of the soul such as one's intelligence and free will. Luther defines the Spirit as representing either justification or works done with the Spirit while Calvin sees the Spirit as

¹⁰⁷⁸Seeing God as our Father is an aspect which Zachmann sees as more developed in Calvin's understanding of the assurance of salvation than in Luther. See Zachmann 1993: 244-245.

¹⁰⁷⁹Järveläinen draws attention to a difference between Luther and Calvin regarding the perseverance of the righteous. Järveläinen argues that in Luther's view, it is possible to lose one's faith. In fact, one loses it daily. Calvin, by way of contrast, sees that faith cannot be lost. See Järveläinen 2000: 103-104. While this difference does not explicitly and clearly emerge in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, one could perhaps see it referred to in Calvin's statement where he maintains that justification by faith is not lost amidst the dangers believers have to meet. Quo significant non ad tempus eos modo sustentari, ut adveniente aliqua procella ruant, sed in perpetuum tempus stare, ut ne in media quidem morte desinant vivere. COR 16.69, on Gal. 3.11. Luther for his part mentions a number of times in his *Galatians* the possibility of losing one's faith. Haec ideo tam diligenter inculco, ne quis putet doctrinam fidei esse facilem. Iest quidem dictum facilis, sed apprehensu difficillima, Deinde facile obscuratur ac amittitur. Versetur igitur summa diligentia et humilitate in studio sacrarum literarum ac serio oremus, ne veritatem Evangelii amittamus. WA 40a.206.14-17, on Gal. 2.13. See also e.g. WA 40a.129.27-130.31, on Gal. 1.11-12.

represented by one's renewed nature, or as not putting one's trust in ceremonial observances.

Both Luther and Calvin see the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh in light of the fact that the believer is not yet perfect. Luther explains this in light of the *simul iustus et peccator* concept. Calvin maintaining a position very similar to that of Luther's without using the explicit term *simul iustus et peccator*. Both Luther and Calvin maintain that Christian life is characterized by an ongoing struggle between the new life of the Spirit and the remaining sinful human flesh. Here, in Christian life apart from justification, both Luther and Calvin see that human effort and cooperation with God plays a part, termed painstaking effort by Luther and labour, fighting and self-denial by Calvin. The struggle is nevertheless characterised by a positive note of victory in at least two ways. First, the Spirit holds the upper hand in this struggle. Second, despite the remaining sin in the believers' lives, they can find assurance of God's favour through the fact that the Spirit liberates one from the condemning dominion of the law (Calvin) and that they are accounted as fully righteous through the imputed righteousness of Christ (Luther), both concepts of which are adhered to by both the German and the Swiss reformer.

The only difference that seems significant enough to be noted here is Luther's focus on the personal tribulation of the believer, related to Luther's earlier experience as a monk. The doctrine of the continuing struggle between the flesh and the Spirit had become an issue of great comfort to Luther. Instead of showing his failure, the fact of the struggle between one's own sin and the new life brought about by the Spirit is an inevitable element of Christian life and characterises a true Christian.

6.2.5. Luther's Contrast of the Genuine Deeds of the Spirit with Those of the Sectarians

Luther's contrast of the genuine deeds of the Spirit, namely, those of faithfulness in one's calling and the love of one's neighbour as against the outwardly radical works of the Anabaptists does not find its exact counterpart in Calvin's commentary. However, this is not to say that Calvin would not agree with the basic concept had he come to discuss this theme. Naturally, as Anabaptist teaching has hardly any role at all in Calvin's *Galatians*, this contrast of Luther's represents only the German reformers' theology on the work of the Spirit in his *Galatians*.

6.3. Similarities and Differences on the Law

Luther and Calvin treat similar subjects in their comments on the law, including the misuse and abrogation of the law, the uses of the law and ceremonial observances in Christian life. It appears that the differences between Luther and Calvin on the law

have often been exaggerated. Rather, in line with Hesselink's assessment of Luther's and Calvin's commentaries on Galatians, it seems that Luther and Calvin agree on most central issues relating to the concept of the law, despite the obvious difference on Calvin's accentuation of the third use of the law, and of Christ as the Mediator of the law.¹⁰⁸⁰

6.3.1. Abrogation and Misuse of the Law

It is significant that both Luther and Calvin define the law in Galatians in the same manner, rejecting the viewpoint originating from Origen and Jerome that a distinction should be made between the ceremonial and moral laws in Galatians, of which only the ceremonial law is abrogated. Both reformers assert instead, that it is the whole law which is in question in Paul's epistle to the Galatians.

Accordingly, both Luther and Calvin see that it is not only the ceremonial law but also the moral law which was abrogated by the coming of Christ. Therefore, not only Luther, but also Calvin maintains that the Christian conscience is to be kept free from the law. Calvin asserts that the Christian is free both from the domination and condemnation of the law. Luther for his part affirms that Christ damned the damning law by his death and resurrection and thus the Christian conscience is wholly free from the law. However, there is a slight difference in that Calvin cautions in a way similar to his comments on the first use of the law (that is, first use in Calvin, *usus elencticus legis*),¹⁰⁸¹ that the law is not abrogated so that it would have no meaning for the Christian. It is still beneficial for exhortations.

Further, both Luther and Calvin agree on the fact that the law is abused when it is used in order to achieve justification. Luther's discussion on the theme includes much more detail than Calvin's – some of Luther's longest treatments on a single theme in the commentary deal with the abuse of the law in an attempt to achieve justification. For instance, Luther describes two ways of misusing the law, a) either breaking the law or b) remaining under the condemnation of the law without accepting the comfort and forgiveness offered through faith in Christ, neither notion of which is in disagreement with Calvin's view. Moreover, Luther's treatment of two kinds of doers of the law, the key concept of which relates to setting up our own works (without trust in God) as one's

¹⁰⁸⁰Hesselink states, for instance, "There was no promise of Christ added to the Law," maintains Luther, whereas Calvin would say this was only true of the bare law, abstracted from the covenant of grace. Thus the differences are there, reflecting their dogmatic presuppositions, but they are fundamentally one in understanding the message of Galatians. They are also one in their conviction that the law continues to play a role in the life of the Christian, although the nuances are again different.' Hesselink 1984: 78. For the larger context of Hesselink's discussion, see Hesselink 1984: 77-79.

¹⁰⁸¹*Usus elencticus legis* is the first use of the law in Calvin, and the second use of the law in Luther. Conversely, the use of the law as a restraint for the wicked (*usus politicus legis*) is the second use of the law in Calvin and the first use of the law in Luther. See section 6.3.2 for further discussion.

idol in contrast to obeying the law on the grounds of faith, appears to be in line with Calvin's position although the illustration itself is specific to Luther.

6.3.2. Uses of the Law

The notion of the two vs. three uses of the law is one of the most discussed differences between Luther and Calvin, especially in reference to Calvin's notion of *tertius usus legis*. However, the comparison of the two reformers' *Galatians* demonstrates a great degree of agreement in their thinking regarding the uses of the law.

Luther's first use of the law deals with the necessity of laws as a restraint for the wicked in civil society (*usus civilis*). Humans are compared to wild animals, who must be kept in check and caged in by laws in order to prevent total chaos. This use of the law corresponds to Calvin's second use of the law, which however is not referred to in Calvin's commentary.

Luther's second use of the law, the law as showing human sin and preparing one for the gospel, is according to him the principal use of the law. Calvin also affirms the validity of this use of the law, which in his numbering is the first use of the law. Although this is not the primary office of the law for Calvin, most of Calvin's discussion on the law in his commentary deals with this theme because he sees this role of the law as the most significant in *Galatians*.

Luther's and Calvin's views on this convicting role of the law (*usus elencticus legis*) are compared below in reference to illustrations Luther and Calvin use relating to the law (Luther's references to the law as a hammer and the law in relationship to the veil of Moses and Calvin's illustrations of the law as a mirror, a schoolmaster and a prison).¹⁰⁸² Luther's portrayal of the law is very forceful. The law is a hammer which crushes human pride and shows humans their sin. Similarly, Moses had to wear a veil when he descended from mount Sinai with the Ten Commandments lest the Israelites be instantly killed by the holiness and convicting power of the law. However, this terrifying role of the law is necessary so that humans would see their need of Christ. Thus this is the highest and the true theological use of the law for Luther (*usus theologicus*). Calvin's portrayal of the condemning office of the law is also very strong, though not quite to the same extent as in Luther. Calvin asserts that the law leads to despair and death, striking fear into the heart by the sentence of everlasting condemnation. As in Luther, however, this compels humans to admit their guilt. In this way the law is a mirror, demonstrating how far each one is from fulfilling God's requirement. At the same time, the law works as a schoolmaster, educating humans to recognize their sin and

¹⁰⁸²Luther also discusses the law as a prison and as a schoolmaster in his comments on Gal. 3.23-24. See WA 40a.518.27-534.33, on Gal. 3.23-24. However, it seemed better to focus on Luther's illustrations of the law as a hammer and the veil of Moses, because these illustrations are specific to Luther. Also, his statements on the law as a prison and schoolmaster do not add anything strikingly different from what is presented in the other illustrations.

prodding them forward to learn the remedy for their need in Christ. The law as a prison, on the other hand, brings into focus Calvin's concept on the difference between the Old and New Testaments. In this role, the law restricted the Old Testament believers until the coming of Christ for their benefit while at the same time pointing to Christ through symbols, a concept which is in line also with Luther's thinking.

Calvin explicitly identifies a third use of the law (*tertius usus legis; usus in renatiis*), that of the law as a guide to believers, a concept which he briefly alludes to nearly every time he discusses the first use of the law, expressly avoiding any impression that the law has no role for the Christian. In this role the law is no longer a prison or a schoolmaster, but a kind adviser. That is why David P. Scaer's view must be rejected, according to which Calvin, the moral disciplinarian, focuses on the negative prohibitions of the law, while Luther in contrast emphasizes the positive role of the law for the believer, the law as a positive description of the 'life lived with Christ' (Scaer accepts a third use for the law in Luther).¹⁰⁸³ Instead of focusing on the negative, Calvin in contrast sees that in its third role the law no longer condemns but instead leaves the conscience free, which is a necessary caution against those who see in Calvin a degree of legalism. The law in its kind, exhorting role, shows the right way to believers by giving a guideline for an upright and holy life, and at the same time keeps the believers' flesh under control. This, for Calvin, is the most important role of the law. Despite the fact that Luther does not explicitly identify a third use of the law, it needs to be borne in mind that his second use of the law partly overlaps Calvin's third use. Luther also maintains that believers need the law in order to keep their flesh under control while the conscience, just as in Calvin, is left free. Moreover, Luther at times discusses obedience to the law in a positive sense, such as in his treatment of good works performed on the grounds of faith.¹⁰⁸⁴

It is in the context of these overlapping views that one can properly understand the existing difference between Luther and Calvin regarding the temporal versus permanent role of the convicting function of the law (*usus elencticus legis*) in Christian life. For Luther, the Christians need the law continually to keep their flesh in check – thus he considers that the convicting function of the law is in constant need on this side of heaven. Calvin, however, sees that the convicting function of the law ends at regeneration. After this, the positive

¹⁰⁸³Scaer sees 'the law with its negative prohibitions' as 'the predominating will of God' in Calvin. He states, 'In Luther's theology the third use means that the negative prohibitions of the law are transferred into positive indicatives and descriptions of the life lived with Christ. ... For Calvin the will of God as prohibitive law is seen as motivation for Christian living. ... The law as prohibition in the life of the Christian as Christian also accounts for his stress on moral discipline in the congregation to the point of making it one of the necessary signs whereby the church is recognized as church.' Scaer 1985: 191-192.

¹⁰⁸⁴It is also significant that Luther never condemned Melancthon's identification of a positive third use of the law for believers.

role of the law (*usus in renatiis*) takes over, which includes the keeping of the flesh of the Christian under control.

Further, the fact that Luther does not see obedience to the law on the grounds of faith to be a separate use of the law, indicates some difference to Calvin. Presumably Luther wanted to protect Christian freedom and avoid the danger of coming to regard the believer's new obedience as a condition for justification.

Again, the conclusions drawn here appear to fall roughly in line with Engels' position on the relationship of Luther and Calvin regarding the concept of law. While acknowledging the difference in identifying a third use of the law only in Calvin, Engels does not support the view that Calvin is a representative of a legal religion with an overall emphasis on the perpetual role of the law, as against Luther who stresses Christian liberty. Instead, Engels notes that Luther, in his *Galatians*, recognizes the permanent role of the law for believers while Calvin, too, stresses the importance of Christian liberty, thus suggesting a larger degree of continuity between the two reformers' views than has often been thought.¹⁰⁸⁵

6.3.3. Christ vs. Moses as the Mediator of the Law

Luther and Calvin define the identity of the giver of the law differently in their *Galatians*. Calvin regards Christ as the Mediator of the law, a concept undoubtedly connected to his positive third use of the law for the purpose of instructing the believer. Christ is therefore the Mediator of both justification and the law. Luther, however, sees Moses as the giver of the law in contrast to Christ, who is the Giver of only the gospel. This difference between Luther and Calvin is important, but nevertheless less significant than it would seem at first sight as both Luther and Calvin strictly maintain the law / gospel contrast in the issue of justification.¹⁰⁸⁶

¹⁰⁸⁵Engels states, 'Lässt man diese Voraussetzungen, unter denen Calvin sein Gesetzesverständnis entwickelt, gelten, soerscheint es freilich nicht mehr möglich, seinen Gesetzesbegriff lediglich als Ausdruck sogenannter "Gesetzlichkeit" oder "Gesetzesreligion" abzutun. ... Es mag jedoch zunächst bedacht werden, dass auch Luther – ausdrücklich z.B. im grossen Galaterkommentar – die bleibende Bedeutung des Gesetzes auch für den Christen als dem simul iustus et peccator nicht in Frage stellt. ... Zum anderen betont Calvin wie Luther den Gedanken der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen: Christen sind als die Kinder Gottes die Freien, ihr Gehorsam hat nichts mehr mit einem erzwungenen, sklavenhaften Gehorsam gemein.' Engels 1967: 133.

¹⁰⁸⁶It may be asked in what way the existing difference in Luther's and Calvin's concepts on the third use of the law and Christ vs. Moses as the Mediator of the law influences other aspects of their theology. For instance, is there a connection between Calvin's stronger concept of the law as a positive guide in the Christian life to the different positions of the two reformers regarding the relationship between the church and state? This issue, however, does not appear sufficiently elucidated in their commentaries on Galatians (especially in Calvin) and has been, at least to some extent, treated in other research. See e.g. Mueller 1954.

6.3.4. Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life

Luther's and Calvin's concepts on ceremonial observances in Christian life parallel each other closely. Both Luther and Calvin see that the Mosaic ceremonies had a legitimate role during the time of the Old Testament, but that they were rendered obsolete at the coming of Christ. Also, both regard the maintaining of Christian freedom as an issue of primary importance in reference to external ceremonies. This liberty is maintained in opposition to the view which sees ceremonial observances as necessary for justification. Ceremonial observances can be used, however, for the purposes of edification and when they contribute positively to matters in civil society (Calvin) and for bringing the people to hear the Word of God (Luther). Adding an accent not present in Calvin, Luther also affirms that even the laws of the pope can be observed (despite the fact that they lack the command of God) if they are not regarded as necessary. Calvin, for his part, draws attention to love of one's neighbour as the appropriate tool for determining which observances to maintain.

6.4. Similarities and Differences on Good Works

Luther's and Calvin's concepts on good works are compared a) in reference to the relationship of good works to justification, b) in relation to Luther's contrast between genuine and spurious good works, c) with regards to the relationship of love and good works and d) in terms of good works in practical Christian life.

6.4.1. Relationship between Justification and Good Works

Both Luther and Calvin are careful to point out two opposite considerations regarding the relationship of justification and good works. On the one hand, they emphasize that justification and Christian liberty deny any necessary role for human works.¹⁰⁸⁷ On the other hand, both stress that genuine faith always leads to good works. Thus Luther maintains that a faith which does not lead to good works is useless and Calvin affirms that faith never remains alone but leads to good deeds.

Calvin gives some consideration to the concept of merit in his commentary. He affirms that strictly speaking, it is impossible for human actions to be meritorious due to their imperfection. However, on the ground of God's covenant, when good works are seen exclusively as an outworking of God's grace, it is possible to maintain that God rewards the good deeds of Christians. While

¹⁰⁸⁷It is noteworthy that Luther subordinates the notion of good works to that of justification in stating that with the closure of the consideration of justification the main part of Paul's epistle to the Galatians was over. Although Calvin makes no such reference, he, too, sees justification as the most important concept of the commentary, and never outlines the content of the epistle's sixth chapter, dealing with good works, in the first part of his commentary (*Argumentum epistolae*), which suggests that he also saw the preceding sections of the epistle as more important. Compare WA 40a.470.24-27, on Gal. 3.17, WA 40a.473.20-23, on Gal. 3.18, WA40a.600.25-26, on Gal. 4.8-9 and WA40b.59.20-30, on Gal. 5.12 with COR 16.9, *Argumentum*.

Luther's consideration of the concept of merit in his *Galatians* is primarily negative, there seems to be no element in Calvin's treatment of the concept which would be alien to Luther's theology.

6.4.2. Contrast between Genuine and Spurious Good Works

Luther frequently considers good works in terms of a contrast between genuine and spurious good works. Good works of human choosing include outwardly impressive accomplishments such as pilgrimages or observances relating to clothes and seasons. While admirable to human reason, these are of no value in God's sight. Genuine good works are always based on faith, but in their simple and inconspicuous nature they are regarded by many to have no special value, but are in fact highly appreciated by God. Calvin generally does not discuss good works in his commentary in terms of this kind of contrast. Nevertheless, the idea important to Calvin's discussion of merit and good works, namely, that good works can be acceptable (and meritorious) only on the grounds of God's covenant and grace, closely parallels Luther's thought that genuine good works are always based on faith.

6.4.3. Love of One's Neighbour

Both Luther and Calvin see love as the underlying motivation behind good works. Both also point to one's neighbour as the one toward whom Christian love and good works ought to be directed. Luther identifies one's neighbour as everyone in need, and Calvin sees that all humans, even one's enemies are neighbours to the Christian. While Luther draws attention to the notion of natural law in that humans have a natural knowledge of just what kinds of good deeds they ought to perform to help their neighbour, for Calvin the reality or absence of love toward one's neighbour is the issue which proves whether one's faith is real.

While Luther's and Calvin's discussion on love toward one's neighbour is characteristic of each, no significant conceptual differences emerge.

6.4.4. Good Works in Practice

There is much that is similar in Luther's and Calvin's consideration of good works in practice. While Luther emphasises the importance of loving and helping one's needy neighbour in all possible ways, Calvin enumerates that love ought to be shown by kind acts, preferring others to oneself, and by doing no harm to others, but instead helping one's neighbour as much as one can. Besides helping one's needy neighbour, Luther sees faithfulness in one's daily calling as especially important, and it appears more so than in Calvin, although Calvin, too, comments on the importance of faithfulness in one's personal calling.

When considering the issue of correcting the fallen, both Luther and Calvin agree on the fact that one ought to do it gently, though Luther primarily discusses this in reference to ministry, and Calvin in reference to Christians in

general. Also, regarding the remuneration of ministers, both consider that the value people place on the gospel is proven by their willingness to give financial support to their pastors. However, while ministers ought to be provided for, their remuneration ought to be reasonable, not luxurious.

6.5. Similarities and Differences on Ministry

The concept of ministry is a central one both to Luther and Calvin in their commentaries on Galatians. Luther's and Calvin's concepts on ministry are compared relating to the calling to and honour of the ministry, pure gospel ministry, the task of ministry, the issues of popularity and needed tenderness in ministry and other practical exhortations relating to ministry.

6.5.1. Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry

Both Luther and Calvin maintain that God's call can come directly, as in the case of apostles, or through a human instrument (*per hominem*), especially after the time of the apostles. However, the issue on who this mediated call comes from is perhaps the only significant outright disagreement in Luther's and Calvin's commentaries. Luther asserts that the call ought to come from the prince of the land,¹⁰⁸⁸ while Calvin considers the votes of the people as the most appropriate method of calling.¹⁰⁸⁹

They both affirm the high honour of the position of ministry, because of the focal importance of the gospel the minister defends (Luther) and the central significance of the task of the doctrine of eternal salvation (Calvin). Calvin further adds how astounding it is that God has chosen to use human means in an issue of such incomparable importance, an accent not present in Luther's discussion.

6.5.2. Pure Ministry of the Gospel

Both Luther and Calvin see it as central that the gospel ministry is genuine and that the doctrine is kept pure. This is because everything else depends on the Word of the gospel (Luther) and because of how dangerous it is to have confusion on the issue of justification (Calvin).

Calvin affirms that the task of the minister is to exhibit Christ purely. That is why no additions to the gospel are permitted. Instead, one ought to strictly abide with what is sufficiently and clearly presented in God's Word. Luther also emphasizes the centrality of the unadulterated Word, and the pure doctrine of

¹⁰⁸⁸F For further information on this concept and for the role of the bishop vs. the role of the prince of the land in giving the call to ministers in Luther's view, see section 4.6.1 and Beyer 1983: vol. I, 107-108, vol. II, 762.

¹⁰⁸⁹See section 3.2.1.5. for further detail on Calvin's position on the call to ministry.

justification. His presentation stresses the fact that while Christians in their life in general should be loving and acquiescent, in defence of pure doctrine one needs to be hard and unyielding.

6.5.3. Task of Ministry

Both Luther and Calvin see the task of ministry as essentially connected to the work of the Holy Spirit. While both recognize the importance of the preached word, the spoken Word appears to have a more central role in Luther's understanding. While Luther focuses on how the Spirit affects the hearing of faith by means of the preached Word, Calvin for his part talks of God's activity through the Spirit for the rebirth of humans, a task in which God has chosen to cooperate with human agents.

Both Luther and Calvin see opposing false teachers as an important aspect of ministry. While Luther's comment relates to the fact that false teaching leads people to fall away from the pure doctrine of justification, Calvin addresses the issue of God's glory vs. human benefit, regarding which he concludes that it is God's glory and the welfare of the whole church which motivates one to turn sternly against the false teacher.

Calvin's personal tendency to give brief practical advice for edification becomes evident in relation to his other concerns relating to ministry. He exhorts the ministers to come to the level of their hearers in their preaching, which is a concern of Luther's, too, who recommends the use of stories and illustrations so that the message can be understood. However, Calvin adds that their preaching ought to illustrate Christ before the eyes of the people, so that there is no need for pictures in churches, which one would not expect to read in Luther.¹⁰⁹⁰ Further, Calvin admonishes ministers to display zeal in their work and urges them to be orderly in their work in the manner of Paul.

6.5.4. Popularity and Tenderness in Ministry

Luther and Calvin address several practical considerations regarding the minister's work. With reference to the two most significant issues, popularity and tenderness in ministry – they are generally of the same opinion. Both Luther and Calvin see popularity as a serious danger in ministry and put the accent on how important it is for the minister not to seek honour from humans, but from God instead, and perform their God-given task conscientiously and well.

Luther, contrasting true ministry with the one motivated by vainglory (κενοδοξία), maintains that ministry which seeks honour from humans

¹⁰⁹⁰This is connected to Calvin's negative relation toward images in churches. See CO 1.384-393 for the larger context of Calvin's discussion on images. For further discussion, see also section 5.5.3. As is well known, Luther did not regard the commandment forbidding images as a separate commandment, as Calvin did. Compare e.g. CO 1.3.15-1.3.39, 1.3.78-79 with e.g. WA 30a.283.19-284.3, 289.21-291.31 (Kleine Katechismus). On the other hand, Calvin would probably disagree with Luther regarding the appropriateness of the use of allegories in preaching – according to Luther those ministers who are well established in Christian doctrine may use allegories with caution as illustrations in their teaching.

leads to the formation of sects while true ministry properly administers sacraments and proclaims the gospel. In true ministry, the worker has a testimony of one's own conscience affirming that the work has been well done in contrast to seeking human applause, which the vainglorious ministers seek. Calvin, for his part, warns of ministry which loves its own ease and the smell of the kitchen. True ministers, by way of contrast, are ready to despise human favour and endeavour to remain faithful to Christ in working for the edification of the church.

Relating to those who minister to the fallen, both Luther and Calvin highlight the importance of loving concern for those being corrected. It is important to have the person's restoration to faith in mind (Calvin) and while false teachers have to be treated with severity, the common people and those who grieve for their sins need to be treated with love and tenderness (Luther).

6.6. Similarities and Differences on the Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian

The essential agreement of Luther and Calvin on substantial themes in Paul's epistle to the Galatians is further demonstrated by the fact that there appears only one major theme which does not appear central in any significant way in the other reformer's commentary.¹⁰⁹¹ The notion of the scandal of the cross (*scandalum crucis*) and suffering as a Christian is an idea of significance only in Luther's commentary. It must be borne in mind that this study only shows that this theme is not significant in Calvin's *Galatians*. Elsewhere, Calvin treats Christian suffering in more detail.¹⁰⁹²

Nevertheless, Calvin addresses the subject of persecution in his commentary on Galatians, exhorting to fortitude and perseverance, which indicates that persecutions were very much a current issue for evangelical believers at that time both in Germany and in Switzerland. Calvin also affirms that *scandalum crucis* refers to the offence humans take for the fact that Christ, being holy, takes human sin upon himself and dies for us. In two instances Calvin also implicitly connects the concepts of Christian suffering and *scandalum crucis*, where he draws attention to the fact that the gospel invites persecution – thus the marks (*stigmata*), which Christians bear are partaking in shame and suffering for the sake of the cross.

Nonetheless, while Calvin's insights closely correspond to concepts lying at the core of Luther's understanding of *scandalum crucis*, he does not have a

¹⁰⁹¹A further theme could possibly be added, that of the personal struggle of faith, *Anfechtung*, in Luther. In this study, however, this concept has been discussed in connection with the concepts of justification and the work of the Holy Spirit.

¹⁰⁹²See e.g. InstFa: 792-819. The whole concluding chapter, 'De la vie chrétienne' is relevant to Calvin's concept of Christian suffering. See InstFa: 784-822. The prominence of the themes of trials and tribulation in the chapter on Christian life point to the importance of the concept for Calvin.

well developed notion regarding the scandal of the cross and Christian suffering in the way Luther has. In Luther's commentary, this is a major concept of its own, treated in much detail and depth.

Luther understands *scandalum crucis* in two ways, first as having to suffer persecution and second, as the offence humans take for the fact that true gospel ministry is despised by ecclesiastical and secular powers.¹⁰⁹³ Similarly, Luther regards Paul's 'weakness' (Gal. 4.13-14) and the *stigmata* (Gal. 6.17) as a reference, not to any outward physical mark, but to suffering as a Christian, either outwardly in the form of persecution or inwardly, in the form of inner affliction and terror of heart.¹⁰⁹⁴ Luther sees *scandalum crucis* and suffering as a Christian as inevitable because the pure gospel always irritates and enrages both Satan and those trusting in their works of self-righteousness. The sufferings Christians face can also be seen as training, because they help to keep Christians from becoming proud and lead them humbly to trust in God. However, despite one's sufferings, Christians may feel comforted and assured, because Christ stands Victor over all their struggles and is well able to take care of their affliction. Also, in persecutions Christians have reason for joy, because persecutions are an evidence of the genuineness of the gospel they preach.

6.7. Other Concepts

It is seen that the examination of other concepts (i.e. those notions which were not seen as major concepts in the commentaries as a whole, but which were nevertheless to some extent important) in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* are not presented in sufficient detail or comprehensiveness to draw any far reaching conclusions. Nevertheless, it is appropriate to make at least three observations.

First, as these concepts (church, Lord's Supper, theology of hope, doctrine of the devil, predestination, interpretation of Scripture, human depravity) are treated only briefly in Luther's and Calvin's commentaries on Galatians, and

¹⁰⁹³ Calvin also notes that Christians have to face persecution because they uphold the scandal of the cross. However, he does not identify persecution with the scandal of the cross in the same way Luther does. For Calvin, the cross offends humans by the fact that Christ, being holy, dies for humans, who are unholy.

¹⁰⁹⁴ What is called Luther's concept of the scandal of the cross (*scandalum crucis*) and suffering as a Christian is closely connected to the concept of the theology of the cross (*theologia crucis*), which has been discussed in several scholarly works on Luther. See e.g. McGrath 1985 and Kadai 1999. The fact that one finds few scholarly works on Calvin's theology of the cross, however (at least not in the same sense it is treated in Luther), reflects the difference which emerged also in the results of this study. For an exception, however, see e.g. Feld's analysis of Calvin's commentary on Philippians, in which he sees Calvin's theology of the cross and suffering (*Passions – und Kreuzestheologie Calvins*) as significant. Feld 1992: xxxvii-xxxix.

because the treatment here is limited in scope, it appears more advisable not to attempt to outline specific areas of agreement and difference on these issues.

Second, it is nevertheless reasonable to ask which of these themes are of more importance in Luther's and Calvin's discussion. In Luther's *Galatians*, it is evident that the doctrine of the devil and theology of hope are much more developed than in Calvin's commentary.¹⁰⁹⁵ On the other hand, Calvin's concepts on predestination and human depravity have clearly more accent in his *Galatians* than in Luther's.¹⁰⁹⁶

Third, one could postulate that it is these subsidiary themes which indicate the specific emphases of Luther and Calvin even more than the main subjects of their *Galatians* on the grounds that the main subjects are, to a large extent, determined by the subjects treated in Paul's epistle to the Galatians. The subsidiary themes would then be seen to express the respective characteristic accents of Luther and Calvin. However, while there may be some truth to the argument, the scope to which these minor themes are treated both in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians* and the extent to which they are investigated in this study, do not warrant the conclusion of seeing these concepts as being of major importance.

¹⁰⁹⁵However, Calvin treats the concept of hope in some more detail in his *Institutio* 1543/45. Calvin's treatment is much briefer than Luther's but bears some similarity to how Luther expounds the concept in his *Galatians*. Compare CO 1.5.37 with WA 40b.23.27-33.34.

¹⁰⁹⁶It is not possible, on the basis of this study, to affirm the theme of interpretation of Scripture as more important in Calvin than in Luther, despite the fact that it was included in the section on other themes only in Calvin, not in Luther. (Compare sections 4.7. and 5.6.) The reason for the omission of this theme from the section on other themes in Luther's commentary is that in Luther's *Galatians* there are other minor themes, which appear more significant than that of interpretation of Scripture. See Appendix 4 for more detail on these themes. See also section 2.4.1 for a brief discussion of this theme in Luther's *Galatians* in relation to the views of patristic commentators, and footnote 1033 under section 5.6.6 where some further remarks are made on Luther's view on the interpretation on Scripture in his *Galatians*.

7. Conclusion

It has become evident in this study that Luther's and Calvin's commentaries are in many ways very different. While Luther is more existential, profound, creative and verbose, Calvin is systematic and brief. It also appears that there is no direct interdependence between the commentaries. That is why it is all the more significant that the comparison of Luther's and Calvin's commentaries on Galatians has demonstrated that there is a far reaching agreement between substantial concepts in the two reformers' commentaries both (1) with regard to which concepts are identified as substantial and (2) in reference to how these concepts are understood. It can therefore be seen that the results of this study fall roughly in line with the position which sees a thoroughgoing agreement between the theology of Luther and Calvin despite some obvious differences. It is noteworthy in this context that the works of Engels and Hesselink, who have specifically compared the theology of Luther's and Calvin's commentaries on the epistles of Paul, have also come to a similar conclusion.¹⁰⁹⁷

At the same time, it may be in place to reiterate that the present study finds its place among and in the context of other kinds of studies comparing Luther's and Calvin's theology. Those which compare a single theme or the whole of Luther's and Calvin's theology can be of benefit to studies focusing on themes in the two reformers' biblical commentaries. On the other hand, those studies which compare the German and Swiss reformers' biblical commentaries also highlight a beneficial and unique perspective in paying attention to central theological themes of Luther's and Calvin's thought as they are expounded right at the source, in their comment on the Bible.

With the exception of the scandal of the cross and suffering as a Christian (a major theme only in Luther), the concepts identified as substantial are the same in both commentaries on Galatians. Both regard justification as the most important concept. Other central themes include the work of the Holy Spirit, the law, good works and ministry. There is an interesting side result of this study with regards to the theme of finding comfort in one's personal struggle of faith (*Anfechtung*), which supports Bornkamm's earlier work on Luther's *Galatians* in that she identifies this as one of

¹⁰⁹⁷See e.g. Engels 1967, vol. 1: 14, 45-49, 114, 116-117, 133-135 (vol. 1) and Hesselink 1984: 77-79. Noordegraaf's position also appears to fall in line with seeing a thoroughgoing continuity between Luther and Calvin. His study, however, is limited to a brief, though central passage in Galatians (Gal. 2.11-14). See Noordegraaf 1989: 104-109. The work of Parker 1963 does not directly examine the theology of Luther's and Calvin's commentaries, but focuses on their method of interpretation. Parker sees distinct theological variances in Luther and Calvin, which he believes are due to their different methods of interpretation. See Parker 1963: 72-75.

its substantial concepts. This notion appeared central to Luther in connection with justification and the work of the Holy Spirit.

Attention is now turned to the main thematic similarities and differences in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*.

Both Luther and Calvin affirm that justification takes place through faith alone, in Christ alone, in contradistinction to righteousness through works. Both also underline that Christ has died personally 'for us' (pro nobis). Both also set the gospel in contrast to the law and regard Christian liberty, seen as freedom of the conscience from the law, as central. Further, Luther and Calvin see gospel and law as antithetical ways to salvation, of which the gospel, grounded in God's grace and promise, is the only true way to righteousness. Both reformers moreover highlight the importance of Christian liberty, which means complete freedom from the law in one's conscience. Finally, both agree on the fact that the way to justification was through faith in Christ in the Old and New Testaments.

Their differences on justification deal primarily with differences in emphasis, in that Calvin, for instance, discusses the nature of faith and the relationship between the Old and New Testaments in more detail than Luther, while Luther portrays the contrast between righteousness by faith and works in more ways and through more illustrations than does Calvin.

Perhaps the most significant point of difference relating to justification between Luther and Calvin occurs in their views on the believer's union with Christ. Calvin sees both justification and regeneration as indissolubly joined in the believer's union, a connection which is nowhere affirmed in such clear terms in Luther's commentary. Also, there is a difference in that Luther frequently discusses justification as a personal comfort in one's struggle of faith (*Anfechtungen*),¹⁰⁹⁸ which is not a significant theme in Calvin's commentary.

Luther and Calvin largely agree on the work of the Holy Spirit as presented in their *Galatians*. Both see assurance of salvation, wrought by the Spirit, as an indispensable sign of genuine faith and regard the struggle between the Spirit and the flesh as characterising Christian life. Further, both Luther and Calvin agree that the Holy Spirit is received through faith.

However, Luther's more specific notion of the Spirit as being received through the preached Word is absent in Calvin's commentary. There is some further difference in emphasis, in that Luther often discusses the struggle of the personal conscience, in which the Holy Spirit brings comfort. The most significant difference regarding the work of the Holy Spirit appears to deal with the concept of regeneration. Regeneration has a more prominent position in Calvin's

¹⁰⁹⁸This gives some support to Bornkamm who treats this theme as a separate substantial concept in Luther's *Galatians*. See Bornkamm 1963: 232-234, and the whole of section III in her book.

Galatians, and Calvin explicitly connects regeneration with justification, a notion not present in Luther.

Against the view which assumes that there is a distinct disagreement between Luther and Calvin on the law, the present research on their *Galatians* demonstrates an essential agreement on most issues. Both define the law in *Galatians* as the whole law, including the moral law. Both also see a danger in misusing the law for justification. Luther and Calvin also see eye to eye on the fact that as far as justification and the conscience of the believers are concerned, the law is abrogated. Further, the two reformers strongly accentuate the convicting function of the law (the second use of the law for Luther and the first use of the law for Calvin), in that it helps the people to see their sin and consequently their need of Christ and the gospel. Luther and Calvin concur on the use of ceremonial observances in Christian life as well, regarding it as central that whenever traditions are used, their observance is not confused with the issue of justification, but left free for Christian consciences.

The only substantial difference regarding the law in Luther and Calvin relates to the notion of the third function of the law, which only Calvin explicitly identifies, and to Calvin's related identification of Christ as the Mediator of the law, a task which Luther assigns only to Moses, not Christ. Even here, it needs to be borne in mind that Calvin strictly maintains the law / gospel contrast with regards to justification. Further, Calvin's third use of the law includes aspects of what Luther defines as belonging to the second use of the law, namely, that of the restraining function of the law in the believers' lives. Similarly, Luther also discusses Christian obedience to the law in a positive sense, although he never explicitly addresses this in terms of yet another use of the law.

Nevertheless, there is an important difference between Luther and Calvin on the law in that Calvin, in contrast to Luther, sees the positive exhorting role of the law in the life of believers as its primary role, while Luther sees the convicting function as primary. This difference emerged clearly in the commentaries despite the fact that Calvin recognizes the convicting function of the law (*usus elencticus legis*) as the more central one in Paul's letter to the *Galatians*.

There is an essential agreement between Luther and Calvin on the main issues regarding good works, too. Both Luther and Calvin exclude good works from justification, but nevertheless stress the necessity and focal importance of good deeds in the believers' lives. While the notion of merit emerges as an important theme in Calvin's discussion on good works and the contrast between works grounded on faith versus works performed without faith is central to Luther, there are no significant disagreements on these concepts. Instead, both affirm that genuine good works are those performed on the grounds of God's covenant and grace (Calvin) and on the grounds of faith (Luther). Luther and Calvin agree also on the

fact that love is the only right motivation for good works and regard that one's neighbour, representing everyone in need, is the appropriate object for one's good actions. It is therefore focal that the Christian does good to all, as much as one can. Both reformers also stress the importance of being tender with the fallen and emphasize the importance of faithfulness and reasonableness in financial remuneration of ministers.

A slight difference in emphasis can be identified in the fact that Luther stresses faithfulness in one's daily calling more than Calvin, who nevertheless also agrees with that foundational concept.

The comparison of Luther's and Calvin's concepts on ministry demonstrates primarily similarity but also pinpoints perhaps the only clear disagreement between the two reformers in the substantial concepts of their *Galatians*.

Both Luther and Calvin emphasize the high honour of gospel ministry and stress the importance of proclaiming the pure gospel as found in God's Word. Accordingly, both also see it as the minister's task to oppose sternly false teachers. Further, both highlight the importance of tenderness in correcting the fallen and exhort ministers to humbly perform their God-given task instead of seeking for human recognition.

Some difference appears in the fact that, while both Luther and Calvin recognize the role of Holy Spirit as indispensable in ministry, Luther stresses the spoken, preached Word more than Calvin does.

There is a clear disagreement, however, on who should appoint ministers in their office. Luther sees that the gospel call ought to proceed from the prince of the land (or the bishop) while for Calvin the people of the congregation ought to vote on this issue.

Suffering as a Christian and the scandal of the cross appeared as a central theme only in Luther's commentary. Another theme, here treated in connection with justification and the Holy Spirit, which also appeared as specifically characteristic of Luther's commentary, was his focus on finding comfort through the gospel in one's personal struggle of faith.

It was further noted that out of the minor themes of Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*, the doctrine of the devil and the theology of hope have more significance for Luther, while those of God's providence and human depravity have more importance for Calvin.

This study has come to the result that Luther and Calvin, having given attention to the same biblical text, have arrived at fundamentally similar positions on substantial concepts in Paul's epistle to the Galatians. While some differences remain, they are

mostly insignificant. This study concludes with quotes central to both Luther's and Calvin's commentaries.

Luther states,

'For in my heart there rules this one doctrine, namely, faith in Christ. From it, through it, and to it all my theological thought flows and returns, day and night; yet I am aware that all I have grasped of this wisdom in its height, width, and depth are a few poor and insignificant firstfruits and fragments.'¹⁰⁹⁹

'For the issue here is nothing trivial for Paul, it is the principal doctrine of Christianity. When this is recognized and held before one's eyes, everything else seems vile and worthless. For what is Peter? What is an angel from heaven? What is all creation in comparison with the doctrine of justification?'¹¹⁰⁰

Calvin states,

'It was necessary to indicate the fountain, so that his (Paul's) readers should know that the controversy was not concerned with some insignificant trifle, but with the most important matter of all, the way we obtain salvation.'¹¹⁰¹

'Paul very properly contends as for a fundamental article of the Christian faith. It is no small evil to quench the light of the Gospel, to lay a snare for consciences, and to remove the distinction between the Old and New Testaments. He perceived that these errors were also connected with a wicked and pernicious opinion as to the manner in which justification is obtained.'¹¹⁰²

¹⁰⁹⁹Nam in corde meo iste unus regnat articulus, scilicet Fides Christi, ex quo, per quem et in quem omnes meae diu noctuque fluunt et refluunt theologicae cogitationes, nec tamen comprehendisse me experior de tantae altitudinis, latitudinis, profunditatis sapientia nisi infirmas et pauperes quasdam primitias et veluti fragmenta. WA 40a.33.7-11, Praefatio D. Martini Lutheri, 1535.

¹¹⁰⁰Paulus hic non agit de lana caprina nec de pane lucrando, sed de praecipuo articulo Christianae doctrinae. Illo conspecto et habito ob oculos caetera omnia vilesunt et nihili sunt. Quid enim est Petrus, Paulus, quid angelus e coelo, quid universa creatura ad articulum iustificationis? WA 40a.192.19-22, on Gal. 2.11.

¹¹⁰¹Sed necessario fontem ipsum indicare: ut sciant lectores non hic de umbra asini litigari, sed de re omnium maxima, qua ratione salutem obtineamus. COR 16.9, Argumentum.

¹¹⁰²At Paulus tanquam de primario Christianae fidei capite dimicat. Neque immerito. Non enim leve malum est suffocari Euangelii claritatem, laqueum iniici conscientiis, tolli discrimen Veteris et Novi testamenti. Videbat praeterea his erroribus coniunctam quoque esse impiam et perniciosam opinionem promerendae iustitiae. COR 16.6, Argumentum. The above translation is by Achtebarder 1854.

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APPENDIX 1

**Table of the Number of Differences between the Basel Vulgate (1509),
Wittenberg Vulgate (1529) and the Latin Translation of Galatians in Luther's
Commentary on Galatians (1535)**

| Galatians 1 | Lut 1535 | Vulg 1509 (no of differences to Lut 1535) | Wit 1529 (no of differences to Lut 1535) | No of Lut 1535 and Vulg 1509 agreements against Wit 1529 | No of Lut 1535 and Wit 1529 agreements against Vulg 1509 | No of Lut 1535 independent text |
|------------------------|---------------------|--|---|---|---|--|
| 1 | X | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | -(+1) |
| 2 | X | 3 | - | - | 3 | - |
| 3 | X | 4 | 1 | 1 | 4 | - |
| 4 | X | 3 | 1 | - | 3 | 1 |
| 5 | X | 1 | 1 | - | - | 1 |
| 6 | X | 4 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| 7 | X | 7 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 5 |
| 8 | X | 3 | 7 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| 9 | X | 1 | 4 | 3 | - | 1 |
| 10 | X | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 |
| 11 | X | 6 | 5 | - | 1 | 5 |
| 12 | X | - | 1 | 1 | - | - |
| 13 | X | 4 | 1 | 1 | 4 | - |
| 14 | X | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - |
| 15 | X | 5 | - | - | 5 | -(+2) |
| 16 | X | 9 | 1 | - | 8 | 1*(+3) |
| 17 | X | 6 | 2 | 1 | 5 | - |
| 18 | X | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | - |
| 19 | X | - | - | - | - | - |
| 20 | X | 3 | 1 | - | 2 | 1 |
| 21 | X | 3 | - | - | 3 | - |
| 22 | X | 4 | - | - | 4 | - |
| 23 | X | 3 | 1 | - | 2 | 1 |
| 24 | X | 2 | - | - | 2 | - |
| | | 79 | 44 | 18 | 57 | 22*(+6) |

Note on the Principles of Counting the Number of Differences in the above Table:

Differences in punctuation and capital vs. small case have not been recorded in the table above. This is because the WA 40a-40b Latin translations of the Bible text are frequently given in short phrases each beginning with with a capital letter and ended by a full stop. Variances in chosen words are counted as one difference / word and variances in spelling are also counted as one difference / word. Variance in word order is counted as one difference and added or omitted words and phrases are also counted as one difference.

* There are a few occasions when Luther's phrase by phrase comment on the Latin text of Galatians differs from the full Latin text of several verses he had quoted just previously in the Weimarer Ausgabe 40a (1531/1535). However, the changes are insignificant, with the greatest difference in v.16. The phrase 'ut Evangelisarem illum in gentibus' from Luther's rendering of verses 1.15-17 has been replaced by 'Ut Evangeliseram illud inter gentes' in his subsequent phrase by phrase comments. Compare WA 40a.136.11 and WA 40a.142.23.

APPENDIX 2

Sample Comparison of Luther's and Calvin's Latin Translations of Galatians

LUTHER

Similarities in the Latin Translation of Galatians

Gal. 3.7
Cognoscitis ergo, quod, qui ex fide sunt, hi sunt filii
Abrahae. WA 40a.373.18

Gal. 3.10
Quicumque enim ex operibus Legis sunt, sub
maledicto sunt. Scriptum est enim:
'Maledictus omnis qui non permanserit in omnibus,
quae scripta sunt in libro Legis, ut faciat ea.'
WA 40a.391.28, 396.24-25

Gal. 3.24
Itaque Lex paedagogus noster fuit in Christum.
Ut ex fide iustificemur. WA 40a.529.15, 533.13

Gal. 6.18
Gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi cum spiritu
fratres, Amen. WA 40a.183.20-21

Differences in the Latin Translation of Galatians

Gal. 3.1
O insensati Galatae. Quis vos fascinavit non obedire
obedire veritati? Quis vos fascinavit? Non obedire veritati?*

Quibus ob oculos Christus Iesus praescriptus est.
Quod sit in vobis crucifixus.
WA 40a.308.32, 313.24, 319.18, 322.22, 323.31, 324.23

* Luther repeats this phrase

Gal. 4.4
At ubi venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus
filium suum, factum vel natum ex muliere,
factum sum lege. WA 40a.560.17-18

Gal. 4.15
Quae erat beatitudo vestra? Testimonium enim
perhibeo vobis, quod, si fieri potuisset, oculos
vestros eruissetis et dedissetis mihi.
WA 40a.639.19, 640.17-18

Gal. 4.20
Vellem autem esse apud vos nunc et
mutare vocem meam. Quoniam confundor in vobis.
WA 40a.651.20, 652.21

Gal. 6.7
Nolite errare, Deus enim non irridetur. Quae enim
seminaverit homo, haec et metet.
WA 40a.159.27, 161.14

CALVIN

Gal. 3.7
Cognoscite ergo quod qui ex fide sunt, ii sunt filii
Abrahae. COR 16.63

Gal. 3.10
Quicumque enim ex operibus Legis sunt, sub
maledictione sunt. Scripture est enim:
Maledictus omnis, qui non permanet in omnibus
quae scripta sunt in libro Legis, ut faciat ea.
COR 16.67

Gal. 3.24
Itaque Lex, paedagogus noster fuit in Christum,
ut ex fide iustificaremur. COR 16.83

Gal. 6.18
Gratia Domini nostri Iesu Christi cum spiritu vestro
vestro fratres, Amen. COR 16.147

Gal. 3.1
O stulti Galatae, quis vos fascinavit, ut non
obediatis veritati?
Quibus ante oculos Iesus Christus depictus est,
inter vos crucifixus.
COR 16.58

Gal. 4.4
Quando autem venit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus
Filius suum factum ex muliere
redactum sub Legem. COR 16.88

Gal. 4.15
Ubi igitur beatitudo vestra? Testimonium enim
reddo vobis, quod si possibile fuisset, etiam oculos
vestros effossos dedissetis mihi.
COR 16.69

Gal. 4.20
Vellem autem nunc coram esse vobiscum, et
mutare vocem meam, quia anxius sum in vobis.
COR 16.99

Gal. 6.7
Nolite falli, Deus non subsannatur. Quod enim
seminaverit homo, hoc etiam metet.
COR 16.141

APPENDIX 3

Table of Luther's and Calvin's References to Patristic and Contemporaneous Commentators on Galatians

| | Luther (exege- tical) ¹¹⁰³ | Luther (theolo- gical) ¹¹⁰⁴ | Luther (homile- tical) ¹¹⁰⁵ | Total | Calvin (exege- tical) | Calvin (theolo- gical) | Calvin (homile- tical) | Total |
|-------------------|---|--|--|--------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|-------|
| Jerome | | | | 34 ¹¹⁰⁶ | | | | 8 |
| agreements | 3 | 6 | | | | | | |
| disagreements | | 24 | | | 2 | 6 | | |
| neutral | | | 1 | | | | | |
| Augustine | | | | 14 | | | | 2 |
| agreements | | 9 | | | | 1 | | |
| disagreements | (1) ¹¹⁰⁷ | | | | 1 | | | |
| neutral | | | 4 | | | | | |
| Chrysostom | | | | 0 | | | | 8 |
| agreements | | | | | | 3 | | |
| disagreements | | | | | 2 | 3 | | |
| Origen | | | | 4 | | | | 5 |
| agreements | | | | | | | | |
| disagreements | | 4 | | | | 5 | | |
| Ambrose | | | | 3 | | | | 2 |
| agreements | | 1 ¹¹⁰⁸ | | | | 1 | | |
| disagreements | | | | | 1 | | | |
| neutral | | | 2 | | | | | |
| Erasmus | | | | 4 | | | | 6 |
| agreements | | | | | | | | |
| disagreements | | 4 | | | 6 | | | |

¹¹⁰³ 'Exegetical' is used in reference to comments which are only exegetical.

¹¹⁰⁴ 'Theological' is used in reference to comments which include theological argumentation, with or without exegetical comment.

¹¹⁰⁵ 'Homiletical' is used in reference to statements, which add colour to the discussion, but are not used in a theological or exegetical way.

¹¹⁰⁶ In the table above, the mentioning of one of the commentators in one context (even if the name is repeated) is counted as one occurrence. At times it is difficult to separate exegetical comments from theological ones. When the passage deals with interpretation and includes theological application, the instance is taken as theological, while a discussion limited to an appropriate translation or to the context of the situation in Galatia is counted as exegetical.

¹¹⁰⁷ Luther adds that Augustine later changed his interpretation, which is more in line with his own position. See WA 40a.622.12-19. See also WA 40a.623.27-29, on Gal. 4.10.

¹¹⁰⁸ This occasion is a reference to Ambrose's (and Augustine's) lifestyle, not to his comments on Galatians. Ambrose did not separate himself from society like others, but stayed among people, encouraging them with the Word, thus demonstrating what true sainthood means. See Luther's comment in WA 40b.104.30-105.13, on Gal. 5.19.

APPENDIX 4

**Substantial Concepts in the Weimarer Ausgabe (WA) and Calvini Opera
Recognita (COR) Editions of
Luther's and Calvin's *Commentaries on Galatians***

Identified Substantial Concepts of Luther's *Commentary on Galatians* in the Weimarer Ausgabe (WA) vols. 40a-40b

| | | |
|----------------------|--------------|--|
| WA 40a.52.11-55.15 | Gal. 1.1-2 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40a.55.16-64.12 | Gal. 1.1-2 | Ministry - Call to Ministry |
| WA 40a.64.14-65.31 | Gal. 1.1 | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |
| WA 40a.66.13-27 | Gal. 1.2 | Ministry – Call to Ministry |
| WA 40a.66.29-67.24 | Gal. 1.2 | Against Sectarians |
| WA 40a.68.10-24 | Gal. 1.2 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40a.68.25-71.28 | Gal. 1.2 | Church |
| WA 40a.72.16-75.26 | Gal. 1.3 | Justification – Forgiveness and a Joyful Conscience |
| WA 40a.75.27-80.16 | Gal. 1.3 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification – Speculation about God's Majesty outside of Jesus Christ vs. God as Revealed in Jesus Christ the Propitiator |
| WA 40a.80.17-82.29 | Gal. 1.3 | Christology - Nature of Christ |
| WA 40a.82.31-94.12 | Gal. 1.4 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification – Christ as Having Been Given 'for us' <i>pro nobis</i> (here – 'for our sins' <i>pro peccatis nostris</i>) |
| WA 40a.94.14-97.30 | Gal. 1.4 | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |
| WA 40a.98.14-99.28 | Gal. 1.4 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification – Speculation about God's Majesty outside of Jesus Christ vs. God as Revealed in Jesus Christ the Propitiator |
| WA 40a.99.30-100.15 | Gal. 1.5 | Law – Second Commandment |
| WA 40a.100.17-102.19 | Gal. 1.6 | Ministry – Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry |
| WA 40a.102.21-104.19 | Gal. 1.6 | Ministry – Difficulty with Sectarians |
| WA 40a.104.21-30 | Gal. 1.6 | Ministry – Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry |
| WA 40a.104.31-105.23 | Gal. 1.6 | Exegetical Comment (*4) |
| WA 40a.105.25-108.16 | Gal. 1.6 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification – Christ as the Lawgiver vs. Christ as the Saviour |
| WA 40a.108.18-110.25 | Gal. 1.6 | Doctrine of the Devil |
| WA 40a.110.28-113.26 | Gal. 1.7 | Ministry – Opposing False Teachers |
| WA 40a.113.28-115.25 | Gal. 1.7 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.115.26-119.19 | Gal. 1.7-9 | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel |
| WA 40a.119.20-120.25 | Gal. 1.9 | Church / Scripture |
| WA 40a.120.27-125.26 | Gal. 1.10 | Ministry – Popularity in Ministry (and the Doctrine of Justification) |
| WA 40a.126.15-128.31 | Gal. 1.11-12 | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel |
| WA 40a.128.32-130.31 | Gal. 1.11-12 | Justification – Justification in the Struggle of Conscience |
| WA 40a.130.32-134.10 | Gal. 1.11-12 | Church – Authority and Purity of the Gospel |
| WA 40a.134.15-139.22 | Gal. 1.13-17 | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |

| | | |
|----------------------|---------------|--|
| WA 40a.139.24-140.29 | Gal. 1.15 | Predestination |
| WA 40a.140.31-141.26 | Gal. 1.16 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.142.14-22 | Gal. 1.16 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Hearing of Faith |
| WA 40a.142.24-149.23 | Gal. 1.16-21 | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel |
| WA 40a.149.28-156.32 | Gal. 1.22-2.2 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| WA 40a.156.35-162.25 | Gal. 2.3 | Law – Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life |
| WA 40a.162.30-166.20 | Gal. 2.4-5 | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |
| WA 40a.166.21-170.22 | Gal. 2.4-5 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| WA 40a.170.25-173.23 | Gal. 2.6 | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel |
| WA 40a.173.24-179.19 | Gal. 2.6 | Law – First Use of the Law (Concept of <i>larva Dei</i>) |
| WA 40a.179.21-183.20 | Gal. 2.6-9 | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel |
| WA 40a.183.21-186.14 | Gal. 2.7-9 | Exegetical Comment |
| WA 40a.186.15-187.15 | Gal. 2.7-9 | Papal Primacy |
| WA 40a.187.17-189.27 | Gal. 2.8-9 | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel |
| WA 40a.189.28-190.24 | Gal. 2.9 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| WA 40a.190.25-191.10 | Gal. 2.9 | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel |
| WA 40a.191.12-191.28 | Gal. 2.10 | Ministry – Helping the Poor |
| WA 40a.191.31-194.13 | Gal. 2.11 | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel |
| WA 40a.194.14-198.17 | Gal. 2.11 | Simul iustus et peccator |
| WA 40a.198.19-202.30 | Gal. 2.12 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| WA 40a.203.14-210.19 | Gal. 2.13-14 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.210.22-211.31 | Gal. 2.14 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| WA 40a.211.32-213.18 | Gal. 2.14 | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel |
| WA 40a.213.19-214.29 | Gal. 2.14 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.214.31-225.22 | Gal. 2.15-16 | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |
| WA 40a.225.23-243.19 | Gal. 2.16 | Justification – Faith Formed by Love vs. Faith Formed by Christ (Union with Christ) |
| WA 40a.243.21-246.28 | Gal. 2.16 | Justification – Faith vs. Love / Works |
| WA 40a.247.17-253.21 | Gal. 2.17 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.253.22-255.35 | Gal. 2.17 | Justification – Faith vs. Love / Works |
| WA 40a.256.17-260.24 | Gal. 2.17 | Law – First Use of the Law |
| WA 40a.260.26-266.24 | Gal. 2.17-18 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.266.26-270.27 | Gal. 2.19 | Law – Abrogation of the Law |
| WA 40a.270.28-271.31 | Gal. 2.19 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.271.32-280.12 | Gal. 2.19 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| WA 40a.280.14-290.31 | Gal. 2.20 | Justification – Union with Christ (Faith Formed by Love vs. Faith Formed by Christ) |
| WA 40a.290.33-308.30 | Gal. 2.20-21 | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |
| WA 40a.308.33-311.29 | Gal. 3.1 | Ministry – Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry |
| WA 40a.312.14-313.23 | Gal. 3.1 | Simul iustus et peccator (Work of the Holy Spirit – Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh) |
| WA 40a.313.25-324.22 | Gal. 3.1 | Doctrine of the Devil |
| WA 40a.324.24-328.21 | Gal. 3.1 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| WA 40a.328.24-339.19 | Gal. 3.2 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Hearing of Faith |
| WA 40a.339.20-341.32 | Gal. 3.2 | Justification – Relationship between Old and New Testaments |
| WA 40a.341.33-346.22 | Gal. 3.2 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Hearing of Faith |
| WA 40a.346.25-350.23 | Gal. 3.3 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh |
| WA 40a.350.25-351.18 | Gal. 3.4 | Ministry – Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry |

| | | |
|----------------------|--------------|--|
| WA 40a.351.21-358.13 | Gal. 3.5 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Genuine Deeds of the Spirit vs. Those of the Anabaptists |
| WA 40a.358.13-359.14 | Gal. 3.5 | Law – Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life (Christian Liberty) |
| WA 40a.359.17-24 | Gal. 3.6 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Genuine Deeds of the Spirit vs. Those of the Anabaptists |
| WA 40a.359.25-373.17 | Gal. 3.6 | Justification – Faith vs. Reason |
| WA 40a.373.19-391.27 | Gal. 3.7-9 | Justification – Abraham of Faith vs. Abraham of Works |
| WA 40a.391.29-396.23 | Gal. 3.10 | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |
| WA 40a.396.26-419.21 | Gal. 3.10 | Law – Misuse of the Law and ‘Third Use’ of the Law |
| WA 40a.420.8-432.16 | Gal. 3.11-12 | Justification – Faith vs. Works |
| WA 40a.432.20-459.24 | Gal. 3.13-14 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| WA 40a.459.27-473.23 | Gal. 3.15-18 | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works (Promise vs. Law) |
| WA 40a.473.25-478.13 | Gal. 3.19 | Law – Misuse of the Law for Justification |
| WA 40a.478.15-488.29 | Gal. 3.19 | Law – Two Uses of the Law |
| WA 40a.488.30-506.32 | Gal. 3.19-20 | Law – Second Use of the Law and Misuse of the Law for Justification |
| WA 40a.506.34-513.18 | Gal. 3.21 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.513.20-516.32 | Gal. 3.22 | Justification – Faith vs. Works |
| WA 40a.517.15-520.24 | Gal. 3.23 | Law – Two Uses of the Law |
| WA 40a.520.25-532.36 | Gal. 3.23-24 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.533.14-534.33 | Gal. 3.24 | Law – Second Use of the Law and Misuse of the Law for Justification |
| WA 40a.534.35-538.35 | Gal. 3.25 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.539.14-32 | Gal. 3.26 | Justification – Faith vs. Works |
| WA 40a.539.34-541.20 | Gal. 3.27 | Justification – Law and Gospel (Doctrine of Baptism) |
| WA 40a.541.21-35 | Gal. 3.27 | Doctrine of Baptism (Union with Christ) |
| WA 40a.542.15-544.32 | Gal. 3.28 | Law – Abrogation of the Law |
| WA 40a.544.34-546.28 | Gal. 3.28 | Justification – Union with Christ |
| WA 40a.546.31-547.27 | Gal. 3.29 | Justification – Abraham of Faith |
| WA 40a.548.15-549.26 | Gal. 4.1-2 | Ministry – Preaching with Illustrations |
| WA 40a.549.29-553.25 | Gal. 4.3 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.553.27-560.15 | Gal. 4.3 | Law – Misuse of the Law for Justification |
| WA 40a.560.20-561.26 | Gal. 4.4-5 | Christology – Nature of Christ |
| WA 40a.561.27-571.25 | Gal. 4.4-5 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| WA 40a.571.28-572.28 | Gal. 4.6 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Spirit and the Word (Hearing of Faith) |
| WA 40a.572.29-594.12 | Gal. 4.6-7 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Assurance of Salvation |
| WA 40a.594.13-596.30 | Gal. 4.7 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| WA 40a.597.15-598.24 | Gal. 4.7 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Regeneration |
| WA 40a.598.25-599.29 | Gal. 4.7 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Assurance of Salvation |
| WA 40a.600.13-607.17 | Gal. 4.7-9 | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |
| WA 40a.607.18-610.25 | Gal. 4.8-9 | Knowledge of God – General and Particular Knowledge |
| WA 40a.610.26-611.25 | Gal. 4.9 | Church |
| WA 40a.611.26-612.24 | Gal. 4.9 | Law – Second Use of the Law |
| WA 40a.612.25-621.12 | Gal. 4.9 | Law – Misuse of the Law for Justification |
| WA 40a.621.13-624.21 | Gal. 4.9-10 | Law – Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life |
| WA 40a.624.23-626.12 | Gal. 4.11-12 | Ministry – Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry |
| WA 40a.626.13-628.27 | Gal. 4.12 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40a.628.28-632.29 | Gal. 4.12 | Ministry – Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry |

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| WA 40a.633.17-639.18 | Gal. 4.13-14 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40a.639.20-640.16 | Gal. 4.15 | Ministry – Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry |
| WA 40a.640.19-640.31 | Gal. 4.15 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40a.641.13-644.13 | Gal. 4.16-17 | Ministry – Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry |
| WA 40a.644.14-648.15 | Gal. 4.17 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40a.648.18-649.18 | Gal. 4.18-19 | Ministry – Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry |
| WA 40a.649.19-30 | Gal. 4.19 | Ministry – Word and the Spirit in Ministry |
| WA 40a.649.31-651.19 | Gal. 4.19 | Justification – Union with Christ |
| WA 40a.651.21-652.20 | Gal. 4.20 | Ministry – Preached Word vs. Dead Letter |
| WA 40a.652.22-28 | Gal. 4.20 | Ministry – Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry |
| WA 40a.652.30-653.20 | Gal. 4.21 | Ministry – Preaching Allegories |
| WA 40a.653.21-31 | Gal. 4.21 | Law – Definition of the Law |
| WA 40a.654.13-660.12 | Gal. 4.22-25 | Justification - Abraham of Faith vs. Abraham of Works (Christian Liberty) |
| WA 40a.660.15-663.11 | Gal. 4.25-26 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| WA 40a.663.12-668.22 | Gal. 4.26-27 | Church (Christian Liberty) |
| WA 40a.668.23-669.29 | Gal. 4.27 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| WA 40a.669.30-675.26 | Gal. 4.27-28 | Law – Abrogation of the Law (Christian Liberty) |
| WA 40a.675.29-684.35 | Gal. 4.29-30 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40a.685.11-688.7 | Gal. 4.30 | Justification – Faith vs. Works |
| WA 40a.688.9-31 - 40b.1.15-12.30 | Gal. 4.31-5.2 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| WA 40b.13.9-31 | Gal. 5.2 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| WA 40b.13.34-21.26 | Gal. 5.3-4 | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |
| WA 40b.21.27-22.35 | Gal. 5.4 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40b.23.13-33.34 | Gal. 5.5 | Theology of Hope |
| WA 40b.34.10-41.16 | Gal. 5.6-7 | Justification – Faith vs. Love / Works |
| WA 40b.41.18-44.13 | Gal. 5.8 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| WA 40b.44.15-24 | Gal. 5.9 | Interpretation of Scripture |
| WA 40b.44.25-52.25 | Gal. 5.9-10 | Issue of the Lord's Supper - Purity of Doctrine |
| WA 40b.52.29-56.15 | Gal. 5.11 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40b.56.17-58.13 | Gal. 5.12 | Issue of the Lord's Supper – Purity of Doctrine |
| WA 40b.58.14-59.19 | Gal. 5.12 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40b.59.20-64.23 | Gal. 5.12-13 | Good Works – Relationship of Good Works to Christian Liberty |
| WA 40b.64.25-74.27 | Gal. 5.14 | Good Works – Genuine Good Works vs. Spurious Good Works |
| WA 40b.74.30-76.12 | Gal. 5.15 | Church – Concord vs. Disunity in Church |
| WA 40b.76.13-78.16 | Gal. 5.15 | Good Works – Genuine Good Works vs. Spurious Good Works |
| WA 40b.78.17-23 | Gal. 5.15 | Ministry – Teaching Good Works |
| WA 40b.78.24-81.25 | Gal. 5.15-16 | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |
| WA 40b.81.26-120.33 | Gal. 5.16-22 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh |
| WA 40b.121.13-24 | Gal. 5.23 | Law – Abrogation of the Law |
| WA 40b.121.27-122.24 | Gal. 5.24 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh |
| WA 40b.123.10-134.26 | Gal. 5.25-26 | Ministry – κεινοδοξία (vainglory) in Ministry |
| WA 40b.135.9-138.20 | Gal. 6.1 | Issue of the Lord's Supper – Purity of Doctrine |
| WA 40b.138.21-144.13 | Gal. 6.1 | Ministry – Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry |

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| WA 40b.144.15-146.18 | Gal. 6.2 | Good Works – Good Works in Practice – Law of Love: Carrying Each Others’ Burdens |
| WA 40b.146.21-155.29 | Gal. 6.3-5 | Ministry – κειδοξία (vainglory) in Ministry |
| WA 40b.155.32-164.27 | Gal. 6.6-10 | Good Works – Good Works in Practice – Financial Support of Ministers |
| WA 40b.164.29-169.31 | Gal. 6.11-13 | Ministry – κειδοξία (vainglory) in Ministry |
| WA 40b.169.34-176.10 | Gal. 6.14 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40b.176.13-180.30 | Gal. 6.15-16 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Regeneration |
| WA 40b.180.32-181.8 | Gal. 6.16 | Justification – Abraham of Faith |
| WA 40b.181.10-16 | Gal. 6.17 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| WA 40b.181.18-183.19 | Gal. 6.17 | Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian |
| WA 40b.181.22-182.11 | Gal. 6.18 | Conclusion and Doxology (Justification – Role of Christ in Justification) |
| WA 40a.33.2-34.40 | Praefatio (1535) | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |
| WA 40a.34.41- 35.32 | Praefatio (1535) | Doctrine of the Devil |
| WA 40a.35.33-37.20 | Praefatio (1535) | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works |
| WA 40a.39.14-28 | Praefatio (1531) | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works (Doctrine of the Devil) |

Identified Substantial Concepts of Calvin's *Commentary on Galatians* in *Calvini Opera Recognita* (COR), vol. 16 and in *Corpus Reformatorum* (CO), vol. 50

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|--------------|-----------------|--------------|---|
| COR 16.5 | (CO 50.161) | Argumentum | Exegetical Comment |
| COR 16.6*5 | (CO 50.162) | Argumentum | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| COR 16.6-8 | (CO 50.162-163) | Argumentum | Ministry – Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry*2 |
| COR 16.8 | (CO 50.164) | Argumentum | Law – Ceremonial observances in Christian Life |
| COR 16.8-9 | (CO 50.164-166) | Argumentum | Justification – Justification by Faith, not by Works |
| COR 16.9 | (CO 50.166) | Argumentum | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| COR 16.11-13 | (CO 50.167-169) | Gal. 1.1 | Ministry – Calling to the Position of Ministry |
| COR 16.13-14 | (CO 50.169-170) | Gal. 1.2 | Church |
| COR 16.14-15 | (CO 50.170) | Gal. 1.3-4 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| COR 16.15-16 | (CO 50.170-171) | Gal. 1.4 | Human Depravity |
| COR 16.16 | (CO 50.171) | Gal. 1.4 | God's Providence |
| COR 16.16 | (CO 50.171) | Gal. 1.5 | Practical Exhortation |
| COR 16.17-18 | (CO 50.172) | Gal. 1.6 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| COR 16.18-21 | (CO 50.172-174) | Gal. 1.7-9 | Ministry – True vs. False Gospel in Ministry |
| COR 16.21-23 | (CO 50.175-176) | Gal. 1.9-10 | Ministry – Popularity in Ministry |
| COR 16.23-25 | (CO 50.176-178) | Gal. 1.11-15 | Ministry – Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry |
| COR 16.25-26 | (CO 50.178-179) | Gal. 1.15 | God's Providence |
| COR 16.26-27 | (CO 50.179-180) | Gal. 1.16 | Ministry – Calling to Ministry |
| COR 16.27 | (CO 50.180) | Gal. 1.17 | Edifying Notes |
| COR 16.28 | (CO 50.180) | Gal. 1.18-19 | Exegetical Comment |
| COR 16.29 | (CO 50.180-181) | Gal. 1.20 | Practical Exhortation |
| COR 16.29 | (CO 50.181) | Gal. 1.22-24 | Ministry – God's Gifts in Ministry |
| COR 16.30 | (CO 50.182) | Gal. 2.1 | Exegetical Comment |
| COR 16.31 | (CO 50.182) | Gal. 2.1 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| COR 16.31-32 | (CO 50.182-183) | Gal. 2.2 | Ministry – Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry |
| COR 16.32-33 | (CO 50.183-184) | Gal. 2.2 | Church – Unity vs. Disunity and the Issue of the Lord's Supper |
| COR 16.33-34 | (CO 50.184-185) | Gal. 2.3-5 | Law – Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life |
| COR 16.34 | (CO 50.185) | Gal. 2.5 | Purity of Doctrine and Ecumenical Discussions with the Papacy |
| COR 16.35-37 | (CO 50.186-187) | Gal. 2.6 | Ministry – Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry |
| COR 16.37-38 | (CO 50.187) | Gal. 2.6 | Ministry – Popularity in Ministry |
| COR 16.38-40 | (CO 50.188-189) | Gal. 2.7-8 | Ministry – Calling to the Position of Ministry |
| COR 16.41 | (CO 50.189-190) | Gal. 2.9 | Ministry – God's Gifts in Ministry |
| COR 16.41 | (CO 50.190) | Gal. 2.10 | Ministry – Helping the Poor |
| COR 16.42-43 | (CO 50.190-191) | Gal. 2.11 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| COR 16.43-44 | (CO 50.191) | Gal. 2.11 | Papal Primacy |

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| COR 16.44-47 | (CO 50.191-193) | Gal. 2.11-15 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| COR 16.47-52 | (CO 50.193-196) | Gal. 2.15-16 | Justification – Justification by Faith, not Works |
| COR 16.52-53 | (CO 50.196-197) | Gal. 2.17-18 | Human Depravity |
| COR 16.53-54 | (CO 50.197-198) | Gal. 2.19 | Law – First Use of the Law |
| COR 16.54 | (CO 50.198) | Gal. 2.19 | Law – Abrogation of the Law |
| COR 16.54-57 | (CO 50.198-200) | Gal. 2.19-21 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| COR 16.57-58 | (CO 50.200-201) | Gal. 2.21 | Justification – Christ’s Righteousness vs. Human Righteousness |
| COR 16.59 | (CO 50.201-202) | Gal. 3.1 | Exegetical Comment |
| COR 16.59-61 | (CO 50.202-203) | Gal. 3.1 | Ministry – Preaching to Exhibit Christ |
| COR 16.61 | (CO 50.203) | Gal. 3.2 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Hearing of Faith |
| COR 16.61 | (CO 50.203) | Gal. 3.2 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Regeneration |
| COR 16.61-62 | (CO 50.203-204) | Gal. 3.3 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Spirit vs. Flesh – Definition |
| COR 16.62 | (CO 50.204) | Gal. 3.4 | Suffering as a Christian |
| COR 16.62-63 | (CO 50.204) | Gal. 3.5 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Gifts of the Spirit |
| COR 16.63-67 | (CO 50.204-207) | Gal. 3.6-9 | Justification – Role of Faith in Justification |
| COR 16.68-70 | (CO 50.208-209) | Gal. 3.10-13 | Justification – Justification by Faith, not Works |
| COR 16.70-71 | (CO 50.209-210) | Gal. 3.13-14 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| COR 16.72 | (CO 50.211) | Gal. 3.15-16 | Justification – Relationship between the Old and New Testaments – God’s Covenant in Christ*6 |
| COR 16.73-74 | (CO 50.211-213) | Gal. 3.16 | God’s Providence – Relationship between the Old and New Testaments - God’s C Covenant in Christ*6 |
| COR 16.74-76 | (CO 50.213-214) | Gal. 3.17-18 | Justification – Justification by Faith, not Works |
| COR 16.76-79 | (CO 50.214-216) | Gal. 3.19 | Law – First Use of the Law |
| COR 16.79-80 | (CO 50.216-217) | Gal. 3.19 | Law – Christ, the Mediator of the Law |
| COR 16.80-81 | (CO 50.217) | Gal. 3.20 | Justification – Relationship between the Old and New Testaments – God’s Covenant in Christ |
| COR 16.81-82 | (CO 50.217-219) | Gal. 3.21-22 | Law – First Use of the Law |
| COR 16.83-84 | (CO 50.219-220) | Gal. 3.23 | Justification – Relationship between the Old and New Testaments |
| COR 16.84-85 | (CO 50.220-221) | Gal. 3.24 | Law – First Use of the Law |
| COR 16.85-86 | (CO 50.221) | Gal. 3.24-25 | Law – Abrogation of the Law and First and Third Uses of the Law |
| COR 16.86 | (CO 50.221-222) | Gal. 3.26 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| COR 16.86 | (CO 50.222) | Gal. 3.27 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| COR 16.86-87 | (CO 50.222) | Gal. 3.27 | Sacraments |

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| COR 16.87-88 | (CO 50.222-223) | Gal. 3.28-29 | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification |
| COR 16.88-91 | (CO 50.223-225) | Gal. 4.1 | Justification – Relationship between the Old and New Testaments |
| COR 16.91-92 | (CO 50.225-226) | Gal. 4.1 | Law – Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life |
| COR 16.92 | (CO 50.226) | Gal. 4.3 | Exegetical Comment |
| COR 16.92 | (CO 50.226) | Gal. 4.4 | God’s Providence |
| COR 16.93 | (CO 50.226-227) | Gal. 4.4 | Christology: Nature of Christ |
| COR 16.93 | (CO 50.227) | Gal. 4.4 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| COR 16.93 | (CO 50.227) | Gal. 4.5 | Justification – Relationship between the Old and New Testaments |
| COR 16.94-96 | (CO 50.227-229) | Gal. 4.6 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Assurance of Salvation |
| COR 16.96 | (CO 50.229) | Gal. 4.7 | Justification – Relationship between the Old and New Testaments |
| COR 16.96-97 | (CO 50.229-230) | Gal. 4.8-9 | Knowledge of God |
| COR 16.97 | (CO 50.230) | Gal. 4.9 | Justification – Relationship between the Old and New Testaments |
| COR 16.97-98 | (CO 50.230-231) | Gal. 4.10-11 | Law - Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life (/Justification – Christian Liberty) |
| COR 16.99-100 | (CO 50.231-232) | Gal. 4.12 | Ministry – Gentleness in Restoring the Fallen |
| COR 16.100-101 | (CO 50.232) | Gal. 4.13-14 | Ministry – Popularity in Ministry |
| COR 16.101-102 | (CO 50.232-233) | Gal. 4.14-15 | Ministry – Honour of the Position of Ministry |
| COR 16.102 | (CO 50.233-234) | Gal. 4.16 | Ministry – Gentleness in Restoring the Fallen |
| COR 16.102-103 | (CO 50.234) | Gal. 4.17-18 | Ministry – Holy vs. False Zeal in Ministry |
| COR 16.103-104 | (CO 50.234-235) | Gal. 4.19 | Ministry – Gentleness in Restoring the Fallen |
| COR 16.104 | (CO 50.235) | Gal. 4.19 | Ministry – Efficacious Task of Ministry |
| COR 16.104 | (CO 50.235) | Gal. 4.20 | Ministry – Gentleness in Restoring the Fallen |
| COR 16.105-106 | (CO 50.236) | Gal. 4.21-22 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| COR 16.106-107 | (CO 50.236-237) | Gal. 4.22 | Interpretation of Scripture |
| COR 16.107 | (CO 50.237) | Gal. 4.23 | God’s Providence |
| COR 16.108-109 | (CO 50.237-238) | Gal. 4.24 | Justification – Christian Liberty / Relationship between the Old and New Testaments |
| COR 16.109 | (CO 50.238) | Gal. 4.24 | Church |
| COR 16.109-110 | (CO 50.238-239) | Gal. 4.25 | Exegetical Comment |
| COR 16.110-111 | (CO 50.239-240) | Gal. 4.26-27 | Church |
| COR 16.111 | (CO 50.240) | Gal. 4.(27)28 | Justification – Law and Gospel |
| COR 16.111-114 | (CO 50.240-242) | Gal. 4.29-30 | Suffering as a Christian |
| COR 16.114-116 | (CO 50.242-243) | Gal. 4.31-5.1 | Justification – Christian Liberty |

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| COR 16.116-117 | (CO 50.244-245) | Gal. 5.2-3 | Justification – Law and Gospel (/Justification – Justification by Faith, not Works) |
| COR 16.117-118 | (CO 50.245) | Gal. 5.3 | Sacraments |
| COR 16.118-119 | (CO 50.245-246) | Gal. 5.4-5 | Justification – Justification by Faith, not Works |
| COR 16.119 | (CO 50.246) | Gal. 5.6 | Justification – Christian Liberty |
| COR 16.119-121 | (CO 50.246-247) | Gal. 5.6 | Good Works – Relationship of Good Works to Justification |
| COR 16.122-123 | (CO 50.247-248) | Gal. 5.7-10 | Ministry – Gentleness in Restoring the Fallen |
| COR 16.123-125 | (CO 50.248-250) | Gal. 5.10-12 | Ministry – Sternness with False Teachers |
| COR 16.125-126 | (CO 50.250) | Gal. 5.13 | Good Works – Relationship of Good Works to Christian Liberty |
| COR 16.126-128 | (CO 50.252) | Gal. 5.14-15 | Good Works – Love of One’s Neighbour |
| COR 16.128-135 | (CO 50.252-256) | Gal. 5.16-25 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh |
| COR 16.135-139 | (CO 50.256-259) | Gal. 5.26-6.3 | Good Works – Personal Ambition vs. Tenderness with the Fallen |
| COR 16.139-140 | (CO 50.259-260) | Gal. 6.4 | Good Works – Good Works in One’s Calling |
| COR 16.140 | (CO 50.260) | Gal. 6.5 | Good Works – Personal Ambition vs. Tenderness with the Fallen |
| COR 16.141-142 | (CO 50.260-261) | Gal. 6.6-7 | Good Works – Remuneration of Ministers |
| COR 16.142-143 | (CO 50.261-262) | Gal. 6.7-8 | Good Works – Patience in Doing Good |
| COR 16.143-144 | (CO 50.262) | Gal. 6.8 | Justification – Justification by Faith, not Works (/ Good Works – Relationship of Good Works to Justification) |
| COR 16.144 | (CO 50.262-263) | Gal. 6.9-10 | Good Works – Patience in Doing Good |
| COR 16.145-147 | (CO 50.263-265) | Gal. 6.11-14 | Ministry – Popularity in Ministry vs. the Cross in Ministry |
| COR 16.146 | (CO 50.265-266) | Gal. 6.14-15 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Regeneration |
| COR 16.148-149 | (CO 50.266) | Gal. 6.16 | Ministry – Steadfastness in Ministry |
| COR 16.149 | (CO 50.266-267) | Gal. 6.16 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Regeneration |
| COR 16.149 | (CO 50.267) | Gal. 6.17 | Ministry – Honour of the Position of Ministry |
| COR 16.150 | (CO 50.267-268) | Gal. 6.17 | Ministry – the Cross in Ministry |
| COR 16.150 | (CO 50.268) | Gal. 6.18 | Work of the Holy Spirit – Assurance of Salvation |

SUMMARY OF THE IDENTIFIED CONCEPTS

Approximate Number of Pages Dealing with Substantial Concepts in Luther's Commentary on Galatians*7

| | | |
|--|----------|-------|
| Justification | | 371*8 |
| Two Kinds of Righteousness | | |
| Passive vs. Active Righteousness | 12 | |
| Faith Formed by Christ vs. Faith Formed by Love (Union with Christ) | 32 (4)*9 | |
| Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by works | 80 (11) | |
| Faith vs. Works / Love / Reason | 47½ (8) | |
| Abraham of Faith vs. Abraham of Works | 25 (4) | |
| Role of Christ in Justification | 67 (10) | |
| Law and Gospel | 55 (13) | |
| Christian Liberty | 44 (8) | |
| Forgiveness and a Joyful Conscience | 4 | |
| Justification in the Struggle of Conscience | 2 | |
| Relationship between the Old and New Testaments | 2½ | |
| Law | | 112 |
| Definition of the Law | ½ | |
| Abrogation of the Law | 13½ (4) | |
| Misuse of the Law and the Third Use of the Law | 42½ | |
| Misuse of the Law and the Third Use of the Law | 23½ | |
| Misuse of the Law for Justification | 19 (3) | |
| Two Uses of the Law | 45 | |
| Two Uses of the Law | 14½ (2) | |
| First Use of the Law | 9½ | |
| Second Use of the Law vs. Misuse of the Law for Justification | 20 (2) | |
| Second Use of the Law | 1 | |
| Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life | 10 (3) | |
| Second Commandment | ½ | |
| Ministry | | 103 |
| Call to Ministry | 10½ (2) | |
| Authority and Purity of the Gospel | 27 (9) | |
| Task of Ministry | 10 | |
| Opposing False Teachers | 3 | |
| Difficulty with Sectarians | 2 | |
| Preaching with Illustrations | 1½ | |
| Preached Word vs. Dead Letter | 1 | |
| Preaching Allegories | 1 | |
| Teaching Good Works | ½ | |
| Word and Spirit in Ministry | ½ | |
| Helping the Poor | ½ | |
| Fatherly Tenderness in Ministry | 24 (11) | |
| κενοδοξία (vainglory) in Ministry | 31½ | |
| κενοδοξία (vainglory) in Ministry | 26½ (3) | |
| Popularity in Ministry | 5 | |
| Work of the Holy Spirit | | 98 |

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| Hearing of Faith | 17 (4) | |
| Assurance of Salvation | 23 (2) | |
| Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh | 44 (2) | |
| Regeneration | 6 (2) | |
| Genuine Deeds of the Spirit vs. Those of the Anabaptists | 7½ (2) | |
| Scandal of the Cross and Suffering as a Christian | 44 (12) | 44 |
| Good Works | | 27 |
| Relationship of Good Works to Christian Liberty | 5 | |
| Genuine Good Works vs. Spurious Good Works | 12 (2) | |
| Good Works in Practice | 11 | |
| Law of Love: Carrying Each Others' Burdens 2 | | |
| Financial Support of Ministers 9 | | |
| Other Themes: | | |
| Church | 15½ (6) | |
| Doctrine of the Devil | 13½ (2) | |
| Lord's Supper | 13½ (3) | |
| Theology of Hope | 11 | |
| Simul iustus et peccator | 5½ (2) | |
| Christology – Nature of Christ | 4 (2) | |
| Knowledge of God – General and Particular | 3½ | |
| Predestination | 1 | |
| Papal Primacy | 1 | |
| Against Sectarians | 1 | |
| Doctrine of Baptism | ½ | |
| Interpretation of Scripture | ½ | |

Approximate Number of Pages Dealing with Substantial Concepts in Calvin's Commentary on Galatians*7

| | | |
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| Justification | | 46 |
| Justification by Faith, not Works | 13 (6) | |
| Role of Faith in Justification | 5 | |
| Christ's Righteousness vs. Human Righteousness | 1½ | |
| Christian Liberty | 10½ (11) | |
| Relationship between the Old and New Testaments | 7½ (8) | |
| Role of Christ in Justification | 6 (6) | |
| Law and Gospel | 2 (2) | |
| Ministry | | 35 |
| Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry | 14 (9) | |
| True vs. False Gospel in Ministry | 3 | |
| Task of Ministry | 8 | |
| Sternness with False Teachers 2 | | |
| God's Gifts in Ministry 2 (2) | | |
| Preaching to Exhibit Christ 1½ | | |
| Efficacious Task of Ministry ½ | | |
| Holy vs. False Zeal in Ministry 1 | | |
| Steadfastness in Ministry ½ | | |
| Helping the Poor + | | |
| Gentleness in Restoring the Fallen | 3 (5) | |
| Popularity in Ministry | 7 | |
| Popularity in Ministry 4 (3) | | |
| Popularity vs. the Cross in Ministry 3 | | |
| Law | | 14 |
| Abrogation of the Law | 1½ (2) | |
| First Use | 6 (5) | |
| Third Use | ½ | |
| Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life | 4½ (4) | |
| Christ, the Mediator of the Law | | 1 |
| Work of the Holy Spirit | | 13 |
| Hearing of Faith | ½ | |
| Regeneration | 2 (3) | |
| Struggle between the Spirit and the Flesh | 7½ (2) | |
| Gifts of the Spirit | + | |
| Assurance of Salvation | 2+ (2) | |
| Good Works | | 12 |
| Relationship of Good Works to Justification | 1 | |
| Relationship of Good Works to Christian Liberty | 1 | |
| Love of One's Neighbour | 2 | |
| Good Works in Practice | 8 | |
| Personal Ambition vs. Gentleness with the Fallen 4 (2) | | |
| Good Works in One's Calling 1 | | |
| Remuneration of Ministers 1 | | |
| Patience in Doing Good 2 (2) | | |

Other themes:

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| God's Providence | 4+ (5) |
| Suffering as a Christian | 3½ (3) |
| Church | 3 (4) |
| Sacraments | 2 (2) |
| Human Depravity | 2 (2) |
| Interpretation of Scripture | 1½ |
| Practical Exhortation or Edifying Notes | 1+ (3) |
| Knowledge of God | 1 |
| Papal Primacy | 1 |
| Purity of Doctrine and Ecumenical Discussions with the Papacy | ½ |
| Nature of Christ | ½ |

A general note on the limitations of the above table:

It needs to be underlined that the above table with its counted number of pages for each concept is an attempt to give a general indication of which concepts Luther and Calvin deal with the most often in their commentaries. This table is not to be taken as a suggestion that the particular concepts are only treated on the above indicated instances or only for a certain number of pages despite the exact number of pages given above. The reason page numbers are used is that this seemed to be the clearest method of indicating where and how often the reformers deal with certain subjects as primary themes. For instance, it is not claimed there are only 15½ pages dealing with the concept of the church in Luther's *Galatians* (see above). Instead, the concept of the church and other themes in Luther's and Calvin's commentaries are usually treated elsewhere, too, where they have not been identified as primary themes.

Further, it is noteworthy that the above table does not present the main analysis of this study. The main analysis is found in the text of chapters four to six, investigating and comparing the identified substantial concepts in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*. Nevertheless, it is important to have a general idea of which subjects Luther and Calvin discuss most often. While a simple calculation of the number of pages each reformer deals with a certain idea is not an appropriate method for determining what is most important in the theology of each reformers' commentary, it would be equally inadvisable to ignore what they discuss the most. That is why the above table provides a necessary backdrop for the analysis and comparison outlined in chapters 4-6 of this research. It is also considered that this rather mechanical method acts as a safeguard against the mistake of coming to Luther or Calvin's text from the point of view of one's predetermined position on what is most important in each reformers' theology.

*1. A certain identified concept in WA 40a or WA 40b follows the text of the commentary itself, rather than the abbreviated Röser's shorthand notes on the top of the pages in WA 40a and WA 40b.

*2. Luther's and Calvin's discussion of various concepts is varied. The themes often overlap and could frequently be identified in various ways. Exegetical and theological comment are often interspersed. It is the more general categories of concepts which have been identified, such as justification – active vs. passive righteousness (e.g. WA 40a.40.15-51.31) or Ministry – Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry (e.g. COR 16.6-8)

*3. A note on concepts which Luther and Calvin allude to only briefly (in the case of Luther identified as less than two pages and in Calvin less than half a page):

This listing does not detail concepts which Luther and Calvin allude to only briefly either

a) within a discussion of another major concept or

b) when there is a clear connection between a brief minor theme and the preceding or following major concept (e.g. WA 40a.39.28-51.34 includes a brief discussion on the law in the paragraph WA 40a.50.24-51.20 and on good works in the paragraph WA 40a.51.21-31 – in both cases there is a clear connection to the main theme of active and passive righteousness).

However, if a brief concept (less than approximately two pages in Luther and less than half a page in Calvin) is found a) separately and b) with no apparent connection to the preceding or following major concept, they are listed separately to avoid leaving gaps in the listing of themes. See e.g. WA 40b.44.15-24 where Luther comments on the theme of interpretation of Scripture in between the preceding theme on justification and the following concept on the issue of the Lord's Supper.

Consequently, because the focus of this study is on identifying major themes, brief treatments of minor notions are at times singled out (when there is no apparent connection to the major theme at issue) while at other times they are not (when they are discussed within a discussion of a major concept). Therefore, some minor themes can be identified in places where they are not explicitly indicated in the listing above.

In Calvin, very brief references (one sentence or less) are not noted separately in the listing of themes (e.g. the reference within a sentence in COR 16.6 to the doctrine of justification in Calvin's outline of the argument of the epistle is not noted separately - Calvin discusses the theme of ministry both before and after this reference).

*4 There is much exegetical comment in Luther and Calvin in connection with theological concepts. 'Exegetical comment' in this listing is only used on those occasions where the exegetical comment seems to stand on its own, with no apparent theological idea in connection with it. Purely exegetical comment is separately noted above only when it is particularly long (see e.g. COR 16.59 on Gal. 3.1 in Calvin's *Galatians* and WA 40a.104.31-105.23 on Gal. 1.6 in Luther's *Galatians*).

*5 The references to COR 16 (and CO 50) are not as precise as those to WA 40a and 40b since only the number of the page is used instead of the number of the line as well (as in WA 40a and 40b). That is why the same page number occasionally appears in the listing of substantial concepts in COR 16.

*6 Calvin's discussion on Gal. 3.15-16 deals with God's covenant in Christ (COR 16.72-74). In the first place, the theme of God's covenant in Christ appeared most appropriately placed under the heading of the relationship of the Old and New Testaments, treated under the heading of justification. However, as the ensuing discussion on Gal. 3.16 clearly discusses God's covenant in relationship to God's providence and calling, in the second part the theme was placed under the heading of God's providence, and not justification. Note that Calvin also treats the theme of God's covenant under the heading of the relationship of the Old and New Testaments in his *Institution de la Religion Chrestienne* 1541 (see e.g. Inst Fa, vol. 2, pp. 434-438.)

*7 The figure indicating the number of pages allotted to each of the substantial concepts in Luther's and Calvin's commentaries is approximate. The count has been made based on the Latin text of Calvin's *Galatians* in *Calvini Opera Recognita* (COR), vol. 16. The length of main text varies depending on the number of footnotes in COR 16. Some adjustments have been made taking this into consideration. The count of pages in Luther's commentary on Galatians has been made on similar principles, following the number of pages in WA 40a-40b. Some adjustments have thus been made for Luther's commentary, too, taking into consideration those pages which were particularly short due to the length of Rörer's shorthand notes on the upper section of each page.

*8 The total number of pages dealing with the main heading is presented in the first column from the right side of the page, while the number of pages dealing with subheadings of the concepts are presented in the second column from the right.

Note that the number of pages in Luther's commentary is not directly comparable to that of Calvin's, since Luther's text in WA 40a-40b is generally shorter than Calvin's in COR 16, due to the space left for Rörer's shorthand notes of Luther's lectures in the upper section of the page.

*9 The number following each concept refers to the number of pages each theme is dealt with in Luther's and Calvin's *Galatians*. The number presented in parenthesis after a certain concept indicates on how many occasions this specific subject is identified as the main topic within their commentaries.

APPENDIX 5

Sample Comparison of Identified Substantial Concepts in Luther's and Calvin's Expositions of Galatians 2

| | | | |
|--|--|--|---|
| 2.1 Post annos quatuordecim* | Exegetical Comment Justification – Christian Liberty | Justification – Christian Liberty Justification – Christian Liberty | 2.1 Deinde post annos quatuordecim iterum ascendi Hierosolymam. Cum Barnaba, assumpto et Tito. |
| 2.2 Ascendi autem iuxta revelationem Contuli cum illis Ne forte in vanum | Ministry – Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry Ministry – Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry Ministry – Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry Church – Unity vs. Disunity and the Issue of the Lord's Supper | Justification – Christian Liberty Justification – Christian Liberty Justification – Christian Liberty Justification – Christian Liberty | 2.2 Ascendi autem secundum revelationem Et contuli cum illis Evangelium. Quod praedico inter gentes. Seorsum autem cum iis qui videbantur aliquid esse. Ne forte in vanum currerem aut cucurrissem. |
| 2.3 Sed ne Titus quidem | Law – Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life | Law – Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life | 2.3 Neque Titus qui mecum erat, cum esset gentilis, coactus est circumcidi |
| 2.4 Propter subingressos 2.5 Quibus ne ad horam quidem Ut veritas Evangelii | Law – Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life Law – Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life Law – Ceremonial Observances in Christian Life Purity of Doctrine and Ecumenical Discussions with the Papacy | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works Justification – Christian Liberty | 2.4-5 Propter subintroductos falsos fratres qui subintroierant, ut explorarent libertatem nostram quam habemus in Christo Iesu, ut nos in servitutum redigerent, Quibus nec ad horam cessimus per subiectionem, ut veritas Evangelii permaneret apud vos. |

| | | | |
|------------------------------|--|---|---|
| 2.6 Ab iis qui videbantur | Ministry – Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel | 2.6 Ab iis autem qui videbantur esse aliquid; quales aliquando fuerint, nihil mea refert. |
| Quales aliquando fuerint | Ministry – Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry | | |
| Personam hominis | Ministry – Calling to and Honour of the Position of Ministry | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel | Deus enim personam hominis non accipit. |
| Nihil mihi contulerunt | Ministry – Popularity in Ministry | Law – First Use of the Law (Concept of larva Dei) | |
| | Ministry – Popularity in Ministry | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel | Mihi enim qui videbantur aliquid, nihil contulerunt. |
| 2.7 Imo contra | Ministry – Calling to the Position of Ministry | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel | 2.7-9 Sed contra, cum vidissent, quod creditum est mihi Evangelium Praepucii, sicut et Petro Circumcisionis (Qui enim efficax fuit cum Petro ad Apostolatam Circumcisionis, efficax fuit et mecum in gentes), Et cum cognovissent gratiam quae data est mihi, Iacobus, Cephas et Ioannes qui videbantur columnae esse, dexteram dederunt mihi et Barnabae societatis, ut nos in gentes, ipsi vero in Circumcisionem, scilicet praedicarent. |
| Quum vidissent mihi creditum | Ministry – Calling to the Position of Ministry | Exegetical Comment | |
| | | Papal Primacy | |
| 2.8 Qui efficax fuit | Ministry – Calling to the Position of Ministry | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel | 2.8 Qui efficax fuit cum Petro etc. |
| 2.9 Cum cognovissent gratiam | Ministry – God’s Gifts in Ministry | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel | 2.9 Et cum cognovissent gratiam |
| Iacobus et Cephas | Ministry – God’s Gifts in Ministry | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel | Dexteram societatis. |

| | | | |
|---|---|--|--|
| | | Justification – Christian Liberty Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel | |
| 2.10 Tantum ut pauperum | Ministry – Task of Ministry – Helping the Poor | Ministry – Task of Ministry – Helping the Poor | 2.10 Tantum ut pauperum memores essemus, Quod etiam studui facere |
| 2.11 Quum venisset Petrus Quod reprehensione dignus | Justification – Christian Liberty Papal Primacy Justification – Christian Liberty | Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel Simul iustus et peccator | 2.11 Cum autem venisset Petrus Antiochiam, in faciem ei restiti, quia reprehensibilis erat. |
| 2.12 Nam antequam venissent quidam | Justification – Christian Liberty | Justification – Christian Liberty Justification – Christian Liberty | 2.12 Priusquam enim quidam venirent a Iacobo, cum gentibus edebat. Cum autem venissent, subducebat et segregabat se, timens eos qui ex circumcissione erant. |
| - | - | Justification – Law and Gospel | 2.13 Et simulabant una cum illo caeteri Iudaei, ita ut et Barnabas duceretur ab eis in illam simulationem. |
| 2.14 Ubi vidissem quod non recto pede Coram omnibus. Si tu quum sis Iudaeus | Justification – Christian Liberty Justification – Christian Liberty Justification – Christian Liberty | Justification – Law and Gospel Justification – Christian Liberty Ministry – Authority and Purity of the Gospel Justification – Law and Gospel | 2.14 Sed cum vidissem, quod non recte ambularent ad veritatem Evangelii. Dixi Petro coram omnibus: Si tu, cum Iudaeus sis, gentiliter vivis et non Iudaice, cur gentes cogis Iudaisare? |
| 2.15 Nos natura Iudaei | Justification – Christian Liberty Justification – Justification by Faith, not Works | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works | 2.15 Nos natura Iudaei et non ex gentibus peccatores. |
| 2.16 Nisi per fidem. | Justification – Justification by Faith, not Works | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works | 2.16 Scientes autem, quod non iustificatur homo |

| | | | |
|--------------------|--|--|---|
| nunc vivo in carne | Justification | | nunc vivo in carne, in fide filii Dei vivo. |
| Qui dilexit me | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works | Qui dilexit me et tradidit semet ipsum pro me. |
| Tradidit se ipsum | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works | Pro me. |
| 2.21 Non abiicio | Justification – Role of Christ in Justification | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works | 2.21 Non abiicio gratiam Dei. |
| Nam si per legem | Justification – Christ’s Righteousness vs. Human Righteousness | Justification – Christian Righteousness vs. Righteousness by Works | Si enim per legem est iustitia, ergo gratis Christus mortuus est. |

Note that although Calvin occasionally comments on fewer of the phrases in the original text of Paul’s Galatians than Luther, he often alludes to the ‘missing’ phrases within the ensuing discussion. The translated Latin phrases, which Calvin comments on are brief, probably partly due to the fact that his commentary includes a word-for-word translation of the Greek preceding each section of the commentary. These full translations have not been included here due to constraints of space.

Index of Persons

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Agricola, Johannes | 85 |
| Aldus, Manutius | 28, 29 |
| Ambrose | 45, 50, 287 |
| Ambrosiaster | 45 |
| Augustine | 5, 43, 44-52, 53, 55, 65, 81, 82, 83, 88, 97, 155, 209, 227, 287 |
| Aquinas, Thomas | 42, 53, 54, 70, 155 |
| Aristotle | 70, 96, 117, 178 |
| Belot, the Anabaptist | 66 |
| Bernard of Clairvaux | 33, 46, 58, 97 |
| Beza, Theodore | 14, 23, 24, 29 |
| Biel, Gabriel | 53, 170 |
| Bucer, Martin | 5, 33, 43, 45, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77 |
| Bullinger, Heinrich | 42, 43, 73, 74, 77 |
| Calvin, Antoine | 22 |
| Charles V, emperor | 19, 24 |
| Christopher, prince | 27 |
| Chrysostom | 44-52, 287 |
| Colinaeus, Simone | 28, 29 |
| Cruciger, Caspar | 8 |
| De Bure, Idelette | 10, 26 |
| De Falais, Madame | 16 |
| De Falais, Monsieur | 16, 26 |
| Diaz, Joannis | 23 |
| Dietrich, Veit | 8 |
| Erasmus, Desiderius | 7, 17, 18, 19, 27, 28, 29, 33, 36, 43, 44, 45, 60, 61, 70-72, 81, 136, 172, 173, 287 |
| Estienne, Robert | 12, 28, 29 |
| Faber Stapulensis | 5 |
| Farel, Guillaume | 16, 25, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76 |
| Francis of Assisi | 53, 141, 157 |
| Garnier, Jean | 73 |
| Grynaeus, Simon | 74 |
| Hieronymus (see Jerome) | |
| Jerome | 44-52, 58, 70, 81, 143, 233, 287 |
| Julian | 70 |
| Le Fert, Anne | 22 |
| Lefevre, D'Etaples Jacques | 29 |

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Link, Wenzeslaus | 20 |
| Lombard, Peter | 70, 136 |
| Luther, Hans | 20 |
| Luther, Margaretha | 20, 21 |
| Melanchthon, Philipp | 5, 10, 18, 20, 23, 52, 55, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 117, 147, 148, 155, 235 |
| Menius, Justus | 2 |
| Münzer, Thomas | 66, 168 |
| Nicolaus of Lyra | 78 |
| Occam, William of | 57 |
| Oecolampadius, Johannes | 21 |
| Origen | 44-52, 58, 70, 233, 287 |
| Osiander, Andreas | 55, 97, 118, 119, 184, 223 |
| Pelagius | 44, 45 |
| Perrin, Ami | 22, 24 |
| Pomer, Johannes Bugenhagen | 20, 73 |
| Porphyry | 70, 160 |
| Rörer, Georg | 2, 8, 13, 31, 120, 300, 301 |
| Scotus, John Duns | 57 |
| Servetus, Michael | 23, 26, 66 |
| Stephanus (see Estienne, Robert) | |
| Sturm, Johann | 73, 74 |
| Vitus, Theodore | 23, 26, 77 |
| Viret, Pierre | 25, 26, 33 |
| Von Bora, Katharina | 10 |
| Zwingli, Ulrich | 17, 18, 21, 72, 168 |

Martin Luther stated in his commentary on Galatians 1531/35, *“For in my heart there rules this one doctrine, namely, faith in Christ. From it, through it, and to it all my theological thought flows and returns, day and night; yet I am aware that all I have grasped of this wisdom in its height, width, and depth are a few poor and insignificant firstfruits and fragments.”*

John Calvin affirmed in his commentary on Galatians 1546/48, *“It was necessary to indicate the fountain, so that his (Paul’s) readers should know that the controversy was not concerned with some insignificant trifle, but with the most important matter of all, the way we obtain salvation”.*

Both Luther’s and Calvin’s thought had an indisputable importance for the 16th century, and their theology has continuing significance to many Christian denominations today. Both Luther and Calvin saw Paul’s epistle to the Galatians as important and composed a commentary on it, which makes it exceptionally convenient to compare the two reformers’ thought.

What are the distinctive central themes for the two reformers in their respective commentaries on Galatians? Is their thought similar on key issues in their commentaries on Galatians, such as justification, the work of the Holy Spirit, law, good works and ministry? Or are there significant differences in how they understand these important doctrines of the Christian faith?

This analysis and comparison of substantial concepts in Luther’s 1531/35 and Calvin’s 1546/48 commentaries on Galatians suggests a greater degree of agreement on the above issues between the German and the Swiss reformer than has generally been acknowledged.

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