

LUTHER'S WORKS

VOLUME 68

SERMONS ON THE GOSPEL OF ST. MATTHEW

Chapters 19–24

Edited by

BENJAMIN T. G. MAYES

General Editor

CHRISTOPHER BOYD BROWN



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3558 S. Jefferson Ave., St. Louis, MO 63118-3968
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CONTENTS

General Introduction	vii
Abbreviations	ix
Introduction to Volume 68	xiii
Matthew 18–24, Expounded in Sermons (continued) (1537–1540/1796–1847)	
Chapter Nineteen	3
Chapter Twenty	63
Chapter Twenty-One	75
Chapter Twenty-Two	135
Chapter Twenty-Three	141
Chapter Twenty-Four	257
Indexes	343

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

SINCE the publication of the American edition of *Luther's Works* in English began in 1955 under the general editorship of Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut Lehmann, there has been an explosion in the translation of Luther into the languages of the globe. Scholarship on Luther continues to flourish not only in its traditional northern European seats and its newer homes in North America but also throughout the world, as theologians, pastors, and scholars direct their attention to the reformer's theology and historical influence.

Although the first fifty-four volumes of the American edition are the most extensive collection of Luther's works in translation, they do not contain everything that has attracted the attention of historians and theologians in subsequent decades nor everything that Luther's contemporaries and successors esteemed and republished. The planned new volumes of *Luther's Works*, though not attempting to translate all of Luther into English, are intended to reflect both modern and sixteenth-century interests and to expand the coverage of genres underrepresented in the existing volumes, such as Luther's sermons and disputations.

The goal of the translation is to allow Luther to speak in modern English yet as a man of the sixteenth century. The translators have been asked to resist bowdlerizing Luther's language to conform to modern sensibilities about society and gender—or scatology. Editorial introductions and notes are offered to familiarize the reader with the particular circumstances of each text and its theological and social context.

The primary basis for the English translation is the comprehensive Weimar edition (*D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883–), supplemented where possible by edited texts from more recent editions of Luther's selected works. Scholars able to work in Luther's own German and Latin will want to consult the Weimar edition and its notes, especially for textual issues. The equivalent Weimar page numbers are printed at the top of the page in each new volume of the American edition, and approximate page breaks are marked with a stroke (|).

References to Luther in the notes are given from the American edition of *Luther's Works* wherever possible, and otherwise from the Weimar edition. In the case of texts scheduled for translation in future volumes, both the Weimar reference and the prospective volume in the American edition are

given. With each substantive Luther citation, the short title of the work has been given along with its date, for the convenience of the reader. Where the dates of original composition and of publication differ by more than a year, both are indicated, separated by a slash.

Biblical passages within Luther's works have been rendered in fidelity to Luther's own text, even when this differs from modern critical texts or conventional English translations. Necessary expansions of partial references have been rendered in brackets from the appropriate edition of Luther's German Bible, from the Vulgate (including Luther's 1529 revision thereof), or in consultation with Luther's translation of the passage in his lectures, as appropriate. This approach has made it impossible to use any single English translation throughout, though the English Standard Version (ESV) has been used as a starting point where possible or, occasionally, the Authorized or Douay versions where these correspond more closely to Luther's own text. Biblical language has been modernized after the model of the ESV, including the use of "you" as the second person form throughout.

A comparison of the present volumes with the Weimar edition will immediately reveal the profound debt that the editors of the American edition, past and present, owe to the long succession of Weimar editors. But the publication of these texts in a new English edition affords the opportunity to draw on the accumulation of decades of scholarship since the appearance of many of the Weimar volumes, as well as on new electronic resources, and thus, on occasion, to make some new contribution in token repayment of that vast scholarly debt. Although the present edition is addressed chiefly to scholars, pastors, and theologians working in English, whether as a first language or a language of scholarship, it is hoped that the annotations and the translations of difficult texts may be of service even to those working with Luther in the original tongues.

Even now, amid the fifth century after his death, Luther remains an epochal figure in the history of the Christian Church, a prominent shaper of the religious and cultural history of the West and a provocative voice still heard and engaged by theologians, pastors, and laity around the world as a witness to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. The editor and publisher trust that these new volumes of *Luther's Works* in English will, in harmony with the original goals of the American edition, serve their readers with much that has proved and will prove its "importance for the faith, life, and history of the Christian Church."

C. B. B.

ABBREVIATIONS

AC	Augsburg Confession
ADB	<i>Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie</i> . Edited by Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1875–1912. Reprinted, 1967–71.
Aland	Kurt Aland. <i>Hilfsbuch zum Lutherstudium</i> . 4th ed. Bielefeld: Luther-Verlag, 1996. Cited by main catalog number, postil number (Po), sermon number (Pr), or letter number (Br).
ANF	<i>The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325</i> . Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson. Revised by A. Cleveland Coxe. 10 vols. Buffalo: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885–96. Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.
ARG	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i>
Baseley	Joel R. Baseley, trans. <i>Festival Sermons of Martin Luther: The Church Postils</i> . Dearborn, MI: Mark V Publications, 2005.
BBKL	<i>Biographisch-bibliographisches Kirchenlexicon</i> . Edited by Friedrich Wilhelm Bautz. Hamm: Bautz, 1970–.
Brecht	Martin Brecht. <i>Martin Luther</i> . Translated by James L. Schaaf. 3 vols. Minneapolis: Fortress, 1985–93.
CF	<i>Cistercian Fathers Series</i> . Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1970–.
Concordia	<i>Concordia: The Lutheran Confessions</i> . 2nd ed. Edited by Paul T. McCain et al. St. Louis: Concordia, 2006.
CR	<i>Corpus Reformatorum</i> . Volumes 1–28: <i>Philippi Melanthonis Opera quae supersunt omnia</i> . Edited by C. G. Bretschneider and H. E. Bindseil. Halle: C. A. Schwetschke, 1834–60. Volumes 29–87: <i>Ioannis Calvinii Opera quae supersunt omnia</i> . Edited by W. Baum, E. Cunitz, E. Reuss. Braunschweig: C. A. Schwetschke et filius, 1863–1900. Volumes 88–: <i>Huldreich Zwinglis S. mtliche Werke</i> . Edited by Emil Egli et al. Leipzig: Heinsius, 1905–.
CWE	<i>Collected Works of Erasmus</i> . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974–.

- Denzinger Heinrich Denzinger, ed. *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*. 34th ed. Edited by Adolf Schönmetzer. Freiburg: Herder, 1967. Roy J. Deferrari, trans. *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*. St. Louis: Herder, 1957. Cited according to the older paragraph numbers on the inner margin of the Latin edition, corresponding to the enumeration of the English edition.
- DWB Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm. *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. 16 vols. in 32. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1854–1960.
- E *D. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke*. 67 vols. Frankfurt and Erlangen: Carl Heyder, 1826–57.
- E² *Dr. Martin Luther's sämtliche Werke*. 2nd ed. 26 vols. in 27. Frankfurt and Erlangen: Heyder & Zimmer, 1862–85.
- FC SD Solid Declaration of the Formula of Concord
- Friedberg Emil Friedberg, ed. *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1879. Reprint, Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959.
- Hugh of St. Cher Hugh of St. Cher [Hugo de Sancto Caro, Hugo Cardinalis]. *Postillae in vetus et novum testamentum*. Basel, 1504. Cited by biblical verse and Latin tag; references to Hugh's moral interpretation are denoted by *moraliter*.
- Klug Eugene Klug, ed. *Sermons of Martin Luther: The House Postils*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996 (3 vols. = vols. 5–7 of *The Complete Sermons of Martin Luther*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000).
- Kolb-Wengert Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert, eds. *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*. Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000.
- LA *Legenda Aurea*. Edited by Theodor Graesse. Leipzig: Libraria Arnoldiana, 1850. Reprint, Osnabrück: Zeller, 1965. William Granger Ryan, trans. *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993. Cited by volume and page from the English edition, as well as by number.
- LCC *Library of Christian Classics*. Edited by John T. McNeill and Henry P. van Dusen. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1953–.
- Lenker John Nicholas Lenker, ed. *Sermons of Martin Luther: The Church Postils*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996 (8 vols. in 4; reprinted as vols. 1–4 of *The Complete Sermons of Martin Luther*. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2000. Originally published as vols. 7–14 of *The Precious and Sacred Writings of Martin Luther*. Minneapolis: Lutherans in All Lands/Luther Press, 1904–9).
- LJB *Lutherjahrbuch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1919–.

- Loeb *Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1912–.
- Loy Martin Luther. *Sermons on the Gospels for the Sundays and Principal Festivals of the Church Year*. Edited by Matthias Loy. 2 vols. Rock Island, IL: Augustana Book Concern, 1871. A partial English translation of Veit Dietrich's 1544 edition of the *House Postil*.
- LQ *Lutheran Quarterly*. Milwaukee: Lutheran Quarterly, 1987–.
- LSB The Commission on Worship of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. *Lutheran Service Book*. St. Louis: Concordia, 2006.
- LTK² Josef Höfer and Karl Rahner, eds. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. Second edition. 14 volumes. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1957–68.
- LTK³ Walter Kasper, et al., eds. *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. Third edition. 11 volumes. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1993–2001.
- LW *Luther's Works: American Edition*. Volumes 1–30: Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan. St. Louis: Concordia, 1955–76. Volumes 31–55: Edited by Helmut Lehmann. Philadelphia/Minneapolis: Muhlenberg/Fortress, 1957–86. Volumes 56–82: Edited by Christopher Boyd Brown. St. Louis: Concordia: 2009–.
- Lyra Nicholas of Lyra. *Postilla super totam Bibliam*. Strassburg, 1492. Reprint, Frankfurt am Main: Minerva, 1971. Cited by verse and Latin tag of note, e.g., Lyra, John 18:3, “Iudas ergo.”
- MBW *Melanchthons Briefwechsel*. Edited by Heinz Scheible. Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1977–.
- NDB *Neue Deutsche Biographie*. Edited by Die Historische Kommission bei der Bayerischen Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1953–.
- NPNF¹ *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: First Series*. Edited by Philip Schaff. 14 vols. New York, 1886–89. Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.
- NPNF² *A Select Library of the Christian Church: Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers: Second Series*. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. 14 vols. New York, 1890–1900. Reprint, Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1994.
- OER *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*. Edited by Hans J. Hillerbrand. New York: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- PG *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Graeca*. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 161 vols. in 167. Petit-Montrouge: Apud J. P. Migne, 1857–66.
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus: Series Latina*. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. in 223. Paris: Garnier Freres, 1844–64.

- RPP *Religion Past and Present*. Edited by Hans Dieter Betz. Leiden: Brill, 2007–.
- ST Thomas Aquinas. *Summa theologiae*. Edited by Thomas Gilby et al. 61 vols. Oxford: Blackfriars, 1964–. Reprint, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Also Fathers of the English Dominican Province, trans. *Summa Theologica*. 3 vols. New York: Benziger, 1947–48.
- StL Johann Georg Walch, ed. *Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Schriften: Neue revidirte Stereotypausgabe*. 23 vols. in 25. St. Louis: Concordia, 1880–1910.
- Thiele Ernst Thiele. *Luthers Sprichwörterammlung*. Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1900. Reprint, Leipzig: Reprint-Verlag. Cited by number and page, e.g., Thiele no. 42, pp. 121–23.
- TRE *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*. Edited by Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1977–.
- VD16 *Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachbereich erschienenen Drucke des XVI. Jahrhunderts*. Edited by Irmgard Bezzel. 25 volumes. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1983–2000. <http://vd16.de>
- WA *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe*. 73 vols. in 85. Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883–.
- WA Br *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Briefwechsel*. 18 vols. Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1930–.
- WA DB *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Deutsche Bibel*. 12 vols. in 15. Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1906–.
- WA TR *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Tischreden*. 6 vols. Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1912–21.
- Wackernagel Philipp Wackernagel, ed. *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts*. 5 vols. Leipzig: Teubner, 1864–77.
- Wander Karl Friedrich Wilhelm Wander. *Deutsches Sprichwörter Lexikon*. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1867–80. Reprint, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2007. Cited by volume and page, then word and number, e.g., Wander 2:212, “Gott” no. 22.
- WSA Edmund Hill and John E. Rotelle, eds. *The Works of St. Augustine: A Translation for the Twenty-first Century*. In three series. Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1990–.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME 68

IN July 1537, Johann Bugenhagen (1485–1558), the pastor of St. Mary's Church in Wittenberg, departed for Denmark to organize the reformation there, and Luther began preaching in Bugenhagen's stead, on Sundays as well as on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Luther's Saturday preaching on John 1–4 began on July 7 with the start of the Gospel and continued through the fourth chapter in fifty-three sermons ending on September 11, 1540.¹ His Wednesday sermons on Matthew's Gospel, fifty-six in all, must have begun at the same time, probably on July 11, 1537.² The last sermon in this series on Matthew was preached on September 19, 1540. In both series, Luther thus continued preaching even after Bugenhagen's return in July 1539, though he moved his Matthew sermons to Sunday afternoons beginning in August.

In addition to disruptions in the cycle of continuous preaching at festival seasons of the church year,³ Luther's preaching—including his preaching on Matthew—was interrupted by other writing projects and by periodic illnesses. In February 1537, Luther became seriously ill while at Smalcald, though he had recovered enough to resume preaching in Wittenberg by the end of March, and he was in good health when he took the pulpit in place of Bugenhagen in June and for the remainder of 1537.⁴ In the following year, however, Luther fell ill in July and was unable to preach for some time; though he resumed some Sunday preaching in August, his serial preaching on John and Matthew seems to have been on hiatus until September.⁵ On October 12, 1538, Luther interrupted his Saturday preaching on Matthew to preach in the Castle Church (see WA 46:xv), but then he fell ill again; though

¹ Translated in LW 22.

² The manuscripts do not begin providing dates for the sermons until the fifteenth sermon, on Matt. 19:23–26, which was preached on November 7, 1537. The sermons on Matthew 18 appear in LW 67. Luther's sermons on Matthew 19–24 appear here in volume 68.

³ In particular, during the Christmas season through Epiphany and on the Saturdays before Palm Sunday and Easter.

⁴ WA 45:xii.

⁵ The Matthew sermons from 1538 are undated between March 27 and September 25 (WA 47:x–xi), but the John sermons, which are dated, end on June 29 and resume on September 7 (WA 47:viii). For the 1538 Sunday sermons, see WA 46:xv.

he resumed some of his preaching at the end of Advent, he did not take up the sermons on Matthew for many months. Indeed, in January 1539, Luther began to suffer periodic attacks of vertigo and remained in poor health for most of the year. Thus for the first half of 1539, he attended to the pulpit on Sundays as he was able but abandoned the serial preaching on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Luther's absence from the pulpit may also be explained by his other writing projects during this time. At the end of September 1538, Luther was planning to write *Against the Antinomians*, and on November 29, he reported that he would soon write it.⁶ On January 27, 1539, he was reading Pierre Crabbe's (1470–1553) edition of the councils of the early church, presumably in preparation for writing *On the Councils and the Church*.⁷ By March 14, the manuscript of *On the Councils and the Church* was finished.⁸ Then, in April, Luther was at work on *To Pastors, That They Should Preach against Usury* (published in 1540), in response to the price inflation and starvation occurring at the time in the vicinity of Wittenberg.⁹

In the second half of the year, beginning in late June, Luther resumed the regular preaching on John and Matthew but stopped almost all preaching on Sundays and festivals until Christmas 1539 (WA 47:xii–xiii). Because Bugenhagen had returned at the beginning of July, and resumed the Sunday preaching, Luther moved his sermons on Matthew from Wednesdays to Sunday afternoons. In early 1540, Luther's health was relatively good.¹⁰ Nevertheless, he interrupted his serial preaching on John and Matthew for several months. Instead, from January through March he preached a sermon series on Psalm 72¹¹ and preached the Holy Week and Easter sermons in Wittenberg in March, followed by travel to Dessau in early April. He had resumed his serial preaching on John in March, while his three final sermons on Matthew 24 were given between May 2 and September 19.¹²

⁶ See the introduction by O. Clemen and O. Brenner, WA 50:465–66.

⁷ *Table Talk* no. 4732 (1539), WA TR 4:457; Pierre Crabbe, ed., *Concilia Omnia, Tam Generalia quam particularia . . . Tomvs Primvs* (Coloniae: Petrus Quentel, September 1538) (VD16 C5643).

⁸ Letter to Melanchthon, March 14, 1539, WA Br 8:391, no. 3310.

⁹ See the introduction by O. Clemen and O. Brenner, WA 51:325.

¹⁰ Brecht 3:230–31.

¹¹ Notes taken by Georg Rörer are in WA 49:11–25, 30–49. A posthumous adaptation into German of Rörer's notes appears in E² 20/1:266–361.

¹² WA 49:x. From June 20 to August 2, 1540, Luther was traveling to Leipzig, Naumburg, Weimar, and Eisenach, so the sermons would have been given either before or after this period of travel; see Georg Buchwald, *Luther-Kalendarium* (Leipzig: M. Heinsius Nachfolger Eger & Sievers, 1929), p. 137.

In principle, Luther set out to follow the text of Matthew's Gospel in sequence from the beginning of the eighteenth chapter to nearly the end of the twenty-fourth. In fact, there were a number of omissions or rearrangements in the course of the three years of preaching. When Luther came to the beginning of Matthew 20 on November 28, 1537, he announced that he would pass over most of the chapter in the Wednesday preaching since the parable of the vineyard (Matt. 20:1–16) would be preached as a Sunday Gospel on Septuagesima and Jesus' prophecy of His Passion (Matt. 20:17–19) would be expounded on Quinquagesima in its Lukan parallel (Luke 18:31–43). Instead, Luther preached only on Matt. 20:20–28, since it was no longer included in the Wittenberg lectionary (see below, pp. 63–69).

By December, 12, however, Luther had realized that he planned to preach on Baptism from the Second Sunday after Epiphany until the Sunday before Ash Wednesday,¹³ and so went back to preach on the parable of the vineyard nonetheless (see below, pp. 70–74).

Similarly, because the Gospel of Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:1–9) was read already twice during the year (on Palm Sunday and on the First Sunday of Advent), Luther largely passed over it in his serial exposition (see below, p. 75). Likewise, at the beginning of Matthew 22, about June 1538, Luther seems to have passed over vv. 1–22 (the parable of the royal wedding and the Pharisees' question about taxes) because they were treated elsewhere in the lectionary of the church year (on the Twentieth and Twenty-Third Sundays after Trinity). Luther preached on Matt. 22:23–33 and then passed over the rest of the chapter without explanation, continuing with Matthew 23, probably because Matt. 22:34–46 was preached in Wittenberg on the Eighteenth Sunday after Trinity (and in its Lukan parallel, Luke 10:25–28, on the Thirteenth Sunday after Trinity).

Some gaps in Luther's exposition of Matthew as it appears here, however, may be due to a lack of surviving notes on sermons Luther did in fact preach. In several places there are lacunae where the main edited manuscripts leave several pages blank: at Matt. 18:23–35; between Matt. 21:17 and 21:33; after Matt. 23:14, though in this case the gap may have been due to confusion over the order of the sermons in the manuscripts (see below, pp. 172–74, 183–84); and at Matt. 24:31 (see below, pp. 332–33). In at least the case of Matt. 21:23–33, other sets of notes exist to fill the gap; there may have been preaching and notes, now lost, for the other breaks as well.

Manuscript notes on Luther's 1537–40 preaching on Matthew were recorded by the Wittenberg deacon Georg Rörer (1492–1557) and (in part) by Johann Stolz (ca. 1514–56), who was present in Wittenberg intermittently

¹³ WA 46:145–55, 167–85, 194–201.

throughout the course of Luther's Matthew preaching.¹⁴ The publication of this material was not contemplated, however, until the decades after Luther's death, when the material was prepared for the press by Luther's former student Johann Aurifaber (1519–75)—though in the end he was unable to see the sermons into print, and their publication first took place at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁵

Aurifaber had come to Wittenberg to study in 1537 and became Luther's domestic assistant [*famulus*] in 1545; in that capacity he accompanied Luther on his last trip to Eisleben and prepared an edition of Luther's last sermons there based on his own notes.¹⁶ For the rest of his life, Aurifaber dedicated himself to collecting and publishing Luther's works as he served first as preacher to the Ernestine Saxon army and court (thus working alongside Stolz in Weimar), and then from 1561 to 1565 as pastor in Eisleben under the patronage of the grafs of Mansfeld before moving to Erfurt, where he served from 1566 until the end of his life. As one of the Saxon court preachers, Aurifaber helped Rörer and Stolz plan and carry out the editing of the Jena edition of Luther's works.¹⁷ Beyond the boundaries of the Jena edition, Aurifaber also edited two volumes of Luther's Latin correspondence and the first collection of Luther's *Table Talk*; at Eisleben, he began a multivolume project intended to gather unpublished works of Luther, especially sermons from manuscript sources, and put them into print—the so-called Eisleben edition.¹⁸

Aurifaber may have had the publication of these sermons in mind since his 1553 discussions with Rörer regarding the planning of the Jena edition. To publish this material, Aurifaber needed to edit the rough notes taken by Rörer and others into a smoother, publishable form. Rörer in particular employed not only a combination of German and Latin for the sake of brevity but also his own system of abbreviations. However, Rörer's declining

¹⁴ On Rörer, see Reinhold Jauernig, "Magister Georg Rörer: im Dienst der 'Werke Luthers,'" in Karl Brinkel and Herbert von Hintzenstern, eds., *Luthers Freunde und Schüler in Thüringen*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961), pp. 155–61. On Stolz, see Reinhold Jauernig, "Johann Stoltz," in *Luther in Thüringen* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, [1952]), pp. 229–37; cf. Luther's appraisal of him in WA Br 12:431, no. 4325.

¹⁵ On Aurifaber, see Reinhold Jauernig, "Johannes Aurifaber: Lutherischer Prediger und Sammler von Lutherschriften," in Karl Brinkel and Herbert von Hintzenstern, eds., *Luthers Freunde und Schüler in Thüringen*, vol. 1 (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1961), pp. 147–54.

¹⁶ See *Four Sermons in Eisleben* (1546), LW 58:397–460, 51:381–92.

¹⁷ On the Jena edition, see Wolgast, WA 60:495–543; Robert Kolb, *Martin Luther as Prophet, Teacher, Hero: Images of the Reformer, 1520–1620* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1999), pp. 146–50.

¹⁸ On the Eisleben edition, see Wolgast, WA 60:544–58; on Aurifaber's editorial work as a whole (including Eisleben), see Kolb, *Luther as Prophet, Teacher, Hero*, pp. 150–53.

health did not permit him to edit his notes himself, so even though Duke John Frederick II of Saxony (r. 1554–66) asked for them in 1556, their appearance was postponed.¹⁹ Before his death in 1557, Rörer taught his methods to the Erfurt pastor Andreas Poach (1515–85), and Poach assisted Aurifaber in editing Rörer's manuscripts.²⁰ The first to appear was a separate edition of Luther's 1528–29 sermons on John 18–20.²¹ This prompted a promise to the duke in 1557 that the sermons on Matthew 18–24 would follow.

The sermons on Matthew 18–24 were slated for publication in the third volume of the supplementary Eisleben edition, and Aurifaber's manuscript was ready for the printer. But the first two volumes of the edition, published in 1564 and 1565, failed to attract significant interest from the reading public, perhaps because of their heterogeneous contents, and the planned third Eisleben volume never appeared in print.

Two manuscripts of Aurifaber's work survived, however. One copy, in the library at Wolfenbüttel, contains the first fourteen sermons (LW 67; and below, pp. 3–54) and the eighteenth through forty-fourth sermons (see below, pp. 70–255) in Aurifaber's own hand, with the remainder of the sermons in another hand.²² A second copy, at Heidelberg, begins with the twenty-eighth sermon (see below, pp. 141–48) and is in Aurifaber's own handwriting from the forty-fifth sermon (see below, p. 257) to the end, with the exception of the fifty-second and fifty-third sermons (see below, pp. 308–26). In the overlapping material, the Wolfenbüttel and Heidelberg manuscripts occasionally disagree about the order of the sermons (see below, pp. 172–74, 183–84).

Portions of Stolz's notes on these sermons also survive (sermons 19–23, 45, 55, 56, corresponding to pp. 75–113, 257–63, 333–41 below), including two sermons (nos. 22 and 23, March 20 and 27, 1538) that do not appear in Aurifaber's manuscript (four pages were left blank at the place they would have filled). Stolz's notes tend to be briefer than Rörer's and are translated entirely or almost entirely into Latin, unlike Rörer's notes which preserve more of Luther's own words in a mix of Latin and German.

¹⁹ The identity of the sermons "on certain chapters of Matthew" which Rörer was unable to revise at this date is uncertain; it may have been the 1528–29 series of sermons, now mostly lost, or the 1537–40 series. See Wolgast, WA 60:500 and n. 29; LW 69:143 and n. 1.

²⁰ On Poach, see Reinhold Jauernig, "Andreas Poach," in *Luther in Thüringen* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, [1952]), pp. 198–206. On his apprenticeship under Rörer, see Poach's letter in WA 28:34, trans. LW 69:137–38; and Kolb, *Luther as Prophet, Teacher, Hero*, p. 173.

²¹ LW 69:123–310.

²² Wolfenbüttel Hs. 96 Helmst.; see WA 47:ix; E 44:vff.

Finally, two sermons do survive in Rörer's notes as transcribed by Poach (nos. 35 and 36, corresponding to pp. 184–94 below).²³ The sermons were first printed, at least partially, in 1796 with the publication of the sermons on Matthew 18–22 from the Wolfenbüttel manuscript. An expanded version including most of Matthew 23 appeared in 1817, and the remaining sermons on Matt. 23:37–24:34 were published in 1847.²⁴ A complete edition of the sermons appeared in the Erlangen edition (E 44–45) and from that basis in the St. Louis edition (StL 7:852–1371) before their appearance in the Weimar edition (WA 47), where the Stolz and Heidelberg manuscripts were taken into account as well, along with the short excerpts of Rörer's notes in Poach's transcription.

Although Aurifaber's editorial ability and judgment have been criticized, more recent scholarship takes a more appreciative view of his role as an editor and transmitter of Luther's work.²⁵ A comparison here of the two sermons that survive in Poach's transcription of Rörer's original notes (nos. 35 and 36; see the footnotes below, pp. 184–94) with the text edited by Aurifaber for publication reveals that Aurifaber stays fairly close to the text in front of him. His expansions are almost all creditable attempts to make sense of the compressed and sometimes ambiguous text of Rörer's notes. Although the text of the sermons translated here cannot be understood as Luther's own words in every detail, Aurifaber is a cautious and reliable editor.

These sermons span four years of Luther's life. In them, Luther mentioned and alluded to historical occurrences that would have been common knowledge to Luther's original hearers in Wittenberg, but are not now so commonly known. The translator, Kevin Walker, approached his task with theological and historical understanding. He, together with David Buchs and Margaret Arnold, contributed research to the footnotes to provide context for Luther's numerous allusions. Benjamin T. G. Mayes served as volume editor, overseeing the translation and footnotes, while Dawn Weinstock and the team at Concordia Publishing House once again smoothed out texts and brought the volume through production.

C. B. B.

²³ See WA 47:ix.

²⁴ See WA 47:x; *D. Martin Luthers ungedruckte Predigten*, ed. Paul Jakob Bruns (Helmstädt: Fleckeisen, 1796); *Ungedruckte Predigten Dr. M. Luthers*, 2nd ed., ed. G. K. Bollmann (Helmstädt: Fleckeisen, 1817); *Dr. Martin Luthers Predigten über Johannes C. 3–C. 4, 10 und Matthaes C. 23, 27–C. 24, 34*, ed. Wilhelm Hoeck (Berlin: Schultze, 1847).

²⁵ Gustav Kawerau, "Zur Frage nach der Zuverlässigkeit Johannes Aurifabers als Sammlers und Herausgebers Lutherischer Schriften," *ARG* 12 (1915): 155–57; Otto Clemen, "Johannes Aurifaber als gewerbsmäßiger Hersteller von Lutherhandschriften," *ARG* 29 (1932): 85–96; Helmar Junghans, "Aurifaber, Johannes," *TRE* 4:752–55.

MATTHEW 18-24,
EXPOUNDED IN SERMONS
(CONTINUED)

1537-40/1796-1847

Translated by
Kevin G. Walker

THE NINETEENTH CHAPTER OF THE EVANGELIST MATTHEW

1. *And it came to pass, when Jesus had finished this speech, that He departed from Galilee and entered the region of Judea beyond the Jordan.*
2. *And many people followed Him, and He healed them there.*

This¹ belongs to the story of the Lord Christ which you know well, that the Lord was born in Bethlehem and raised in Nazareth and lived there with His mother, Mary, until He was thirty years old, and always remained there, except for His three annual trips from Galilee up to Jerusalem in Judea according to the Law of Moses. Every firstborn boy had to go to Jerusalem to appear before the Lord annually at the three feasts. The evangelists did not describe these trips, except for one He made when He was twelve years old, when He was in the temple disputing with the scholars, and His mother had lost Him, as Luke tells us in chapter 2 [:41–51]. Then, when He turned thirty, He entered Judea and went to the Jordan to John, by whom He had Himself baptized [cf. Matt. 3:13–17]. And as soon as He returned to Galilee, He chose apostles and disciples, preached, and performed His first miracle at the wedding in Cana, when He made water into wine [John 2:1–11]. Then He moved with His mother to Capernaum and lived there the next three years. This is where He began and carried out His preaching ministry those three whole years. It was His diocese and parish, which is why Capernaum is also called His city. From this city He repeatedly traveled in and traversed Galilee, toured around, preached the Gospel everywhere, and healed many illnesses, before returning home to Capernaum and soon setting out again. Thus He filled the entire land of Galilee with preaching and miracles and did not enter the land of Judea except when He went to Jerusalem for the three feasts according to the Law of Moses. He did not preach there, however, until the fourth year. Peter also testifies of this in Acts chapter 10 [:37–38], saying that Christ began to preach and perform miracles not in Judea, but in Galilee.

¹ The tenth of Luther's sermons on Matthew 18–24, this one on Matt. 19:1–9, begins here. Luther preached it between July 7 and November 7, 1537, but the precise date cannot be determined (WA 47:x).

Now when these three years had passed and the fourth had begun, in which He was to suffer, the evangelist Matthew says in this text that Jesus departed from Galilee and entered into the land of Judea. He took His leave of the Galileans and preached His last sermon in Galilee, on the forgiveness of sins, since He also wanted to preach in Judea and remained in Judea for this half year. And when the half year had passed, He was crucified. This text shows that the Lord departed from Galilee after this speech [Matthew 18] and went south to the border of Judea. He traveled through Jericho, ¹as described in Luke chapter 18 [:35–19:10], proceeded to Mount Olive, and then to Jerusalem. This is His trip from Galilee to Jerusalem, where He will do all that He has done in Galilee. And many people followed Him, in particular many women followed Him, serving Him, giving Him food, supporting Him, and nourishing Him. Later they were also present at the tomb and wanted to anoint Him, namely, Mary, Joanna, Salome, and [the mother] of James,² who must have been rich widows, since they provided for the Lord in Galilee and also in Judea with their possessions, which they must have sold for money. And after His resurrection and ascension, they moved back to Galilee from Judea. Now along with these women came also many other people, especially the ill and infirm who wanted to be made healthy. The Lord Christ made all of these healthy on this trip and healed them. For example, He cleansed the ten lepers [Luke 17:11–19] and made the blind man in Jericho to see [cf. Luke 18:35–43; Mark 10:46–52]. Aside from these, He did not perform many more miracles after that which the evangelists have described. Instead, they provide only the sermons that the Lord preached over that half year in Judea and Jerusalem before and after His suffering, for in Judea Christ dedicated Himself almost exclusively to teaching and preaching.

Now when He arrived at the Jordan, which was the border of Judea, and had not yet crossed over the river, the following took place:

3. *Then the Pharisees came to Him, tempted Him and said to Him: “Is it also lawful for a man to divorce his wife for any reason?”*
4. *But He answered and said to them: “Have you not read that He who made man in the beginning made a man and a woman*
5. *and said, ‘For this reason a man shall leave his father and mother and be joined to his wife, and the two shall become one flesh?’*

² Jacobi. Cf. Mark 15:40; 16:1; Luke 8:2–3.

THE TWENTIETH CHAPTER OF MATTHEW

WE will skip the parable of the laborers in the vineyard [Matt. 20:1–16]¹ and what follows that, how the Lord reveals to His disciples the suffering that awaits Him [Matt. 20:17–19]. Both of these come up after Christmas,² so we will save them for then and now take up the text of the two sons of Zebedee, which used to be preached in autumn on St. James' Day. Since we do not celebrate that feast anymore and do not preach on this text [Matt. 20:20–23], we cannot pass over it now that we have come to it.³ The two sons of Zebedee are John the evangelist and St. James the Elder. They were close relatives of the Lord, but how close I do not know. In the past it has been said that St. Anne had three husbands. With the first, Joachim, she had Mary, the mother of our Lord; with the second, Cleophas, she had Mary of Cleophas; with the third, Salome, she had Mary of Salome, even though Salome is a woman's name.⁴ Such are the vulgar, filthy obscenities they have told. These are nothing but lies and fables, for nowhere in Scripture do we find anything about who was the father or mother of our dear Lady. And yet they have caused such a stir with St. Anne and Joachim that even cities

¹ Later, Luther decided to preach on this text. See below, pp. 70–74.

² The Gospel for Septuagesima was Matt. 20:1–16; the Gospel for Quinquagesima was Luke 18:31–43, which is parallel to Matt. 20:17–19, 29–34. See the *Church Postil* (1540–44), LW 76:315–19, 350–55.

³ Luther preached on Matt. 20:20–26 for the Feast of St. James in 1523 (WA 11:150–53), though in the same year, in *Order of Mass and Communion*, he announced his opinion that “all the feasts of the saints should be abrogated” (LW 53:23). Most of Luther's sermons for saint days date from 1516–22, though a few can be found thereafter: see Gerhard Kunze, “Die gottesdienstliche Zeit,” in *Leiturgia: Handbuch des evangelischen Gottesdienstes*, ed. Karl Ferdinand Müller and Walter Blankenburg (Kassel: Johannes Stauda-Verlag, 1954), 1:504–6. The *Register der Episteln und Evangelien* (1526) that was included in editions of Luther's German Bible included readings for St. James' Day and other saint days “for the sake of the weak” (WA DB 7:543). Lutheran church orders of the sixteenth century, however, generally retained most of the biblically supported festivals of Mary and the apostles: Ernst Walter Zeeden, *Faith and Act: The Survival of Medieval Ceremonies in the Lutheran Reformation*, trans. Kevin G. Walker (St. Louis: Concordia, 2012), pp. 53–55.

⁴ On the *Trinubium*, or legendary three marriages of St. Anne, and its rejection by humanists, see Virginia Nixon, *Mary's Mother: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Europe* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004), pp. 16, 121–29.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR OF MATTHEW

RECENTLY¹ you heard the last sermon of Christ, in which He took leave of the Jews and said that their house would become desolate and they would see Him no more [Matt. 23:38–39]. And so He departed from there.

Now, in the following chapter, the evangelist Matthew describes how Christ spoke with His disciples—not as having preached a sermon to them here, but only as having had a conversation among good friends.¹ In the Lord Christ's last sermon, however, the disciples had heard Him say, "Your house shall become desolate" [Matt. 23:38]. They had grasped that last sermon and had no trouble understanding that it applied to the temple in which He had preached, so they thought: "Will this beautiful temple structure really become desolate?" And Christ turned His back to it,² just as if He would never see it again, and He never did enter the temple again.

He does not mean the house of the temple alone, but at the same time includes the entire government. Therefore, they ask when this edifice will be destroyed [cf. Matt. 24:1–3]. They are amazed that this beautiful building and whatever other marvelous things they had would all be destroyed, because the temple was regarded as a divine edifice. Moreover, the prophet Haggai [2:9] says that the glory of the latter temple would be much greater than the glory of Solomon's temple, for not only the Jews but also the Gentiles, including many great kings living around Jerusalem, gave money and goods in abundance to rebuild the temple [cf. Ezra 6:3–9]. That is why they say: "This is such an excellent, beautiful, and glorious building, and it is going to be utterly destroyed? Where will that leave the worship? Where will cattle be slaughtered for sacrificing? Where will people from all other lands come together to worship God?"—seeing as they had to go to Jerusalem three times a year. They expect Christ to answer this and were thinking He would build a temple far more glorious, one that would make the present temple look more lowly than a farmer's hut, for according to the promise in the Law, the temple that Christ would build would be made of precious stones, gold, and silver [Hag. 2:6–9; cf. Isaiah 60, especially v. 17]. These are

¹ The forty-fifth sermon, on Matt. 24:1–3, begins here. Luther may have preached it on October 19, 1539 (WA 47:xi).

² Read *ihm* instead of *ihnen* [*ihn*].

the kind of sweet dreams going through the minds of the apostles—and, in fact, of all Jews.

The Lord gives them quite a different answer, however, one that does not agree with their question at all. He says not only that the temple will be destroyed, meaning that no one would ever hear a sermon there again and God would no longer speak there through His prophets, but also that no stone will be left standing upon another [Matt. 24:2].

¹Does this mean that Christ has come not only so that His house would become desolate and worship would cease and the glorious pilgrimages from every land and kingdom would come to an end but also so that the temple would lie in ashes and be so utterly destroyed as to remain desolate forever? Surely this is not what the apostles and Jews had in mind, nor is it what they have in mind to this day. The Jews are still crying out and begging God to send His Messiah, the Son of David, and to rebuild and restore Jerusalem and the temple. They still will not acknowledge that this house or temple must remain desolate, and that no stone is to remain upon another, and that pilgrimages, worship, and everything should lie in ruin. To this day the Jews still have quite different thoughts about this. They think everything will still be changed. The Lord says, however: “Jerusalem and the temple will become and remain so desolate that not even one stone will be left or put back on another.” As to who is right, Christ or the Jews, that is something your eyes and ears can judge. As a matter of fact this is what we find, and what Christ said here in this chapter has been fulfilled now for 1,500 years. Everything has happened as described here and as Christ made known beforehand. This is something our eyes see now, and if anyone refuses to see it, he can touch it. Work to rebuild the temple and the city of Jerusalem had begun during the time of Hadrian, and it was called Aelia [Capitolina], but the city was not in the same place as where it stood before.³ Now, after having struck and defeated the sultan,⁴ the Turk has Jerusalem. The holy sepulcher used to be outside the city, just as the gallows and its heap of stones are still built up outside of cities, but now it is in the middle of the city of Jerusalem, just as if this city had been destroyed and rebuilt at another location.

So the words of Christ came to pass. The Jews still pray daily, however, reminding God of all His divine promises, His glory, benefactions, signs of wonder, etc., and asking that this city would be rebuilt. ¹This is also how the apostles were inclined to think, for they believe it is impossible that this house of God should be destroyed, and even if it were destroyed, people would flock there, and worship would remain, and the temple would

³ See Kamil J. Asali, *Jerusalem in History: 3,000 B.C. to the Present Day* (London: Kegan Paul, 1997), pp. 88–91.

⁴ See above, p. 131 n. 104.

SCRIPTURE INDEX

OLD TESTAMENT

Genesis

1	138
1:28	16, 68
2:16–17	253
2:17	267
2:21–22	278
2:23	8
2:24	7, 8
3:15	251, 263, 264
3:16	15
3:19	151, 205
4:3	169
4:4	241
7:11–21	338
19:1–11	334
22:13	110
23:19	202
25:9	202
28:12	155, 241

Exodus

3:6	139
3:10	250
19:4	248
19:6	243
19:8	111
19:16–18	335
19:16–19	329
20:1	191
20:2	335
20:2–11	181, 203
20:3	48, 191, 296
20:3–8	47
20:3–11	217

20:5	305, 307
20:12	27, 61, 159
20:12–17	42, 179, 181, 203
20:13	42
20:14	43, 289
20:18–19	191, 330
22:23–24	173
23:11	190
27:1–8	185

Leviticus

18:5	47
19:4	296
19:9–10	190
23:22	190
25:8–22	35n
26:1	296
27:32	190

Numbers

3:6	151
3:32	151
10:1–3	335
15:38	150n
15:38–39	150
22:28–30	146
25	219
35:1–8	78, 115

Deuteronomy

5:6	219
5:6–7	188
5:7	191, 296
6:6–9	150
11:18–20	150
13:1–5	163

14:24–26	81
14:28–29	190
17:12	109, 163, 168
18	191
19:4–6	212
24:1–4	5
24:21	113
26:12	190
29	306
29:19	306
32:11–12	248

Judges

3:22	301
8:23	160

1 Samuel

18:25	145
-------------	-----

1 Kings

2:10	240
5:5	185
8	88
8:12–21	185
8:27	88
8:29–30	88
8:31–53	88
8:37–43	88
8:46–49	186
12:28	89
12:29	89

2 Kings

5:15	174
5:18	174
11:1–3	238
11:1–12:21	238