Luther on Marriage
by Scott Hendrix

For a man who did not marry until he was forty-one, Martin Luther had a lot to say about matrimony. It was obviously a personal issue for him as it was for all priests, monks, and nuns who had vowed to live a celibate life and then decided to leave that life and take a spouse. It was also a practical issue for the reformers and most of them at some point offered recommendations about when and how to marry and under what circumstances marriages could be dissolved. These matters were no longer regulated by the canon law of the Roman church once bishops and their courts ceased to have jurisdiction over marital matters in evangelical lands. Marriage quickly became a theological issue as well. In one sense marriage was demoted because it ceased to be a sacrament; but in another sense its status was elevated because it was deemed equal to or superior to celibacy. Reformers, therefore, had to forge a new theology of marriage which took account of both changes and in light of that new theology they had to reformulate the relationship of Christians to the matrimonial estate.

Martin Luther was in the forefront of this reformation of marriage. He was well acquainted with the way in which his culture subjected marriage and women to ridicule, and like many of his colleagues he believed married life to be in a state of decline. In 1522 he wrote:

What we would speak most of is the fact that the estate of marriage has universally fallen into such awful disrepute. There are many pagan books which treat of nothing but the depravity of womankind and the unhappiness of the estate of marriage, such that some have thought that even if wisdom itself were a woman one should not marry.

Luther is referring to the literature of classical antiquity which sometimes disparaged women as it debated the merits of marriage for men. Some of this literature found its way into the German Reformation through collections of aphorisms like the Sprichwörter of Sebastian Franck (d. 1542), a chronicler and independently-
minded thinker usually classified as a radical reformer. Authors like Franck agreed that marriage in sixteenth-century Germany was in a sad state. He described the situation as out of control, with "rampant divorce and desertion . . . where one partner abandons the other in emergencies just when they need each other the most." One Lutheran pastor, Johann Freder (d. 1562), feared that the aphorisms collected by Franck only made matters worse and he composed a rebuttal entitled A Dialogue in Honor of Marriage (1545). According to Freder, throughout the ages the devil has attacked God's good order of marriage by disparaging women and thereby discouraging men from entering the estate of matrimony. His Dialogue therefore tried to persuade men to marry by defending the honor of women and marriage against the slander which he found in the aphorisms of old. Martin Luther agreed with Freder and wrote a preface for the publication of his Dialogue in 1545, one year before the reformer's death.

The Reformer of Marriage

Long before that, however, Luther had campaigned for a positive reformation of marriage once his view of it began to change. In 1519, Luther still regarded marriage as a sacrament, a notion that was based in part on Augustine's thought which was influential throughout the Middle Ages. According to Augustine (d. 430), marriage was a sacred bond because it could not be dissolved except by the death of a spouse. The sacramental character of marriage meant for Luther, as it did for Augustine, that the sin of lust involved in sexual intercourse, though a mortal sin outside marriage, was rendered inoffensive in marriage. In this early sermon Luther also accepted the other goods or benefits of marriage that had been enumerated by teachers of the church in the Augustinian tradition. One of these was the notion of marriage as a covenant of fidelity in which spouses promised to be faithful to each other. The third benefit was the production of children, which for Luther also included raising children to serve and honor God. Luther never discarded all of this Augustinian heritage. In a wedding ser-
mon from the year 1531, he reaffirms the ancient teaching that “marriage is praiseworthy because of children, loyalty, and love.”

From this statement, however, it is clear that love has replaced sacrament as a chief feature of marriage for Luther. This change is already registered in The Babylonian Captivity of the Church (1520), Luther’s revision of the sacraments which appeared a year after the sermon of 1519. Recognizing that no divine promise or divinely instituted sign was attached to marriage, Luther rejected its sacramental character and the biblical argument for it from Ephesians 5:31–32 which he had accepted the year before. He also anticipates several points that will be treated at length in his first complete treatise on marriage in 1522. First, he attacks impediments to marriage which have been established above and beyond Scripture by the confessional manuals and canon law of the church. He also considers which conditions, such as sexual impotence, might annul a marriage already contracted. Finally he reflects on the uncertainty around divorce: “As to divorce, it is still a question for debate whether it is allowable. For my part, I so greatly detest divorce that I should prefer bigamy to it; but whether it is allowable, I do not venture to decide.” Although Luther had decided that marriage was not a sacrament, he was only beginning to clarify the positive meaning of marriage and to deal with the practical issues connected to it. By this time he was convinced of one thing, however. The compulsory celibacy of the priesthood should be abolished. Luther believed it had led to the fall of many a priest and to the decline of the priesthood in general. In place of compulsory celibacy, Luther wanted to “restore freedom to everybody and leave every man free to marry or not to marry.”

In addition to his fear that marriage was in a general state of decline, the devastating effect of compulsory celibacy on the priesthood was an important impetus for Luther’s reformation of marriage. Although celibacy was an issue mainly for those who had chosen the religious life (i.e., had become priests, monks, or nuns), Luther’s argument that marriage was superior to celibacy raised the status of marriage for laity as well even though it was no longer regarded as a sacrament. Luther states this most clearly in his exposition of I Corinthians 7 (1523), a text which had long served
to support the superiority of celibacy because Paul wished that all Christians were unmarried as he was (v. 7) and because he admonished engaged persons that those who refrained from marriage did better than those who married (v. 29). Luther read the text differently, however. From the statement that each person has a particular gift from God (v. 7), Luther concludes that marriage is just as much a gift of God as chastity and that furthermore chastity is a very special gift reserved for only a few. He does not stop there, however. He argues that marriage and not celibacy is the “most religious state of all,” the “real religious order,” because “nothing should be called religious except that inner life of faith in the heart, where the Spirit rules.” In Luther’s eyes, marriage as instituted by God “drives and helps along toward the Spirit and faith and . . . it must consist almost entirely of faith if it is to prosper.” The monastic and clerical orders which had traditionally been called religious Luther now labels secular because, in spite of their intention to foster a life of devotion, they seem mainly concerned with providing their members with a comfortable and secure bodily existence.

Luther’s reinterpretation I Corinthians 7 was revolutionary and should be set alongside his argument for the priesthood of all believers in his Address to the Christian Nobility. Just as the concept of the universal priesthood elevated lay Christians to the spiritual status that had been reserved for clergy, the designation of marriage as the truly religious order elevates it to the spiritual status that had been reserved for the celibate members of the priesthood and monastic orders. The point of both redefinitions was to place all Christians, lay and clerical, in the same spiritual relationship to God even though the forms of their life might differ. Remaining unmarried, even for those few who received the gift of chastity, did not qualify them for a spiritual or religious status higher than that of the Christians who married. By 1523, in fact, Luther seemed to rank the married life over celibacy.

In this light one should read Luther’s definitive treatise on marriage, The Estate of Marriage (Vom ehelichen Leben), which was published at the end of 1522. Luther calls this treatise a sermon and it was probably based on sermons preached by Luther in parishes
near Wittenberg in April and May of 1522. By this time, Luther was ready to offer a theology of marriage that would replace the sacramental view and to provide his own answers to questions about who could marry and who could leave a marriage.

The Estate of Marriage is divided into three parts: 1) who can marry; 2) who can divorce and for what reasons; and 3) how to live a Christian and godly life in the estate of marriage. In greater detail than the Babylonian Captivity, Part One rejects the restrictions of canon law on marriage which had accumulated during the Middle Ages and which in Luther's opinion had become so confusing that Christian people were completely bewildered by them. To clarify the matter, Luther establishes marriage as a divinely-willed ordinance on the basis of Genesis 1:26–28, which describes how God created human beings male and female and bid them be fruitful and multiply. Since this ordinance of creation applies in principle to everyone, the burden of proof should be on those who decide not to marry instead of on those who do. In fact, says Luther, God has exempted only three kinds of people from marriage: the sexually impotent, men who have been castrated, and men and women who are able to abstain from sexual intercourse and therefore remain celibate without succumbing to temptation. The latter are “rare, not one in a thousand, for they are a special miracle of God.” In all other cases, men and women should marry and fulfill God's created purpose.

As a general rule, Luther relaxes the many impediments to a valid marriage set up by canon law, retaining only those with specific biblical precedents like, for example, the limits on marrying blood relations in Leviticus 18. The point of such impediments had been to define a clear Christian practice of marriage among the recently baptized pagans of medieval Europe. Over the centuries, however, the restrictions had become tighter and more profuse, although they could be circumvented by the payment of fines, a practice which Luther roundly condemned. The impediment of unbelief is an important case in point. Christians were prohibited from marrying Muslims, Jews, or heretics. In rejecting this impediment, Luther makes his famous declaration about the secular nature of marriage:
Know therefore that marriage is an outward, bodily thing, like any other worldly undertaking. Just as I may eat, drink, sleep, walk, ride with, buy from, speak to, and deal with a heathen, Jew, Turk, or heretic, so I may also marry and continue in wedlock with him. Pay no attention to the precepts of those fools who forbid it. You will find plenty of Christians — and indeed the greater part of them — who are worse in their secret unbelief than any Jew, heathen, Turk, or heretic. A heathen is just as much a person — God's good creation — as St. Peter, St. Paul, and St. Lucy, not to speak of slack and spurious Christians.21

Although Luther endorses marriage between Christians and non-Christians and even calls marriage a worldly thing, he is not trying to secularize marriage in the sense of separating it from God or religion.22 It is no longer a sacrament, to be sure, but marriage is intended by God for most people and, as we have seen, it is the genuinely religious form of life. Luther recognizes that marriage belongs to creation and not to redemption, and consequently Christians can marry outside the faith.

This new theology of marriage becomes clearer as the treatise proceeds. Part Two discusses grounds for divorce, of which Luther accepts three: impotence, adultery, and the refusal of sexual intercourse (the conjugal debt or duty) by one of the spouses. Luther seems to have resolved his uncertainty about divorce and it may look as if his acceptance of divorce derives from a less religious view of marriage. The denial of a sacramental quality to marriage does open the way for divorce since, as a sacrament, marriage could never be dissolved even if the spouses separated. Most Protestants on the continent of Europe did accept some grounds for divorce because they found it more humane to allow separated spouses to remarry than to force a spouse to live alone when he or she had been deserted or betrayed by a former partner.23 Petitions for divorce were litigated in the new marriage courts that sprang up in Protestant towns and territories to replace the episcopal courts which had possessed jurisdiction in marital matters. Nevertheless, the availability of divorce did not mean that it became easy to obtain one. During the twenty-three-year period of Calvin's ministry in Geneva (1541–1564), only twenty-six divorces were granted for adultery and only a few more for other causes.24
Like other reformers, Luther is also reluctant to recommend divorce even when it is allowed. In *The Estate of Marriage*, Luther questions whether Christians should make use of divorce, at least in the case of adultery. The basis for his reluctance is the model of two kingdoms and two governments which Luther is beginning to use as a means of deciding issues of evangelical ethics. In this case, Luther argues that God gave two kinds of commandments: 1) spiritual ones that teach righteousness in the sight of God and which establish a spiritual government under which Christians are supposed to live; and 2) worldly commandments for those who do not live up to the spiritual commandments. In the case of adultery, Jesus has interpreted the law of Moses in such a way as to allow divorce and remarriage on grounds of adultery. But, says Luther, people who obeyed the spiritual commandments of God did not send their spouses away and never made use of certificates of divorce. Accordingly, the permission to divorce on grounds of adultery does not apply to Christians either, who are supposed to live in the spiritual government. If there are believers who already live with their wives in a unchristian fashion, then they should be permitted to divorce in order to demonstrate that they were not really Christians in the first place.

This intricate argument reveals Luther’s conviction that even though marriage itself is not a specifically Christian estate, nevertheless Christians should conduct themselves in marriage in a special way. Introducing the final section of the treatise Luther says: “In the third part, in order that we may say something about the estate of marriage which will be conducive toward the soul’s salvation, we shall now consider how to live a Christian and godly life in that estate.” The first requirement is that Christians respect both sexes as the work of God and give no ear to “pagan” books which disparage women and married life. Christians should “recognize” the estate of marriage, that is, see it in a special way, “find therein delight, love and joy without end,” because they “firmly believe that God himself instituted it, brought husband and wife together, and ordained that they should beget children and care for them.” Christian faith looks upon all the insignificant and distasteful duties of family life “in the Spirit and is aware that they are
all adorned with divine approval as with the costliest gold and jewels." At this point Luther makes his oft-quoted assertion that God with all the angels and creatures is smiling at a father washing diapers not because the task is menial but because the father is acting in true Christian faith. The point of Luther's comment is sometimes missed. Luther means not only to commend the daily duties of parenthood in general but to commend specifically the Christian attitude toward these duties which recognizes them as God's own work possessing a divine blessing.

Luther has more to say about the benefits and duties of marriage, but in principle his theology of marriage is set by the time this treatise is published in 1522. Marriage is not a sacrament, but it is a holy estate ordained and instituted by God. It is superior to celibacy and is the genuinely religious life. It is not only for Christians, but Christians should live in marriage in a special way, recognizing it as a gift and institution of God. Christian spouses should regard both sexes with respect and take upon themselves the burdens and joys of bearing and raising children. Under certain conditions divorce is permitted, but Christian spouses will try to forgive injury and bear with the weaker partner before petitioning for the marriage to be dissolved. Sexual pleasure is not forbidden, but Luther does retain the traditional notion that intercourse is never without sin. "... God excuses it by his grace because the estate of marriage is his work, and he preserves in and through the sin all that good which he has implanted and blessed in marriage." The Married Reformer

Luther was quite aware that he was developing this new theology as a single person. In 1522 he hesitates to name all the benefits of a happy marriage "lest somebody shut me up by saying that I am speaking about something I have not experienced." Three years passed before the monk Luther took his own advice and tested his theology personally in the reality of wedlock. Luther was candid about his reasons for marrying Katharina von Bora (1499-1552) without much fanfare in June of 1525. From the letter that he
sends to Nicholas von Amsdorf between the exchange of vows and the public banquet celebrating the marriage, one can see that Luther meant to practice what he had been preaching. In addition to satisfying his father's wish for grandchildren, Luther declared: "I also wanted to confirm what I have taught by practicing it; for I find so many timid people in spite of such great light from the gospel. God has willed and brought about this step. For I feel neither passionate love nor burning for my spouse, but I cherish her." The recovery of the gospel had revealed that marriage was better than celibacy and that it was also intended by God for most people; Luther wanted not only to teach that insight but also to demonstrate it in his own life.

The remark that he did not love Katharina with passion (amo) but cherished her (diligo) should not be taken to mean that Luther entered upon a loveless marriage for the sake of illustrating a point. The verb cherish (diligo) is a strong affirmation of love that goes deeper than passion, and it describes both the nature of the Luther marriage insofar as we can know it and the great benefit of marriage which Luther stated both before and after his marriage. In the wedding sermon from 1531 Luther said:

The ancient doctors have rightly preached that marriage is praiseworthy because of children, loyalty, and love. But the physical benefit is also a precious thing and justly extolled as the chief virtue of marriage, namely, that spouses can rely upon each other and with confidence entrust everything they have on earth to each other, so that it is as safe with one's spouse as with oneself.

Luther's expressions of affection and appreciation for his wife are legendary. "I would not give up my Katy for France or for Venice . . . because God gave her to me and gave me to her." At table in 1537 Luther said jokingly while looking at a painting of his wife: "I think I'll have a husband added to that painting, send it to Mantua [to the church council called to meet there], and inquire whether they prefer marriage [to celibacy]." The report continues: "Then he began to speak in praise of marriage, the divine institution from which everything proceeds and without which the whole world would have remained empty and all creatures would have been meaningless and of no account, since they were created for the sake of man." Referring to the name of Eve
as the mother of all living (Gen. 3:20), Luther adds: “Here you have the ornament that distinguishes woman, namely, that she is the fount of all living beings.”

Luther’s own family life, therefore, seems to reflect his teaching about the benefits and duties of marriage, including the bearing and raising of children with its many joys and sorrows. Martin and Katharina had six children, two of whom predeceased them: Hans (b. 1526), Elizabeth (b. 1527) who died at eight months, Magdalene (b. 1529) who died at thirteen years of age, Martin (b. 1531), Paul (b. 1533), and Margaretha (b. 1534). Luther’s comments about his children express emotions ranging from the heights of playfulness to the depths of grief. In June 1530, only days before the Augsburg Confession was read in the presence of Emperor Charles V, Luther took time to write a letter to his four-year-old son from the Coburg. Describing an imaginary garden that was a children’s paradise, Luther encouraged his son to behave, study and pray so that he and his friends could be admitted to the garden together. Luther wrote this letter only two weeks after his own father Hans died. When word reached him at the Coburg, Luther reacted to the news:

This death has certainly thrown me into sadness, thinking not only [of the bonds] of nature, but also of the very kind love [my father had for me]; for through him my Creator has given me all that I am and have. Even though it does comfort me . . . that [my father], strong in faith in Christ, had gently fallen asleep, yet the pity of heart and the memory of the most loving dealings with him have shaken me in the innermost parts of my being, so that seldom if ever have I despised death as much as I do now.

Twelve years later, when his daughter Magdalena died, Luther wrestled with all the emotions of grief and remarked in wonder: “I am joyful in spirit but I am sad according to the flesh. The flesh doesn’t take kindly to this. The separation [caused by death] troubles me above measure. It’s strange to know that she is surely at peace and that she is well off there, very well off, and yet to grieve so much.”

During his years as a spouse and a parent Luther continued to write positively about marriage, although by 1530 he described himself as plagued by marriage matters, a complaint similar to one
in 1524 when he said this one topic kept him busier than the evangelical movement as a whole. The 1530 complaint came at the beginning of a treatise in which Luther deals with marital issues that reflect typical changes advocated by sixteenth-century reformers. In view of the fact that secret engagements had been the cause of so many controversies Luther argues that engagements must be public “because marriage is a public estate which is to be entered into and recognized publicly before the church.” Furthermore, engagements are to be freely contracted and not forced by parents, for “God has created man and woman so that they are to come together with pleasure, willingly and gladly with all their hearts.” In cases of divorce and desertion, Luther recommends as he did before that it is better to reconcile the spouses when possible than to grant a divorce although divorce is possible in cases of adultery. Luther is actually harder on deserters than he is on adulterers. “It can happen to all of us that we fall, and who is without sin,” he asks, but a man who deserts wife and children is a villain “who shows contempt for matrimony and the laws of the city” and should be punished as such.

“Such and similar mischief,” says Luther, “all results from the fact that no one has either preached or heard what marriage is. No one has looked upon marriage as a work or estate which God has commanded and placed under worldly authority.” This statement does illustrate a slight shift, if there is any at all, in the older Luther’s view of marriage. More stress than ever is placed upon marriage as a worldly estate belonging to the temporal kingdom and it is up to secular authorities to deal with marital issues. Against the confusion that prevailed prior to the Reformation when the church attempted to control and regulate marriage, Luther says he is “toiling to see that the two authorities or realms, the temporal and the spiritual, are kept distinct and separate from each other and that each is specifically instructed and restricted to its own task.” Nevertheless, Luther continues to insist that marriage is a divinely-willed estate and that Christians are to live in marriage in a special way. Luther’s remarks on divorce illustrate his two-kingdom approach to marriage. On the one hand, matters of divorce should be left to the civil government because marriage is a secular and
outward thing. On the other, the words of Christ in Matthew 5:32 apply only to Christians, that is to the spiritual kingdom, because Christ is “functioning as a preacher, to instruct consciences about using the divorce law properly, rather than wickedly and capriciously, contrary to God’s commandment.” By distinguishing so sharply between kingdoms in matters of marriage and divorce, Luther makes explicit the position he had begun to formulate already in 1522.

Although the estate of marriage belongs to the temporal kingdom, the married reformer reiterates that it is one of the “holy orders and true religious institutions established by God,” and he describes it in glowing terms despite the fact that it has been affected by sin. In his lectures on Genesis (1535–1545) Luther extols the trust that exists between spouses and remarks that the “world has nothing more beautiful than this union of hearts between spouses.” Because of sin, however, a person can fall and a spouse should anticipate this possibility and be all the more ready to forgive. “Thus love will remain, and harmony will not be disturbed. For nothing has happened that was not anticipated, and love is readiest to forgive. This is indeed a rare gift; but you, because you are a Christian, should remember that this ought to be your attitude.” This attitude is necessary because marriage, like all of God’s creation, has been contaminated by sin. Before the fall, marriage was a genuine partnership and Adam recognized that it came from God. “But now this institution and command are all the more necessary, since sin has weakened and corrupted the flesh. Therefore this comfort stands invincible against all the doctrines of demons (1 Tim. 4:1), namely, that marriage is a divine kind of life because it was established by God himself.”

Conclusion

Luther’s statements on some relational issues will not find a positive echo in our day and other issues of interest are not addressed by him. For example, Luther does not emphasize the integrity of the single life precisely because his agenda is to recapture the dig-
nity of marriage from the false exaltation of celibacy as a more perfect life. When it is not used “to deny the aid and grace of Christ,” however, Luther affirms “it is entirely possible to live in a state of virginity, widowhood, and chastity without these blasphemous abominations.”57 A discordant note is sounded by the reformer’s tendency to confine women to the domestic sphere. Amid the pangs and dangers of childbirth, Luther advises women to trust joyfully in God’s will and let God have his way. “Should it mean your death, then depart happily, for you will die in a noble deed and in subservience to God.”58 This advice and his sharp criticism of couples who do not want children59 reflect not only the patriarchal culture of sixteenth-century Germany but also the tenuous and perilous circumstances of the early modern family in which the death of spouses and children posed a constant threat.

Luther did not pretend to offer solutions to all the issues of marital life. Like other reformers, however, he did attempt to recover the dignity of marriage by emphasizing the divine intention behind it and proposing a specifically Christian appropriation of married life. The following passage from his 1531 wedding sermon captures this intention in a particularly vivid way:

God’s Word is actually inscribed on one’s spouse. When a man looks at his wife as if she were the only woman on earth, and when a woman looks at her husband as if he were the only man on earth; yes, if no king or queen, not even the sun itself sparkles any more brightly and lights up your eyes more than your own husband or wife, then right there you are face to face with God speaking. God promises to you your wife or husband, actually gives your spouse to you, saying: “The man shall be yours; the woman shall be yours. I am pleased beyond measure! Creatures earthly and heavenly are jumping for joy.” For there is no jewelry more precious than God’s Word; through it you come to regard your spouse as a gift of God and, as long as you do that, you will have no regrets.60

NOTES

1. In spite of the large body of literature now available on marriage in the Reformation, there are surprisingly few studies of Luther and marriage. Five direct treatments are: Siegmund Baranowski, Luthers Lehre von der Ehe (Münster: Heinrich Schöningh,


4. Sprichwörter, II: 204v-205.


6. WA 54: 168-175.


8. Augustine’s views are contained in a number of different treatises, excerpts from which have been collected by Elizabeth Clark (ed.), St. Augustine on Marriage and Sexuality (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1996). For the sacramental quality as stated in his treatise The Good of Marriage, see Clark, 55–56.


10. WA 34: 52.5–6 (Eine Hochzeitspredigt über den Spruch Hebr. 13,4).


19 WA 10/2 276 9 - 277 10 LW 45 21
20 A summary of this context is given by Richard Fletcher, The Barbarian Conversion From Paganism to Christianity (New York: Henry Holt, 1998), 280–284.
21 WA 10/2 283 8–16 LW 45 25
22 Paul Althaus is correct on this point and supplies additional texts. See The Ethics of Martin Luther, 89–90. In contrast, too much emphasis is laid upon the social and secular nature of marriage by John Witte, Jr., From Sacrament to Contract, 51 “The Lutheran reformers regarded marriage as a social estate of the earthly kingdom alone.”
26 WA 10/2 288 10–22 LW 45 31 Interpreting Matthew 5:32 in the early 1530s, Luther takes the same position in the case of adultery “To those who really want to be Christians we would give this advice. The two partners should be admonished and urged to stay together.” WA 32 379 27–29 LW 21 96.
27 WA 10/2 292 8–10 LW 41 35.
28 In rebutting the “pagan” argument that women are a necessary evil in a household, Luther says “These are the words of blind heathens, who are ignorant of the fact that man and woman are God’s creation. They blaspheme his work, as if man and woman just came into being spontaneously! I imagine that if women were to write books they would say exactly the same thing about men.” WA 10/2 293 7–11 LW 45 36.
29 WA 10/2 294 25–29 LW 45 38.
31 WA 10/2 296 27 – 297 4 LW 45 40.
32 WA 10/2 304 6–12 LW 45 49.
33 WA 10/2 299 8–10 LW 45 43.

37. WA 34: 52.5–9. Cf. the context of Luther’s 1522 comment about his lack of experience: “I will not mention the other advantages and delights implicit in a marriage that goes well — that husband and wife cherish one another, become one, serve one another, and other attendant blessings — lest somebody should shut me up by saying that I am speaking about something I have not experienced.” WA 10/2: 299.5–10. LW 45: 43.


47. WA 30/3: 207.15–16. LW 46: 268.


51. WA 30/3: 206.6–9. LW 46: 266.


56. WA 42: 100.40 – 101.2. LW 1: 134. Luther suggests that the patriarchal model of the wife subjected to the husband is a result of the law given after sin. WA 42: 103.31–33. LW 2: 137–138.


59. WA 42: 89.22–30. LW 1: 118.

60. WA 34: 52.12–21.
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