**A NEW PARADIGM FOR UNDERSTANDING**

**MARTIN LUTHER ON THE SOUL SLEEP**

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Presented in the Adventist Theological Society

At Boston, Massachusetts, November 17, 2017

**Introduction**

Luther’s understanding about the state of the dead is a consistently controversial topic within Luther studies. Scholars have different views about Luther’s concept of death especially about soul sleep. Some argue that Luther was a conditionalist.[[1]](#footnote-1) This theory is based upon Luther’s argument that the dead remain unconscious at death or know nothing. Others contend that he was an immortalist. He consistently stated that the souls of the dead are awake. [[2]](#footnote-2) Luther apparently was ambiguous and made contradictory statements that cause other scholars to conclude that Luther was merely inconsistent about his teaching about the state of the dead.[[3]](#footnote-3) This paper examines Luther’s statements on the immortality of the soul including his expressions about the unconsciousness of the dead in order to grasp his overall understanding about the soul sleep. This paper includes some suggestions in order to understand his apparently ambiguous and contradictory statements.

**Immortality of the Soul**

Luther consistently held that the soul was immortal since its created by God. When Luther posted his *95 theses* on October 31, 1517 he expressed his belief about the immortality of the soul. In theses no. 26 he mentions purgatory. He stated, “the pope does very well when he grants remission to souls in purgatory.” In another statement (no. 37) he wrote, “any true Christian, whether living or dead, participates in all the blessings of Christ and the church.”[[4]](#footnote-4) These references indicate that, during this time, Luther believed in the conscious state of the dead even they could participate in God’s blessings. It seems that the magisterial reformers generally accepted this concept.[[5]](#footnote-5) This denotes an early beginning point for understanding Luther on this topic.

Luther held this view of the soul as immortal up until 1519. At that point, he wrote a devotional “A Sermon on Preparing to Die” in which he mentioned that the dead saints experience “a new birth, . . . the day of their birth.”[[6]](#footnote-6) At this death, there is “the life beyond.”[[7]](#footnote-7) Sometime during 1521-1522, while living in the Wartburg castle, Luther wrote another sermon for a Christmas service. Believers “have their being never die. Their natural life will be stretched out into life eternal.”[[8]](#footnote-8) Later in 1532, Luther wrote that at death it is not “the whole man” who dies, “but only a part, the body.”[[9]](#footnote-9) In this way, Luther believed that the soul could live separate from the body. On May 2, 1535, Luther affirmed “that the soul never dies” and “even in dying it does not die.”[[10]](#footnote-10) By November 1537 he wrote about the origin of humanity. The “body and soul make one person, until the man dies. Then the soul separates from the body.”[[11]](#footnote-11) A key moment was at the death of his daughter. Luther again expressed his belief in the immortality of the soul. In 1542, he wrote to his wife, Catherina von Bora, that their daughter “will be well . . . The flesh dies but the spirit lives.”[[12]](#footnote-12) About the end of 1544 he stated, “there is life in death and after death.”[[13]](#footnote-13) The same year he penned, “we are immortal even in death.”[[14]](#footnote-14) On December 13, 1544, he comforted a father who lost his son. He said “you must have no doubt that your son is rejoicing with our savior, Christ, and with all the saints.”[[15]](#footnote-15) These facts show that Luther consistently believed in the immortality of the soul from his early years through his last years.

**The Unconsciousness of the Dead or the Dead Know Nothing**

Luther modified his approach about the state of the dead in 1522. His initial comment that the dead know nothing can be traced back to a letter to his friend Nicholas von Amsdort on January 13, 1522. He wrote, “I am inclined to agree with your opinion that the souls of the just are sleep and that they do not know where they are up to the Day of Judgment.”[[16]](#footnote-16) This new idea continued to haunt him for the rest of his life. In 1524 he expressed his conviction that those who are “dead know nothing.”[[17]](#footnote-17) By 1525, he was sure that “the dead do not praise Thee and do not extol Thy mercy; only the living do this.”[[18]](#footnote-18) About 1526 Luther commented on Ecc 9:5, 6 that “*the dead know nothing, and they have no more reward*.”[[19]](#footnote-19) He stated, “that the dead are completely asleep and do not feel anything at all. The dead lie there without counting days or years.”[[20]](#footnote-20) In John of Saxony’s funeral held August 1532, Luther preached that the noble man was in “a deep sleep that one will not even dream.”[[21]](#footnote-21) At another funeral service in 1542 Luther comforted the audience by saying that the dead are in “a deep, strong, sweet sleep; to consider the coffin as nothing other than our Lord Jesus’ bosom or paradise, the grave as nothing other than a soft couch of ease or rest.”[[22]](#footnote-22) In 1545, he wrote when the body becomes dust the “soul sleeps with all senses buried, and our bed is like a sepulcher.”[[23]](#footnote-23) These statements indicate how Luther also believed in the unconsciousness of the dead, or that the dead know nothing. From 1522 onward he consistently held this view.

Some scholars agreed that Luther unswervingly believed in the soul sleep idea. Philip Secker stated, “more than one hundred times, scattered over the years, Luther declared death to be a sleep, and repeatedly asserted that in death there is total unconsciousness, and consequent unawareness of the passage of time.”[[24]](#footnote-24) He also observes that Luther “presses the point that death is a sound, sweet sleep.”[[25]](#footnote-25) Luther’s emphasis on the soul sleep never departed from his theology on the state of the dead since 1522. Trevor O’Reggio also considers that in Luther’s thought “the dead soul therefore has no consciousness, no sense of awareness, and so on.”[[26]](#footnote-26) However, these two observers see the uniqueness of Luther’s idea on the soul sleep. Both agree that sometimes Luther indicated his immortalist and even “conditionalist” idea,[[27]](#footnote-27) however, to reconcile these two apparently contradictory views by defining the terms “death as sleep” and the meaning of “death” are a necessary work.

**Death as Sleep**

Luther sometimes expressed the idea that the dead sleep in a symbolic way. At other times he understood it as literal.[[28]](#footnote-28) The last approach was commonly used by Luther to explore the meaning that the dead know nothing, but this was in the same way how the soul is immortal.

Luther understood the word “death” as a reference to the body. He described the death of Abel who could speak even after his death. He wrote that “men have the hope of resurrection and a God who leads them out of bodily death to eternal life.”[[29]](#footnote-29) At the “death of the body,” Luther noted, on his comment about Matt 10:28 soul “will be alive when the body has been killed.”[[30]](#footnote-30) Luther believed that the body perished at death based upon a definition of death. For him, death meant “to separate our soul—that is, our life—from its home (the body) and to drive it from this world as from a prison into its proper place, where it lives forever in God.”[[31]](#footnote-31) He also wrote that the “body and soul make one person, until the man dies. Then the soul separates from the body.”[[32]](#footnote-32) In this way, Luther defined death as the release of the soul from the body. At that moment, the soul remains alive while the body decay.

Luther described death as sleep for the soul. The word “sleep” in Luther’s concept of soul sleep was based upon Jesus’s statement in the Bible. He stated, “Lord of all things calls death nothing but a sleep.”[[33]](#footnote-33) Another sermon, dated December 26, 1522, indicated that “the Christian’s death is a sleep and an easy dying; this is solidly built on these words of the spirit, who does not lie.”[[34]](#footnote-34) He explained the condition of the soul at death as “the soul which is embraced by His living Word and full of that life cannot fell death.”[[35]](#footnote-35) Luther also stated, “the fact that I die means that I shall sleep for a time.”[[36]](#footnote-36) For this reason Luther wrote about the dead that “eventually he will live while he sleeps, even though he is dead.”[[37]](#footnote-37) Luther believed souls do not die at death, but they sleep waiting for God to awake them.[[38]](#footnote-38) Since the life of humanity, according to Luther, was in the soul and was created by God in the womb,[[39]](#footnote-39) he believed in God’s sight “no one dies, but all are only sleeping.”[[40]](#footnote-40) For Luther, the term “death” only refers to the body, while at the same time souls sleep.

**“The Dead Know Nothing” in Light of “Soul Sleep”**

Luther understood the notion that the dead could still awake even though they know nothing by using the literal word, “sleeping.” How can this be? About 1543 or 1544, he wrote, “when you are asleep, you do not know that you are living, even though you are living. Thus you lived in the womb and when you were an infant, even though you did not know it. Would God not have more ways of living than these two, so that there is a life without life and understanding? Thus the soul can have some way of its own of living—away which is beyond our comprehension.”[[41]](#footnote-41) Luther gave two examples how someone could be unconscious without understanding anything while at the same time the person is still alive. He used analogy of sleeping and babies sleep in their mother’s womb. Luther defended his understanding of soul sleep. If God could create these two circumstances, Luther reasoned God could also create another situation where the dead know nothing, but they are still awake. God could create for the dead this “third circumstance.” However, Luther recognized that this idea was beyond his understanding.

The concept of Luther about soul sleep is different from what conditionalists generally believe. For conditionalists, the dead know nothing means that the soul is “subject to death” and can “be destroyed.”[[42]](#footnote-42) For Luther it is immortal since it is created by God. To understand Luther’s idea that the dead know nothing, it is necessary to examine the context of sleeping because he did not believe that a soul dies at death. Luther believed that the word “sleeping” refers to the condition in which the dead know nothing, but they are still “alive.”[[43]](#footnote-43) For Luther, this idea pleased him so that he could to reconcile the immortality of the soul with how the dead know nothing.

**Clarification of the Some Ambiguous and Contradictory Statements**

Luther realized his limitation about understanding the condition of the dead. The “third circumstance” for him was a mystery he never solved through the end of his life. The best answer that he could offer was merely the analogy of sleeping and babies in their mother’s womb. He penned, in 1522, that “who knows how God deals with the departed souls? Can’t [God] just as well make them sleep on and off (or for as long as he wishes [them to sleep]), just as he overcomes with sleep those who live in the flesh?”[[44]](#footnote-44) About 1541 Luther concluded “I am satisfied” with the analogy of sleeping for the dead “that the soul sleeps in such a manner that it also is awake.”[[45]](#footnote-45) At this point, he acknowledged that “there is a difference between the sleep or rest of this life and that of the future life.”[[46]](#footnote-46) What was the difference? He wrote “the sleep in the future life is deeper than it is in this life.”[[47]](#footnote-47) At this point he does not define under which circumstances the dead know nothing. By 1544, Luther stated that “Scripture says nothing anywhere about the souls of dead men who have not yet risen.”[[48]](#footnote-48) Thus, Luther still did not know what is the condition of the dead clearly even in his last years. Nevertheless, one thing Luther was certain, that God could communicate with the dead.

Luther believed that God could talk with the dead if He wanted to do so. He could also let the dead perform some activities. In speaking with the dead, Luther wrote that God “speaks with man alone. Accordingly, where and with whomever God speaks, whether in anger or in grace, that person is surely immortal. The Person of God, who speaks, and the Word point out that we are the kind of creatures with whom God would want to speak eternally and in an immortal manner.”[[49]](#footnote-49) This statement indicated for him that God desired to speak with humanity, his creatures, even though they are in the condition of death. This communication prevails for both the righteous and the wicked. However, the emphasis of Luther is upon the faithful. Luther stated in 1544 that Jesus Christ “has all these saints in his hand and power, and that He is their God. But they are asleep and resting, as is true of all the godly, so that Christ is able to awaken them whenever it is His good pleasure to do so.”[[50]](#footnote-50) In this way, Luther understood how God could communicate or make the dead conscious from their sleep. It could happen because the faithful dead “still live in the memory of God, and have a God who cares for them, and saves them in another life beyond and different from this corporal life in which saints suffer affliction.”[[51]](#footnote-51) For Luther, all activity by the dead can only happen because God allows it whenever and whoever He pleased. Dead people can be allowed perform some activity. He called the activity of the dead, in 1522, as a “few exceptions.”[[52]](#footnote-52) Thus, if the dead could hear, see, or converse while dead, it is because God allows it to happen. When God does not intervene, the dead know nothing. Luther broadened the scope of divine intervention with a “few exceptions” in 1522 to “whenever” and whoever He wants to by 1544.

The idea that God communicates and awakens whoever and whenever He pleases helps to clarify the apparent ambiguous and contradictory statements by Luther about the state of the dead. Trevor O’Reggio notes that these statements need further explanation. Luther wrote that the dead soul “is awake. It experiences visions and the discourses of the angels and of God.”[[53]](#footnote-53) “God speaks with the dead.”[[54]](#footnote-54) “God opens both” the dead’s “eyes and all the angels must be there to wait upon him.”[[55]](#footnote-55) These apparent contradictory statements seem against Luther’s own idea about dead know nothing. They[[56]](#footnote-56) show the divine initiative to communicate with the dead or to awake the dead in order to allow them to communicate with angels or to perform some other activities. In this way, God did not permit the dead to be conscious by themselves and they do not communicate with whomever they want.

Some apparently contradictory statements can be addressed by understanding the concept of soul sleep in a metaphoric sense. Philip Secker says that sometimes Luther utilized the words “soul sleep” in a symbolic way.[[57]](#footnote-57) For example, Luther did write to console Justus Jonas in 1542, “after mourning for a season, we shall enter into joy unspeakable, where your Cathy and my Magdalene, together with many others, have preceded us and daily call, admonish, and beckon us to follow.”[[58]](#footnote-58) Luther, in 1544, rejected the idea that the dead communicate with the living because God plainly prohibited it. “God does not want any to rise from the dead or to preach” to the living ones.[[59]](#footnote-59) Thus, the consolation words of Luther to Justus Jonas indicate his empathy and hope that God will take care of his daughter. Luther expressed similar words to George Hoesel in 1544. After quoting Matt 18:10 that even little children have angels “in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven . . . you must have no doubt that your son is rejoicing with our Saviour, Christ, and with all the saints.”[[60]](#footnote-60) It was this metaphorical sense he was used to console a bereaved father while still the same expressions indicated that God, who has memory of all the faithful, will be more than willing to gather together all the faithful to rejoice with Him. Luther believed God has power to awaken whoever and whenever He wants. This statement shows again the certainty of Luther that God remembers and does not forget any faithful person.[[61]](#footnote-61)

**Conclusion**

Martin Luther has a unique contribution about state of the dead among the magisterial reformers. A survey of his view on this topic indicates that he consistently believed immortality of the soul even though he modified this concept to “soul sleep” in 1522. After that time, he believed that the soul, even though it did not die, was still alive until God awakens whoever and whenever He wants.

Martin Luther also consistently believed that the dead know nothing from1522 through the rest of his life. Even though he understood it in different ways from other conditionalists, he always emphasized that the dead were in an unconscious state. However, he considered that the dead were still alive.

To reconcile this contradiction between the immortality of the soul and the dead who know nothing he found the solution in the biblical word “sleep.” This expression, according to Luther, helped him to resolve how the dead know nothing while at the same time the soul could still be alive. Luther used the term “death” to refer to the body and the word “sleep” for the soul. In the state of sleep, Luther argued, people do not know anything, but they are still alive. A similar thing could happen with the dead who the Bible says are sleeping. Luther was satisfied with this explanation.

Luther also believed that God could talk with or communicate to anyone He might chose even from the dead. This activity was only possible if God initiated or allowed it to happen. Luther broadened the scope of God’s interactions with the dead from “few” in 1522 to whoever and whenever He wanted by 1544. This idea helps to explain some apparent ambiguous and even contradictory statements that the dead can talk, hear, and see in the afterlife. This is only possible if God wills it.

Luther affirmed that the dead do not talk to living persons because God plainly forbids it. However, at times Luther mentioned the communication of the dead to the living, it was in the metaphorical sense to console bereaved individuals. Luther was aware how God forbade communication with the dead. Thus, Luther’s understanding of soul sleep was a new paradigm within the magisterial reformers even still as a unique perspective about the state of the dead until today.

1. Michael R Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1985), 119. See also Francis Blackburne, *A Short Historical View of the Controversy concerning an Intermediate State and the Separate Existence of the Soul between Death and the General Resurrection Deduced from the Beginning of the Protestant Reformation to the Present Time* (London: F. Field, 1765), 14. Le Roy Edwin Froom, *The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers* (Washington, DC: Review and Herald, 1965), 2:79. Charles Frederic Hudson, *Debt and Grace: as Related to the Doctrine of a Future Life* (Cleveland, OH: H. P. B. Jewett, 1857), 160-226. T. A. Kantonen, a Lutheran scholar believed this idea. Froom, *The Conditionalist Faith of Our Fathers*, 2:74. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Ellingsen assumes that Luther believed a certain “kind of ‘soul sleep’” where the soul is still active after death. Mark Ellingsen, *Reclaiming our root: Martin Luther to Martin Luther King* (Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1999), 64. Gbenu said that Luther believed in soul sleep but he “changed his mind slightly later.” Moses Gbenu, *Back to hell* (USA: Xulon press, 2003), 118. Lohse believed that Luther’s position on the dead’s souls is the dead is still awake. Bernard Lohse, *Martin Luther’s Theology: Its Historical and Systematic Development* (MLT) (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1999), 326. See also Trevor O’Reggio, “A Re-examination of Luther’s View on the State of the Dead,” *Journal of the Adventist Theological Society (JATS)*, 22/2 (2011), 166. Paul Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, trans. Robert C. Schultz (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press 1966), 414. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. Philip J. Secker, “Martin Luther’s Views on the State of the Dead,” *Concordia Theological Monthly* 38, (July-August 1967): 423, 430, 434; Winfried Vogel, “The Eschatological Theology of Martin Luther, Part I: Luther’s Basic Concepts,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies, Autumn 1986, Vol.* 24, No. 3,462. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. Kurt Aland, ed., *Martin Luther’s 95 theses* (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1967), 52, 53. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. O’Reggio, “A Re-examination of Luther’s View on the State of the Dead,” 155. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Martin Luther, *Luther’s Works* (*LW*), vol. 42, *Devotional Writings 1*, ed. Martin O. Dietrich (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1963), 99. Cf Timothy F. Lull, ed., *Martin Luther’s: Basic Theological Writings* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1989), 638-639. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Luther, *LW*, vol. 42, *Devotional Writings 1*, 100. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol 52, *Sermon II*, ed. Hans J. Hildebrand (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress,1974), 55. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol. 51, *Sermons I*, ed. and trans. John W. Doberstein (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1959), 234. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Luther, *LW*, vol 57, *Sermon IV*, ed. Benjamin T. G. Mayes (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia, 2016), 194. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Ibid., 309. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Martin Luther, *The Library of Christian Classics* (*LCC*), vol. 18, *Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, gen. ed. John Baillie, John T. McNeill, Henry P. van Dusen (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1955), 51. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol. 5, *Lectures on Genesis Chapter 26-30*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia, 1968), 75. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Ibid., 76. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Luther, *LCC*, vol. 18, *Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol. 48, *Letters 1*, ed. And trans. Gottfried G. Krodel (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1963), 360. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Martin Luther, “Sermon” (1524), in *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritiche Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 14 (Weimar: Hermann Bohlau, 1895), 70, lines 14-19 in in O’Reggio, “Martin Luther’s View on the State of the Dead,” 140. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol. 14, *selected psalms III*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1958), 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Luther, *LW*, vol. 15, *Notes on Ecclesistes, Lectures on the Song of Solomon, Treatise on the Last Words of David*, 147. Italics are original. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. Ibid., 150. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Luther, *LW*, vol. 51, *Sermons I*, 242. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Martin Luther, “Christian Song Latin and German, for Use at Funerals” (1542), in *Works of Martin Luther*, vol. 6 (Philadelphia, PA: Muhlenberg, 1932), 287 in O’Reggio, “Martin Luther’s View on the State of the Dead,” 141-143. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Luther, LW, vol. 8, *Lectures on Genesis Chapter 48-50*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1966) 318. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Secker, “Martin Luther’s Views on the State of the Dead,” 422. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Trevor O’Reggio, “Martin Luther’s View on the State of the Dead,” in *Here We Stand: Luther, the Reformation, and Seventh-day Adventism*, eds. Michael W. Campbell and Nikolaus Satelmajer (Nampa, ID: Pacific Press, 2017), 143. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Secker, “Martin Luther’s Views on the State of the Dead,” 422-435. O’Reggio, “Martin Luther’s View on the State of the Dead,” 144. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Secker, “Martin Luther’s Views on the State of the Dead,” 424, 426. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol. 1, *Genesis 1-5*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia, 1958), 285. Idem, *Luther on Sin and the Flood: Commentary on Genesis*, vol. 2, ed. John Nicholas Lenker (Minneapolis, MN: Luther Press, 1910), 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol. 67, *Annotations on Matthew chapter 1-18*, ed. Christopher Boyd Brown (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia, 2015), 106 [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol. 57, *Sermons IV*, ed. Benjamin T. G. Mayes (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia, 2016), 309. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Luther, *LW*, vol. 67, *Annotations on Matthew chapter 1-18*, 76. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol. 75, *Church Postil I*, eds. Benjamin T. G. Mayes and James L. Langebartels (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia, 2013), 327. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. Ibid., 328. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Luther, *LW*, vol. 67, *Annotations on Matthew chapter 1-18*, 77. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
37. Luther, *LW*, vol. 5, *Lectures on Genesis Chapter 26-30*, 76. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
38. See section “The Unconsciousness of the Dead or the Dead Know Nothing.” [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
39. Martin Luther in Bernard Lohse, *Martin Luther’s Theology: Its Historical and Systematic Development* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1999), 327. Luther believed the different between man and animals in the creation, as an addition of “unique counsel and wisdom and shaped by the finger of God” was “the immortality of the soul.” Luther, *LW*, vol. 1, *Genesis 1-5*, 83-84. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
40. Luther, *LW*, vol. 67, *Annotations on Matthew chapter 1-18*, 77. [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
41. Luther, *LW*, vol. 5, *Lectures on Genesis Chapter 26-30*, 75-76. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
42. General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, Ministerial Association, *Seventh-day Adventists Believe . . . : A Biblical Exposition of Fundamental Doctrines* (Boise, ID: Pacific Press, 2001), 95 [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
43. Luther, *LW*, vol. 4, *Lectures on Genesis Chapter 21-25*, 312. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
44. Luther, *Luther’s Works*, vol. 48, *Letters 1*, 361. Words in parentheses and bracket are in the original document. [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
45. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol. 4, *Lectures on Genesis Chapter 21-25*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia Publishing House, 1964), 313. [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
46. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
47. Ibid. [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
48. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol. 77, *Church Postil III*, eds. Benjamin T. G. Mayes and James L. Langebartels (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia, 2014), 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
49. Luther, *LW*, vol. 5, *Lectures on Genesis Chapter 26-30*, 76. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
50. Martin Luther, *LW*, vol. 7, *Lectures on Genesis chapter 38-44*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan (Saint Louis, MO: Concordia, 1965), 296. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
51. Luther, *Luther on Sin and the Flood: Commentary on Genesis*, vol. 2, 28. [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
52. Luther, *Luther’s Works*, vol. 48, *Letters 1*, 361. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
53. Luther, LW, vol. 4, *Lectures on Genesis Chapter 21-25*, 313. [↑](#footnote-ref-53)
54. Luther, *LW*, vol. 5, *Lectures on Genesis Chapter 26-30*, 76. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
55. Luther, *LW*, vol. 51, *Sermons I*, 247. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
56. O’Reggio, “Martin Luther’s View on the State of the Dead,” 140-141. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
57. Secker, “Martin Luther’s Views on the State of the Dead,” 4. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
58. Martin Luther, *The Library of Christian Classics*, vol. 18, *Luther: Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, eds. John Baillie, John T. McNeill, Henry P. van Dusen (Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press, 1955), 76. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
59. Luther, *LW*, vol. 77, *Church Postil III*, 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
60. Luther, *The Library of Christian Classics*, vol. 18, 79. [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
61. Luther, *LW*, vol. 67, *Annotations on Matthew chapter 1-18*, 78. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)