# LUTHER'S PLACE IN THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN ANTISEMITISM

Susanne Lakin

## INTRODUCTION

The foundational relationship between Judaism and Christianity is both profound and complex. Christianity emerged from within the Jewish context, with Jesus and his apostles firmly rooted in the Jewish faith. This connection was central to the early Christian message, wherein the Hebrew Scriptures played a pivotal role in the messianic claims fulfilled in Jesus. However, this intricate relationship took a contentious turn, as the Jews, rejecting his claims, led to the development of Christian antisemitism.

Christian antisemitism, a historical phenomenon spanning over a millennium, grew significantly from the early common era to alarming levels during the Reformation. This escalation reached its zenith in Martin Luther, who played a pivotal role in shaping Christian attitudes toward Jews. This paper examines the evolution and intensification of Christian antisemitism, focusing on its roots, key early church leaders and developments, and the influence of Martin Luther. Driven by the perception of the Jews as a threat to Christianity, Luther crafted theological responses that denied the validity of Judaism and its people. The implications of these theological assertions reached far beyond the realm of religious discourse, resulting in dire consequences for Jewish communities throughout history.

Gavin Langmuir offers a helpful definition: "Antisemitism … both in its origins and in its recent most horrible manifestation, is the hostility aroused by irrational thinking about 'Jews.'"[1] Christopher Probst finds Langmuir's framework of antisemitism both helpful and convincing because the "theological" versus "racial" distinction is extremely difficult to maintain in light of Luther's chief writings on Jews and Judaism, which intertwine the nonrational and the irrational.[2] Regardless of how one might categorize it, Luther's virulent antisemitism did not emerge in a vacuum. Throughout nearly two millennia, Christian antisemitism has resulted in the dehumanization and persecution of Jewish communities in Europe and the murder of millions of Jews. Ultimately, this paper seeks to partially unravel the complex tapestry of Christian antisemitism, highlighting its theological foundations, historical persistence, and role in contributing to the tragic events of the Holocaust.

## ANTI-JEWISH DEVELOPMENTS IN EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Of the early church writers to foment anti-Jewish sentiments, Tertullian and Origen stand at the forefront. Tertullian often spoke ill of the Jews of the Hebrew Bible and the gospels, although there is no evidence he had contact with any Jews in his native Carthage. Origen blamed the Jews for Jesus's crucifixion and attributed the twice-destroyed temple and the city of Jerusalem to divine punishment. Marcion saw no benefit in examining the biblical record of Israel's history and concluded that the wrathful God of the Hebrew Testament could not be the same as the compassionate Father of Jesus Christ.[3] A drastic escalation occurred in AD 380. When Theodosius I

---

[1] Gavin Langmuir, *History, Religion, and Antisemitism* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 275.
[2] Christopher Probst, "Martin Luther and 'The Jews': A Reappraisal," *The Theologian,* n.p. [Cited 1 October 2023]. Online: http://www.theologian.org.uk/churchhistory/ lutherandthejews.html.
[3] Gerard S. Sloyan, "Christian Persecution of Jews over the Centuries," *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum,* n.p. [Cited 1 October 2023]. Online: https://www.ushmm.org/ research/about-the-mandel-center/initiatives/ethics-religion-holocaust/articles-and-resources/christian-persecution-of-jews-over-the-centuries/christian-persecution-of-jews-over-the-centuries.

decreed Christianity to be the official state religion, Ambrose, bishop of Mediolanum, opposed his efforts to acknowledge the civil rights of Jews, pagans, and heretics as equal to those of Christians. Ambrose asked rhetorically in one of his epistles: "Whom do [the Jews] have to avenge the synagogue? Christ whom they have killed, whom they have denied? Or will God the Father avenge them, whom they do not acknowledge as Father since they do not acknowledge the Son?" This kind of vilification of Jews typifies the shape the Christian argument had taken during the first two centuries of Christianity.[4]

Little is written on this issue during Christianity's first six hundred years. But in the seventh century, Jews were beginning to be expelled throughout Europe. Probst summarizes the position the Jews had been relegated to:

> History has shown that all such expulsions and persecutions are dependent on other factors such as politics, xenophobia, and scapegoating. The unique factor was that the Christians arrived early at the erroneous conclusion that the Jews were being divinely punished for not having come over to their way of belief. Even when religious difference had little or nothing to do with specific Christian antagonisms to Jews, it could always be alleged as the root rationale for Christian behavior.[5]

As Christianity spread, so did antisemitism. Between the years AD 500 and 1500, the Jews, a religious and a cultural minority, continued to be preyed upon by the Christian majority. The papal record shows harsh infringements of Jewish rights censured at the same time that restrictions were imposed on their full participation in society. Jews continued to be blamed for Jesus's death and for attitudes of stubbornness and blindness.[6]

## ANTISEMITISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES

[4] Probst, "Martin Luther and 'The Jews,'" online.
[5] Probst, "Martin Luther and 'The Jews,'" online.
[6] Sloyan, "Christian Persecution," online.

In the Middle Ages, Jews found themselves to be an isolated caste separate from the rest of society. The roots of antisemitism that eventually took hold in Europe traced back to the Middle Ages, with early Christianity's inherent need to distinguish itself from Judaism. Jews were initially segregated and vilified. David Eugster notes:

> Soon after Christianity established itself in Europe, Jews living there were segregated and demonized—they were blamed for the death of Jesus Christ. It nonetheless took more than a thousand years before acts of violent hatred against them became part of everyday life for Jewish communities across Europe.[7]

Karl Deutsch explains the threat Jews faced, as "the medieval zealot thundered against a non-conforming religion; conversion and assimilation of the converts were his aim."[8] He observes that during this period an intolerable clash developed between two civilizations:

> Early medieval legislation circumscribed an uneasy *modus vivendi* between two economic group systems in a society which had not yet become capable of harmony; and in the next stage … that *vivendi* was doomed to change that was frequently destructive. … General poverty continued to nourish the barbarism of intolerance.[9]

Persecution heated up in Western Europe as the Crusades ensued. Though Muslims were "infidel" targets as attempts were made to recapture the Holy Land, Gerard Sloyan notes that "the pillage and slaughter committed by Christian mobs against Jews on the way linger long in Jewish memory."[10] By the eleventh century, the church had converted virtually all the inhabitants of Europe, except the Jews. Until then, the situation of the Jews was tenuous but tolerable. With the First Crusade in 1096, however, the status and safety of European Jews declined precipitously. Sloyan relates:

> The Jews of Germany were subjected to many indignities after the crusades, including accusations of poisoning of the wells and ritual murder. In the fourteenth and fifteenth

---

[7] David Eugster, "How Christian Europe created anti-Semitism in the Middle Ages," *SWI swissinfo.ch*., August 22, 2022, n.p. [Cited 28 September 2023]. Online: https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/ culture/ how-christian-europe-created-anti-semitism-in-the-middle-ages/47800164.
[8] Karl W. Deutsch, "Anti-Semitic Ideas in the Middle Ages: International Civilizations in Expansion and Conflict," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6, no. 2 (1945), 250.
[9] Deutsch, "Anti-Semitic Ideas," 248.
[10] Sloyan, "Christian Persecution," online.

> centuries, these slanderous charges often led to massacres. Many German Jews fled eastward.[11]

However, a significant turning point occurred around 1100 during the First Crusade, when religious fervor fueled attacks against Jews in Europe. Jews were coerced into conversion or death, rendering their communities increasingly vulnerable. As medieval authorities imposed prohibitive taxes and restrictions on their professions, Jews became associated with moneylending, despite it being forbidden to Christians. This association, coupled with the Pope's permission to charge interest, eventually exacerbated tensions.

The thirteenth century marked a decisive shift when church doctrine officially excluded Jews, requiring them to wear distinct clothing and condemning moneylending at interest. This exclusion compounded the socioeconomic challenges faced by Jews, who were blamed for the economic hardships experienced by their debtors. Mass expulsions occurred across Europe. Antisemitic narratives persisted, evolving with time and finding new outlets. These narratives transformed Jews into enduring symbols of malevolence, economic harm, and divine condemnation.

## LEAD-UP TO THE REFORMATION

During the late medieval period, Christians accused Jews of a myriad of crimes and religious transgressions, such as blaspheming the Virgin Mary and Jesus. "The Quiver of the Catholic Faith" saw published a fifteenth-century manual that condemned Jews, and a particularly "ferocious" German version of the text was widely circulated in Nuremberg in 1513.[12] Andrew Gow explains that the late-medieval Christian viewed the Jew as a usurer, such that by the late twelfth-century *Jew*

---

[11] Sloyan, "Christian Persecution," online.
[12] Heiko Oberman, *The Roots of Antisemitism in the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*, trans. James I. Porter (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1984), 84–85.

became synonymous with *ursurer.*[13] Throughout medieval Europe, Jews were commonly accused of kidnapping Christian children in order to drain and use their blood in the Passover liturgy.[14]

In the sixteenth century, the reformers continued in the church's stance of antisemitism. The traditional position of the church was that God had rejected the Jews, and that would be "evident to anyone not blinded by willful obstinacy." Betsy Amaru explains:

> The polemics of the verbal warfare between Catholics and Protestants, between Lutherans and Calvinists, between mainline Protestants and sectarians and those called heretics caught Jews in the crossfire just as military battles usually did. … We must realize that toleration was a rare commodity in the sixteenth century; it was not widely considered to be a virtue since false belief and teaching were considered to destroy souls and to bring God's vengeance on all responsible parties. [15]

## LUTHER—A MAN SHAPED BY TIME AND PLACE

This brings us now to Martin Luther, considered the most prominent figure of the German Protestant Reformation. Probst states that "Martin Luther was a truly remarkable man. … a genuine trailblazer. Yet, unknown to many Protestants—in some cases explained away—is Luther's complex, but deeply troubling engagement with the Jewish people."[16] Amaru describes Luther as

> a figure of invincible power and compelling conviction; an advocate who could become a raging opponent; a man who recognized and utilized the potency of the printed word, who used coarse and brutal language against all antagonists regardless of rank or office, and yet produced a magnificent German translation of the Bible that shaped the modern German.[17]

Some feel that, to be fair, we must view Luther's polemic against the Jewish people in its medieval and sixteenth-century German intellectual-theological context with regard to social and political developments. Undoubtedly, Luther's late-medieval context played a huge part in shaping the

---

[13] Andrew Colin Gow, *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age, 1200–1600*, ed. Heiko Oberman (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1995), 47–48.
[14] Probst, "Martin Luther and 'The Jews,'" online.
[15] Betsy Halpern Amaru, "Martin Luther and Jewish Mirrors." *Jewish Social Studies* 46, no. 2 (1984): 26.
[16] Probst, "Martin Luther and 'The Jews,'" online.
[17] Amaru, "Jewish Mirrors," 24.

antisemitism of his writing. Not unexpectedly, Luther saw the Jewish people as eschatological enemies of God. To him, they were in league with the devil, the Turks, and the "papists." M. U. Edwards writes that Luther drew unimaginatively on the anti-Jewish writings of late medieval authors and uncritically passed on some of the worst diatribes against the Jews in his society. "In his attacks he is revealed as very much a man of his time. In the matter of the Jews there was to be no reformation."[18]

Yet, while Luther claimed his vitriol was grounded in Scripture, the writings of medieval Christian theologians influenced Luther's treatises against the Jews—particularly Anthonius Margaritha's "The Whole Jewish Faith," first published in 1530. This edition, argues Selma Stern, exerted "a powerful influence on Luther." The treatise contains the accusations that Jews committed blasphemy against Jesus and Mary, were guilty of usury and theft, and they wished to violently overthrow Christian authorities. That Luther referenced this treatise multiple times in "On the Jews and Their Lies"—even encouraging his readers to read it for themselves—is evidence that it exerted a significant influence on him.[19]

## LUTHER'S EARLY SENTIMENTS TOWARD JEWS

"The entire issue of Luther and the Jews has to be understood in literary, theoretical, theological, and imaginary terms, but almost not at all in terms of real contact with Jews," Alon Goshen-Gottstein writes. There were no Jews in Wittenberg during Luther's time—they had been expelled. Before he died, he blamed the Jews in the small Jewish community of Eisleben for his illness. To Luther, they were an "imagined presence, a feared enemy, a negative force, that impacted

---

[18] M. U. Edwards, "Martin Luther and the Jews: Is There A Holocaust Connection?" *Shofar* 1, no. 4, (1983): 14–16.

[19] Selma Stern, *Josel Of Rosheim—Commander Of Jewry in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation*, trans. Gertrude Hirschler (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1965), 98–99.

Luther's imagination down to his dying days."[20] Goshen-Gottstein attributes Luther's knowledge of the Jews to a mixture of popular lore and local authorities of his time, such as the aforementioned Margaritha.

However, in Luther's early years, he defended the Jews, hopeful his positive sentiments would lead them to conversion. In 1523, Luther accused Catholics of being unfair to Jews and treating them "as if they were dogs," thus making it difficult for Jews to convert. He stated:

> I would request and advise that one deal gently with [the Jews]. … If we really want to help them, we must be guided in our dealings with them not by papal law but by the law of Christian love. We must receive them cordially, and permit them to trade and work with us, hear our Christian teaching, and witness our Christian life. If some of them should prove stiff-necked, what of it? After all, we ourselves are not all good Christians either.[21]

In 1523, Luther wrote his first treatise discussing the Jews— "That Jesus Christ was born a Jew." His twofold purpose in writing it was to show that according to Scripture "Christ was born a Jew of a virgin" and that he "might perhaps also win some Jews to the Christian faith.[22] In this treatise Luther recommended that Christians should deal kindly and gently with Jews—the apostles, after all, were Jews who dealt with Gentiles in a "brotherly fashion." As Christians, we "must be guided in our dealings with them not by papal law but by the law of Christian love."[23] Absent are the typical medieval accusations of profanation, ritual murder, and usury. There are no crude or scatological references that are seen in Luther's later treatises.[24]

Fifteen years after Luther wrote his first treatise, in 1538 he composed an open letter to his "good friend" Count Wolf Schlick— "Against the Sabbatarians." Christians in Bohemia and Moravia were developing "Sabbatarian tendencies," which had something to do with the Jewish

---

[20] Alon Goshen-Gottstein, *Luther the Anti-Semite,* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2018), Introducing the "Luther Model," 1. Lack of Contact with Jews and No Meaningful Firsthand Knowledge of Jews, para. 1. Perlego.
[21] Eric W. Gritsch, "Was Luther Anti-Semitic?" *Christian History Institute*, vol. 12 no. 3, (1993), 38–39. [Cited 30 September 2023]. Online: https://christianhistoryinstitute.org/magazine/article/was-luther-anti-semitic.
[22] Luther, *The Christian in Society IV, Luther's Works*, (vol. 47, ed. Franklin Sherman, trans. Martin H. Bertram, Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1971), 45: 200.
[23] Martin Luther, *The Christian in Society*, (ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, Minneapolis, MI: 1517 Media, 1962), 45: 229
[24] Luther, *The Christian in Society*, 45: 257.

Sabbath. In this writing are found attacks on the Jews for not keeping covenant, sinning, and rejecting the Messiah, indicating an increase in the harshness of tone toward Jews.[25]

## LUTHER'S LATER YEARS

Sloyan writes: "Returning to Germany, we find Martin Luther in his early days naively imagining that the Jews, to whom he was attracted by his studies, would flock to the Church in his reformed version. When nothing of the sort happened, he denounced them in a set of pamphlets written in vituperative fury."[26] Amaru explains that at this juncture the sympathetic analysis of the Jewish life situation together with the remedial offer of Christian love are replaced by the image of the stubborn, blind Jew rejected by God and man. Again the Jew is the blasphemer of Christ and master of a campaign to undermine Christian beliefs.[27]

Luther's most controversial and infamous treatise, "On the Jews and Their Lies" (1543), was spurred by a request from his friend Count Schlick to refute a Jewish apologetic pamphlet. The long treatise (135 pages in the original text) consists of four parts that cover the boasts of the Jews, a debate on biblical passages, supposed Jewish blasphemies against Jesus and Mark, and recommendations to the church and state to persecute the Jews. The tone of the tract is scathing; this is most readily seen in Luther's deprecating, sometimes crude language and in his scornful sarcasm. Luther in places calls the Jews "a defiled bride, yes, an incorrigible whore and an evil slut," a "whoring and murderous people," and "bloodthirsty bloodhounds and murders of all Christendom."[28]

---

[25] Probst, "Martin Luther and 'The Jews,'" online.
[26] Sloyan, "Christian Persecution," online.
[27] Amaru, "Jewish Mirrors," 98.
[28] Martin Luther, *"Von den Juden und ihren Lügen"* ("On the Jews and their Lies") in *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe,* vol. 53 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1919–20): 520.

Heiko Oberman notes that when we consider this treatise, we need to recognize that the tension between Catholic and Protestants regarding Jews in Germany in the late 1530s and 40s was high, marked by a plethora of propaganda. The diverse opinions of Eck, Osiander, Jonas, and Margaritha demonstrate the decided diversity of views in the sixteenth century.[29] Probst states: "Nearly all of these accusations were common in medieval antisemitic rhetoric." Luther makes seven severe recommendations concerning "the Jews." Their synagogues and schools should be burned to the ground; their houses should be "razed and destroyed"; their "prayer books and Talmudic writings" should be confiscated; their rabbis should be "forbidden to teach henceforth on pain of loss of life and limb"; they should be denied safe-conduct on the highways; usury should be prohibited to them and their gold, silver, and cash should be taken from them; and, finally, they should be subjected to harsh labor.[30] The "motive" for these treatises was "to reclaim the Scriptures in their entirety from the perversities they were suffering at the hands of the Jews."[31]

Mark Edwards details the many illnesses Luther suffered in life, including an open, flowing ulcer on his leg. During the last fifteen years of his life, he lived through "more frequent and more serious illnesses" including uric acid stones, which caused him "great agony." He also struggled with mental anxiety, bouts of depression, and had frequent outbursts of rage and vilification, sometimes accompanied by hallucinations of fighting the devil.[32] Regardless, his vulgarity and violence expressed toward the Jews is inexcusable. Luther reasoned that God had deserted the Jews, leaving them without a homeland, so one could in good conscience ignore them. God had rejected them and given his favor instead to the "new Israel," the Christian church.[33]

---

[29] Oberman, *Roots of Antisemitism*, 72.
[30] Luther, *The Christian in Society*, 47: 268–72.
[31] Oberman, *Roots of Antisemitism*, 25.
[32] Mark U. Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and Polemics, 1531–46* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983) 9, 68.
[33] Gritsch, "Was Luther Anti-Semitic?" 39.

Far from ignoring them, however, Luther vilified them. Amaru writes:

> By the 1540s Luther has become so carried away with his picture of the dangerous Jew that he repeats the popular well-poisoning and blood libel stories, "tempering" them only with the comment that although he cannot vouch for their accuracy, certainly the Jews do not lack the will to do such things. … The Luther of 1543 … develops an extensive program which, if implemented, would have resulted in the expulsion and destruction of the German Jewish communities. Luther then goes on to connect the Jew and Satan "almost to the point of identification. … The Jews have been consigned to the Devil whose power is so strong that it is impossible to reach them through the Word of God.[34]

The last section of "On the Jews and Their Lies" asks,

> What shall we Christians do with this rejected and condemned people? Since they live among us, we dare not tolerate their conduct, now that we are aware of it because if we do, we become sharers in their lies, cursing, and blasphemy. … we cannot extinguish the fire of divine wrath … nor can we convert the Jews.

Amaru remarks on this advice Luther gives to annihilate the Jews altogether: "It is no wonder that Professor Jules Isaac, coming across these words … should write: 'Patience, Luther, Hitler will come. Your wishes will be granted, and more! … Let us place Luther in the place he deserves, in the first row of Christian precursors—of Auschwitz.'"[35]

## CONCLUSION

It is perhaps easy to view the antisemitism of Luther and the Reformation period writ large through a lens of tolerance, excusing the vitriolic attitudes and actions as unsurprising due to the prevalent and persistently denigrating views of the Jewish people. This perspective is embraced by much scholarship, which Betsy Amaru believes is revisionist. She says, "While antisemitism is condemned, a certain apologetic tone prevails in these studies which would have readers see Luther's antisemitism as no more and no less than a reflection of sixteenth-century norms and

[34] Amaru, "Jewish Mirrors," 99.
[35] Amaru, "Jewish Mirrors," 29.

circumstances."[36] There is a danger in brushing aside the ideological antisemitism of the Reformation period as an expected continuation of the typologies that were constructed and reconstructed over the span of Western history—and in excusing Luther's actions and speech by attributing it to his illnesses and resultant bad temper. Thomas Kaufmann points out:

> Luther's hostility to the Jews was not simply the "shadow side" of his "inner self," his personality, or his theology, which we can underplay or obscure without making any fundamental difference to how he might be viewed as a whole. … Luther's anti-Semitism is an integral component of his personality and theology and can be viewed correctly only through a consistently historicizing lens. This is precisely what many people who feel "close" to Luther find particularly difficult. Seeing the reformer in historical context is the only option, however, and creates the right critical distance.[37]

Alan Dershowitz opined:

> It is shocking that Luther's ignoble name is still honored rather than forever cursed by mainstream Protestant churches. … The continued honoring of Luther conveys a dangerous message, a message that was not lost on Hitler: namely, that a person's other accomplishments will earn him a position of respect in history, even if he has called for the destruction of world Jewry.[38]

Sadly, the centuries of Christianity have been saturated with antisemitism, leading to oppression, marginalization, and murder of millions of Jews. While Luther certainly did not invent antisemitism, the question of Christian antisemitism can hardly be discussed without reference to him and his five treatises on the subject of the Jews. Probst soberly points out that

> we must not attempt to diminish the force of such speech. … If Protestant Christians are to sincerely proclaim the Gospel of Jesus Christ to all peoples, including Jews, such an enterprise must be entered into with full knowledge of the horrendous mistakes—indeed sins—of Christian forebears, including Luther's. They cannot breezily dissociate themselves from their Christian past when it saves them embarrassment and shame to do so.

Surely, Luther should have considered his own words more deeply: "Do you know what the Devil thinks when he sees men use violence to propagate the gospel? He sits with folded arms behind the

---

[36] Amaru, "Jewish Mirrors," 95.
[37] Thomas Kaufmann, *Luther's Jews: A Journey into Anti-Semitism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 156.
[38] Alan M. Dershowitz, *Chutzpah* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1991), 107.

fire of hell and says with malignant looks and frightful grin: 'Ah, how wise these madmen are to play my game!'"[39] Sadly, Luther did not understand he was speaking about himself.

Despite the hopeful shift of Lutherans and other Christians in the twentieth century toward acknowledging their anti-Jewish sentiments, it is important to honestly scrutinize the resulting four centuries of Luther's legacy and reconsider venerating and extoling him, as well as so many others revered as shining lights of Christianity through the centuries. The tragic Holocaust of the twentieth century, as horrific as it was, did not bring to an end Christian antisemitism, as current-day rhetoric demonstrates the persisting venom of xenophobia, racism, and hatred leading to recurrent acts of violence.

Throughout history, Jews have suffered at the hands of those professing to follow Christ. Many ignored Christ's "new commandment"—that all should love others as themselves—regardless of background or belief. The apostle John wrote: "Whoever does not love abides in death. All who hate a brother or sister are murderers, and you know that murderers do not have eternal life abiding in them" (1 John 3:14–15). If Martin Luther and other prominent church leaders, all the way back to Augustine, had lived and embodied Jesus's command, history would have unfolded much differently for the Jewish people. Sadly, many—and particularly those in positions of power in Christendom—ignored their Lord's words and thus will be held to account for both their words and deeds when Christ returns to judge the living and the dead (Rev 22:12). Undeniably, Luther's complicated interaction with Jews and the evolution of his beliefs from an initial stance of tolerance to an intense animosity mark a momentous crossroads in history, highlighting the profound and potentially dangerous influence of ideas and their capacity to shape human history with both enlightenment and darkness.

---

[39] From his "Invocavit" sermons in Wittenberg—Woodbridge, J. and James, F., *Church History, Volume Two: From Pre-Reformation to the Present Day.* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Academic, 2013), 3. Luther's Reformation: A Conscience Unbound, F. Luther's Growing Defiance, Perlego.

# SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


Amaru, Betsy Halpern. "Martin Luther and Jewish Mirrors." *Jewish Social Studies* 46, no. 2 (1984): 23–102.

Deutsch, Karl W. "Anti-Semitic Ideas in the Middle Ages: International Civilizations in Expansion and Conflict." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 6, no. 2 (1945): 239–51.

Edwards, Mark U. *Luther's Last Battles: Politics and* Polemics, 1531–46. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1983.

_____. "Martin Luther and the Jews: Is There A Holocaust Connection?" *Shofar* 1, no. 4, (1983): 14–16.

_____. "Toward an Understanding of Luther's Attacks on the Jews" in *Christians, Jews, and Other Worlds: Patterns of Conflict and Accommodation*. Edited by Phillip F. Gallagher. London: University Press of America (1988): 1–19.

Eugster, David. "How Christian Europe created anti-Semitism in the Middle Ages." *SWI swissinfo.ch.*, August 22, 2022. No Pages. Cited 28 September 2023. Online: https://www.swissinfo.ch/eng/culture/how-christian-europe-created-anti-semitism-in-the-middle-ages/47800164.

Goshen-Gottstein, Alon. *Luther the Anti-Semite: A Contemporary Jewish Perspective*. Minneapolis: 1517 Media, 2018. Perlego.

Gow, Andrew Colin. *The Red Jews: Antisemitism in an Apocalyptic Age, 1200–1600*. Edited by Heiko Oberman. Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1995.

Gritsch, Eric W. *Martin Luther's Anti-Semitism: Against His Better Judgment*. UK: Eerdmans, 2012.

_____. "Was Luther Anti-Semitic?" *Christian History Institute*, vol. 12 no. 3, (1993), 38–39. Cited 30 September 2023. Online: https://christianhistoryinstitute.org/ magazine/article/was-luther-anti-semitic.

Kaufmann, Thomas. *Luther's Jews: A Journey Into Anti-Semitism*. UK: Oxford University Press, 2017.

Langmuir, Gary. *History, Religion, and Antisemitism*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990.

Luther, Martin. *Martin Luther, the Bible, and the Jewish People: A Reader*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012.

_____. *The Christian in Society*. Edited by Helmut T. Lehmann. Minneapolis, MI: 1517 Media, 1962.

_____. "Von den Juden und ihren Lügen" ("On the Jews and their Lies") in *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe,* Vol. 53. Weimar: Böhlau, 1919–1920.

Oberman, Heiko. *The Roots of Antisemitism in the Age of Renaissance and Reformation*, trans. James I. Porter. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1984.

Probst, Christopher. "Martin Luther and 'The Jews': A Reappraisal." *The Theologian.* No Pages. Cited 1 October 2023. Online: http://www.theologian.org.uk/churchhistory/lutherandthejews.html.

Sloyan, Gerard S. "Christian Persecution of Jews over the Centuries." *United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.* No Pages. Cited 1 October 2023. Online: https://www.ushmm.org/research/about-the-mandel-center/initiatives/ethics-religion-holocaust/articles-and-resources/christian-persecution-of-jews-over-the-centuries/christian-persecution-of-jews-over-the-centuries.

Selma Stern, *Josel Of Rosheim—Commander Of Jewry in the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation*, trans. Gertrude Hirschler (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1965): 32–35, 98–99.

Woodbridge, J. and F. James. *Church History, Volume Two: From Pre-Reformation to the Present Day*. Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Academic, 2013.