where, let it be overcome, as is proper, with God’s word. But if you can con-
tinue to brandish the sword, take heed lest someone come and compel you
to sheathe it—and not in God’s name!

But you might say: “Since there is to be no temporal sword among
Christians, how then are they to be ruled outwardly? There certainly must
be authority even among Christians.” Answer: Among Christians there shall
and can be no authority; rather all are alike subject to one another, as Paul
says in Romans 12: “Each shall consider the other his superior” [Rom. 12:10];
and Peter says in 1 Peter 5: “All of you be subject to one another” [1 Pet. 5:5].
This is also what Christ means in Luke 14: “When you are invited to a wed-
ding, go and sit in the lowest place” [Luke 14:10]. Among Christians there
is no superior but Christ himself, and him alone. What kind of authority can
there be where all are equal and have the same right, power, possession, and
honor, and where no one desires to be the other’s superior, but each the
other’s subordinate? Where there are such people, one could not establish
authority even if he wanted to, since in the nature of things it is impossible
to have superiors where no one is able or willing to be a superior. Where there
are no such people, however, there are no real Christians either.

What, then, are the priests and bishops? Answer: Their government
is not a matter of authority or power, but a service and an office, for they
are neither higher nor better than other Christians. Therefore, they should
impose no law or decree on others without their will and consent. Their rul-
ing is rather nothing more than the inculcating of God’s word, by which
they guide Christians and overcome heresy. As we have said, Christians can
be ruled in faith, not with outward works. Faith, however, can come
through no word of man, but only through the word of God, as Paul says
in Romans 10, “Faith comes through hearing, and hearing through the word
of God” [Rom. 10:17]. Those who do not believe are not Christians; they
do not belong to Christ’s kingdom, but to the worldly kingdom where they
are constrained and governed by the sword and by outward rule. Christians
do every good thing of their own accord and without constraint, and find
God’s word alone sufficient for them. Of this I have written frequently and
at length elsewhere.

Notes to Part II

1. For a discussion of these texts and the events they describe, see Omid Safi,
The Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam: Negotiating Ideology and Re-
ligious Inquiry (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006),
xliv, 1–2.

2. Ibid., 4.

3. Ibid., 6.
4. Ibid., 19.
5. Ibid., 102.
6. Ibid., 53–54.
7. Cf. the extract and discussion that follows.
14. Cf. the following further for text and discussion of ibn Lubb’s debate with a *dhimmī*.
16. Ibid., 128.
17. Ibid., 130.
18. Ibid., 218n63; this hadith is translated inaccurately on 129–30, where *mu’ahid* (covenanter) is replaced by *dhimmī*.
19. Ibid., 128.
20. Ibid., 129.
21. Al-Ghazālī’s *Faysal al-Tafriqa* is chosen for discussion later for just such a reason.
in fact an influential leader of the party of the politiques, who sought a pragmatic solution to the conflicts of the time by recognizing that, despite the value of religious uniformity, attempts to impose it by force could be disastrous. In an address in 1562, he insisted that the fundamental issue “is not about the maintenance of religion (constituenda religione) but about the maintaining of the commonwealth (constituenda respublica)” —the enforcement of unity “may be good in itself,” but “experience has shown it to be impossible.” Ibid.

24. De l’Hôpital describes the adage as un vieux proverbe français. However, it cannot be traced back earlier than the sixteenth century.


26. The title Rex Christianissimus, not originally restricted to the kings of France, was assigned by Paul II to Louis XI and his successors in perpetuity in 1469.

27. Following a massacre ordered by the emperor at Thessalonica, Ambrose in 390 forbade him to enter the Cathedral of Milan; the rebuke is set out in Ep. LI (Migne, PL16, 1159C–1164B).


29. E.g., Codex iuris canonici, 130, states: Potestas regiminis de se exercetur pro foro externo, quandoque tamen pro solo foro interno.

30. “Il y a en Angleterre soixante sects différentes, et une seule sauce”; the aphorism is also attributed to the Marquis Francesco Caraccioli, Neapolitan ambassador in London.


32. The schismatics particularly objected to Caecilian, bishop of Carthage 311–45, on the grounds that he had been consecrated by the traditor Felix of Aptunga.

33. The schism was named for Donatus, consecrated by Numidian bishops as a rival bishop to Caecilian in the see of Carthage.

34. Letter XCIII is addressed to Vincentius, Bishop of Cartennae, a member of a moderate subsect of the Donatists called the Rogatists, and former friend of Augustine, who addresses him as “dearly beloved brother” (dilectissimus frater).

35. Enarrationes in Psalmos 95.11, drawing the contrast between the extremely limited world of Donatism and the genuinely universal horizon of Catholi-
cism: “The clouds of heaven thunder out throughout the world that God’s house is being built; and the frogs cry from the marsh (clamant ranae de palude), ‘We alone are Christians (Nos soli sumus Christiani).’”

36. De civitate Dei 5.26. The praise of Theodosius is the more striking in that it immediately follows a rather factual, even tepid, account of the archetypal Christian hero Constantine.


39. Ibid., 33, 345–46.

40. The manuscript is from Biblioteca de El Escorial, Spain, no. 1810, 147–55v; text and some notes provided by Professor Hayat Kara of Université Mohammed V, Rabat, Morocco. This translation is by Professor Vincent Cornell.

41. As a close associate of the Qâdi al-Jamâ’a, who had control over religious appointments, property, and teaching in Granada, ibn Lubb would have been the second most important religious figure in a centralized kingdom with tight church–state links.

42. This is particularly the import of his quotation from al-Anbiyâ’ 21:22 in the following text.

43. The dhimmî in this case is a Jew—there were hardly any Christians in Granada at this time, as they had been ordered to leave by church authorities.

44. This is a play on words. The Arabic verb dhamma, the root of dhimmî, means “to blame.” Thus the phrase dhimmîyû dinikum, which is used in the poem, can mean both “a non-Muslim whom your religion protects” and “one whom your religion blames.”

45. The Arabic term shaqwattî literally means “my unhappiness.” In the present context, “my damnation” is more appropriate.

46. Ibn Lubb’s first response is in verse; a more extensive prose version follows.

47. “Community” here translates from milla. The text reflects a situation in which Muslims and Jews are assumed to be in separate communities, with little interaction.


49. This seems to be a reference to al-Mâ’ida 5.48: “We have assigned a law and a path to each of you.” Ibn Lubb turns this Qur’ânic verse against the dhimmî in a way that shows he is far from understanding it as pluralist in meaning.

50. Ibn Lubb adds a further section to his response after seeing a counter statement from another Islamic scholar, whose identity is not now known.

52. The Prophet’s pagan uncle.


55. The reference is to interpretive disputes over the *Istawâ* verse, “[God] ascended (istawâ) his throne” (al-A’râf 7:54), which raised for theologians the question of anthropomorphism.


58. **Tawâturî** reports are those with more than one chain leading back to a source; the term is used particularly in the classification of ahâdîth, but al-Ghazâlî’s sense here is wider. Jabre, *Essai sur la Lexique de Ghazali*, 269.


60. **Zann** refers to an inductive logic that may be largely correct but is not conclusive; here al-Ghazâlî contrasts it polemically as “speculation,” with the assurance of **burhân**.

61. The Ismâ‘îlîs, so called because of their emphasis on esoteric (*bâṭîn*) exegesis.

62. The English translation of the treatise is provided by Gary Mann on the “Luther Project” website, www.uoregon.edu/~sshoemak/323/texts/luther~1.htm (accessed April 4, 2009).

63. The two pairs are sometimes conflated in shorthand accounts of the “two kingdoms” theory, but the *Zwei Reiche* should be distinguished from the *Zwei Regimente*.

64. In this dialectical approach, Luther distinguished himself from other Reformation theologians such as Melanchthon, who argued instead for the principle of *cura religionis*, that the civil magistrate had a responsibility, as custodian of both “tables of the Law,” to regulate the right order of true religion. It has been suggested, though, that in later life Luther came closer to Melanchthon’s position. Cf. James Estes, “The Role of Godly Magistrates in the Church: Melanchthon as Luther’s Interpreter and Collaborator,” *Church History* 67, no. 3 (1998): 463–84.

65. The reference seems to be to Acts 1:24.

66. This is a recognized proposition of the canonists (cf. Gratian) applied to specific pastoral situations. It is adopted, for example, in the Council of
Trent’s canons on marriage (Denzinger no. 1814), where the issue is that of the interior motivation of the couple. Luther here extends its juridical scope dramatically.

67. Cf. *In Joann.* 25 (PL 35, 1607). However, as St. Thomas Aquinas points out (*ST* 2a 2ae 10, 8 *ad 3*), Augustine did defend the use of force to compel right belief in some cases, such as those involving heretics or schismatics who had once held the Catholic faith (e.g., Donatists).

68. The scholastic category of *peccata aliena* included various kinds of personal involvement in another party’s sin: by, e.g., counseling, approving, or even failing to criticize.

69. Job 41:27, 33. The biblical reference is in fact to Leviathan.

70. Psalm 107:40: “He pours contempt upon princes.”