



Renewing Church and University

**The Twenty-Seventh Annual
Reformation Day at Emory**

October 21, 2014

Emory Texts and Studies in Ecclesial Life, 7

Hans Baldung Grien's portrait of Martin Luther in *Postil oder vszleg der Epistel vnd Evangelien durch den Advent* (Strasbourg: Johann Schott, 1522).

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The Reformation and Education / Timothy J. Wengert—The Place of Theology in the University / Ian A. McFarland—Theological education and church reform / Armin Siedlecki.

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Nancy and Walker Ray in honor of their children and grandchildren.*



PREFACE

The year 2014 marks the centennial of Candler School of Theology, the completion of the new home for the Pitts Theology Library with its remarkable exhibit gallery, and the twenty-seventh annual Reformation Day at Emory. The theme for this year's program is, "Reform in the University and the Church," a topic that is not only important for a proper understanding of events and social institutions in Germany almost five hundred years ago, but it is also critical for discussions about theological education and the value of university divinity schools today. While Martin Luther's name is widely associated with the Protestant Reformation in Germany, and the story of him nailing his 95 *Theses* on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg certainly captured popular imagination, what is not so widely known is that Luther and his colleagues at the University of Wittenberg began reforming the school's medieval curriculum under the influence of renaissance humanism, and this reform had theological implications that furthered the reform of the church.

This volume presents the two main lectures from the 2014 Reformation Day at Emory and the catalog for the exhibition, thus ensuring that the contributions of the day to scholarship and to related discussions in the church and academy are preserved and made widely available. Professor Timothy J. Wengert, Ministerium of Pennsylvania Emeritus Professor of the History of Christianity at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia, has entitled his presentation "The Reformation and Education." In addition to his achievements in the classroom and study as one who has shaped a generation of Lutheran clergy and won an international reputation as a scholar of the Reformation, with particular expertise on Philipp Melancthon, he has assisted Lutheran churches and others in their navigation of thorny con-

temporary topics. The subject of his article in this volume is hardly a new one for him—as the footnotes of his work make clear—but in it he shows in meticulous detail and with the fine nuance of a mature scholar just how much Luther and certain others engaged in a "remarkable merging of education and theology, humanism and Reformation" (p. 8 below). This presentation corrects and fills in the gaps of what many know or recall from reading about Luther and his reformation, and it summons the contemporary church and academy to a deeper and more responsible engagement of this topic. The Pitts Theology Library is grateful for his contribution to this year's program and for his unflagging and generous service on the Scholars Advisory Committee of the Richard C. Kessler Reformation Collection.

Professor Ian A. McFarland, associate dean of faculty and academic affairs and Bishop Mack B. and Rose Stokes Professor of Theology at Candler School of Theology, Emory University, contributed the second article in this volume, "The Place of Theology in the University." As a lay Lutheran theologian and by virtue of his position at Candler School of Theology, he is well prepared for this examination of the role of a school of theology in a university and the implications that such a setting holds for both the academy and the church. Professor McFarland has demonstrated his ability as an accomplished systematic theologian, able administrator (most recently, guiding Candler School of Theology successfully through the reaffirmation of accreditation process with the ATS and SACS), and deeply engaged member of an ELCA congregation. His clarity of thought, fine and irrepressible sense of humor, and generous support for the Kessler Reformation Collection and its programs has made his partnership with the Pitts Theology Library invaluable.

The third part of the present volume is contributed by Armin Siedlecki, head of cataloging at the Pitts Theology Library. As curator for the inaugural exhibit in the library's new gallery, he has worked carefully to weave together this fine presentation of Luther's work as reformer of university and church and assigned it the title, "Theological Education and Church Reform." While Siedlecki's doctoral degree and publications have been in the field of Hebrew Bible, he has been a librarian at the Pitts Theology Library since 2001 and cataloged and studied in detail literally hundreds of Reformation era imprints, developing an impressive expertise in the study of Luther, the German Reformation, and the books and pamphlets that preserve their legacy. He has demonstrated keen intellect, enthusiasm for his work, and generosity of spirit, and so has enriched the Pitts Theology Library, its parent institution, and the lives of all his colleagues.

The publication of this volume would have not been possible without the generous subvention of Nancy and Walker Ray in honor of their children and grandchildren. Dr. and Mrs. Ray have been good friends of the Candler

School of Theology and of the Kessler Reformation Collection. Their encouragement, support of annual programs, and financial contributions for the growth of the Collection have been critical, and for all this I am deeply grateful.

Finally, I must acknowledge the generous contributions of Richard and Martha Kessler, the members of the Standing Advisory Committee for the Kessler Reformation Collection, and all those who support the collection through their participation in its programs and gifts to advance its acquisitions. Their vision, unfaltering commitment, and unselfishness have done the world a great service, and future generations will be in their debt. Just as Luther and others worked tirelessly for the reform and renewal of the university and the church half a millennium ago, so today the effort continues, and we are grateful to these who guide our understanding of past and present and make it possible to share their insights internationally.

*M. Patrick Graham
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THE REFORMATION AND EDUCATION¹

Timothy J. Wengert

To understand our topic, we have to begin with a scholarly debate from long after the Reformation of the sixteenth century. This is not unusual, since historians have perpetrated a remarkable amount of silliness in the name of history, leaving the rest of us to clean up their foolishness. In this instance, a debate broke out in the late-nineteenth century between two renowned German scholars, Wilhelm Dilthey and Ernst Troeltsch, over the relation between Renaissance and Reformation. It mirrored other debates at the same time, as some scholars, laboring under what they perceived as religious intolerance and narrow-mindedness, looked to find a road to intellectual freedom, while others looked for a way to enhance the reputation of religion among its cultured despisers.²

The problem is a real one. To take one well-known example, viewed from the famous debate between the leading humanist of the day, Erasmus of Rotterdam, and the leading reformer, Martin Luther, it would seem that erudition and reformation were on a collision course, as so many scholars have mistakenly assumed.³ And yet, based upon the sophistication of Luther's language—surely a hallmark of education—Erasmus gave his opponent one of the highest compliments possible. It came in the Dutchman's riposte to Luther's 1525 *The Bondage of the Will*—itself, of course, Luther's response to Erasmus's original salvo, the 1524 *Discussion of the Free Will*. Indeed, Erasmus felt constrained to write two large volumes in response to Luther's arguments and gave them the rather outrageous name, *Hyperaspistes*, treading on snakes. But in the introduction to the first part from 1526, Erasmus complimented the snake Luther by suggesting that not Luther but two other theologians in Wittenberg, Justus Jonas and Philip Melancthon—both well known for erudition and mastery of Latin—had ghostwritten the piece. And a second surprising feature of the debate comes from the fact that Erasmus, not Luther, fills *Hyperaspistes* with quotes from medieval theo-

1. For this essay, the following abbreviations will be used: CR: *Corpus Reformatorum*, vols. 1–28: *Philippi Melancthonis opera quae supersunt omnia*, Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil, eds. (Halle/Braunschweig: Schwetschke, 1834–1860); LW: *Luther's Works* [American Edition], Jaroslav Pelikan and Helmut T. Lehmann, gen. eds., 55+ vols. (St. Louis: Concordia, and Philadelphia: Muhlenberg and Fortress, 1955–); MBW: *Melancthon's Briefwechsel: kritische und kommentierte Gesamtausgabe*, Heinz Scheible, ed. (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1977–); MSA: *Melancthon's Werke in Auswahl*, Robert Stupperich, ed., 7 vols. in 9 (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Mohn, 1955–1983); WA: *D. Martin Luthers Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe [Schriften]*, 68 vols. (Weimar: H. Böhlau, 1883–1999).

2. See essays by Dilthey and Troeltsch translated in Lewis W. Spitz, ed., *The Reformation: Basic Interpretations*, 2nd ed. (Lexington, Mass.: Heath, 1972), 11–43.

3. See, for example, the work of Wilhelm Maurer, who places Philip Melancthon in the untenable and, frankly, unbelievable position between Luther and Erasmus, that is, between Reformation and Humanism. See his “Melancthon's Anteil am Streit zwischen Luther und Erasmus,” in: idem, *Melancthon-Studien*, (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1964), 137–162. As a counterpoint, with more detail on the debate outlined here, see Timothy J. Wengert, *Human Freedom, Christian Righteousness: Philip Melancthon's Exegetical Dispute with Erasmus of Rotterdam*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

logians and appeals to the papal magisterium. Will the real humanist and the real scholastic please stand up?

Unfortunately, that exchange, despite occurring on the very highest intellectual plane, has often been twisted to serve later negative views of the relation between education and Reformation and, more broadly, between liberal arts and theology. Whereas in the Middle Ages theology was widely acclaimed as the queen of the sciences, in our own day it would seem that the complaints of Troeltsch dominate the discussion so as to make theology not even a handmaid but rather a crazy uncle, best left upstairs in a locked room when good company comes to call. Whatever anti-intellectualism lurks in the behavior of certain self-appointed experts in Christianity, one should refrain from using the same brush wielded in attacking “secular humanism,” as they call it, and thus from dismissing out of hand all serious theological endeavors. And, more to the point, such antagonisms should not stand in the way of a full appreciation of the remarkable merging of education and theology, humanism and Reformation, among those thinkers of the sixteenth century that the Kessler Collection has celebrated and assembled for the past quarter century.

As a counterpoint, this essay will follow in the footsteps of such scholars as Erika Rummel, whose work on humanism among later Lutherans shows just how committed they were to preserving the very ideals that Erasmus espoused.⁴ Far from building roadblocks to educational ideals, the Reformation, specifically the one originating in Wittenberg, supported and defended them, in part for education's own sake and in part to serve the broader program of the Evangelical Reformation.

We may begin by proposing a definition of humanism that, unlike others, does not exclude Christian theology at the outset. Here we have the Nestor of Renaissance research, Paul Oskar Kristeller, to thank.⁵ Noting that the word “humanism” was first coined in the nineteenth century by historians, Kristeller discovered that a related Italian term, *humaniste*, was first coined by students south of the Alps to label a certain class of independent tutors and teachers on the fringes of late-medieval Italian universities. They taught rhetoric, poetics, moral philosophy, and history, were committed to *bonae litterae*, good letters (that is, good writing and literature), and joined forces in the search for the purest original texts under the banner of *ad fontes*, to the original sources or fonts of learning. This commitment spread eventually north of the Alps, where “Christian humanists” like Erasmus, aided by the printing press, published tomes of original Christian sources. Kristeller's definition, then, allows us to look for similarities in method among early sixteenth-century thinkers, without necessarily separating them on the basis of theological or philosophical differences.

On the basis of this definition, one can examine the education and outlook of certain reformers to discover the enormous debt they owed to this kind of humanism, as they strove to publish and translate the most important texts, wrote in Latin good enough to fool even Erasmus (as just indicated) and always assumed that the closer to the source a text was, the more authority it had. Then, surprisingly enough, Martin Luther himself can be labeled a humanist or, at very least, one so heavily indebted to humanism that ignoring this aspect of his work will always distort our assessment of him. Here, the way has been led by work focused on Luther's teachers by Helmar Junghans and Maria Grossmann and work focused on Luther's rhetorics by Junghans, Birgit Stolt and Neil Leroux.⁶

4. Erika Rummel, *The Confessionalization of Humanism in Reformation Germany*, Oxford Studies in Historical Theology (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).

5. Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and Its Sources*, ed. Michael Mooney (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979).

6. Maria Grossmann, *Humanism in Wittenberg, 1485–1517*, Bibliotheca humanistica et reformatrica 11 (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1975); Helmar Junghans, *Der junge Luther und die Humanisten* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1984); idem, *Martin Luther und die Rhetorik*, Sitzungsberichte der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 136,2 (Leipzig: Sächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1998); Birgit Stolt, *Martin Luthers Rhetorik des Herzens* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2000); idem, “Laßt uns fröhlich springen!": Gefühlswelt und

What did these scholars discover? For one thing, Luther was clearly trained in the emerging humanist approaches to Latin and rhetoric. Although he was beholden to late-scholastic curricula for getting his degrees, many of his teachers and colleagues were in fact influenced by humanist methods. Luther did not simply know late-medieval Latin grammatical and rhetorical handbooks, he also knew the sources on which they were based and was able even late in life to cite passages from Virgil, Ovid, and even Cicero. He structured certain of his writings rigorously according to the classical rules of rhetoric, including the *95 Theses* and *Freedom of a Christian*. We have already mentioned that his abilities in Latin so surprised Erasmus, who expected nothing but late-medieval logic chopping from an Augustinian friar hailing from the backwoods of Saxony, that the prince of humanists could only assume *The Bondage of the Will* was ghostwritten.

But, alongside *bonae litterae*, Luther was clearly on the road *ad fontes*. This methodological *sine qua non* of humanism may best be seen early in his career. As he prepared his first lectures on the Psalms, Luther relied heavily upon commentators who had access to the Hebrew text. Thus, he studied the medieval commentary of Nicholas of Lyra, who was conversant with certain rabbinic commentators, and the Renaissance commentary, hot off the press, by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. Then, a few years later, when the Latin translation of and commentary on the penitential psalms by Johannes Reuchlin came into his hands, Luther immediately set about providing a German translation and commentary on the same psalms based now upon his growing knowledge of Hebrew. An even more dramatic example comes in the midst of his lectures on Romans from 1515 through 1516. We can almost fix the month when Erasmus's *Novum instrumentum* with annotations on the text came into his hands, since Luther introduces comments on the Greek text into his lectures immediately, as he struggled to learn yet another classical language. For Luther the theologian, *ad fontes* meant returning to the original languages of the Bible.

This was no mere personal interest for Luther. Instead, beginning in 1517 Luther began lobbying the electoral Saxon court for changes in the curriculum at the university.⁷ Thus, he pushed for the hiring of new professors of Greek and Hebrew, the teaching Quintilian's rhetoric, and the lecturing on the Bible and Augustine. Sometimes mistakenly interpreted as a restructuring of the University of Wittenberg along Reformation lines (something that had hardly begun), these proposals—one of which led to the hiring of Philip Melancthon as professor of Greek—were rather part of the faculty's common cause to adjust Wittenberg's curriculum to the very newest educational standards. Thus, not just Paris or Leipzig but the fledgling University of Wittenberg would pioneer education in the three classical languages: Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Reform of the university along more strictly Evangelical lines had to wait for the 1523–1524 rectorate of Philip Melancthon, as we will see below.

These humanistic impulses had theological ramifications. From its very beginnings, Wittenberg's Reformation involved preaching and teaching, what some modern theologians have labeled the “speech act.” Thus, concern for good letters, which included good speaking, was crucial not only for spreading the Reformation's message but for the concrete acts of preaching. The *95 Theses* themselves were not so much a challenge to papal teaching as an out-and-out assault on the bad preaching of indulgence sellers.⁸

But the call *ad fontes* was also a central plank of Wittenberg's later Reformation platform. Thus, not only did Luther use Reuchlin and Erasmus in his own lectures and

Gefühlsnavigierung in Luthers Reformationsarbeit, *Studium litterarum* 21 (Berlin: Weidler, 2012); Neil R. Leroux, *Luther's Rhetoric: Strategies and Style from the Invocavit Sermons* (St. Louis: Concordia, 2002).

7. See the groundbreaking work of Heinz Scheible, “Die Reform von Schule und Universität in der Reformationszeit,” in: idem, *Aufsätze zu Melancthon*, *Studies in the Late Middle Ages, Humanism and the Reformation* 49 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 152–172. Scheible demonstrates that these curricular changes were not Reformational, as had often been thought, but rather humanist additions to the medieval curriculum.

8. See especially theses 21–39 (LW 31: 27–29).

later in his arguments on the matter of indulgences, but he also channeled this interest into his greatest project, the translation of the Bible into German from the original languages, beginning in 1522.⁹ Moreover, although Wittenberg's theologians still respected the Vulgate and often used it as their basic text in the classroom, even their lectures reveal how often they referred back to the original languages.

Contrary to nineteenth-century Lutherans' captivation by the phrase *sola Scriptura* (Scripture alone), their sixteenth-century predecessors, who rarely used the term, were far more at home with calling the biblical witness the *primum et verum*, to use the language Peter Fraenkel has employed.¹⁰ That is, the Bible was the first and true witness to the truth, but certainly not the only one. Thus, the journey *ad fontes* always included important stops at the inn of the ancient church, where the initial interest in Augustine was quickly joined to Ambrose (and the fifth-century pseudo-Ambrose, whom Erasmus labeled Ambrosiaster), Prosper of Aquitaine (whose work was also attributed to Ambrose) and other Latin fathers, as well as, later, to the Greek Capadocians. When the authors of *The Book of Concord*, that collection of Lutheran confessional writings published in 1580, wrote an appendix to that work, featuring patristic witnesses to their Christology, it included more than one hundred excerpts from at least twenty different church fathers, mostly Greek. To be sure, they cited Scripture first (as had their teacher, Philip Melanchthon) but also always included what Melanchthon himself had called the *testimonia patrum*, the witnesses of the fathers.¹¹

That Wittenberg would become a bastion of humanist training and interests after the Reformation had taken hold was not, however, self-evident. Already in the earliest phases of the reform, Luther railed against Aristotle and his distortion of Christian theology among the scholastics.¹² In January 1520, when Melanchthon delivered a major speech for the assembled university on their traditional celebration of the Feast of St. Paul's conversion, he filled it with criticisms of pagan philosophy—something totally absent from his inaugural address delivered at the university less than two years earlier in August 1518.¹³ There seemed to be little place for the pagan classics in the new world of Martin Luther's Reformation.

1521, however, marked a turning point in the reformers' thinking on this matter. With Luther in protective custody at the Saxon elector's Wartburg Castle, Melanchthon remained in constant contact with him. In July the younger man addressed a letter to Luther, now lost, that posed a question about the role of the Christian in government.¹⁴

9. See Stolt, "Laßt uns fröhlich springen," 251–73.

10. Peter Fraenkel, *Testimonia Patrum: The Function of the Patristic Argument in the Theology of Philip Melanchthon*, Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 46 (Genève: Droz, 1961).

11. For an English translation, see "Catalog of Testimonies," trans. Thomas Manteufel, in: Robert Kolb and James A. Nestingen, eds., *Sources and Contexts of the Book of Concord* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 220–244.

12. See, most recently, Theodor Dieter, *Junge Luther und Aristoteles: Eine historisch-systematische Untersuchung zum Verhältnis von Theologie und Philosophie*, Theologische Bibliothek Töpelmann 105 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2001), who analyzes Luther's negative and positive uses of Aristotle.

13. From 1518, see *De corrigendis adolescentiae studiis* (MSA 3: 29–42) and, from 1520, *Declamatiuncula in Divi Pauli doctrinam* (MSA 1: 23–53). Later in 1520 he also delivered an *Adhortatio ad Paulinae doctrinae studium* (CR 11: 34–41). See Hans-Georg Geyer, *Von der Geburt des wahren Menschen: Probleme aus den Anfängen der Theologie Melanchthons* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1965), 13–34. For Melanchthon's work in humanism and the reform of the University of Wittenberg, see the classic text by Karl Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae*, Monumenta Germaniae paedagogica 7 (Berlin: Hofmann, 1889). More recently, two collections of essays have focused on this topic: Michael Beyer and Günther Wartenberg, eds., *Humanismus und Wittenberger Reformation* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1996) and Günther Wartenberg, ed., *Werk und Rezeption Philipp Melanchthons in Universität und Schule bis ins 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1999).

14. See Timothy J. Wengert "Philip Melanchthon and a Christian Politics," *Lutheran Quarterly* 17 (2003): 29–62, especially, 36–44; now in: idem, *Philip Melanchthon, Speaker of the Reformation: Wittenberg's Other Reformer*, Variorum collected studies series (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Variorum, 2010), no. IX. The question may even have arisen out of Melanchthon's lectures on Romans, which Luther would publish the following year with his own prefatory letter. On Romans 13, the *locus*

Luther's response gave one of the earliest extensive expositions of what is often called the doctrine of the two kingdoms, but what could better be called the distinction between God's two hands.¹⁵ He writes,

It seems to me that you are asking for a command or counsel from the gospel about this matter. In this I clearly think, as you do, that a legal precedent of this kind has neither been taught nor decreed in the gospel. Nor is it in any way fitting, since the gospel is the law of willing and free people who have nothing to do with "the sword" or the right to bear the sword. But this right is not prohibited but rather confirmed and commended because [in the gospel] we read absolutely nothing about things permitted [to us]. For fasts and external ceremonies are neither taught nor decreed in the gospel—nor is *any* temporal concern. For, in like manner, it was not fitting to regulate these things with the very gospel that the Spirit alone regulates in the Spirit's own freedom. But is there then a law not to use these things? Nay, rather, does not the necessity of this life require law and use of this kind?¹⁶

Although Luther then proceeds to discuss the specific issue, namely, the right of a Christian to be involved in government (an issue to which he will return in 1523 in his tract, *On Secular Authority*), he begins with a far more general statement about the nature of all temporal matters. Fasts, ceremonies *and all other temporal matters* are free for a Christian, both because the gospel not only has nothing to do with such things and because these things are part of life's necessities. Moreover, Luther invokes what might be identified as a non-sectarian hermeneutical principle. While some Christian groups (to this day) insist that whatever is described in Scripture is commanded and whatever is omitted in Scripture is proscribed, Luther held that things omitted in Scripture were, to use his term for it, *indifferentia*, undifferentiated matters—later nicknamed *adiaphora* by Melancthon and later Lutherans—neither right nor wrong, good nor bad, in and of themselves.

While Luther's interest in the letter to Melancthon focused on the Christian in government, Melancthon immediately began to apply this principle to the study of good letters. What he might have seemed to be attacking in his oration of 1520 quickly became a favorite subject to defend. And Melancthon did this immediately after the receipt of this letter in several different ways. For one thing, he set about revising his theological textbook, the *Loci communes theologici*, and much more strongly defended the role of government.¹⁷ For a second thing, he now began to put Erasmus in his place, so to speak. While still highly critical both of Erasmus's failure to join forces with Wittenberg and of the Dutch humanist's theology, Melancthon could now unreservedly defend Erasmus's erudition and moral teaching. Thus, in 1522 he wrote,

In theological matters we require two principal things. The one deals with the way by which we are consoled against death and the judgment of God... Luther confesses this... The other deals with good behavior and civility. As a rule, Erasmus teaches these things, but then, so do the Gentile philosophers. And what, I ask, does Christ

classicus for a Christian's view of government, Melancthon noted that explicitly God only set up the ministry of the gospel (as in Matthew 18) and only implicitly established worldly powers, labeled tyrants here. See Philip Melancthon, *Annotationes...in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos unam, Et ad Corinthios duas* (Strasbourg: Herwagen, May 1523), 70v.

15. See MBW no. 151 (T 1: 304–311), also WA Br 2: 356–359 (LW 48: 256–263). An early reference to "two hands" comes in Luther's use of the common distinction between the two tablets of the law brought down from Mt. Sinai by Moses, where the first three commandments, regulating the believer's life *coram Deo* were inscribed on the right tablet and the fourth ("Honor your father and mother") through the tenth were in the left. See his *Treatise on Good Works*, WA 6: 229, 24–27 (LW 44: 54, where "recht" is mistranslated as "correct"). The distinction itself can be seen as early as his glosses on Romans from 1516 (WA 57/I: 107, 9–21). Melancthon's question gave Luther leave to explain himself more clearly.

16. MBW 151 (T 1: 307, 30–308, 41), emphasis added. See LW 48: 258–259 for a slightly flawed translation.

17. See, Wengert, *Human Freedom*, 110–136.

have to do with philosophers? ... Nevertheless, for my part I have no doubt that Erasmus is to be preferred to all the ancients.¹⁸

In 1523, Eobanus Hessus, poet and teacher at the University of Erfurt, wrote to Wittenberg's reformers, asking specifically for their opinion of the relation of good letters to theology. Their answers, published together by Hessus in Erfurt on May 31 of the same year, solidified Wittenberg's insistence that education and the humanities, far from being inimical to Christianity, were themselves God's gifts to the whole world and worthy of use in theology itself.¹⁹

Luther's reply was an exercise in humanist humility. Addressing such a well-known poet, Luther refers to himself a "*rudus Lutherus*" (uneducated Luther), who only wants Hessus to read something worthy of "your Muses." He was responding to Hessus's own poem, "*Ecclesiae afflictiae epistola ad Lutherum*" (A Letter to Luther from an Afflicted Church). Luther stresses that there is nothing in "our theology" that would harm the "case of letters," despite the unfounded fears of some. "I am persuaded that without knowledge of letters sound theology would absolutely not be able to stand, as up until now it has fought and killed most miserably with broken down and tormented letters."²⁰ He likens the flourishing of good letters before the Reformation with the work of John the Baptist, precursor to Christ. He hopes for an increase in the numbers of poets and orators who might teach the youth. True, wisdom makes eloquent the tongues of infants (Wisdom of Solomon 10:21) "but does not want the gift of language to be condemned."²¹ Luther praises Hessus's own work with students but admits that he himself cannot find the time to become versed in poets or orators, although he had obtained a copy of Homer to become "a Greek."²²

Justus Jonas's letter back to Hessus in Erfurt from July 26, 1521, reassured the poet of the "incredible riches of letters and all good things" in Wittenberg, which made Erfurt look completely cold in comparison.²³ In a letter from around August 1522, Melanchthon describes work in Wittenberg on the translation of the New Testament into German. He agrees with Hessus's fears concerning a collapse of letters similar to what happened in England and Scotland and with the fall of Rome. But then he adds that "I declaim assiduously in the schools for this argument: poetics is the nursing child of eloquence and sustenance for all genuine erudition."²⁴

On the same day that Luther wrote to Hessus, Palm Sunday 1523, Melanchthon wrote another missive on the topic. He says that those who "on the pretext of theological studies condemn humane letters shame themselves."²⁵ "Unless I am a false prophet," Melanchthon adds, Hessus's example will call some back to their senses and hence to life. But he also seeks to allay Hessus's worst fears about the demise of good letters. "But you do not realize that this is always the state of the very best things: that they can be conserved only with the greatest care and hard work."²⁶ For this reason, Melanchthon had also put pen to paper and written his oration, *Encomium eloquentiae*, an enco-

18. Wengert, *Human Freedom*, 24, translating *De Luthero et Erasmo Elogion* (CR 20: 699–700).

19. Eobanus Hessus, ed., *De non contemnendis studiis humanioribus futuro Theologo maxime necessariis aliquot clarorum virorum ad Eobanum Hessum Epistolae* (Erfurt: Mathes Maler, 31 May 1523). Melanchthon's responses are in MBW 233 (T 1: 480–482, dated ca. August 1522) and MBW 273 (T 2: 63–64, dated 29 March 1523); Luther's in WA Br 3: 48–51 (dated 29 March 1523). The title also lists letters from Peter Mosellanus (professor of Greek at Leipzig), Justus Jonas (see Gustav Kawerau, ed., *Der Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas*, 2 vols. in 1 [reprint: Hildesheim: Olms, 1964], 1: 67 [no. 59]) and Johannes Draconites (earlier a student and priest in Erfurt). The booklet also includes several poems of Hessus.

20. WA Br 3: 50, 21–23.

21. WA Br 3: 50,

22. WA Br 3: 50, 33–35, with n. 7, which notes that Luther gave his copy to Philip Melanchthon. See also WA 48: 28.

23. In Kawerau, *Briefwechsel*, 1: 67.

24. MBW 233 (T 1: 481, 13–15).

25. MBW 273 (T 2: 63, 10–12).

26. MBW 273 (T 2: 64, 13 & 16–18).

mium to eloquence titled in the original *A Declamation of Philip Melanchthon that the Arts of Speaking Are Necessary for All Kinds of Studies*.²⁷

Unfortunately, the historical record is unclear about the circumstances under which this speech was delivered. It would appear that Hesus's original poem and his request to Wittenberg, the joint answers of Luther and Melanchthon and Melanchthon's own preparation for becoming Wittenberg's rector in the fall of 1523 may have contributed to the work. The presence on Wittenberg's faculty of Francois Lambert, a professor from Avignon who later left for Strasbourg and then Marburg, may also have played a role, given his later attacks on higher education. Of course, the behavior of Luther's scholastic opponents and the condemnations of Wittenberg by some humanists also played a role.²⁸ Because Melanchthon included a copy of the oration in his Palm Sunday letter to Hesus, we know that it was delivered before March 29, 1523, perhaps in connection with the granting of the master of arts degree that semester.

The *Encomium* represents the first published oration by Melanchthon since 1520. It also marks an important shift in his thought, as he integrates Luther's comments on God's two hands more fully into his understanding of education. And it is a tour-de-force in demonstrating Melanchthon's own remarkable erudition, with references to Hesiod, the Megarites, Pericles, Scotus, and Apuleius in the first six paragraphs alone.²⁹

More than half of the oration deals with the importance of eloquence for the humanities. First, he writes, no one doubts the necessity of "some sure basis for speaking" to express the "thoughts of our minds." This, however, is very difficult to learn and often leaves folks braying like Apuleius's donkey. Moreover, the way these words are meted out also makes an enormous difference. Second, the only way to learn good speech is by imitating the best models available. Although some disdain elegance of speech, Melanchthon insists on its importance, lest what the speakers produce is monstrous instead of properly proportional. This becomes particularly problematic in translating philosophers or Scripture.³⁰ He summarizes these two points this way: "You can see for what reason I commend the study of eloquence to you—because we can neither explain what we ourselves want, nor understand the surviving writings that have been excellently written by our ancestors, unless we have thoroughly studied a fixed rule [*certa norma*] for speaking."³¹ He then wonders why, given the great benefits of eloquence, barbarisms have not been hissed out of the schools like the plague that they are.

To these two reasons, Melanchthon then adds a third, that minds themselves are educated in this way, "so that they discern more sagaciously all human affairs."³² He mentions in this context that later he will talk about the need to study eloquence for theology. He returns again to the importance of studying—if I may say it anachronistically—great books, turning especially to Homer's *Iliad*, where he rejects the specious allegorizing by later grammarians (he calls them charming jokers) in favor of a reading that emphasizes the turns of phrase, the emotive power, and the depiction of the characters—violent Ulysses and gentle Nestor. After heaping similar praise on Virgil, among others, and showing the benefit of eloquence for law, he returns to the topic of how eloquence sharpens the mind's judgment and its lack dulls it. "If our contemporaries strove to imitate [the educated of times past], how much more would human

27. For the preface to Simon Grynaeus, see MBW 277 (T 2: 67–69, dated April/May 1523). For the speech, see MSA 3: 43–62 & CR 11: 50–66. It is translated in Philip Melanchthon, *Orations on Philosophy and Education*, ed. Sachiko Kusukawa and trans. Christine F. Salazar; Cambridge Texts in the History of Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 60–78.

28. For a discussion of this and other tracts, see Wengert, "Philip Melanchthon and a Christian Politics," 44–47.

29. MSA 3: 44, 4, 18, 22 & 45, 23f., 30f. Melanchthon lectured on Hesiod in 1522.

30. At this juncture, Melanchthon refers to 2 Corinthians 1:11, which he expounds upon at length in his *Annotationes*, 110r (=MSA 4: 89).

31. *Orations*, 64 (=MSA 3: 48, 16–19).

32. *Orations*, 65 (=MSA 3: 49, 19f.).

affairs flourish, and how much more successfully would the Holy Scriptures be dealt with?"³³ Here Melanchthon, author of numerous Latin and Greek poems himself, especially emphasizes poetry.

Turning to theology, Melanchthon explicitly attacks those who think that Athens and Jerusalem have nothing to do with one another. "In truth there are more than a few...who...deny that the knowledge of the arts of speaking contributes to the study of theological writings, and this error—spread widely as if by some contagion—has seized many who spurn the humanities in order not to appear to be theologizing improperly."³⁴ Melanchthon derides scholasticism and its ignorance of the ancient languages and literature and then, like Luther, talks about the relation between good letters and the Reformation. "In recent times, indeed, when the excellent Father had begun again to turn His attention to the wretched and was going to give back to us the Gospel, he also by his generosity restored letters, by which the study of the Gospel would be assisted"³⁵ Here Melanchthon is thinking especially of the renewed study of Greek and Hebrew in the Latin West. True, the Holy Spirit reveals divine truths, but the Spirit does this through words.

As proof of the importance of good letters for theology, Melanchthon offers two examples. One took the form of a joke, where a master in theology had explained that Melchizedek was the king of salt (Latin: *salem*) rather than of Salem (Latin: *Salem*). Another had to do with the particularly difficult phrase in 1 Timothy 2:15 ([a woman] "shall be saved in the childbearing if they continue in faith"). Here Melanchthon criticized Chrysostom, whose sermon on the text related "they" to the woman's children and fails to understand Paul's grammar. The "sophists," Melanchthon's usual nickname for scholastic theologians, devised their new theology precisely because they did not understand the language and method of biblical argumentation. Melanchthon closes with an exhortation to embrace good letters, a fitting peroration for such an important speech, which so carefully distinguished the two realms of God—this world on the left and the gospel of the world to come on the right—without denying the importance of education to either side.

This distinction without separation then marks the immediate aftermath of this remarkable speech, published many times in the ensuing years. For one thing, Melanchthon himself becomes rector in the fall of 1523 and immediately sets about revamping the arts curriculum in Wittenberg, now along Reformation lines. As Heinz Scheible, the dean of Melanchthon studies for the past fifty years, has shown, unlike with the earlier revision of 1517, rather than simply add humanist alternatives to the existing scholastic curriculum, Melanchthon now eliminates the offending courses—no longer attended by students in any case—and replaces them with a strengthened course of studies in the humanities.³⁶ Scheible also identifies four important aspects of this new order that mark its humanist thrust. First, students were required to matriculate with the rector—especially important give the hundreds of students now flocking to Wittenberg. Second, each student was to receive a tutor who would help him shape his studies, especially of rhetoric and languages. Third, frigid philosophical disputations using dialectics were replaced by twice monthly declamations—like the one Melanchthon had delivered in the previous semester. Finally, anyone who tried to study independent of a tutor would be dismissed from the school. These ideals, as is often the case with curricular reform, were never reached. Few students had tutors; disputations on theses were later reintroduced into university life. However, the impor-

33. *Orations*, 72 (=MSA 3: 56, 22–24).

34. *Orations*, 73f. (=MSA 3: 57, 35–58, 2).

35. *Orations*, 75 (=MSA 3: 59, 18–22).

36. Heinz Scheible, "Melanchthons Bildungsprogramm," *Ebernburg-Hefte* 20 (1986): 21–35, now in: idem., *Melanchthon und die Reformation: Forschungsbeiträge*, ed. Gerhard May & Rolf Decot (Mainz: von Zabern, 1996), 99–114. See also idem., "Die Philosophische Fakultät der Universität Wittenberg von der Gründung bis zur Vertreibung der Philippisten," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 98 (2007): 7–44, now in: idem., *Aufsätze zu Melanchthon*, Studies in the Late Middle Ages, Humanism and the Reformation 49 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), 91–124.

tance of matriculation and the continued holding of orations, though not nearly as often as Melanchthon envisioned, went on—so that we could even say that the speech I am giving now is one result of that reform.

A second contribution that Melanchthon and Luther make involves the establishment of city preparatory schools, what later became the famous German *Gymnasium*. This model was so strong that it even influenced a series of schools established in the nineteenth century by the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, where the one in Milwaukee was attended by my grandfather and father, where in my father's day the curriculum of that high school/junior college included six years of German and Latin, four years of Greek and French and two years of Hebrew. Not only did the Wittenbergers see to it that Nicholas von Amsdorff was sent to be rector at a Latin School in Magdeburg and Johann Agricola to a similar school in Eisleben, but when the city fathers of Nuremberg approached Melanchthon about founding a Latin School of their own—St. Aegidian (which still exists)—Melanchthon was only too happy to assist. He saw to it that his dearest friend, Joachim Camerarius (then in Wittenberg), became its rector and that Eoban Hessus was one of its other teachers. Although he himself refused a position at the school in favor of remaining with Luther in Wittenberg, Melanchthon did journey to Nuremberg in 1526 to deliver the inaugural lecture there. It was during that time that he met Albrecht Dürer, who made the famous etching of Melanchthon.

But Luther was also involved in this aspect of educational reform. In 1524, shortly before the project in Nuremberg got off the ground, he addressed an open letter to the city councilmen of Germany, urging them to establish such schools.³⁷ Because some scholars have mistakenly divided Luther and Melanchthon along the false distinction of Reformation and Renaissance, it makes sense to look more closely at Luther's tract, one for which Melanchthon provided a preface to the Latin translation.³⁸ Consider, first of all, its popularity. It was published eleven times in 1524 alone and seven more times between 1600 and 1633, with three printings of the Latin translation. This does not, of course, include its publication in Luther's collected works. Luther followed it with another in 1530 addressed to parents.³⁹

Like Melanchthon, Luther here distinguishes education for God's left and right hand but also insists on the importance of good letters for both this world's wisdom and the gospel. Luther begins by describing the poor conditions of education throughout Germany, especially with the emptying of monasteries and friaries—those traditional centers of education in the Middle Ages. Freed from sending their children to monasteries, parents now neglect the education of children altogether. This “despicable trick of the devil” blinds community leaders to the necessity of educating the youth, especially among the poor. Instead, the money is spent on other things. Addressing the councilmen directly, he writes, “My dear sirs, if we have to spend such large sums every year on guns, roads, bridges, dams, and countless similar items to insure the temporal peace and prosperity of a city, why should not much more be devoted to the poor, needy youth...?”⁴⁰ Moreover, people should educate the poor out of gratitude to God for having rid their towns of the late-medieval church's religious extortion.

A second line of argument arises from the rediscovery of the gospel in the Reformation and the unique opportunity that it presents for education. “Let us remember our former misery,” Luther writes, “and the darkness in which we dwelt. Germany, I am sure, has never before heard so much of God's word as it is hearing today...”⁴¹

Third, and most important in Luther's eyes, is God's command, derived from the fourth commandment (“Honor your father and mother”). Here we have a theo-

37. WA 15: 9–53 (LW 45: 339–378). Translations from LW 45 with slight modifications.

38. See MBW 329 & 330 (T 2: 142–145; the former from the translator, Vincent Obsopoeus, and the latter Melanchthon's preface to the translation; both dated to mid-June 1524).

39. For *A Sermon on Keeping Children in School*, see WA 30/2: 517–588 (LW 46: 207–258).

40. WA 15: 30, 16–21 (LW 45: 350).

41. WA 15: 31, 33–32, 2 (LW 45: 352).

logical move that Luther consistently makes throughout his life, tying the parental and governmental authority of this commandment with the responsibility to educate children—not only for the gospel’s sake but also for the world’s.⁴² Indeed, if anyone wanted to counter the abysmal anti-intellectualism of some Christian leaders and their politicians, who claim to wrap themselves in the Bible until it fits them to a “T,” one need look no further than Martin Luther, who claims here that “our chief purpose in life” is to care for the young. Of course, Luther realizes that this commandment is addressed to parents, so he must explain how, when parents neglect this duty or are unfit, the authorities must step in. In what sounds like a description of the magnificent city of Nuremberg, he writes,

Now the welfare of a city does not consist solely in accumulating vast treasures, building mighty walls and magnificent buildings, and producing a goodly supply of guns and armor. Indeed, where such things are plentiful, and reckless fools get control of them, it is so much the worse and the city suffers even greater loss. A city’s best and greatest welfare, safety, and strength consist rather in its having many able, learned, wise, honorable, and well-educated citizens.⁴³

Without educated citizens, temporal government itself will collapse.

Luther turns next to the question of curriculum. Here the parallels to Melancthon’s arguments are particularly striking. He begins with the very objection that had worried Hesus. “All right, you say...‘suppose we do have to have schools; what is the use of teaching Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and the other liberal arts? We could just as well use German for teaching the Bible and God’s word, which is enough for our salvation.’”⁴⁴ Luther’s answer fairly oozes with humanist sensibilities. “Alas! I am only too well aware that we Germans must always be and remain brutes and stupid beasts, as the neighboring nations call us, epithets which we richly deserve.”⁴⁵ Instead, he argues, languages and the arts, which certainly are not harmful, profit both for understanding Scripture and for running the government.

He then considers the advantages of languages and the arts for interpreting the gospel itself. Precisely parallel to Melancthon (so much so that one can only assume an interdependence here), Luther argues that “Although the gospel came and still comes to us through the Holy Spirit alone, we cannot deny that it came through the medium of languages.” Relying on what was then the standard interpretation of the gift of tongues, he adds: “In short, the Holy Spirit is no fool. He does not busy himself with inconsequential or useless matters. He regarded the languages as so useful and necessary to Christianity that he oftentimes brought them down with him from heaven.”⁴⁶ True, some church fathers did not know any language but Latin, but that does not, in Luther’s mind, excuse those who now have access to such knowledge as these fathers would have loved to have had. Where they often went wrong in their interpretation arose from this ignorance, which was only multiplied by the scholastic theologians (“the sophists”), who often held that Scripture was obscure by nature. “But they fail to realize that the whole trouble lies in the languages.”⁴⁷ This same ignorance affects preaching.

Therefore, although faith and the gospel may indeed be proclaimed by simple preachers without a knowledge of languages, such preaching is flat and tame; people finally become weary and bored with it, and it collapses. But where languages are present, there is a freshness and vigor, Scripture is studied thoroughly, and faith finds itself constantly renewed by a continual variety of words and illustrations.⁴⁸

42. See especially the *Large Catechism*, Ten Commandments, par. 170–74, in *The Book of Concord*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2000), 409–410.

43. WA 15: 34, 28–34 (LW 45: 355–56).

44. WA 15: 36, 6–9 (LW 45: 357).

45. WA 15: 36, 9–11 (LW 45: 356–57).

46. WA 15: 39, 9–12 (LW 45: 361).

47. WA 15: 41, 4 (LW 45: 364).

48. WA 15: 42, 6–11 (LW 45: 365).

After dismissing those who boast of the Spirit and dismiss the Scripture—he probably has people like the Zwickau prophets and Andreas Karlstadt in mind—Luther turns to God’s left hand. “Let us suppose that there were no soul, no heaven or hell, and that we were to consider solely the temporal government from the standpoint of its worldly functions. Does it not need good schools and educated persons even more than the spiritual realm?”⁴⁹ Having already described the role of secular authority in his tract from the previous year, Luther needs only ask how a community expects to get “good and capable men” into it. Given that the common folk and princes are doing nothing, Luther appeals to the councilmen for help. Luther’s dream for what education can accomplish in this realm is even more genuinely humanistic than what we find in Erasmus.

But if children were instructed and trained in schools, or wherever learned and well-trained schoolmasters and schoolmistresses were available to teach the languages, the other arts, and history, they would then hear of the doings and sayings of the entire world, and how things went with various cities, kingdoms, princes, men, and women. Thus, they could in a short time set before themselves as in a mirror the character, life, counsels, and purposes—successful and unsuccessful—of the whole world from the beginning; on the basis of which they could then draw the proper inferences and in the fear of God take their own place in the stream of human events.⁵⁰

He goes on to discourage the use of corporal punishment and the inclusion of games in learning. He foresees boys receiving one to two hours of schooling each day and girls one hour, with the exceptional boys being then trained in Latin schools. He stresses the urgency of the endeavor, the necessity of education for “Spirit and world,” and the necessity of good libraries, filled with books for theology and worldly callings: Scripture in various languages, commentaries of the ancients, books of poets and orators (regardless of whether they are Christian or pagan), books for liberal arts, law and medicine. “Now that God has today so graciously bestowed upon us an abundance of arts, scholars, and books, it is time to reap and gather in the best as well as we can, and lay up treasure in order to preserve for the future something from these years of jubilee and not lose this bountiful harvest.”⁵¹ Surely a prophecy worthy of the Kessler Collection itself!

After the publication of these works, in 1527 both Melanchthon and Luther received special positions at the University of Wittenberg and were allowed to teach whatever they wished. For Luther, this meant focusing especially on biblical lectures. For Melanchthon, however, it meant embodying the very two-handed approach to education that the reformers had been developing in the 1520s. Until his death in 1560, Melanchthon taught in both the arts and theology faculties. Upon his death, other professors had to take over his courses in dialectics, Euripides, Greek grammar, Acts, Romans, expositions of the Sunday gospels, ethics, and world history.⁵² And his still widely uncatalogued list of publications includes countless declamations, commentaries on Romans, Colossians, the appointed Sunday gospels, Proverbs, and other biblical books, as well as on the Nicene Creed, commentaries on Aristotle (especially *On the Soul*, *Physics*, and *Nicomachean Ethics*) and lectures on a wide variety of classical texts, including the *Iliad*, Cicero’s *De Oratore* among others. He wrote the basic texts for Latin and Greek grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, as well as a history of the world, his theological textbook, the *Loci communes theologici*, the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, and a variety of smaller works.

49. WA 15: 43, 20–23 (LW 45: 367).

50. WA 15: 45, 12–20 (LW 45: 368–369). Especially in this paragraph, Luther is assuming a place for the education of boys and girls and the use of women as teachers for the girls. The following year, when Johann Eisleben took over teaching duties in Eisleben, his wife taught in the girls’ school.

51. WA 15: 52, 25–29 (LW 45: 377).

52. A notice posted by Georg Major, professor of theology and vice-rector, in 1560 and dated 23 April. See CR 10: 207.

When it came to liberal education and its importance for the church and the world, Luther and Melanchthon spoke as one and shaped Wittenberg's and later Lutheran approaches to the humanities for centuries to come. Perhaps one of their most interesting collaborations was on a work published in the midst of official visitations of churches in Electoral Saxony from 1527–1529. In 1528 an anonymous tract, *Instructions by the Visitors for the Parish Pastors of Saxony*, rolled off Wittenberg's presses, graced by the coats-of-arms of these two men. In it, in a section most likely written by Melanchthon but clearly approved by both scholars, the various towns and cities in Saxony and Thuringia were provided a sketch for setting up schools. Although the goal of universal education would have to wait several hundred years to be achieved, these instructions contained at least *in nuce* the educational hopes of Wittenberg's Evangelical humanists.⁵³ “The preachers should also admonish the people to send their children to school, so that one may educate and send them to teach in the church and to govern in other situations.” In the first level, students were to be taught to read; in the second level they were to learn grammar, using a grammar by the Leipzig scholar, Peter Mosellanus, and then the *Colloquies* of Erasmus. Alongside Aesop's fables, the students were also to be taught some of the psalms. The most advanced level would be reading Ovid, Virgil and Cicero, while also learning music and poetry, until they were finally ready to handle rhetoric and dialectics.

So, we celebrate this week the opening of the new library, the continued remarkable work of the Kessler Collection, and the Reformation but above all the remarkable vision of Wittenberg's reformers to provide the world with educated servants of church and state, of the gospel and world. As we view this remarkable collection around us, perhaps these academic forebears might remind us of an age when neither cultured despisers of religion nor the anti-intellectual fideists ruled but rather the humanities and theology, the arts and faith lived together and supported each other. May that day soon come again.

53. MSA 1: 265–71. In 1538 it was republished with slight changes and bearing the coats-of-arms of all of Wittenberg's theological faculty: in addition to Luther and Melanchthon, Caspar Cruciger, Sr., Justus Jonas and Johannes Bugenhagen.



THE PLACE OF THEOLOGY IN THE UNIVERSITY

Ian A. McFarland

What place does the discipline of theology—let alone a school of theology—have in a university? This may seem a completely unnecessary question to ask at Emory University, which, as compared to many if not most other top-tier universities in the United States, is well-known for its commitment to serious, interdisciplinary engagement with questions of religious faith and practice. If one were nevertheless to harbor doubts about theology's place here, the university's charter would seem to address them definitively. It reads as follows:

That pursuant to action had by the General Conference of the METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, at its recent session held in Oklahoma City, petitioners were appointed members of the Educational Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and as such were authorized to establish for and in behalf of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, an institution or institutions of higher education, of the grade of a university, including also a school of theology, and were instructed to take such steps as are necessary to incorporate the same so as to secure to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the ownership and control of the same in perpetuity. (Emory University, Restated Articles of Incorporation C.1)

One hundred years ago, when these words were written, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South had just undergone a difficult divorce with Vanderbilt University over precisely the question of religion's place in an institution of higher education, and its leaders wanted there to be no doubt about the religious character of the new institution that would result when it reincorporated Emory College as Emory University.

Given these commitments, it should come as no surprise to learn that the school of theology that was to be part of this new institution of higher education actually started offering classes at Wesley Memorial Church in downtown Atlanta in September 1914, several months prior to the official chartering of Emory University in January of the following year. And along with the School of Law, Candler School of Theology (so named in February of 1915) was the first unit of the new university to occupy the current Emory campus, moving into what is now the Pitts building in 1916—three years before Emory College would complete its move to Druid Hills from its old Oxford location. Since that time Candler has contributed significantly to Emory's reputation as a leader in higher education through the scholarship of its faculty members, as well as through that same faculty's participation in the training of future academic leaders through the university's graduate school. Candler is also highly regarded in the United Methodist Church (the successor to the old Methodist Episcopal Church, South) and beyond as a place of ministerial formation, distinguished for its commitment to the integration of learning and pastoral practice through its Contextual Education program.

With this legacy in mind, one might be tempted to conclude that whatever the broader issues associated with the study of theology in a university, Candler's place, at any rate, is secure. Since Emory was founded by the Methodist Episcopal Church, South to remain "under the ownership and control of the same in perpetuity" and is to this day an organ of the Southeastern Jurisdiction of the United Methodist Church, it seems altogether natural that its mission should include the training of ministers for

that church through a school of theology. And yet the question is not, I think, quite so easily settled. For alongside its formal ties to the church, Emory also aspires to be a leading research university, and ecclesiastical affiliation might seem to work at cross-purposes with that aspiration in ways that would displease the ecclesiastic no less than the academic. On the one hand, a minister of the gospel might worry that an ivory-tower focus on academic distinction and scholarly productivity works against the training of religious leaders truly committed to the church's mission in the world; on the other, the dedicated scholar might object that any institutional entanglement with the mission of the church invariably conflicts with the university's untrammelled devotion to research. In what follows, I will try to address both of these concerns.

The Challenge of Kant

The worry that church connections have a baleful influence on the free pursuit of knowledge was given classic form by the philosopher Immanuel Kant in his 1798 essay, *The Conflict of the Faculties*.¹ Born out of Kant's own conflicts with the Prussian monarchy while serving as a professor at the University of Königsberg, this treatise is sustained reflection on the difference between the "higher" faculties of law, theology, and medicine and the "lower" faculty of "philosophy"—what we would today all the arts and sciences. According to Kant, while the higher faculties can claim a place in the university by virtue of their social utility, their status as *academic* disciplines is compromised owing to the fact that their scope of inquiry is defined—and thus subject to control—by an authority external to the university (for example, ecclesiastically approved revelation, a culturally specific body of statutes and precedents) rather than by protocols internal to the faculty. By contrast, the only regulator of philosophy is reason. Thus, while the higher faculties are ultimately and rightly subject to the state, the well-being of which they serve, philosophy is not. And because doing philosophy is in this way free from ecclesiastical (or any other) oversight, it alone is truly "public"—open to all persons in principle regardless of accidents of citizenship. Therefore, Kant concluded, philosophy alone has a legitimate place in the university. It is a measure of the influence of Kant's characterization of the intellectual merits of "philosophy" (again, a designation that covers the full sweep of the humanities and sciences) that the terminal degrees of the "higher" faculties—the ThD, the JD, and the MD—tend to be viewed as less academically compelling than the PhD, to the extent that the ThD in particular (the only one of the three that has never functioned as professional qualification) has been all but completely displaced at major research universities by the PhD.

Responses to Kant: Newman, Schleiermacher, and Frei

As influential as Kant has been, however, his views have not gone unchallenged. Written half a century after *The Conflict of the Faculties*, John Henry Newman's *The Idea of a University* defends the place of theology in a university on the grounds that it fully qualifies as a branch of knowledge. While Newman agrees with Kant that a focus on practical utility is alien to the spirit of the university, he does not view the study of theology as limited to the practical (and thus bound to external authority) in the way Kant does. To be sure, he concedes that theology is distinct among academic disciplines, because its proper object—God—is unique, but he argues that the same observation can be made *mutatis mutandis* of any science: "Granting that divine truth differs in kind from human, so do human truths differ in kind one from another."² And yet, he adds, these differences do not preclude a profound unity among the various disciplines that justifies the enterprise of the university in the first place:

1. New York: Abaris Books, 1979.

2. John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996 [1852]), 29.

...all knowledge forms one whole, because its subject-matter is one; for the universe in its length and breadth is so intimately linked together, that we cannot separate off portion from portion...and...as to its Creator...He has so implicated Himself with it... that we cannot truly or fully contemplate it without in some main aspects contemplating Him.³

Because of this deep level of connection among the various realms of intellectual inquiry, Newman argues, the elimination of theology from the curriculum represents a mutilation of the totality of knowledge that, once begun, leads to the inevitable fragmentation and distortion of *all* knowledge across the disciplines. For where particular areas of knowledge are arbitrarily excluded from proper consideration in the university, those that are left invariably and illegitimately expand the range of their claims to fill the conceptual space thereby left empty—to the detriment of truth. The exclusion of theology from the university curriculum thus leads inexorably to “the perversion of other sciences.”⁴

The basic line of argument made by Newman in defense of theology’s place in the university has had no shortage of supporters in the twentieth century, albeit with variations in detail. Figures as different as Adolf von Harnack, Karl Heim, John Cobb, Wolfhart Pannenberg, Philip Hefner, and others have argued that an honest empiricism regarding the full range of human experience leads naturally to theological discourse. Attempts to account for all phenomena without reference to God, they agree, leads to profound incompleteness and even inconsistency in scholarly descriptions of the world. Against the charge that defense of the truth of Christian revelation implies an appeal to *a priori* authority that short-circuits free academic inquiry, they view Christian claims regarding God’s nature and work as plausible (if by no means unquestionable) hypotheses capable of holding their own in serious discourse. Taking a slightly different approach, Karl Barth and his student Thomas Torrance have argued that although divine transcendence precludes any direct line of inference from human experience to knowledge of the true God, theology nevertheless retains legitimate intellectual standing in a university because it shares the basic requirements of any science: a distinctive set of presuppositions corresponding to the nature of its object and a self-consistent means of testing its truth claims about that object.⁵

In various ways all these figures reject Kant’s contention that theology is beholden to externally imposed standards in a way that compromises its ability to pursue truth vigorously and without constraint. Like Newman, all agree that if theology operates in different ways than, say, physics does, that is no more problematic than the fact that history, economics, and biology also have their own distinctive presuppositions and protocols. No less similar to Newman is their shared conviction that these differences in object and scope of inquiry across the disciplines do not preclude the fundamental unity of all knowledge, in which everything ultimately holds together in a single, comprehensive, view of the world, even if this does not result in a “theory of everything” in which individual disciplines simply collapse into one another. Within this “encyclopedic perspective” on human knowledge, theology has a necessary place, such that its absence inevitably truncates the practice of truly comprehensive intellectual inquiry.⁶

This is certainly an attractive conclusion for the theologian, but in an era where institutions that would not think of offering a degree in theology advertise programs in disciplines like Comics Studies, it seems clear that the case for theology in the

3. Newman, *Idea*, 45; cf. 57: “...if the various branches of knowledge...so hang together, that none can be neglected without prejudice to the perfection of the rest...”

4. Newman, *Idea*, 62. He adds, “What it unjustly forfeits, others unjustly seize.”

5. See, e.g., Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, I/1, ed. and trans. G. W. Bromiley and T. F. Torrance (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1974), §1; and Thomas F. Torrance, *Theological Science* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969).

6. The phrase “encyclopedic perspective” comes from Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Occasional Thoughts on Universities in the German Sense: With an Appendix Regarding a University Soon to be Established*, trans. Terrence N. Tice (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1991 [1808]), 17.

university is not so easily settled. The fact is that academic disciplines fall in and out of favor, and that what may seem essential (or at least desirable) for the kind of well-rounded education sought by Newman in one context may be viewed as superfluous or even harmful to it in another. When Newman wrote, there were no computer science, women's studies, or sociology departments; and if the absence of the first of these topics from the Oxford curriculum of the 1850s may be attributed to a lack of available subject matter (Charles Babbage's breakthrough designs for computational "engines" notwithstanding), the omission of the other two is purely a matter of the perception of what counts as knowledge in a given time and place. Conversely, since Newman's time, the disciplines of rhetoric, geography, and Classics have undergone various stages of eclipse. The reasons for this are many: the slow demise of Classics is probably best seen as analogous to the displacement of, say, Italian by Chinese in many language departments: the consequence of changing estimations of cultural prestige and practical utility. Rhetoric and (at least in the United States) geography are arguably more the victims of ideological shifts. One may lament or celebrate particular developments, but given that no university can cover all fields of human inquiry, and that what is judged important varies with time and circumstance, the idea that theology is indispensable does not seem (*pace* Newman) in any sense self-evident. It therefore seems that the case for theology's place in the university needs to be made on other than systematic philosophical grounds.

In a lecture delivered at Princeton University more than twenty-five years ago, Yale theologian Hans Frei tried to come at the question of the place of theology in a university from a different angle.⁷ Frei argued that it is possible to identify two fundamental approaches to theology as a field of study in the modern period. According to the first, theology is a theoretical discipline whose penchant for metaphysical questions renders it essentially a sub-discipline of philosophy, to be defined and defended in terms of its coherence with general canons of rationality. According to the second, theology is better conceived along practical lines as the ongoing work of critical communal self-description carried out within and for the Christian church. Not surprisingly, these two options (which correspond roughly to the perspectives driving Newman's argument for and Kant's against theology's place in the university) bring once again to the fore the tension between theology's academic and ecclesiastical commitments: where theology is viewed as a theoretical discipline, it needs to free itself as much as possible from ecclesiastical ties to maintain its integrity as a field of academic inquiry; but where it is understood chiefly in practical terms, it will maintain a healthy suspicion of the academy as that which threatens to draw it away from its practical function of community leadership. The popular evangelical critique of the seminary-as-cemetery reflects this latter perspective, while various appeals to theology as a science are characteristic of the former. But is there perhaps a third option?

Frei thought that Friedrich Schleiermacher offered one. Schleiermacher, a polymath who established the modern discipline of hermeneutics, was one of the leading authorities on Plato in his day and is generally recognized as the founder of what would come to be known as liberal theology. He was also one of the most influential intellectual architects of the institution that would become the prototype of the modern research university: the University of Berlin. In his own contribution to the question of theology's role in higher education, *Occasional Thoughts on Universities in the German Sense: With an Appendix Regarding a University Soon to be Established* (1808), Schleiermacher, like both Kant and Newman, identified a real and fundamental tension between the social function of professional schools and the university's defining mission of untrammelled intellectual inquiry. Schleiermacher also believed that professional education benefited from the breadth of philosophical inquiry on offer at a university, but he acknowledged that the tendency of the "higher" faculties to tether the free pursuit of knowledge to social function posed a risk to the university's

7. Hans W. Frei, "Theology in the University," in *Types of Christian Theology*, ed. George Hunsinger and William C. Placher (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 126.

academic mission. (As one way of addressing this problem, Schleiermacher proposed that professors in a theology faculty should also be required to secure an appointment in the philosophy faculty to provide an institutional counterweight to the utilitarian tendency of practical training.) In further confirmation of his embrace of Kant's distinction between the "higher" and "lower" faculties, moreover, Schleiermacher conceded that there was no essential unity to theology as a field of study; rather "...the various parts of Christian theology belong together only by virtue of their relation to Christianity."⁸ In other words, they have no intrinsic connection with each other, but are put together only as required to carry out the practical task of furthering the life of Christian congregations.

In his own conception of the university, however, Schleiermacher did not see the hybrid character of theology as a problem in the same way that Kant did. As the title of his essay suggests, Schleiermacher saw the character of a university "in the *German* sense" as distinctive: neither a pure research entity (on the model of the French Academy of Sciences) nor purely instructional (along the lines of early nineteenth-century Oxford), it incorporated both research and teaching. There was nothing philosophically necessary about this arrangement: it was a matter of local cultural sensibility. Thus, although the practical orientation of the "higher" faculties could cause instruction to acquire the characteristics of a trade school, Schleiermacher saw the practical aspects of Christian theology (which, after all, is rooted in claims about the past) as themselves inextricably intertwined with the disciplines of historical and philosophical investigation, thus relieving the tension between the practical demands of church on the one hand and the research profile of the academy on the other. That the final shape of the University of Berlin manifested this mixed structure of theoretical inquiry and practical training reflects Schleiermacher's success in advocating institutional eclecticism over against the hyper-Kantian approach of his contemporary, J. G. Fichte, who wanted the boundaries of university instruction to be policed by unbending subordination to an ideological framework characterized by a focus on the theoretical to the exclusion of the practical.

Schleiermacher sought to hold both the theoretical and the practical aspects of theology together, and it is arguable that anyone committed to teaching theology in the context of a research university has implicitly subscribed to the same task. What remains attractive about Schleiermacher's approach is the way he joins confidence in the mutual enrichment of theology and philosophy with frank acknowledgement that the place of a school of theology in a university is incapable of any general justification. Theology does not "belong" in a university by right, and within the context of the United Methodist Church, whose thirteen seminaries are divided between freestanding institutions and those, like Candler, embedded in universities, there is evidently no presumption that a university context is necessary for the training of church leaders. But although how a church chooses to train its pastoral leaders is the church's business, the question of why a university should include Christian theology among its always finite and ever-shifting range of disciplinary commitments remains an open question. In the space that remains, I will attempt to answer this latter question as a Christian theologian who thinks his work contributes positively to the intellectual life of Emory University.

Theology, Knowledge, and Power: A Proposal

The first thing to note is that my speaking very particularly of *Christian* theology in this context is deliberate, because I am with Schleiermacher and Frei in believing that

8. Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Brief Outline of Theology as a Field of Study: Revised Translation of the 1811 and 1830 Editions*, 3rd ed., trans. Terrence N. Tice (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2011 [1811]), 1; cf. 3: "Christian theology...is that assemblage of scientific information and practical instruction without the possession and application of which a united leadership of the Christian church...is not possible."

theology is not a generic discipline that can be abstracted from its confessional moorings. To be sure, all religious communities have ways of adjudicating what constitutes the most appropriate ways of speaking and acting within their respective traditions; but it seems to me that the focus on creed and doctrine that is the stuff of Christian theological reflection (even when the aim is to criticize creeds and doctrines!) is quite different from the modes of communal self-reflection that have developed in Judaism and Islam, let alone the many non-Abrahamic faiths.⁹ So if theology is to be included in the university, it will not be as a discipline that can be abstracted from particular religious commitments. When such abstraction is undertaken, the result is no longer theology, but either some form of transcendental philosophy or religious studies—disciplines which, precisely because they are distinct from Christian theology, do not tend to raise the kind of suspicions regarding their implications for academic inquiry that theology does.

The grounds on which I want to defend theology's place in the university are both similar to and different from the approach advocated by Newman. It is similar in that I want to argue that theology, notwithstanding its practical orientation to the life of the church, also contributes positively to the broad quest for knowledge characteristic of the university. In this sense, I am happy to speak of theology as a "science," in the sense that it is a discipline defined by reference to a particular object: God. And, like Newman, I will want to emphasize that the particular character of this object yields a form of intellectual inquiry that entails the use of distinctive resources and procedural protocols that marks it off from other disciplines and yet upholds a basic commitment to free, critical, and publicly accountable assessment of theological truth claims. At the same time, I want to suggest that part of what is distinctive (and thus, from the university's perspective, valuable) about theology is that it offers a vision of knowledge as inherently limited. By this I do not simply mean a recognition that our knowledge is incomplete and fallible and so requires a posture of humility and self-criticism on the part of the scholar. That combination of traits is, I take it, ingredient to any academic discipline worthy of the name. Rather, I want to suggest that theology, owing to the particular character of its object, is properly suspicious of claiming "knowledge" at all. In other words, I want to argue that the point where theology is generally viewed with the greatest suspicion—in basing its substantive claims about God and the world on the revelation of truths that are not universally accessible to human reason—is the point of its greatest potential contribution to the life of the university.

In short, my claim is that revelation is *not* knowledge, if by "knowledge" is meant that which gives us the kind of control over a subject matter that enables us to dispose of it freely or deploy it against others. Put more sharply, *revelation is not knowledge, if knowledge is power*. I take it that this is an important insight precisely to the extent that universities frequently equate knowledge and power in both their teaching and research programs. With respect to the former, the university is often described as a place students are equipped with knowledge (understood, of course, not simply as "facts," but also and perhaps more fundamentally as an array of practices referred by the shorthand expression, "critical thinking") so that they may more effectively control their own destinies; with respect to the latter, the research university is understood as the birthing place of new technologies whereby human beings may increase their control over the physical conditions of their existence. In practice, both these dimensions of augmenting knowledge are bound up with economic considerations: students come to university because they are persuaded that a degree will make them more competitive on the job market, and even "pure research" is increasingly intertwined with questions of copyright and patent law. But the basic understanding of knowledge is not contingent on its deployment within a market economy; the idea that knowledge is power no less a feature of classical Marxism than of free-market capitalism.

9. N.b., this is not to deny the possibility of "comparative theology," but only to register that it is a tricky enterprise that needs to be undertaken with due recognition that the very "theological" framework through which it is done has the potential distort the material under examination.

That theology should represent an alternative to this understanding may seem counter-intuitive to say the least. To revert again to Kant (though he was hardly the first to make the point), it appears at first glance that it is in theology that the equation of knowledge with power is the most absolute and the most dangerous. For the theologian anchors her claims to knowledge in revelation: particular items of information communicated to particular people at a particular time in a way that cannot be tested, but only accepted or rejected on faith. This feature of theological knowledge is a function of the nature of theology's proper object: God. Unlike the objects of the other arts and sciences, which are all either human artifacts (whether physical or conceptual) or natural phenomena, God is not an item in the world that is subject to containment, manipulation, and analysis. God is, rather, transcendent. Consequently, if God is to be known, it will not be thanks to human investigation and experimentation, but solely when and as God gives God's self to be known. To put it in colloquial terms, God can never be known as an "it" we discover and explore, but only as a "you" to whom we are introduced. (It is in this sense that God can be spoken of as "absolute Subject": human subjects may be and are known as objects before they are encountered as subjects; by contrast, God's transcendent nature means that God can be known only as subject—as the One who has freely chosen to encounter us.)

Now, if all knowledge is power, then all knowledge is a threat: the one who has knowledge has the capacity to exercise control over the world in a way that potentially limits my freedom. But in the case of non-theological forms of knowledge, at least, this threat is limited, because claims to knowledge are subject to processes of testing and public adjudication, so that if the truth of those claims is found wanting, the exercise of power on the basis of those claims can be checked. By contrast, the claims of theology are not subject to public testing in the same way: God does not speak at human summons, so that the claims of theology cannot be brought before the public bar in the same way that those of physics, biology, economics, or history may be. To be sure, theologians can and do argue over what revelation means and what it implies for Christian faith and practice, but the data themselves—the claim that here (specifically, in the words of Scripture) God has in fact spoken—are not open to question. They are the presuppositions of theological reflection and, as such, must simply be taken as given. And while it is true enough that all disciplines have their presuppositions, those of theology seem especially portentous, for they refer not to the general reliability of our senses (and of the interpretation of reality that derives from our sensory perception), but precisely to the limits of our ability to direct our senses so as to gain cognitive purchase on reality. It is this fundamental passivity of human beings before revelation, our dependence on that which we cannot in any way control, which renders claims to revealed knowledge especially threatening.

It is at this point, however, that I return to my claim that theology is not rightly viewed as knowledge—and for precisely the reasons I have just given. While this concession is often taken as reason for excluding theology from the university, I want to argue that it is a powerful reason to keep it there. For if it is indeed true that theology is not knowledge, if knowledge is understood as power, then I would contend that theology's place in the university is important *precisely as a means of questioning the equation of knowledge with power*. My point in so doing is not to deny that knowledge gives power, or to argue that this is necessarily a bad thing. It is thanks to knowledge of microorganisms and their role in disease, for example, that smallpox has been eradicated and that bottled milk is no longer a source of tuberculosis. And even within the realm of theology knowledge of God's grace grants the power to proclaim the forgiveness of sins. My point is rather that theology's insistence on the impossibility of grasping God (who, as Creator, is the source of all truth) as an object of knowledge challenges us to rethink how we understand knowledge. As Rowan Williams (who, as former Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford, former dean of Clare College and current master of Magdalen College at Cambridge, has a good deal of experience negotiating the place of theology in a university) has written: "Jesus is God's 'revelation'

in a decisive sense not because he renders a dimly apprehended God clear to us, but because he challenges and queries an unusually clear sense of God.”¹⁰

Just how Jesus does this requires a much more extended discussion than I can offer here. As Williams himself notes, it is finally a question that can be answered only by referring to the life of Christian discipleship, with all the debates about the proper form that life entails that are the stuff of some of the most inspiring (but also of the most horrific) episodes in the history of the church. At a minimum, however—and here the location of theology in the academy may perform a valuable function for the church by providing just the distance from ecclesial practice necessary to remind it of this point—it entails the recognition that because knowledge of God is never at our disposal, we all (and chiefly the church; see 1 Pet. 4:17) stand under judgment, and that what sustains us under this judgment is not our own holiness or skill or knowledge, but simply the grace of God, which we can never claim (let alone manipulate or control) but only receive as a gift that comes in the surprising and scandalous forms of a life that ended on a cross but is nevertheless vindicated as the very life of God (Mark 15:39; cf. John 8:28).

This perspective is rather different than other analyses of the tyrannical use of knowledge that are also present in the university. Perhaps no thinker in recent history has plumbed the depths of the relationship between knowledge and power more relentlessly than the French philosopher Michel Foucault, whose work has profoundly shaped thinking on the character of knowledge across the humanities and social sciences. In his painstaking analyses of the history of madness, sexuality, and criminal punishment, Foucault exposed the way in which claims to knowledge were enacted as power, mystifying the social construction of truth, and remorselessly shaping individuals to particular, practical ends, such that “the deployment of force and the establishment of truth” for a single, unified system.¹¹ Foucault’s diagnoses are devastating, and the effect of his approach is to cast a pall of suspicion over all claims to knowledge as inseparable from “discursive regimes” of power. This is not to say that Foucauldian analysis amounts to relativism: Foucault seems to me less interested in the truth or falsity of particular claims about insanity, sex, or disciplinary regimes than in the way they function to channel the flow of power in society. But that is just the problem: because Foucault focuses so single-mindedly (and effectively) on the intertwining of knowledge and power, the ideology of knowledge as power is not itself brought under question; it is simply reinterpreted as grounds for suspicion rather than cause for optimism—might making right rather than the other way round.

By contrast, Jesus upsets the equation of knowledge with power. He does not do so by simple reversal—the equation of knowledge with powerlessness. That interpretation of the cross has rightly been critiqued as simply an exercise of power by other means.¹² Christians want to claim that in Jesus God is *known*, and that this is *truth*. But if they are faithful to the truth of the God who is known in Jesus, they recognize that this knowledge that takes proper social form not as a denial but as a deferral of power—a confession that power belongs to the God who is not subject to us, but who nevertheless enables us to bear witness to that power which “is made perfect in weakness” (2 Cor. 12:9)—that is, when and as it is understood as a gift that must constantly be received anew rather than held as a firmly grasped possession.

Needless to say, the history of the church has all too often been a demonstration of persistent faithlessness to this truth. But as with any other discipline, the truth remains, however poorly humans perceive it. And so theology provides knowledge of truth; but this knowledge that is not subject to our control (and so cannot be equated

10. See Rowan Williams, “Trinity and Revelation,” in *On Christian Theology*, Challenges in Contemporary Theology (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 138.

11. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1995 [1975]), 184. In light of the focus of this essay, it is worth noting that Foucault is here speaking of the disciplinary role of examinations.

12. See especially Friedrich Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morals*, in *On the Genealogy of Morals and Ecco Homo*, trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Vintage, 1989).

with power), and the truth thereby known cannot be isolated for inspection (and so cannot be deployed to foreclose debate). For these reasons, I think Williams is right to say in another essay that the “theologian’s job may be less the speaking of truth . . . than the patient diagnosis of untruth, and the reminding of the community where its attention belongs.”¹³ The theologian’s job, in other words, may be precisely to object to claims of knowledge and truth that assume a God’s-eye perspective on the world, on the grounds that this perspective is not open to creatures, even provisionally or by way of approximation. The aim of raising these objections, however, is not to dismiss all claims to knowledge as empty, but only to remember that we are not the ones able to secure their fullness.

To explain what this means, the Christian theologian will refer to Jesus—again, not because he has provided final clarity, but because he has disclosed the radical freedom of a God who rules in and through the flux, suffering, and openness of history rather than by standing over it. If we are to know this God, we must follow that torturous and open-ended way, rather than attempt to abstract ourselves from it by putative claims to knowledge that hold the flux at bay. Such is the theologian’s word to the church. The word to the university cannot be quite the same, since members of the academy may not acknowledge that Jesus is where its attention belongs, and it would be the worst possible misunderstanding of the kind of knowledge that the theologian claims to have to demand submission to Jesus, where Jesus’s lordship has not been acknowledged. To make such demand is precisely to claim knowledge as power, and this the theologian has no authority to do. Before the world the theologian—like any Christian—can claim to be no more than a witness to this way of knowing, and in life no less than a law court one cannot be simultaneously witness and judge. On the contrary, to assume the place of a witness means eschewing the role of judge and to defer responsibility for judgment to the One who has that power—a power which cannot be appropriated by others and which, moreover, is exercised most fundamentally in the mercy that gives the only Son, that all “may have life, and have it abundantly” (John 10:10).

One final question remains: Is this set of sensibilities—this denial of the identification of knowledge with power—unique to Christian theology? Could not (for example) Buddhists or Muslims make a similar claim to help the university recognize the limits to its quest for encyclopedic knowledge? The answer is that I don’t know. Not being an adherent of either of these traditions, I just can’t speak to that possibility—though I certainly have no basis for ruling it out. What I can say with some confidence is that because they are different traditions, they will invariably articulate any such position differently than I have done. Most obviously, they will not refer to the revelation of God in Jesus as the grounds for their position. But that doesn’t mean that adherents of other religions couldn’t make the case that their reflective practices are able to play a similar role to that I am claiming for Christian theology in the intellectual life of the university. In this context, I can think of no better voice to invoke than Schleiermacher, who taught that different religions will give rise to different ways of being religious and thus opened the door to the possibility that any given university may find the theology (or, given my earlier warnings about the generic use of the term, the appropriate analogue to theology) practiced in a non-Christian religion more in conformity with its mission than the vision of Christian theology that I have put forth here. All I claim is that Christian theology has the resources to provide an important contribution to the intellectual life of the university and, indeed, to the *idea* of a university.

13. Rowan Williams, “Between the Cherubim: The Empty Tomb and the Empty Throne,” in *On Christian Theology*, Challenges in Contemporary Theology (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 196.



THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AND CHURCH REFORM

Armin Siedlecki

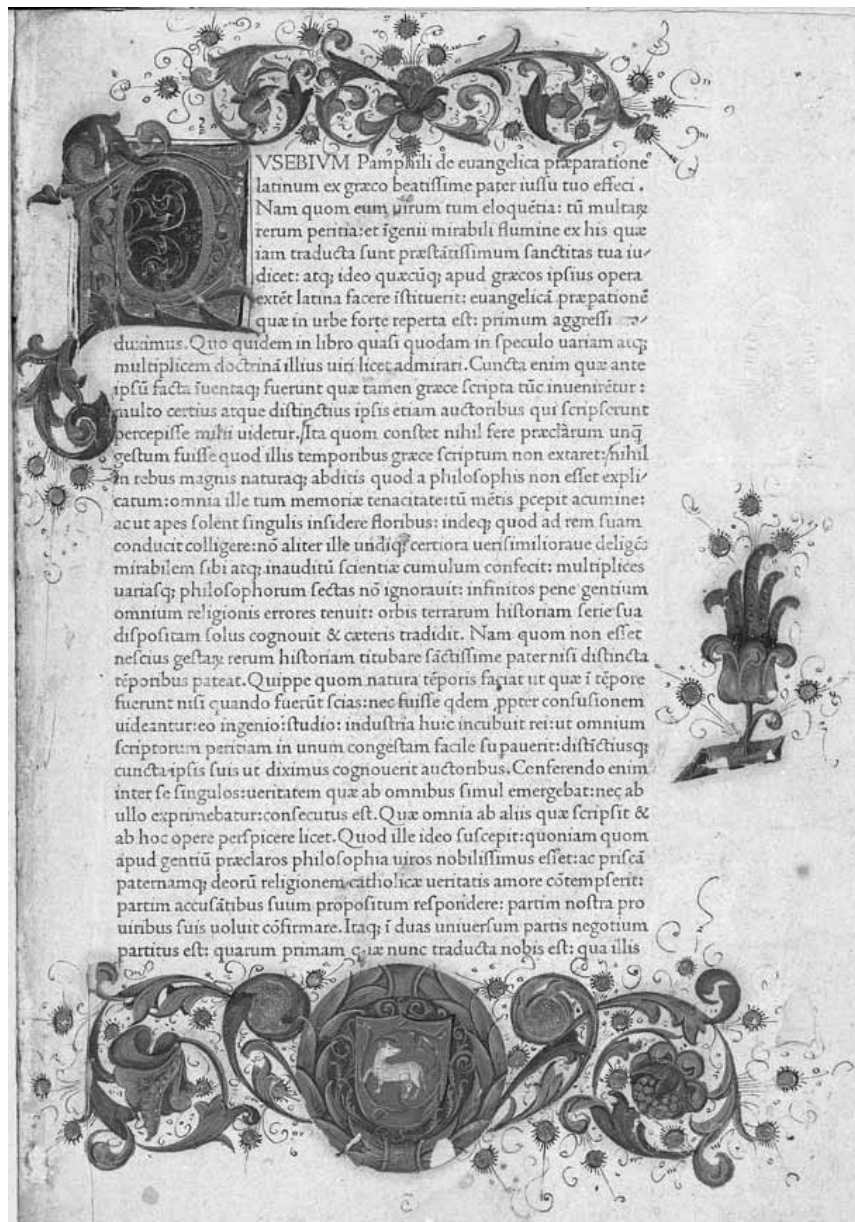
Theological education underwent a fundamental transformation in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. New universities were established across Europe, including the University of Wittenberg (founded 1502), and curricula were changed to reflect the new intellectual impulses of the Renaissance, including a renewed appreciation of classical authors and of the early Church Fathers that is well summed up by the motto *ad fontes*—"to the sources." To this end, new academic chairs were established to teach Greek and Hebrew and to engage students in ways that went beyond the traditional methods of medieval scholasticism. At the same time the rediscovery of classical philosophy and aesthetics fostered a new mindset that often placed the human person at the center of philosophical endeavors as well as artistic representation.

The Protestant Reformation unfolded against the intellectual backdrop of these new impulses and innovations, and many Renaissance ideas were central to calls for reform by Catholic humanists such as Desiderius Erasmus or Protestant Reformers such as Martin Luther and Philipp Melancthon. However, the distinctive Protestant contribution to the transformation of theological education in the sixteenth century was perhaps the sense of mission and vocation, the appropriation of Renaissance learning, not only to the edification of humanity nor simply to the service and greater glory of God, but first and foremost to the purpose of situating the word of God in the world and of proclaiming it to the world. In the words of Reformation historian Timothy Wengert:

The unique combination of Renaissance and reformation in Wittenberg's university reform reminds us of what we Christians, situated in an increasingly anti-intellectual world, dare never forget. Languages, good literature, scientific investigation, far from being bars to faith are in fact gifts of creation. However, what the church has to offer the Copernicuses and Galileos of our day is not animosity but a way of situating human beings in the universe: as believers in God and servants to the neighbor, all the while caring for this beautiful blue planet that God has given us.¹

This exhibit presents the context of Renaissance learning and displays early printed editions of texts that influenced educational reform. It includes the early printed editions of the biblical text in its original languages, as well as the language tools available to translators and theologians. It also presents examples of contributions by educators such as Erasmus, Melancthon and Luther, as well as of the public controversies between Martin Luther and two of the most renowned centers of learning—the University of Paris and the University of Leuven. True to the two-fold impulse of learning and vocation that characterized Protestant theological education in the sixteenth century, this exhibit will also present the application of theological learning at institutions such as the University of Wittenberg and its impact beyond the academic contexts in churches and Christian homes.

1. Timothy J. Wengert, "Higher Education and Vocation: The University of Wittenberg (1517–1533) between Renaissance and Reform," in John A. Maxfield, ed., *The Lutheran Doctrine of Vocation* (St. Louis: Concordia Historical Institute and The Luther Academy, 2008), 17.

First page of Eusebius' *De evangelica preparatione* (Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1470).

1. THE RENAISSANCE CONTEXT—REDISCOVERY OF THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN WRITERS

The Renaissance is often noted for its rediscovery of classical literature and philosophy, but perhaps equally important for theology was its renewed appreciation of the early Christian writers, often called the Church Fathers. In the centuries preceding the Reformation, access to the patristic literature aside from John Chrysostom was limited. Medieval scholasticism dominated theological discourse and biblical interpretation was characterized by a fourfold sense of scripture (literal, allegorical, moral, and anagogical), of which the allegorical was often understood as the dominant sense. The renewed interest in the writers of the first five centuries of the Christian era, especially Greek writers who were largely inaccessible to the Latin-speaking West, revitalized Christian theology and had a profound impact on theological education.

Origen (182–254): Against Celsus

Contra Celsum et in fidei Christianae defensionem libri. [Rome: Georgius Herolt, Jan. 1481]

[528] leaves; 29 cm. (folio); a¹⁰ b–o⁸ p–s¹⁰ t–z⁸ A–H⁸ I⁶; Goff O95, Hain-Copinger 12078*; leaf [3a] Origenis proaemium contra Celsum et in fidei Christianae defensionem liber I; imprint from colophon: Origenis contra Celsum finis: quem Christophorus persona Romanus . . . cu[m] fide e graeco traduxit & emendauit. Magister uero Georgius Herolt de Bamberg Romae impressit. Anno incarnationis domini Millesimoquadringētesimo octogesimo primo: mense Ianuarii: regnante Sixto quarto pontifice maximo: anno eius decimo. Bound in eighteenth-century calf, outer border in double ruled gilt, with blind-stamped pattern inside; spine in seven bands with gilt device in each band; red leather label; marbled endpapers. From the collection of Charles Spenser, 3rd Earl of Sunderland (Puttick and Simpson, Sale IV, Nov. 9, 1882, lot 9043). 1481 ORIG

One of the most prolific writers of early Christianity, the third-century theologian Origen (184/185–253/254) wrote on a wide variety of subjects, most notably on the text and interpretation of the Bible. However, his teachings were condemned by the Synod of Constantinople (543) and by the Second Council of Constantinople (553). As a result, many of his writings were destroyed and remain lost to this day. The work displayed here is the first printed edition of the Latin translation of Origen's apologetic work *Contra Celsum*, his defense of Christianity against the Platonist philosopher Celsus, who formulated the earliest known comprehensive attack on Christianity.

Jerome (347–420): On Illustrious Men

B[ea]ti hieronimi p[re]s[b]yter[i] prolog[us] in lib[rum] de viris illustrib[us]. [Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1472?]

[37] leaves; 31 cm. (folio); a–c¹⁰ d⁶⁺¹; Goff H–192, Hain H8589; printed in a single column, 35 lines per page, 2 columns in the tables; spaces left for capitals. Bound in vellum with four other works. 1472 HONO:5

A collection of 135 short Christian biographies by the fourth-century theologian and historian Jerome. Beginning with Simon Peter, Jerome completed this work in Bethlehem around 393 with himself as the subject of the final chapter. The book is a good example of the resurgent interest in the earliest Christian history. This copy is bound with four other tracts published in the 1470s by the Nuremberg printer Anton Koberger.

1. *Imago mundi* (On the times) by the twelfth-century theologian Honorius of Autun (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1472), an encyclopedia of popular cosmology and geography.
2. *De vita et moribus philosophorum* (Lives and customs of the philosophers) attributed to the medieval English scholastic philosopher Walter Burley (Nuremberg: Koberger, [1473?]) a collection of short biographies of ancient philosophers.
3. *Disciplinarum Platonis epitome* (Handbook on Platonism) by the second-century philosopher Alcinous (Nuremberg: Koberger, 1472), a Latin translation of *Ἐπιτομή τῶν Πλάτωνος δογμάτων*, one of the few surviving works from the middle Platonist period.
4. *Facetiae* by Poggio Bracciolini (Nuremberg: Koberger, [147–?]), a collection of humorous and indecent tales. The work is chiefly remarkable for its unsparing satires on the monastic

orders and the secular clergy. Bracciolini was an early humanist credited with the rediscovery of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* (On the nature of things).

Eusebius (263?–340?): On the Preparation for the Gospel

Eusebium Pamphili De euangelica praeparatione latinum ex graeco beatissime pater iussu tuo effeci . . . [Venice: Nicolaus Jenson, 1470]

[142] leaves; 33 cm. (folio); a–f¹⁰ g¹² h–o¹⁰; Hain 6699, Pellechet 4642, Goff E118; imprint from colophon: Hoc Ienson ueneta Nicolaus in urbe uolumen Prompsit: cui foelix gallica terra parens. Scire placet tempus. Mauro christophorus urbi Dux erat. Aequa animo musa resecta suo est. Quid magis artificem peteret Dux: christus: et auctor. Tres facit aeternos ingeniosa manus. M.CCCC.LXX. Initial letter E illuminated in blue, green, gold, purple, and black; elaborately decorated at foot of page with coat of arms. Initials supplied in red. Frequent annotations, no longer legible because of washing. Bound in red morocco with elaborate gilt border, spine in seven bands with brown leather labels, titles in gilt; marbled endpapers. From the collection of Charles Spenser, 3rd Earl of Sunderland (Puttick and Simpson, Sale II, April 22, 1882, lot 4351). 1470 EUSE

The Roman historian and theologian Eusebius of Caesarea (260/265–339/340) considered this work an introduction for pagans to the Christian religion. Its significance for later readers consists mainly of the work's inclusion of other historians and philosophers unmentioned elsewhere. Translated from the Greek by the fifteenth-century humanist George of Trebizond (1395–1472 or 1473), with additions by Antonio Cornazzano (ca. 1430–1484), the work was used by the Renaissance philosopher Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) as a resource for his well-known oration, “A Speech by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, Prince of Concord.”

Augustine (354–430): The City of God

Sententia beati Augustini episcopi ex libro retractationum ipsius de libris de ciuitate dei. [Leuven: Joannes de Westfalia, October 15, 1487]

[302] leaves; 38 cm. (folio); a–z⁸ A–O⁸ P⁶ (a4 marked a3; a1, P6 blank); Hain 2061, Copinger 759, Goff A1242; colophon printed in red: Diui Aurelij Augustini hypponensius [prae]sulis [prae]clarissimu[m] opus de ciuitate dei vna cu[m] [com]mento Thome Valois & Nicolai Triuech eximiorum sacre pagine, [pro]fessorum expletu[m] e[st]. Impressu[m] i[n] alma vniuersitate Louanie[n]si q[uae] Braba[n]tiam haud pa[rum] p[rae] ceteris ornata[m] reddit. ingenio ac i[n]dustria Joa[n]nis Westfalensis. Anno domini M.CCCC.lxxxvii kalendas octobris. 59–60 lines; rubricated initials; 26 pages of hand-written index appended. Bound in seventeenth-century calf, spine in seven bands; spine elaborately gilt with leather title labels; marbled endpapers. From the collection of Charles Spenser, 3rd Earl of Sunderland (Puttick and Simpson, Sale I, Dec. 1, 1882, lot 736). 1488 AUGU:1

Augustine of Hippo (354–430) is often considered the father of Western Christianity. His *City of God*, which portrays human history as a struggle between the human city (which is destined to fall) and the city of God (which is destined to prevail), had a profound impact on Western thinking and the development of European civilization. The commentary included in this volume is by the medieval English scholars Thomas Waleys (14th cent.) and Nicholas Trivet (ca. 1257–ca. 1354). This copy is bound with another work by Augustine, *De trinitate* (On the Trinity), printed in Leuven by Johannes de Westfalia in 1495.

Incunables or *incunabula*—the Latin word for “swaddling clothes” or “cradle”—is the designation for the earliest printed books in the Western world, produced prior to the sixteenth century. Beginning with Johannes Gutenberg in the mid-fifteenth century, the use of movable type in printing led to unparalleled advances in learning and commerce and was to change the entire course of Western civilization.

Early printed books had a unique appearance. They lacked title pages and made use of ligatures and abbreviation conventions that were common in the production of hand-written texts. They were often rubricated or illuminated after they were printed, giving them the appearance of medieval manuscripts rather than books, as we have come to them.

2. THE RENAISSANCE CONTEXT—REDISCOVERY OF THE CLASSICS

The resurgence of learning based on classical sources was one of the most significant aspects of the Renaissance. While non-Christian authors were used throughout the Middle Ages, they were often read quite differently, so that the ancient texts and authors were frequently not as important as the medieval commentators and compilers. The revival of reading ancient philosophy, literature and science on their own terms challenged some of the fundamental assumptions behind human thought, placing the human readers of ancient texts at the center of intellectual and scientific inquiry (rather than simply as recipients of received tradition) and making human beings the intended beneficiaries of these endeavors. Humanity became the object of study for the greater good of humanity itself.

Titus Lucretius Carus (99–55 B.C.E.): On the Nature of Things

T. Lucreti Cari. poetae philosophici antiquissimi de rerum natura liber primus incipit foeliciter. Venice: Theodor de Ragazonibus, Sept. 4, 1495.

[260] pages; 21 cm. (4to); a–p⁸ q¹⁰; Hain-Copinger 10283*, Proctor 5271, Goff L–334; text incipit (leaf a2r): T. Lucreti Cari. poetae philosophici antiquissimi de rerum natura liber primus incipit foeliciter; imprint from colophon: Impressum Venetiis per theodorum de ragazonibus de asula dictum bresanu[m]. Anno domini. M.CCCC.LXXXXV. Die.iiii. septembris. Initial spaces. Annotation below printed title “Collatus cum vetasriore codice Venetiis edito, qui extat in Bibliotheca Greshamensis.” Annotated throughout with what appear to be corrections to text. Volume of corrections drops off significantly after signature k. Lengthy note on q9v, “Paulig hunc impressit Fridenperger in Verona. Qui geni[que] est in Padua [?] alae magnae. Ab incarnation e Christi Mcccclxxxvi Die vigesimo octavo Septembris calen. Octobris.” Bound in old vellum. From the collection of Charles Spenser, 3rd Earl of Sunderland (Puttick and Simpson, Sale III, July 26, 1882, lot 7685). 1495 LUCR

Long given up as lost, Lucretius’ philosophical poem, “On the nature of things,” was rediscovered in 1417 by Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) in the monastery of St. Gall. Its exposition of Epicurean philosophy is paradigmatic for some Renaissance thinkers’ understanding of the human subject as the center of inquiry and representation.

Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499): Three Books on Life

Marsilius Ficinus Flore[n]tinus De triplici vita. Basel: Johann Amerbach, not after 1498.

[200] pages; 20 cm. (4to); a–l⁸ m–n⁶; Goff F–160, GW 9885, Hain-Copinger 7063*. Apologia dated xvi. Septe[m]bris. M.cclxxxix. Contents on a3: Primus de vita sana—Secu[n]dus de vita longa—Tertius de vita coelitus comparanda. Guideletters, 35 lines to a page. Extensive marginal notes in more than one hand, underlining, pointing hands. Bound in speckled leather with gilt spine. From the collection of Charles Spenser, 3rd Earl of Sunderland (Puttick and Simpson, Sale IV, Nov. 6, 1882, lot 8412). 1481 HERM:2

The Florentine Marsilio Ficino was one of the many Renaissance thinkers who enjoyed the patronage of the Medici family. A priest, philosopher, physician, and musician, Ficino was a true “Renaissance man,” well known for his translation of the classics. The work displayed here deals primarily with matters of health and medicine but also contains philosophical and astrological considerations. The work was immensely popular and remained constantly in print well into the seventeenth century. This copy is bound with a 1481 printing of the Hermetic work, *De potestate et sapientia Dei* (On the power and wisdom of God; Venice: Lucas Dominici, 1481).

Ptolemy (ca. 90–168): Geography

Κλαυδιου Πτολεμαιου Αλεξανδρεως . . . περι της γεωγραφιας βιβλια οκτω. Basel: Froben and Episcopus, M.D.XXXIII.

[6], 542, [2] pages, [4] pages of plates; 22 cm. (4to); π⁴ a–z⁴ A–Z⁴ a–yy⁴; VD16 P5206; three full-page and one quarter-page woodcuts; the book is mostly charts of latitude and longitude based on Ptolemy’s (erroneous) calculations. Imprint in colophon: Ετυρωθη . . . παρ Ιερωνυμω τω Φρωβενιω και Νικολαω τω Επισκοπιω. Dedicated to T. Fettich. Many errors in

foliation. Froben's device on title page and on verso of last leaf; headpieces and initials. Last blank leaf wanting. Bound in blind-tooled, paneled calf. 1533 PTOL

Claudius Ptolemy was an Alexandrian mathematician, astronomer, and geographer. His *Geography* is a compilation of what was known about the world's geography in the Roman era. Significantly, the first part of this work is devoted to a discussion of scientific methods of geography. Unfortunately, many of his key latitudes are only crudely defined, so that most of his calculations are inaccurate by one degree or more. Displayed here is the first printed edition of the Greek text, edited by the humanist Desiderius Erasmus, who also wrote the preface. The printing was executed by Johann Froben and Nicolaus Episcopius. Froben was the leading printer in the Swiss city of Basel, known especially for publishing Greek texts.

Isocrates (436–338 B.C.E.): Orations

Ισοκράτους λόγοι απαντες ων τα ονοματα εν τε εξης ευρησεις σελιδι = *Isocratis Orationes omnes, quarum nomina in sequenti inuenies pagina: addita uariae lectionis annotatione*. [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Braubach,] 1540.

[56], 349, [3] unnumbered leaves; 17 cm. (8vo); α–γ⁸ δ⁴ A–2X⁸; VD16 I390; headpiece and initials; extensive old marginalia. Bound in blind-tooled, bordered and paneled alum-tawed pigskin over beveled boards, with leather and brass clasps, partially lacking; medallion portraits of Luther (upper) and Melancthon (lower) featured prominently in panels and surrounded by smaller captioned portraits of saints, notably King David and St. Paul. Upper board features tooled date 1542 below panel, and initial letter E to the right of the Luther portrait. 1540 ISOC

A collection of the complete speeches by the Greek rhetorician Isocrates, one of the most influential Attic orators. The work also includes three biographies of Isocrates by Plutarch, Philostratus, and Dionysius Halicarnassus. The book is from the library of the sixteenth-century humanist Hieronymus Wolf (1516–1580), who purchased it in Wittenberg in 1544. Wolf was a student of Philipp Melancthon and Joachim Camerarius, and he worked as a teacher of Greek and Latin language and rhetoric before securing a post as the chief librarian of the newly established Augsburg public library. He made his name as a scholar of Isocrates and translated his speeches into Latin. The book displayed here contains various marginal notes in Wolf's hand, made in the process of translating Isocrates' *Orations*, published in 1548 and also shown here.

Isocrates (436–338 B.C.E.): Orations

Isocratis Orationes omnes, quae quidem ad nostram aetatem peruenerunt, una et uiginti numero, una cum nouem eiusdem epistolis, e Graeco in Latimum conuersae per Hieronymum Wolfium . . . Basileae: per Ioannem Oporinum, 1548.

[12], 251, [13] pages, 226 columns, pages 227–281, [20] pages; 33 cm. (folio); α⁶ A–2G⁴ 2H–2I⁶ 2a–2y⁴ 2z²; VD16 I1411; printer's device on last page, historiated initials, includes index. Latin and Greek; includes Wolf's *Gnomologiae ex omnibus Isocratis operibus*; additional material by Michael Toxites and Juan Luis Vives. Bound in contemporary bordered and paneled blind-tooled calf (worn, lower rear corner damaged), panels alike, with inner rectangle of a grape vine roll, front panel with title/author statement in silver (oxidized). From the Fugger family library, with its shelf mark. 1548 ISOC

Hieronymus Wolf's Latin translation of Isocrates' *Orations*. The work was formerly held by the library of the Fuggers, a merchant and banking family in the city of Augsburg.

3. THE STUDY OF ANCIENT LANGUAGES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The effort on the part of some fifteenth-century scholars to push scholarship in a trilingual—Latin, Greek, Hebrew—direction helped to prepare Europe for the even greater changes that would come with the sixteenth-century Reformation. With the new emphasis on source texts, language resources such as grammars and dictionaries became more important. Displayed here are some of the resources one could expect to find in the library of a Reformation-era scholar of Scripture.

Conrad Gessner (1516–1565): Greek-Latin Dictionary

Lexicon graecolatinum, novissime ab innvmeris mendis recognitum & insigni accensione auctum per Conradum Gesnerum Tigurinum cum praefatione ad illustrissimum uirum d. Diegum Hurtadum à Mendoza; in qua locupletationis ratio redditur. Basiliae: ex officina Hieronymi Curionis, mense Augusto, M.D.XLV.

[942] pages; 36 cm. (folio); †⁴ (–†⁴) a–3u⁶ 3x–3y⁸ (–3y⁸) α–η⁶ θ⁸ (–θ⁸); VD16 G1751; title within illustrated border, designed by Hans Holbein the Younger; historiated initials. In double columns. Last leaf (with colophon) lacking. Bound in old gilt-tooled, mottled and polished calf, with panelled spine and edges sprinkled in red. 1545 GESN

Greek dictionary with Latin translations by the Zürich physician and scholar Konrad Gessner. The work includes a section, by Philipp Melanchthon, comparing the Greek and Latin calendars. The *Lexicon* was one of Gessner's earliest works. He is best known for his work in the natural sciences, especially his four-volume *Historiae animalium*, the first modern work on zoology.

Johannes Crastonus (15th century): Greek-Latin Dictionary

Dictionvm Graecarvm thesavrvm copiosus quantum nunq[uam] antea annotationesque innumerae, tum ad rem Graecam, tum Latinam pertinentes, ceu flosculi toto opere interspersi. Ferrariae: per Ioannem Maciochium Bondenum, ad quintu[m] calendas Octobris [27 Sept.], 1510.

292 [i.e. 291], [1] leaves; 32 cm. (folio); a–z⁶ A–L⁶ M⁸ N–R⁶ S⁴ T–Z⁶ &⁶ [con]⁶ [rum]⁴; Adams T939; printer's mark (Vaccaro 59) on title page. Bound in old vellum over pasteboards, with edges sprinkled in blue. 1510 CRAS

The first edition of Joannes Maria Tricaelius' revision of an important Greek-Latin, Latin-Greek dictionary by the fifteenth-century Carmelite humanist Johannes Crastonus, first published in 1478. Crastonus had studied Greek in Constantinople prior to the city's fall to the Ottomans in 1453. The work contains a large collection of glosses intended to serve as a reference tool for Greek language compositions.

Johann Reuchlin (1455–1522): The Fundamentals of Hebrew

Ioannis Reuchlin Phorcensis LL. Doc. ad Dionysium fratrem suum Germanum De rudimentis hebraicis . . . Phorce (i.e. Pforzheim): In Aedib. Tho. Anshelmi, Sexto Kal. Apriles Anno MD.VI. (27 March, 1506)

[1], 1–620 [i.e. 621], [3] pages; 30 cm. (folio); unsigned; VD16 R1252; many pages misnumbered, some apparently missed in paging, but actually accounted for later in sequence; printed and bound in Hebrew order (right to left); text in Latin and Hebrew includes a Hebrew-Latin dictionary and a grammar of Hebrew in Latin; printer's device on p. [623]; Reuchlin's coat-of-arms on p. [624]. The manuscript note on the title page is a dedicatory poem from "Mattheus Aurgallus" to "Joanne Capriina." Manuscript marginalia appear throughout the text. Bound in blind-stamped pigskin over wooden boards, clasps intact. 1506 REUC

This is the first (and only) printing of the Hebrew grammar and the first Hebrew-Latin dictionary by a European Christian humanist. The author, Johann Reuchlin, was a relative of Philipp Melanchthon by marriage, and his pioneering work made Hebrew accessible for the first time to Christian biblical scholars. According to the last two leaves, Reuchlin finished his work on March 9, 1506, and it was in type by March 27.

Reuchlin himself paid the costs of printing. Few copies of the edition's one thousand copies were sold, and they were not exhausted before 1537, when Sebastian Münster issued a heavily revised version of the work. The title page boasts a seven-line poem "Tehilah" (song of praise) by the humanist Matthaeus Aurogallus (Goldhahn), which may be in that scholar's own handwriting. Aurogallus was a professor of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew at Wittenberg. He issued his own Hebrew grammar in 1539, and it is possible that he annotated this volume in preparation for that edition.

Elijah Levita (1468 or 1469–1549): Hebrew Grammar

ספר הדקדוק = *Grammatica Hebraica Eliae Levitae Germani per Sebastianum Munsterum uersa, & iam ultima manu scholiis illustrata; index copiosus item Institutio elementalis in eandem linguam ex Eliae uarijs libellis concinnata, iam denuo plurimum acta quibus omnibus & tabula coniugationum pulchre explicata accessit*. Basileae: apud Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium . . . mense Martio, M.D.XXXVII.

[208], 306, [16] pages; 18 cm. (8vo); A–N⁸ a–u⁸; printer's device on the title page. 1537 MUNS

The first edition of Sebastian Münster's Latin translation of Elijah Levita's work on Hebrew grammar. The book is in two parts: the first being Levita's grammar and the second, Münster's own work on Hebrew grammar, *Institutio elementaria in Hebraicam linguam*.

David Kimhi (ca. 1160–ca. 1235): Hebrew Dictionary

Thesaurus linguae sanctae, siue Dictionarium Hebraeum = ספר השרשים חבירו [Venice: Marco Antonio Giustiniani, 1546]

548 columns; 33 cm. (folio); 1–16⁸ 17¹⁰; Adams K46, Vinograd Venice 330; title in architectural woodcut border, initial words within woodcut designs. Hebrew and Latin inscriptions on title page. 1546 KIMH A

Hebrew dictionary by the medieval rabbi and biblical commentator David Kimhi (RaDaK), edited by Elijah Levita. Under the entry "elem" (column 361), the author derides the Christian assertion that the word "almah" (a young girl), found in Isaiah 7:14, refers to the virgin birth. In the Pitts Theology Library copy, the passage has been lightly deleted by a censor, but the text is still visible.

4. PHILIPP MELANCHTHON—EDUCATOR OF GERMANY

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) is arguably the most significant Lutheran reformer aside from Martin Luther himself, providing much of the intellectual foundation for the new church. Born Philipp Schwartzert, he adopted a Greek form of his name (Schwartzert = "black earth" = Μελαγχθων), first given to him as a young man by the humanist, Johann Reuchlin. He was appointed Professor for Greek at the University of Wittenberg in 1518, and his commitment to education and academic reform earned him the epithet of *Praeceptor Germaniae* (Educator of Germany). At Wittenberg he was also extensively involved in the administration of the University: in 1523–1524 and 1538, as rector, and in 1535–1536 and 1546–1548, as dean of the philosophical faculty. Shown here are three early tracts by Melanchthon: the first was on the nature of education and academic reform, and the other two were orations delivered as part of the Wittenberg curriculum.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): On the Liberal Arts

De artibus liberalibus oratio à Philippo Melanchthone, Tubingae habita. Hagenau: ex Charisio Thomae Anshelmi, 1517.

[19] pages; 22 cm. (4to); A⁴ B⁶ (B6 verso blank); VD16 M2587; title within woodcut architectural border. 1517 MELA

This is the first printing of Melanchthon's first Latin work, *Oration on the liberal arts*. He delivered this speech in 1517 at the age of twenty and before joining the faculty



Portrait of Philipp Melanchthon from his *Oratio Vber der Leich des ehrwirdigen Herrn D. Martini Luthers* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1546).

at Wittenberg. Here he stresses the importance of history and philosophy for a well-rounded education. Melanchthon had worked for Thomas Anshelm, the printer of this tract, when Anshelm's press was in Tübingen.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Inaugural Address to the Faculty at Wittenberg
Philippi Melanchthonis Sermo habitus apud iuuentute[m] Academiae Vuittenberg[ensis]. De corrigendis adulescentiae studiis. Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius de studiorum omnium colluue, uidelicet Iuris, Medicinae, Physices, & Theologicae. Basileae: Apud Io. Frobenium, Mense Ianuario, anno M.D.XIX.

[28] pages; 21 cm. (4to); A–B⁴ C⁶; VD16 M4234; title within woodcut architectural border; initials, woodcut border (A3 recto), full page woodcut of printer's device (C6 verso). 1519 MELA B

Melanchthon's inaugural address to the Wittenberg faculty, delivered in 1518, calls for a reform of humanistic studies and a rebirth of classical studies and stresses the importance of studying Greek and Hebrew in addition to Latin. It is a good example of Melanchthon's core convictions regarding university education. This is the second printing of the work, issued in 1519. Also included is a work by Rudolf Agricola, whose work on rhetoric and logic had a significant influence on Melanchthon.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Five Orations

Oratio dicta in funere Friderichi Saxoniae Ducis . . . Phil. Mel. autore. Haganoae: excudebat Iohan. Secer, Anno M.D.XXV.

[72] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); 2A–2D⁸ 2E⁴; VD16 M3835; printer's device on 2E4 verso; 1525 MELA

A collection of five orations by Melanchthon, the most important of which is the funeral oration for Fredrick the Wise, Elector of Saxony. The other four orations, all of which deal with education and the study of Greek literature, came out of the practice, introduced in 1524 by Melanchthon, of holding speeches as part of the liberal arts curriculum at Wittenberg.

2. *Oratio de legibus*: Oration on ancient Greek laws

3. *Oratio de gradibus*: Oration on the education of the young

4. *Praefatio in Aeschinis et Demothenis orationes*: Preface to the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes

5. *Oratio criticae contra Theramenem ex Xenophonte*: Oration of Critias against Theramenes from Xenophon, an excerpt of Xenophon's Hellenica, translated by Philipp Melanchthon.

Melanchthon, Philipp, 1497–1560: Theological Commonplaces

Loci communes rerum theologicarum, seu, Hypotyposes theologicae. Philip. Melanch. auctore. Basileae: apud Adamum Petri, 1521.

[240] pages; 15 cm. (8vo); A–P⁸; VD16 M3583; title within historiated border; old inscriptions and marginalia, from the library of C. v. Orelli, with signature; bound in contemporary blind-tooled, bordered, paneled, and polished calf over wooden boards. 1521 MELA E:2

A reprint by Heinrich Petri of Basel of this most famous of all Melanchthon's theological works, printed for the first time in Wittenberg that same year. Melanchthon wrote it for the use of his private students to accompany his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, but soon found it necessary to issue a version to the press, due to the circulation of unofficial copies. This copy is bound with Melanchthon's *De rhetorica libri tres* (Cologne: Hero Fuchs, 1521).

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Various Orations

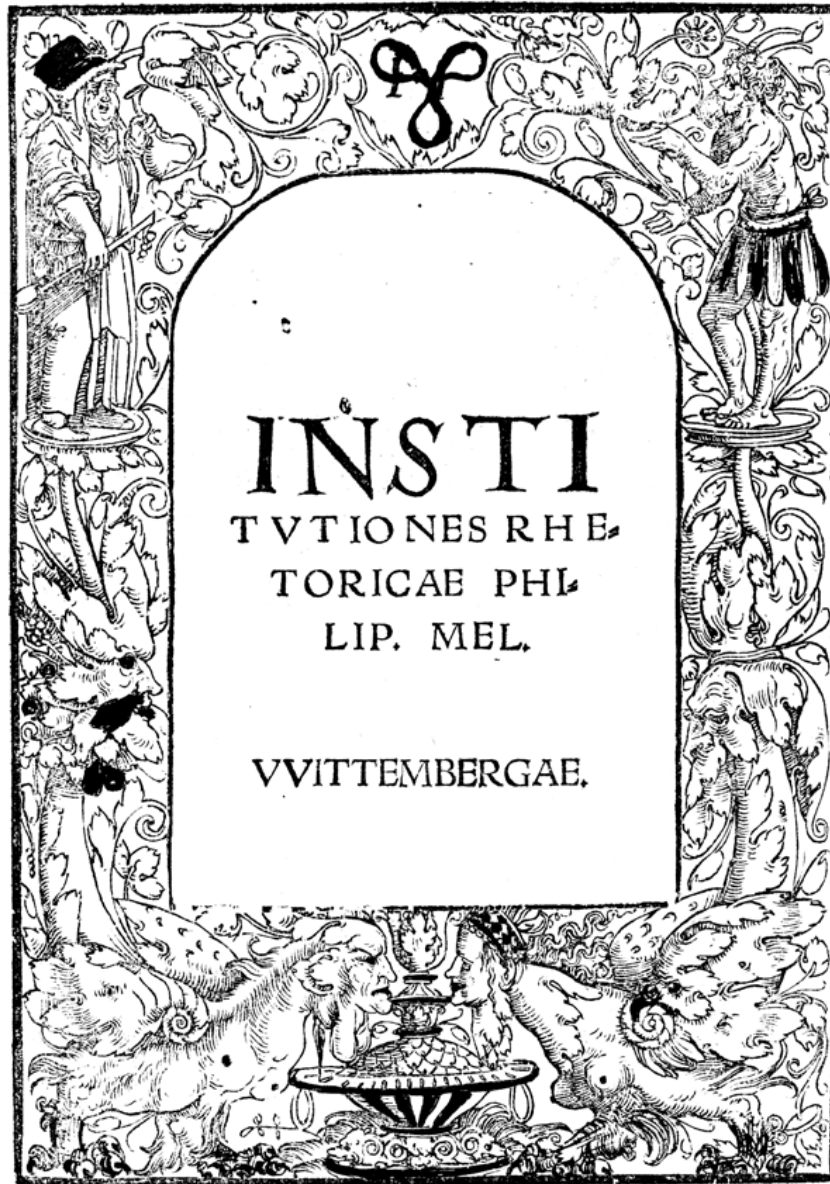
Liber selectarum declamationum Philippi Melanthonis, quas conscripsit, & partim ipse in schola Vitebergensi recitavit, partim alijs recitandas ex hibuit. Adiectae sunt eiusdem praefationes in aliquot illustres autores. Argentorati: Ex officina Cratonis Mylii, Mense Martio, anno M.D. XLI.

[8], 862, [2] pages; 21 cm. (4to); π⁴ A–Z⁴ a–z⁴ Aa–Zz⁴ AA–ZZ⁴ aa–qq⁴ (qq⁴ blank); VD16 M3554, Hartfelder 317; printer's device on title page and colophon, initials. Ownership inscriptions on title page and old marginalia throughout. Bound in blind-tooled, panelled pigskin over wooden boards, clasps and catches. 1541 MELA D

The first edition of a collection of university orations by Philipp Melanchthon and other contemporary Lutheran theologians on a wide range of topics, theological and non-theological. In his reform of Wittenberg's curriculum in 1524, Melanchthon made such declamations a regular part of the curriculum.

5. TEXTBOOKS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

At the heart of medieval education were the seven liberal arts: grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy (understood as astrology). Of these, the first three (grammar, logic, and rhetoric, also known as the *trivium* or “three roads”) were the most important building blocks for education. They remained prominent in the Renaissance and beyond, but their scope was greatly expanded. Whereas the subject of grammar had been largely confined to Latin in the Middle Ages, the inclusion of Greek, in particular, fundamentally transformed the study of this discipline. Likewise, the renewed appreciation and rediscovery of classical authors expanded the exercise of logic far beyond medieval scholasticism, and the study of rhetoric now included Cicero,



Title page of Philipp Melanchthon's *Institutiones rhetoricae* (Wittenberg: Melchior Lotther, 1521).

Isocrates, and Demosthenes. Shown here are two textbooks by Philipp Melanchthon on logic (dialectics) and rhetoric and a popular study aid for students of rhetoric.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Dialectical investigations

Erotemata dialectices continentia ferè integram artem: ita scripta, ut iuuentuti utiliter proponi possint edita a Philippo Melanthon. VVitebergae: Excusa per Iohannem Lufft, Anno 1547.

[528] pages; 17 cm. (8vo); a–k⁸ A–Z⁸; VD16 M3242; title within hand-colored, architectural, wood-engraved border, initials. Dedicatory poem by Iohannis Stigelius; preface addressed by Melanchthon to Iohannis Camerarius Filius D. Ioachimi Camerarij. Old marginalia. Bound in nineteenth-century half-calf. 1547 MELA B

Melanchthon wrote three textbooks on logic: *Compendiaria dialectices ratio* (Compendious methods of dialectic, 1520), *Dialectices libri III* (Dialectics in three books, 1537) and *Erotemata dialectices* (Dialectical investigations, 1547). Displayed here is the first printing of his *Erotemata*.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Principles of Rhetoric

Institutiones rhetoricae Philip. Mel. Wittembergae: Melchior Lotther, 1521.

[54] pages; 22 cm. (4to); A⁴ b–g⁴ (–g4); VD16 M3517; title within engraved, historiated, woodcut border; initial. Manuscript marginalia in the text, and the title border and initial are crudely hand-colored. 1521 Mela C

One of three reprints from the year of its first publication, this work by Melanchthon is one of the earliest textbooks for the study of rhetoric as an integral part of an education in the liberal arts. Rhetoric and dialectic, important areas of study in the classical European university, continued to hold their positions within the curriculum among sixteenth-century humanists and reformers as well. Melanchthon saw rhetoric as a tool to be used to help arrive at truth and regarded all truth as part and parcel of Christianity. Therefore, all subjects could contribute to the advance of the Christian faith.

Peter Schade (1493–1524): Figures and Definitions

Tabulae de schematibus et tropis Petri Mosellani. In Rhetorica Philippi Melanchthonis. In Erasmi Roterodami libellum De duplici copia. Parisiis: Ex officina Robert Stephani, [1539].

[64] pages; 17 cm. (8vo); a–d⁸; red guide letters; text in Latin and Greek; printer's device on title page. Bound in vellum. 1539 SCHA

Peter Schade, also known as Petrus Mosellanus, was one of the Greek scholars considered for the chair at Wittenberg in 1518, which came to be filled by Philipp Melanchthon. Schade took the chair in Greek at the University of Leipzig. He gave the opening oration at the Leipzig disputation between Martin Luther, Andreas Karlstadt, and Johannes Eck. He is best known for his textbooks on rhetoric. His *Tabulae de schematibus et tropis* was designed to aid his students by summarizing rhetorical doctrine as a list of figures and definitions. It was immensely popular and continued to be republished well after Schade's untimely death in 1524. The work also contains works on rhetoric by Melanchthon and Erasmus, who each wrote prefaces to their works included here. This edition was published in 1539 in Paris at the famous Estienne press.

6. DESIDERIUS ERASMUS—PRINCE OF THE HUMANISTS

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536) was one of the towering figures of intellectual life in late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Europe. Often seen as the leading humanist, Erasmus was a priest, philosopher, scholar of classical literature, and social critic. Born in Rotterdam, he lived in Paris, Leuven, London, and Basel. He wrote in a refined Latin that echoed Cicero and stood in sharp contrast to the crude medieval Latin widely used in the church.



Portrait of Desiderius Erasmus from his *Ecclesiastae sive de ratione concionandi libri quatuor* (Basel: Officina Frobeniana, 1535).

Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536): In Praise of Folly

Moriae encomium nunc postremum ab ipso autore religiose recognitu[m] una cum alijs aliquot libellis, no[n] minus eruditis quam amoenis, quorum omniu[m] titulos proxima pagella loquetur. Apud inclytam Basileam: Apud Io. Frob., An. M.D. XXII.

408, [16] pages; 19 cm. (8vo); a–z⁸ A–B⁸ C⁴ D⁸; VD16 E3193; title within ornamental borders, initials throughout. Printer's device above colophon. Old marginalia and drawings. Bound in calf over wooden boards. 1522 ERAS

One of the best-known pieces of humanist satire is Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*. Written in 1509 for his friend Thomas More, the Latin title, *Moriae encomium*, contains a play on Thomas More's name, so that it could be understood as an encomium to More. In the book, Folly speaks as if she were a learned professor, lecturing on the evils and foolishness prevalent during Erasmus' time. Folly also sets before the people the example of true Christianity in the guise of folly, as did Saint Paul in 1 Corinthians 1–3. The copy displayed here was printed in 1522 by Johann Froben. There is a manuscript ownership mark on the title page reading, "Ranulphi Bardai (Bondai?) liber 1567," as well as marginalia and drawings elsewhere in the book. The figures in sixteenth-century clothing represent the various social orders described in the text.

Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536): Adagia

Io. Frobenivs Politioris literaturae cultoribus, S. Adnisi sumus aeditione proxima, ut hoc opus cum primis frugiferu[m], quàm emendatissimu[m] prodiret in lucem . . . Accessit & autoris opera . . . Ex autoris recognitione postrema. Basileae: In aedibus Ioannis Frobenii, an. 1523.

[52], 803, [5] pages; 34 cm. (folio); 2a–2c⁶ 2d⁸ a–z⁶ A–2U⁶ 2X⁸; VD16 E1937. Preface and text printed in pages of one column of Roman type with extensive Greek citations. Indexes printed in three or four columns per page. Title within elaborate wood-engraved historiated border, displaying portraits of philosophers, with a walled garden containing a central tree in the lower panel. List of philosophers on verso of title leaf, initial leaf of preface within wood-engraved border (putti playing); colophon and printer's device on last page surrounded by elaborate historiated border (female figures representing virtues and vices). Historiated initials and borders (a few decorated). Old marginalia; old provenance markings on title page. Half-bound in alum-tawed pigskin over wooden boards, blind-tooled, with brass and leather clasps (one lacking); title and author statement inscribed on upper board: Chiliades Erasmi. From the library of Victor Stedingk, with his armorial bookplate. 1523 ERAS A

Desiderius Erasmus espoused a type of Christian humanism that included an agenda of active church reform, but one that also condemned what he saw as the excesses of those who distanced themselves from Rome. His was a reform that emphasized the Greek and Latin classics in education and the need to take the best ethical influences of the classics into the daily life of the Christian. This volume, illustrative of Erasmus' educational and spiritual emphases, contains his collection of Greek and Latin proverbs. First issued in 1500, this collection enjoyed great popularity, and Erasmus periodically published updated versions throughout his life. This edition, printed in 1523 by the Basel printer Johann Froben, contains 348 proverbs and was seen as an appendix to an earlier edition.

Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536): Ratio verae theologiae

Ratio seu methodus compendio perueniendi ad ueram Theologiam per Erasmum Roterod. postremum ab ipso autore castigata & locupletata; Paraclesis, id est exhortatio, ad studium Euangelicae philosophiae per eundem. In inclyta Basilea: In aedibus Ioannis Frobenii, An. 1522.

[208] pages; 18 cm. (8vo); a–n⁸; VD16 E3522; title within historiated border (female representations of Hope, Fortune, Prudence, Pride, Justice, and Avarice), head-piece and initials (some decorated or historiated); printer's device on colophon. 1522 ERAS A

A separate printing of the prefatory material from Erasmus' second edition of his Greek New Testament. The "Ratio verae theologiae" is an essay on the proper approach to theology. To Erasmus, the value of classical authors notwithstanding, the complete rule of belief and practice is to be found in the scriptural account of Jesus and his teaching. The "Paraclesis" is a summons or exhortation to absorb oneself in the divine self-revelation in Jesus, as the New Testament presents him. It is in this treatise that Erasmus expresses the view that the Scriptures should be available in the vernacular.

Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536): On the Education of a Christian Prince

Institutio principis Christiani saluberrimis referta praeceptis p[er] Erasmum Roterodamu[m] . . . Praecepta Isocratis de regno administra[n]do ad Nicoclem regem, eodem interprete. Apud sanctam Coloniam: [Hero Fuchs], An. 1523. mense Augusto.

[160] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); A–K⁸; VD16 E3136; title within wood engraved architectural border, initials. 1523 ERAS

Erasmus' famous treatise on the duties of the Christian prince was composed 1516, in part as a response to Macchiavelli's *The Prince*, which was written three years earlier but not published until 1532. In line with his views of a larger society in which all Christians should order their lives according to the ethical teachings of Christ, he saw princes as being in a particular position to further the divine plan in the world. The work is dedicated to Prince Charles of Habsburg, the later Emperor Charles V. The edition displayed here was printed 1523 in Cologne.



Portrait of Martin Luther from his *Zwo schöne vnd tröstliche Predigt* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw, 1546).

7. MARTIN LUTHER—EDUCATION AS A CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

The beginnings of public education are generally dated back to the Renaissance, when social and economic changes in Europe, as well as a growing urban class, prompted the need to provide schooling for a greater number of people. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, literacy rates in Europe were around 2–3 percent, although a significantly higher percentage of people would have had a very rudimentary knowledge or at least some reading and writing skills. Public education was therefore a significant topic of debate in sixteenth-century Germany, and Martin Luther and the majority of reformers, as well as many Catholic thinkers, placed much emphasis on education.

Martin Luther (1483–1546): To the Councilmen of All Cities in Germany

An die Radherrn aller stedte deutsches lands das sie Christliche schulen auffrichten vnd halten sollen Martinus Luther. Wittenberg. M.D.xxiiij. Wittenberg: Cranach und Döring, M.D.xxiiij.

[38] pages; 18 cm. (4to); A–E⁴ (–E4); Benzing 1875, VD16 L3800; title within engraved, historiated, architectural, woodcut border (putti and Luther's coat of arms); initial. 1524 LUTH W

This is the first printing of Luther's most significant tract on the subject of education. Writing in 1524, Luther calls on all German cities to set up schools to teach both Christian doctrine and the liberal arts. He also emphasized the need for teaching Latin and Greek as part of Christian education. It is important to note that Luther specifically mentions that education should also be provided for girls, an idea that was not the norm in sixteenth-century Europe.

Martin Luther (1483–1546): Sermon on Keeping Children in School

Eine Predigt Marti. Luther das man Kinder zur Schulen halten solle. Gedruckt zu Wittenberg: durch Nickel Schirlentz, 1530.

[68]; 21 cm. (4to); A–G⁴ H² I⁴; Benzing 2821, VD16 L5689; imprint from colophon; dedicated to Lazarus Spengler. Rubricated title page, title within wood-engraved historiated architectural border (coats of arms of Luther and Melancthon, Nativity and printer's monogram below, Trinity and cherubs above, saints on left and right). Initials (decorated and historiated). 1530 LUTH II

The first printing of a sermon by Martin Luther admonishing Christian parents to keep their children in school. With increased urbanization and economic changes, parents would frequently opt not to send their children to school, but to have them help with the family business, a trend openly condemned by Luther.

Martin Luther (1483–1546): Exhortation to the University of Wittenberg

Vermanung Doctoris Martini Lutheri in abwesen Doctoris Pomerani, An die Vniuersitet vnd den Rathe vnd Burgerschafft zu Wittenburg. Nuremberg: Johann Petreius, 1542.

[4] pages; 20 cm. (4to); π²; Benzing 3400, VD16 L6933; initials. 1542 LUTH B

A strongly worded statement to the university and city of Wittenberg by Luther, acting in his capacity as assistant pastor at the city church in Wittenberg during the absence of Johann Bugenhagen. Invoking the invasion of Hungary by the Ottoman Turks the previous year and the threat this posed for Germany, Luther exhorts the students to conduct their lives more virtuously in order to avoid God's wrath (and punishment by way of a Turkish invasion). Calling himself a "poor old preacher," he pleads with the students to adopt a more serious attitude toward their studies and calls on the city council to "punish the vices" (*die Laster zu straffen*).

Desiderius Erasmus: On the Freedom of the Will—Martin Luther: On the Bondage of the Will

De Libero arbitrio διατριβή, sive collatio, Desiderij Erasmi Roterodami. Basileae: Apvd Ioannem Beb, [1524].

[94] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); a–f⁸; VD16 E3146, Bezzel (Erasmus) 1262; bound in blind-tooled pigskin on wooden boards. 1524 ERAS.

De servo arbitrio, Martini Lutheri ad D. Erasmum Roterodamum. [Strasbourg: Wolfgang Köpfel], 1526.

372 pages; 16 cm. (8vo); A–Z⁸ &⁴; Benzing 2206, VD16 L6668; title within woodcut border; initial; contemporary manuscript marginalia.

A *Sammelband* or volume in which two separate publications were bound together by an early owner: Erasmus' *On the Freedom of the Will* and Luther's response to Erasmus, *On the Bondage of the Will*. Erasmus was in many respects sympathetic to the aims of Luther. He had had unpleasant experiences in the monastery and also saw the abuses in the church and longed to see them corrected. However, he felt no need to break with the church, and he deplored Luther's assertive polemic and divisive actions. Many Catholics urged Erasmus to enter the lists against Luther, but it was not until 1524 that he could be persuaded to do so. When his attack came, it was mild and scholarly, not at all the biting satire that had been expected. In his response, Luther recognized at once that Erasmus had rightly seen that the doctrine of free will was the main point of contention between them. Erasmus asserted the freedom of will and the ability to

be able to cooperate in one's own salvation, while Luther denied this freedom in strict Augustinian fashion, arguing that all action for salvation was on God's part.

Martin Luther (1483–1546): Preface to Orations by Two Saxon Princes

Illustrissimum principum iuniorum Saxoniae, Io. Friderici II. et Io. VVilhelmi, fratrum Declamationes, quarum est 1. De boni principis officio . . . cum praefatione D. Martini Lutheri. Vitebergae: Apud Georgium Rhaw, 1543.

[72] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); A–D⁸ E⁴; Benzing 3447, VD16 J819; head and tailpieces on title page; initials. 1543 JOHA.

This work contains two academic orations delivered by the young dukes of Saxony, Johann Friedrich II (aged fourteen) and Johann Wilhelm (aged thirteen). Johann Friedrich's oration on the office of a good prince was delivered on April 29, 1543. The second piece, Johann Wilhelm's oration on the late Duke George of Saxony, was presented at the same time. The third and fourth works, both by Johann Friedrich, include a speech on law (given at Torgau on Feb. 28, 1542) and a panegyric addressed to Johann Friedrich I (presented on Oct 2, 1542, in Altenburg). The preface by Luther praises the humanistic education of the young princes. The orations themselves were probably written by Basilius Monner, the teacher of the two princes at Wittenberg.

8. MARTIN LUTHER AND THE UNIVERSITIES OF PARIS AND LEUVEN

In 1519, Martin Luther and Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt met with Johann Eck at the University of Leipzig to debate points already touched on in Luther's 95 Theses, especially the authority of Scripture and the pope. In what became known as the Leipzig Debate, the disputants agreed to have their arguments judged by the theological faculties at Paris and Leuven (Louvain). Leuven decided firmly against Luther. While Paris was more equivocal, its faculty still declared several of Luther's propositions heretical. Luther himself asserted that that he considered the judgment of the two universities no more than the rants of a drunken woman.

University of de Leuven, Faculty of Theology: Condemnation of Martin Luther's Theses

Condemnatio Doctrinalis libror[um] Martini Lutheri per quosda[m] Magistros Louanien[sium] & Colonien[sium], facta. Respo[n]sio Lutheriana ad eandem condemnationem. M.D. XX. Augsburg: [Silvan Otmar, M.D. XX.]

[34] pages; 21 cm. (4to); a–c⁴ d⁶ (–d6); Benzing 629, VD16 L2335; title in ornamental woodcut border; some marginalia; bound in red morocco with marbled paperboard. 1520 UNIV

Condemnatio doctrinalis libroru[m] Martini Lutheri, per quosdam Magistros nostros Louanien[sium] & Colonien[sium], facta. Responsio Lutheriana ad eande[m] condemnatione[m]. Vuittenbergae: Apud Melchiorem Lottherum iuniorem, 1520.

[32] pages; 20 cm. (4to); A–D⁴; Benzing 627, VD16 L2341; title within engraved woodcut border, initials, some manuscript marginalia in the text. 1520 COND

In their response to Luther's theses proposed for the Leipzig Debate in 1519, the theological faculty at the University of Leuven became the first institution to issue a formal condemnation of Martin Luther, preceding by several months the papal bull *Exsurge Domine*, which called on Luther to withdraw his theses or face excommunication. The response by Luther was to tell his attackers to get their facts straight before they go into print, least their foolishness be apparent to the whole world. Displayed here are two of seven printings issued in 1520 that reproduce the entire text of the condemnation along with Luther's response.

Anonymous Pamphlet: A Letter Regarding our Teachers from Leuven

Epistola de magistris nostris Louaniensibus quot, et quales sint, quibus debemus magistralem illam damnationem Lutherianam. Item Vita S. Nicolai, siue stultitiae exemplar. [Strasbourg: Johann Schott?], M.D.XXI.

[32] pages; 20 cm. (4to); A–D⁴; first item in a bound collection; bound in gold-decorated polished calf with the Sunderland coat-of-arms on front and back covers. 1521 EPIS A

An anonymous pamphlet in the form of an epistle addressed to Huldrych Zwingli. Here an unnamed Protestant replies quite caustically to the Leuven condemnation, and for good measure throws in a scathing attack on St. Nicholas Edmundasus. It is possible that the author was Wilhelm Nesen, a tutor in Frankfurt/Main and correspondent of Erasmus. Nesen came to Wittenberg in 1523, but drowned the following year in the Elbe River.

Martin Luther (1483–1546): Against the 32 Articles by the Theologians of Leuven

Wider die XXXII. Artikel der Theologisten von Löwen. Mart. Luth. Wittenberg. M.D.XLV. Gedruckt zu Wittenberg; durch Nickel Schirlentz, 1545.

[20] pages; 20 cm. (4to); A–B⁴ C²; Benzing 3521, VD16 L4259; title within wood-engraved, historiated and architectural border. 1545 LUTH I

In a later controversy between Luther and the University of Leuven, Luther takes issue with a document prepared by the theologians of the University of Leuven, with the approval of Emperor Charles V, to guide parish clergy in their teaching on the controversies of the day. Displayed here is Luther's own translation of the original Latin pamphlet *Contra XXXII. articulos Louaniensium theologistarum*. Of interest is the woodcut title page border, which displays an image of the biblical story of Samson killing a lion. The image is a deliberate pun on the name of the city Leuven, Löwen in German, which is also the German word for lion.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Against the Decision by the Mad Parisian Theologians

Aduersus furiosum Parisiensium theologastrorum decretum Philippi Melanthonis pro Luthero Apologia. Basel: Adam Petri, 1521.

[28] pages; 21 cm. (4to); A–B⁴ C⁶; VD16 M2432; initials. 1521 MELA D

Philipp Melanchthon's response to the public condemnation of Luther's teachings by the theological faculty at the University of Paris earlier the same year.

University of Paris, Faculty of Theology: Statement on Martin Luther's Teachings

Determinatio theologiae facultatis Parisien. super doctrina Lutheriana hactenus per eam visa. Paris: [Antoine Bonnemère?], 1521.

[26] pages; 23 cm. (4to); A–B⁴ C⁶ (–C6); Adams P-326. There are manuscript ownership entries on the foot of the title page and first page of text. The inscriptions on the title page read, "Non Francisci Jastrzembski sed Mathia Gilewski Em[re]ns Craconiae in foro Cut vulgo vocati Vendeta. A.D. 1583" (underlined part in a second hand) and "Congregationis Augustissimae Virginis Annunciatae in Collegio Posan." The ownership entry on the first page is only partly legible. Marginalia throughout. 1521 UNIV A

The theological faculty of the University of Paris was asked by both parties of the Leipzig Debate to decide who had "won" the contest. After two years of silence they finally issued their report. While they identified several heretical propositions in Luther's works, they said nothing about the Debate itself.



Title page of Martin Luther's *Wider die XXXII Artikel der Theologen von Löwen* (Wittenberg: Nickel Schirlentz, 1545).

9. EARLY TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

The widespread availability of the biblical text in the vernacular was one of the most significant achievements of the Protestant Reformation. While there were Bibles in German, English, and other languages prior to the Reformation, such Bibles were typically rather rigid translations based on the text of the Latin Vulgate, the authorized Latin version, which was itself a translation of the Greek and Hebrew, produced by Jerome in the fourth century. It was not until Luther's translation of the New Testament in 1522 (and subsequent translation of the Old Testament) that a vernacular version based on the original languages came into existence. Luther's translation, which reflected both the idiomatic usage of sixteenth-century German and the idiosyncracies of the sacred text, was quickly followed not only by numerous printings but also by other translations, produced by other Reformers and even by some of his Catholic contemporaries. While these translations were extremely well received, some of Luther's Catholic detractors remained highly critical, as this quotation from Johann Cochlaeus demonstrates.

Luther's New Testament was so much multiplied and spread by printers that even tailors and shoemakers, yea, even women and ignorant persons who had accepted this new Lutheran gospel, and could read a little German, studied it with the greatest avidity as the fountain of all truth. Some committed it to memory, and carried it about in their bosom. In a few months such people deemed themselves so learned that they were not ashamed to dispute about faith and the gospel not only with Catholic laymen, but even with priests and monks and doctors of divinity. (Translated from Johannes Cochlaeus' *Historia Martini Lutheri, das ist, Kurtze Beschreibung seiner Handlungen und Geschriften*, the German translation of *Commentaria ... de actis et scriptis Martini Lutheri* [Mainz: Victor, 1549], p. 60, and cited in: Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church*. 3rd rev. [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1910, v. 6, p. 350].)

Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536): Paraphrase of the New Testament

The first [-seconde] tome or volume of the Paraphrases of Erasmus upon the Newe Testamente. London: Edward Whitchurche, 1548–1549.

2 volumes; 29 cm. (folio); STC (2nd ed.) 2854; printer's device on last page; text in single column and in black letter, initials (historiated and decorated). Old marginalia. Bound in nineteenth-century bordered, framed and paneled polished calf, tooled in blind, with gilt and gaufered edges, and marbled endpapers. 1548 ERAS V.1–2

First printing of the English translation of Erasmus' paraphrase of the New Testament. In 1547, King Edward VI ordered that a copy should be placed in every church. The translation of the first volume was overseen by Nicholas Udall, the second by Miles Coverdale and John Olde, although others participated in the translation, including Princess (later Queen) Mary, who translated the Gospel of John. The editors added the text of the New Testament from the Great Bible to accompany Erasmus' *Paraphrases*.

German Bible (1536, Zürich)

Die gantze Bibel, das ist alle Bücher allts vnnd neüws Testaments den vrsprünglichen Spraachen nach auff's aller treüwlichet verteütschet. Darzu sind yetzund kom[m]en ein schön vnd volkom[m]en Register od[er] Zeyger über die gantzen Bibel. Die Jarzal vnnd Rächnung der zeyten von Adamen biss an Christu[m] mit sampt gwüsen Concordantzen, Argumenten, Zalen vn[nd] Figuren. Getruckt zuo Zürich: bey Christoffel Froschouer, im Iar als man zalt, 1536.

2 volumes ([44], CCCXLI, CCCXVII leaves); 37 cm. (folio); π^6 3a–3b⁶ 3c⁴ a–z⁸ A–T⁸ V⁶ (–V6) 2a–2z⁸ 2A–2Q⁸ 2R⁶ (–R6); VD16 B2701; title page in red and black; text in double columns and in fraktur typeface. Part 2 has a separate title page, "Das ander teyl dess Alten Testaments mit sampt dem Neüwen." On verso of leaf CCCXVII: Getruckt zu Zürich bey Christoffel Froschouer, vnd vollendet am sechszehenden Tag des Mertzens, Im Iar M.D.XXXVI. Old marginalia. Bound in old alum-tawed pigskin over wooden boards, tooled in blind. 1536 BIBL V.1–2

The second printing of the Zürcher Bibel (Zurich Bible). Edited by Leo Jud, Ulrich Zwingli (until his death in 1531), Conrad Pellikan and others, the Bible was based,

in part, on Luther's High German translation, and on a translation of the Hebrew Prophets by Hans Denck and Ludwig Hätzer, two emerging leaders of the Radical Reformation. The text of the Zurich Bible is lavishly illustrated with two striking title pages and many different wood engravings, including 74 initial letters (17 different designs). The work is sometimes also called the "Cannon Bible" after the anachronistic cannon in the background of the wood engraving on the second title page, which depicts Christ being led away from judgment.

German New Testament (Luther, December 1522, Basel)

Das new Testament, yetzund recht grüntlich teutsch. Welchs allein Christum vnser Seligkeit, recht vnd klärlich leret. Mit gantz gelerten vnd richtigen Vorreden, vnd der schweristen Orteren kurtz, aber gut, Ausslegung. Zu[o] Basel: durch Adam Petri, im Christmond des Jars M.D. xxij. [December 1522]

[4], CLXXXI, [1] leaves; 31 cm. (folio); A⁴ B–2G⁶ 2H⁸; VD16 B4317; woodcut title page border with the symbols of the four Evangelists, Peter and Paul, with date "1523" in Adam Petri's device, by Hans Lutzburger, after Hans Holbein the Younger. Cf. Pflugk-Harttung 81. Woodcuts with biblical scenes (repeated) at beginning of each book, by same artists. Cf. Hollstein XIVA, Hans Holbein, 48 a–i. Small initials attributed to Hans Holbein the Younger, a few larger ones to Urs Graf. Cf. E. Stickelberger, *Reformation*, 36. Printer's device on title page and verso of 2H8. Bound in brown, blind-stamped, panelled calf with the monograph "N.S." (Nicholas Spierinck, a sixteenth-century bookbinder in Cambridge). 1522 BIBL C

A reprint of Luther's translation of the New Testament (first published in September 1522, commonly called the "September Testament"), with some changes in spelling to accommodate the Swiss dialect of Basel, where it was printed. This printing is illustrated with woodcuts by Hans Holbein the Younger and was produced by the printer Adam Petri in December 1522. The date 1523 in the printer's device on the title page suggests that Adam Petri finished his work at the end of December, since the dating for the new year was often begun with Christmas.

Low German Bible (Luther & Bugenhagen, 1533, Lübeck)

De Biblie vth der vthlegginge Doctoris Martini Luthers yn dyth düdesche vlitich vthgeseztet, mit sundergen vnderrichtingen also men seen mach. Inn der keyserliken Stadt Lübeck: By Ludowich Dietz gedrucket, M.D. XXXIII.

6 parts in 1; 37 cm. (folio); *⁶ A–P⁶ (P6 verso blank) a–d⁶ e⁴ f–x⁶ y⁴ Aa–Cc⁶ Dd–Ee⁴ Ff–Gg⁶ Hh⁴ Ji–Mm⁶ Nn⁴ Oo⁶ (Oo6 blank) aa⁴ bb–tt⁶ vv⁴ aaa–lll⁶ mmm⁴ (mmm4 verso blank) AA–XX⁶ YY–ZZ⁴ †⁶; VD16 B2840; colophon dated 1534. Old Testament in five parts, 2–5 with half-titles; "Dat Nye Testament . . ." is dated 1533 and has its own title page within woodcut border. 1533 BIBL A

The first Low German edition of Luther's Bible, prepared by Johann Bugenhagen, appeared even before the first publication of Luther's complete High German Bible in 1534. The woodcut illustrations by Erhard Aldorfer include Daniel's "dream map."

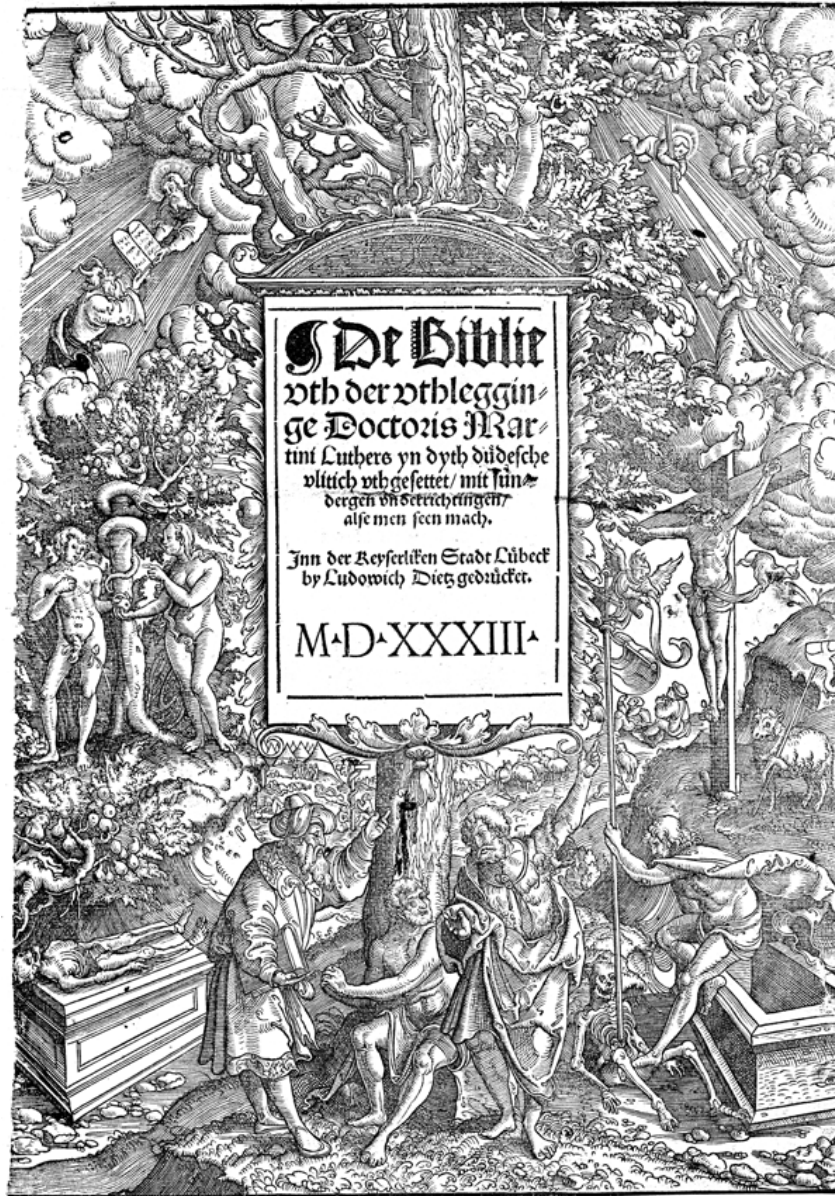
10. HEBREW BIBLES

Rabbinic Bible (First Edition)

מקראות גדולות [Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1517].

[1,354] pages; 36 cm. (folio); 1–16⁸ 17⁶ 21–15⁸ 31–22⁸ 323⁴ 41–8⁸ 49⁴ χ¹ 51–2⁸ 53¹⁰ 54–8⁸ 61–2⁸ 63⁶ 64⁴ 71–6⁸ 81⁸ 82⁶ 91⁶ 92⁴ (gatherings signed in Hebrew characters); Habermann, A.M., *ha-Madpis Daniyel Bombirgi*, 28,8; initial words. Bound in old blind-tooled, bordered and panelled leather over wooden boards. From the library of Mordekhai Shemu'el Gerondi mi-Padova 5471 [1810 or 1811], with his signature; from the library of Binyamin Yitshak ben Binyamin mi-Lit[as?], with his signature. Old marginalia. 1517 BIBL

The first complete Hebrew Bible, with rabbinic commentaries, from the house of Venetian printer Daniel Bomberg. Bomberg, a Christian, appealed to the Christian, as well as to the Jewish market, and his Rabbinic Bible became the Hebrew Bible of choice among the Reformers. The work was edited by Felix Pratensis a Jewish convert



Title page of *De Biblie* (Lübeck: Ludwig Dietz, 1533–1534).

to Christianity. There is a permission statement by Pope Leo X, to whom the work is dedicated.

Rabbinic Bible (Second Edition)

מקראות גדולות [Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1524]

4 volumes; 39 cm. (folio); Haberman 93. Extensive old Hebrew marginalia, some censoring of commentaries. 1524 BIBL V.1–4

The second complete Hebrew Bible, with rabbinic commentaries, also from Daniel Bomberg. The editor for this edition was the Masoretic scholar Yaaqov Ben Hayyim, who thoroughly reworked the Masora of the text. The Ben Hayyim edition became the textual model for nearly all subsequent editions.

11. THE GLOSSA ORDINARIA

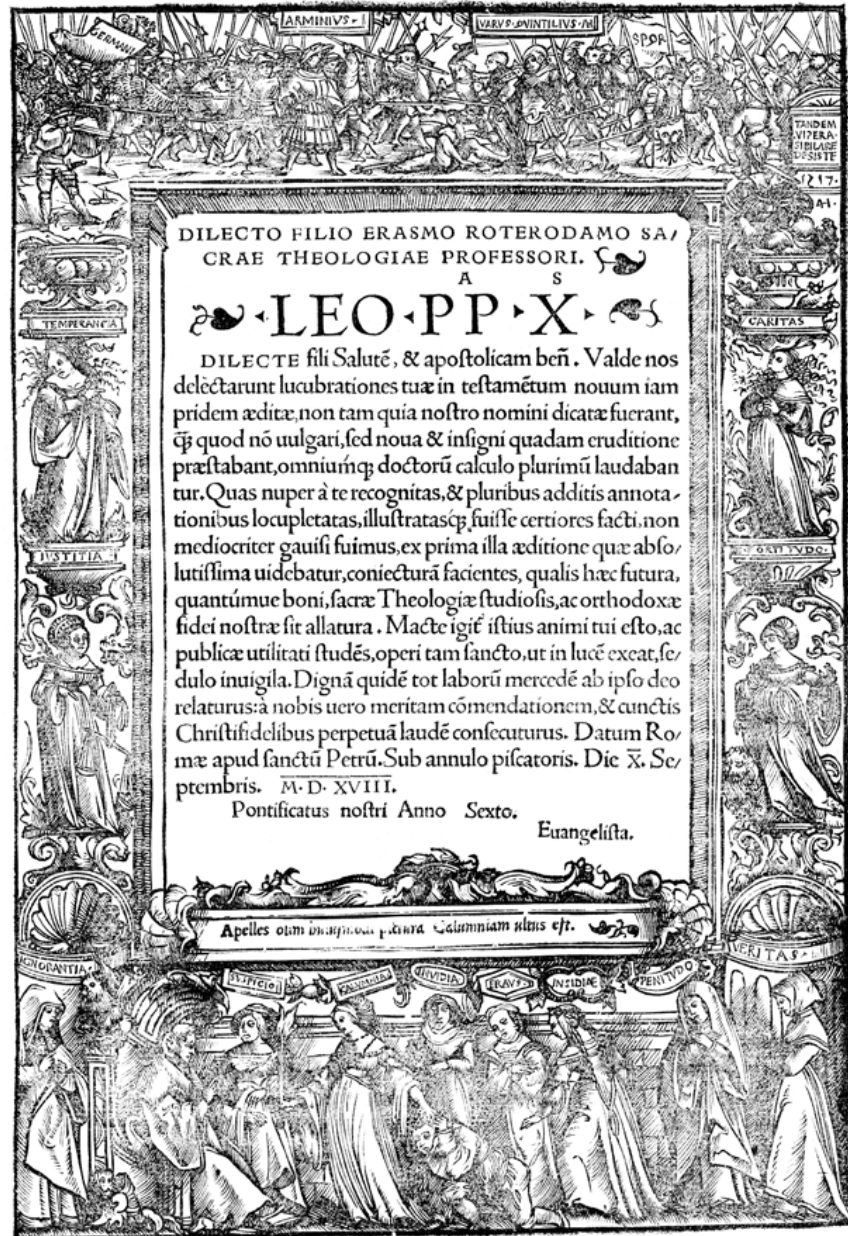
The Bible of the Middle Ages was the Latin Vulgate, a translation produced by Jerome in the fourth century. Most Christians encountered the Bible orally through sermons and stories or depicted in images displayed in churches. The Vulgate itself was read primarily by clergy and monastic religious, and in late-medieval sermons the preacher would first read the Latin text followed by his own translation. Since Scripture was to be read and understood within the literary context of church tradition, a popular form of the Bible was the so called *Glossa ordinaria* (“ordinary gloss/interpretation” or “Glossed Bible”), in which a short portion of the biblical text was set in the center of the page surrounded by the commentary of well-known interpreters. The compilation of the *Glossa* had traditionally been attributed to the ninth-century monk Walafrid Strabo but is now recognized as having been produced by Anselm of Laon and his associates in the twelfth century.

Glossed Vulgate Bible: Gospels (1498)

Quinta pars biblie cu[m] glosa ordinaria expositio[n]e Lyre litterali & morali: necno[n] additio[n]ibus ac replicis. Per Iohannem Petri de Langendorff et Iohannem Froben de Hamelburg . . . Basilee impressum, [1 Dec. 1498].

244 leaves; 30 cm. (folio); a–y⁸⁻⁶ z⁸ A⁶ B–I⁸⁻⁶ M⁶; Hain 3172, Goff B609, GW 4284; woodcuts. Initials rubricated in red and blue. Initial letter of each Gospel elaborately illuminated in gold. Old calf binding rebaked. 1498 BIBL V.5

Volume 5 (Gospels) of a six-volume Vulgate with *Glossa ordinaria*, including the “postillae” of Nicolaus of Lyra, the *expositiones prologorum* of Guillelmus Brito, the *additiones* of Paulus Burgensis and the *replicae* of Matthias Döring. This printing, which was edited by the humanist Sebastian Brant, better known for his satire *Ship of Fools*, reflects a technological innovation in textual navigation. It includes small letters printed just above particular words in the biblical text, which link to the interlinear commentary. Likewise, letters are printed to the left of the lines of the text, which are repeated before sections of the *Glossa*, linking the biblical text to its commentary. This idiosyncratic system reflects the difficulty of connecting commentary to text without verse numbers. Before the innovation of this system, the connection could only be made by identifying key words in the commentary. The reformers continued to use Lyra’s commentary on the whole Bible, especially for its compendium of rabbinic and patristic commentators, which led some to change the ditty, “If Lyra had not played his lyre, no teacher would have danced with the Bible” to “If Lyra had not played his lyre, Luther would not have danced.”



Dedicatory preface by Desiderius Erasmus to the second edition of his Greek New Testament, *Nouum Testamentum Omne* (Basel: Johannes Froben, 1519).

12. THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT OF ERASMUS

Greek New Testament (Erasmus, 1516)

Nouum instrumentu[m] omne diligenter ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitum & emendatum no[n] solum ad graecam ueritatem, uerum etiam ad multorum utriusq[ue] lingae codicum, eorumq[ue] ueterum simul & emendatorum fidem, postremo ad probatissimorum autorum citationem, emendationem & interpretationem, praecipue, Origenis, Chrysostomi, Cyrilli, Vulgarij, Hieronymi, Cypriani, Ambrosij, Hilarij, Augustini, una cu[m] Annotationibus, quae lectorem doceant, quid qua ratione mutatum sit. Quisquis igitur amas ueram Theologiam, lege, cognosce, ac deinde iudica. Neq[ue] statim offendere, si quid mutatum offenderis, sed expende, num in melius mutatum sit. Apud inclytam Germaniae Basilaeam: In aedibus Ioannis Frobenij Hammelbergensis, Mense Februario. Anno M.D.XVI. [1516]

[28], 324, 672 [i.e. 636], [3] pages; 32 cm. (folio in 6's and 8's); 3a⁶ 3b⁸ A–2D⁶ a–h⁶ i⁸ k–t⁶ χ¹ u–z⁶ 2a–2m⁶ 2n⁸ 2q–2z⁶ Aa–Ee⁶ Ff⁸; VD16 B4196, Adams B1679. At the head of the title page in ink is an old ownership mark: “Ex Bibliotheca Sci[en]tiae SS. Joan. Bapt. & Jan. E. in Haugis. Herbipoluis.” Old marginalia, fore-edge shelf mark and spine label. Bound in blind-stamped, polished calf over wooden boards, clasps missing. 1516 BIBL B

The first published edition of the Greek New Testament. Erasmus used a few late Greek manuscripts as the basis of his text. It was edited and printed quickly so that it might appear before the work of the Spanish Cardinal Jimenez (the Complutensian Polyglot).² Erasmus' manuscripts did not include the whole text of the Book of Revelation, and so he translated the missing section from the Latin back to Greek.

Greek New Testament (Erasmus, 1519)

Nouum Testamentum omne multo quam antehac diligentius ab Erasmo Roterodamo recognitu[m], eme[n]datum ac translatum . . . Basileae: in aedibus Ioannis Frobenii, Mense Martio Anno. MDXIX.

2 volumes (565, 579 pages); 31 cm. (folio); V.1: Aa–Kk⁶ a–z⁶ A–Z⁶ &⁸, V.2: aa⁴ a–z⁶ A–Y⁶ Z⁴ aA–bB⁸ (–bB⁸); VD16 B4197, Adams B1680. Bound in blind-stamped calf over paper boards. 1519 BIBL V.1–2

It was the first edition of Erasmus' Greek New Testament from 1516 that inspired Luther to learn Greek, but it was the second edition of 1519 that Luther used to translate the New Testament into German and publish in 1522. Although Erasmus says that he took much greater care editing the Greek of the second edition, he did not make many textual changes in it. The greatest impact of this edition was made by Erasmus' annotations and by the inclusion of his own Latin translation in favor of the text of the Vulgate.

2. Luther owed a debt of gratitude to Erasmus for his pioneering work in Greek and New Testament scholarship. Erasmus' first edition of his Greek New Testament was put together in great haste to get it into print before the Spanish Complutensian Polyglot could be published. The Complutensian Polyglot Greek New Testament was actually finished first, but Pope Leo X withheld permission to publish until 1520, thus giving Erasmus a monopoly on the publication of the text of the Greek New Testament.

13. POLYGLOTS

The Complutensian Polyglot

Uetus testamentu[m] multiplici lingua nu[n]c primo impressum et imprimis Pentateuchus Hebraico Graeco atque Chaldaico idiomate. Adiuncta unicuique[ue] sua latina interpretatione. Academia Complutensi: Industria Arnaldi Guillelmi de Brocaro, in Academia Complutensi, 1514–1517.

6 volumes; 39 cm. (folio in 8's and 6's); title page printed in red and black, includes coat of arms of Cardinal Jiménez, surrounded by ornamental engraved, woodcut border. Vol. 1 (with title: *Uetus Testamentu[m] multiplici lingua nu[n]c primo impressum*) and v. 2–4 (*Secundu[m]da [-quarta] pars Veteris Testamenti*) have colophon (v. 4) dated, 10 July 1517; v. 6 (*Vocabularium hebraicum atque chaldaicum totius Veteris Testamenti*) has two colophons dated, respectively, 17 March 1515 and 31 May 1515. 1514 BIBL V.1–6

The first of the great polyglot Bibles, the Complutensian Polyglot was edited by a team of scholars led by Diego Lopez de Zuiga at Alcalá de Henares (Latin, Complutum). The Old Testament is generally arranged in three columns with the Hebrew text in the outside column (Hebrew roots in the margin), the Vulgate in the middle and the Greek Septuagint in the inside column. This prompted some defenders of the Vulgate to quip that the authorized Latin text appeared as Christ between the two thieves. The New Testament is printed in two columns with the Greek on the left and the Vulgate on the right.

14. JUDGING A BOOK BY ITS COVER—BOOKBINDINGS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The profession of the bookbinder was distinct from that of the printer in the Reformation era and it was not until the nineteenth century that publisher bindings became an integral part of the production of books. In the sixteenth century, books were typically issued as “paperbacks,” sewn into discarded pieces of paper or sometimes vellum. The owner of a book would then have it bound. Depending on the owner's wealth, such bindings could be quite ornate and often personalized. A common decorative technique was blind tooling, in which brass stamps or brass rollers were heated and then pressed or rolled over dampened leather that had been stretched over wooden boards. Sometimes an owner would have initials and a date tooled into the leather, and frequently an image would be blind-stamped onto the front and back cover. Classical and biblical portraits or motifs were popular for such images and would sometimes be used to express an owner's beliefs, values and preferences.

1575 Luth Bd.8**Luther, Martin, 1483–1546: Collected Works (Jena Edition), Volume 8**

Der achte Teil aller Bücher unnd Schrifften des thewren, seligen Mans Gottes Doct. Mart. Lutheri . . . Gedruckt zu Jhena: durch Donatum Richtzenhain vnd Thomam Rebart, Anno M.D.LXVIII.

[4], 391 leaves; 33 cm. (folio); VD16 L3369; title in red and black; formerly in the libraries of Christoff Prantss and of Matthaeus Schmollius. 1575 LUTH BD.8

The Jena edition was instigated by Johann Friedrich I, Duke of Saxony. The eight German volumes were published 1555–1558, and there were numerous later editions of each volume. The chief editors were Georg Röser, Nicolaus von Amsdorff, Johann Aurifaber, and Matthäus Ratzenberger. Jena was the chief center of the Gnesio-Lutheran movement, which espoused strict doctrinal adherence in opposition to the Wittenberg-based Philippists after the death of Martin Luther and before the Formula of Concord. Displayed here is a specimen volume 8, bound in 1577 for Christoff Prantss. The work is bound in silver-tooled (blackened) pigskin with portraits of Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon (front and back covers, respectively), a common design for Lutheran works.

Veit Dietrich (1506–1549): Summary of the Entire Bible

Summaria vber die gantze Bibel: das Alte vnd Neue Testament, darinn auffß kürtzte angezeygt wirdt, was am nötigsten vnnnd nützten ist dem jungen Volck, vnd gemeinem Mann, auss allen Capiteln zu wissen vnnnd zu lernen, darnach sie ir Leben richten vnd solcher feiner Lehre, zu ihrer Seelen Seligkeyt brauchen können durch Vitum Dietrich: item. Unterschid des Alten vn[d] Newen Testaments fürneme Unterschid zwischen reiner Christlicher Lehre des Euangelii, vnd der abgöttischen Papisten Lehre. Christlicher vn[d] kurtzer Vnterricht, von Vergebung der Sünde und Seligkeit durch Philip. Melanch. Nürnberg: Johann vom Berg und Vlrich Newber, 1548.

[680] pages; 31 cm. (folio); a–2d⁶ 2e⁸ A–2D⁶ 2E⁸; VD16 ZV25154; illustrated title page; title in red and black; initials. Contemporary alum-tawed, panel stamped and hand-tooled pig-skin binding with sewn-in headbands, beveled boards and brass clasps, and binder's initial H in center of panel on lower board; late nineteenth-century manuscript notes on front and back fly leaves. 1548 DIET A

A chapter-by-chapter summary of the Bible, designed to assist young people and the average person in applying the Scriptures to daily life, by Veit Dietrich, a student of Melanchthon and Luther in Wittenberg, secretary to Luther, and later, preacher at St. Sebald's Church in Nuremberg. It includes Psalm summaries by Luther, additional material by Melanchthon and an essay by Johann Brenz, a reformer of Southern Germany. The binding depicts a tree with dead branches on the front cover and a living tree on the back cover, a symbolic representation of the old covenant (the Law), which leads to death, and the new covenant (the Gospel), which brings eternal life. This motif, which originated with Lukas Cranach the Elder and was painted by Hans Holbein the Younger and other artists, is also found frequently on title-page illustrations of the period.

The Slüter Hymnal: A Low-German Hymnal from 1560

Enchiridion geistliker Leder vnde Psalmen vppet nye gebetert Mart. Luth[er]. Witteberch: gedrucket . . . dorch Georgen Ruwen Eruen, 1560.

[504] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); A–Z⁸ a–h⁸ i⁴; VD16 G946; 39 woodcut images of scenes from the Old and New Testament, each page has an engraved ornamental border. Annotations in an old hand on end papers. 1560 GEIS

A 1560 printing of a Low German hymnal, first issued in 1531 by Joachim Slüter, a pastor and reformer in the Northern German city of Rostock. The work contains a Low German adaptation of Luther's Klug hymnal, including Luther's preface, first issued with the *Wittenberger Gesangbuch* (Wittenberg hymnal) of 1524, as well as a number of other hymns collected by Slüter. The work is bound in blind-tooled, paneled leather with images of Judith and Jael on the front and back central panels. The name "Jacob Hardeck" is tooled on the front and the date "Anno 1607" on the back. Judith, the legendary heroine of the apocryphal book that bears her name, is known for seducing and decapitating the Babylonian general Holofernes, thereby saving the people of her village. Similarly, Jael is featured in Judges 4–5, where she invites the Canaanite general Sisera into her tent and kills him by driving a tent peg into his head, thereby saving the people of Israel. The choice of Judith and Jael is an interesting alternative to the popular Justitia-Lucretia design found on many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books.

Church Order Kurhessen-Waldeck

Kirchen Ordnung. Wie es mit der Reynen Lehr des Euangelij, Administration der heyiligen Sacrament, Annehmung, verhörung, vnd bestetigung der Priester, Ordentlichen Ceremonien in den Kirchen, Visitation vnd Synodis, in der Herrschafft Waldeck gehalten werd. Getruckt zuo Marburg: bei Andres Colben, 21. Augusti. Anno D[omi]ni. M.D.LVII.

[138] pages; 19 cm. (4to); A–Q4, R6 (–R6); VD16 ZV15403; coat of arms on title page, initials throughout, includes music. 1557 EVAN

This is the church ordinance issued by the Counts of Waldeck. Although the county was a fief of Hesse-Kassel, this ordinance differs considerably from the Hessian Church Ordinance of 1539. The book is bound in blind-tooled pigskin—very common in German speaking areas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—and depicts Justitia and Lucretia on the front and back cover, respectively. Justitia is the female personification of Justice and is represented blindfolded with a sword in her right hand and scales in her left. Lucretia is a semi-legendary figure from the early history of Rome and is often depicted as a symbol of chastity and piety. According to the first-century Roman historian Livy, Lucretia committed suicide by stabbing herself after being raped by the last Roman king, Tarquin the Proud. Her rape and subsequent death were said to have led to a revolt that brought down the monarchy and established the Roman republic in its place. The story of Lucretia was a popular theme in art and literature, and the pairing of Justitia and Lucretia was one of the most common designs on book bindings in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Theological Commonplaces

Loci praecipui theologici nunc denuo cura et diligentia summa recogniti, multisq[ue] in locis copiose illustrati per Philippum Melanchthonem; cum appendice disputationis de coniugio . . . ; ad haec locorum Scripturae toto hoc Opere explicatorum, capitum item totius libri, rerum deniq[ue] & Verborum memorabilium trigeminus Index, quam diligentissime collectus. Vitebergae: Excudebat Iohannes Crato, Anno 1558.

949, [102] pages; 18 cm. (8vo); A–Z⁸ a–z⁸ 2A–2G⁸; VD16 M3661; includes index. From the library of Casparus Megandrus, with his signature. Extensive old inscriptions and marginalia. 1558 MELA C

A later Wittenberg printing of this most famous of all Melanchthon's theological works, printed for the first time in Wittenberg in 1521. Melanchthon wrote it for the use of his private students to accompany his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans but soon found it necessary to issue a version to the press, due to the circulation of unofficial copies. A revision of the third Latin edition of 1543, the book is bound in paneled pigskin over wooden boards, with brass clasps and blind tooled with human representations of the virtues Hope, Faith, Justice, and Charity, flowerets, and the initials BBG above the central panel on the upper board.

15. INSTRUCTIONS BY THE OFFICIAL VISITORS FOR SAXONY'S PARISH PASTORS

As the Lutheran Reformation became more established in places such as Saxony or Thuringia, the need to organize church government became more and more apparent. Many local churches were in disarray, especially in rural areas. To sort out financial and staffing issues, to ensure consistency in doctrine and liturgy and to raise the level of Christian education within church and school, visitors were appointed to travel throughout the region and monitor the activity of pastors within their ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The first visitors in 1527 consisted of two representatives of the Saxon Court, a professor of law (Jerome Schurff) and a theologian (Philipp Melanchthon).

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) and Martin Luther: Saxon Visitation Articles

Vnterricht der Visitatorn an die Pfarhern ym Kurfurstenthum zu Sachssen. Vuittemberg: N.S. Nickel Schirlentz, 1528.

[96] pages; 22 cm. (4to); A–M⁴; Benzing 2486, VD16 M2600; title within engraved, historiated, woodcut border (Trinity at top, Nativity scene below flanked by coats of arms of Luther and Melanchthon signed with monogram of Nickel Schirlentz in small shield at bottom); initials (some historiated). 1528 MELA A

The first printing of the Saxon Visitation Articles, intended to guide the pastors with instruction by visitors appointed by the Saxon government to inspect churches within the Electorate of Saxony. The instructions were written jointly by Philipp Melanchthon and Martin Luther, who also wrote the preface. The title-page woodcut is from the

workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder and includes the crests of Martin Luther and Philipp Melanchthon at the foot of the page.

Erasmus Sarcerius (1501–1559): Questions and Answers for Inspecting Rural Churches

Dialogus mutuis interrogationibus et responsionibus reddens rationem ueteru[m] Synodorum, cum generalium, cum prouincialium, item uisitationum, & nuper habitae synodi & uisitationis, pro pastoribus Comitatus Nassouiensis, sub illustri & generoso Domino Guilelmo Comite : simul[que] explicans eiusdem synodi & uisitationis acta, que lecta & cognita, & alijs regionibus multum utilitatis adferre possunt. Autore M. Erasmo Sarcerio Annaemontano. [Frankfurt am Main: Christian Egenolff, 1539?]

87 [i.e. 85] leaves; 20 cm. (4to); A–V⁴ X⁶ (X6 blank); VD16 S1692; some rubrication. 1539 SARC A

Erasmus Sarcerius was one of the leading religious educators in the early Lutheran church, teaching in schools in Austria and later in Rostock and Lübeck, before being called to serve as superintendent of Nassau-Dillenburg by Count Wilhelm of Nassau. In this work he proposes an examination format to be used by superintendents during their visitations.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Saxon Visitation Articles

Vnterricht der Visitatorn an die Pfarrhern im Kurfürstentum zu Sachsen. Wittenberg [i.e. Augsburg]: [Philipp Ulhart], M.D.XXVIII.

[78] pages; 20 cm. (4to); A–J⁴ (–J4); Benzing 2494, VD16 M2594; title in architectural woodcut border; fictitious imprint, printer from VD16. 1528 MELA B

Another printing of the Saxon Visitation Articles. The place of publication is given as Wittenberg but was in fact Augsburg, while the name of the printer is not given. Such fictitious imprints were not unusual in areas where the printing of Protestant literature was politically unsafe. Although the Visitation Articles were essentially a document for governing doctrine and organization in the churches of the Electorate of Saxony, they were being reprinted outside of Saxony in the year of their first publication.

16. CATECHISMS

Educational reform for Luther and many of his fellow reformers was not limited to universities and seminaries, and Luther placed much emphasis on the proper theological instruction of the laity. As a result, the sixteenth century witnessed a proliferation of catechetical literature. The publication of Luther's two catechisms (large and small) in 1529 was prompted directly by the reformer's visit to the churches of Saxony and his surprise over the ignorance of both laity and clergy with regard to basic Christian teachings. In the preface to his Small Catechism he noted:

The deplorable, wretched deprivation that I recently encountered while I was a visitor has constrained and compelled me to prepare this catechism, or Christian instruction, in such a brief, plain, and simple version. Dear God, what misery I beheld! The ordinary person, especially in the villages, knows absolutely nothing about the Christian faith, and unfortunately many pastors are completely unskilled and incompetent teachers. Yet supposedly they all bear the name Christian, are baptized, and receive the holy sacrament, even though they do not know the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments! As a result they live like simple cattle or irrational pigs and, despite the fact that the gospel has returned, have mastered the fine art of misusing all their freedom.³

3. Luther, Martin "Preface to the Small Catechism" in *The Book of Concord: The Confessions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, ed. Robert Kolb and Timothy J. Wengert (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2000), 347.

Johannes Brenz (1499–1570): Catechism for the Youth of Schwäbisch Hall

Fragstück des christenlichen Glaube[n]s für die Jugendt zů Schwebische[n] Hall (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1561). J[ohannes] B[renz] E. H. [Augsburg: Philipp Ulhart, 1528].

[45] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); A–C⁸ (–C8); VD16 B7625; title in red and black within historiated woodcut border. Bound in green morocco. 1528 BREN A

Johannes Brenz was an early supporter of the Lutheran Reformation in Southwest Germany. In 1522 he was threatened with being tried as a heretic but avoided prosecution by taking a position as pastor in the city of Schwäbisch Hall. He later became the chief architect of the Reformation in the Duchy of Württemberg. The work shown here is the first edition of his catechism for the youth of Schwäbisch Hall. It is one of the earliest Lutheran catechisms, predating even Luther's own large and small catechisms by one year. The work takes the form of question and answer and is divided in two sections, the first of which is intended for smaller children and covers baptism, the apostle's creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Eucharist. The second part is intended for adults or older children and provides interpretations on all these topics. Brenz's catechism continued to be used for centuries in Württemberg.

Martin Luther (1483–1546): Small Catechism

Enchiridion: Der kleine Catechismus für die gemeine Pfarherr vnd Prediger. Mart. Luther. Leipzig: Durch Valentin Babst, 1545.

[172] pages; 17 cm. (8vo); [A]–L⁸; Benzing 2619, VD16 L5061; bound in blind-tooled pigskin, metal clasps. 1545 LUTH K:1

The second illustrated edition of Valentin Bapst's publication of Luther's Small Catechism. The work contains numerous wood engravings, depicting scenes from the Old and New Testament, and each page is set within an ornamental engraved border. The work is bound with three other titles, all published by Bapst:

1. *Seelen Ertzney für die Gesunden und Krancken*, a devotional work by the Augsburg reformer Urbanus Regius (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1545)
2. *Ein einfeltige Weise zu beten*, a short work on prayer by Martin Luther (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1545)
3. *Ein Betbuchlein*, an anonymous Lutheran prayer book (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1543)

Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574)

Catechesis, seu initia doctrinae in ecclesia Christi Graece iterum nuper edita, et nunc primum in sermonem Latinum conuersa, cumque indicio & notatione locorum quorundam, expressa. Lipsiae: In Officina Voegel, M.D. LXIII.

[16], 430, [34] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); §⁸ A–Z⁸ a–f⁸ (d8, f8 verso blank); VD16 C449; printer's device on title page, initials. Bound in blind-tooled paneled pigskin (dated 1563) over wooden boards. 1563 CAME

Joachim Camerarius was a correspondent of Erasmus and was Melanchthon's closest friend. He was first rector of the New Latin School in Nuremberg (1526), planned by Melanchthon, and later professor at the University of Tübingen and then professor at the University of Leipzig. After the death of Erasmus, Camerarius became one of the most eminent Latin scholars of the sixteenth century (see NDB III, 104). Displayed here is the first Latin edition of Camerarius' Lutheran catechism, which was first composed and anonymously published in a Greek edition in 1552, without place or printer. It was not uncommon for works to be translated into Greek for educational purposes, but the composition of a catechism in Greek and subsequent translation into Latin was unusual. It is a testimony to the importance of Greek in the educational curricula of sixteenth-century universities committed to the Reformation. The work is bound with the second edition of another catechetical instruction book, written by the Lutheran educator Valentin Friedland, *Catechesis scholae Golspergensis* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1561). Friedland was also known as Valentin Trotzendorf, after his hometown, and his school at Goldberg, for which the text was written, was famous throughout Germany.



Title page of the "Achtliederbuch," *Etlich christlich Lider Lobgesang* (Nuremberg: Jobst Gutknecht, 1524).

17. MARTIN LUTHER'S LARGE CATECHISM

Martin Luther (1483–1546): Large Catechism

Deutsch Catechismus. Mart. Luther. Gedruckt zu Wittenberg: durch Georgen Rhaw, M.D.XXIX.

[1], xcii leaves; 19 cm. (4to); A–Y⁴ Z⁶ (–Z6); Benzing 2548, VD16 L4339; title within engraved, historiated, architectural, woodcut border (Luther's coat of arms and Lamb of God above, Crucifixion below); initials throughout. On the verso of the last leaf are signatures in sixteenth- to seventeenth-century hand of Johann Ernst von Schawn and Georg Erasmus von Haritzsch. 1529 LUTH B

Luther's Large Catechism grew out of three series of sermons preached in 1528–1529. Aimed particularly at clergy to aid them in teaching their congregations, it typifies the importance of knowing and understanding the articles of the Christian faith emphasized by Luther and other Reformers. The work is divided into five parts: (1) The Ten Commandments, (2) The Apostles' Creed, (3) The Lord's Prayer, (4) Holy Baptism and (5) The Sacrament of the Altar. Displayed here is the first printing of the work. A second printing in 1529 included instructions about Confession.

Martin Luther (1483–1546): Large Catechism

Deutsch Catechismus, gemehret mit einer newen Vorrhede und Vermanunge zu der Beicht. Gedrückt zu Wittenberg: durch Georgen Rhaw, M.D.XXX.

[4], lxxv [i.e. 79] leaves; 20 cm. (4to); A–X⁴ (–X4, X3 verso blank); Benzing 2554; VD16 L4343; numerous contemporary marginal notes in German and Latin (some slightly cropped) and four small sketches (also contemporary) in brown pen; bound in modern vellum. 1530 LUTH UU

The first illustrated edition in quarto format of Luther's Large Catechism. The illustration include ten woodcuts by Lucas Cranach, eleven cuts by the "Master of the Jacobsleiter", a pupil of Georg Lemberger, and three other woodcut by another artist. The title border is also a work by Lemberger. Acquired through the generous subvention of Richard C. Kessler in honor of his father Callie Whitfield Kessler, born October 22, 1917.

Martin Luther (1483–1546): Large Catechism

Deutsch Catechismus. Mart. Luth. Gedrückt zu Erffurd: Durch Conrad Treffer zum halben Rad, ynn der Meyner gassen, Ym Jar. M.D.XXiX.

[158] pages; 15 cm. (8vo); A–K⁸ (–K8); Benzing 2549, VD16 L4336; title within engraved, historiated, architectural, woodcut border (Crucifixion at foot of page, border dated "1526" in upper left hand corner); initials throughout. 1529 LUTH C

This is the second printing in the year of issue (1529) of Luther's Large Catechism.

Martin Luther (1483–1546): Large Catechism

D. Martini Lutheri theologi, catechismus, lectu dignissimus, latinus factus per Vincentium Obsopoeum. Huic adiecti sunt alij quo[que] gemini Catechismi, Iohannis Brentij ecclesiastae Hallensis, eodem interprete. Haganoae: per Iohan Secerium, An. M.D.XXIX.

[272] pages (last page blank); 16 cm. (8vo); A–R⁸ (R8 verso blank); Benzing 2580, VD16 L4408; title within architectural woodcut border. 1529 LUTH J

First edition of the second Latin translation of Luther's Large Catechism, published earlier the same year. This translation was done Vincentius Opsopäus (Vinzenz Heidecker). Issued with it is the first Latin edition of Johann Brenz's catechism, first published in German in 1528 under the title "Fragstück des christlichen Glaube[n]s für die Jugend zu Schwebische[n] Hall". Acquired through the generous subvention of Mr. Gray Reese in honor of Ava Gray Reese.

18. LITURGICAL REFORM

Worship and liturgy underwent significant changes in the Reformation. The use of vernacular languages advocated by Luther meant an adaptation of the liturgy of the mass for use in German. In addition, the worship services of the Lutheran Reformation rejected the idea of the mass as sacrifice as the central element of worship and instead insisted upon the mass as a testament or promise of Christ's forgiving presence in which the laity partakes of both elements (bread and wine). The participation of the laity in the singing of hymns in the vernacular also took on a new significance with Luther, who was himself a prolific composer of hymns.

Collection of Hymns from Wittenberg and from other Hymnals

Kirche[n] Gesäng aus dem Wittenbergischen vnd allen andern den besten Gesangbüchern, so biss anhero hin vnd wider aussgangen colligirt vnd gesamlet; In eine feine richtige vnd gute Ordnung gebracht, vnd auff's fleissigest, vnd nach den besten Exempla. Gedruckt zu Frankfurt am Mayn: bey Joan. Wolffén, 1569.

[4], 353, [7] leaves; 40 cm. (folio in 6's);)(⁴ A-2Z⁶ a-o⁶ (o6 blank) [](), 2X⁴; VD16 K925; title printed in red and black; printer's device on title page and colophon; text printed within rules; includes 26 manuscript leaves of hymns, some with music, bound in at end. Most are in Latin, but a few are in German; contemporary bleached, blind-stamped pigskin over wooden boards. 1569 KIRC

A collection of Lutheran hymns and some hymns of the Bohemian Brethren with Psalm settings by J. Magdeburg, R. Herman and B. Waldis. A beautiful specimen both of typography and book design, this hymn book sums up the first generation of Protestant hymnology.

Lucas Lossius (1508–1582): Psalmodia.

Psalmodia, hoc est, Cantica sacra veteris ecclesiae selecta. Quo ordine et melodiis per totius anni curriculum cantari visitate solent in Templis de Deo, & de Filio eius Iesu Christo, de regno ipsius, doctrina, vita, Passione, Resurrectione, & Ascensione, & de Spiritu Sancto. . . . Ad ecclesiarum et scholarum . . . per Lucam Lossium . . . Witebergae: Joh. Schwertelius excudebat, 1569.

[8], 360, [4] leaves of music; 20 cm. (4to); A-B⁴ A-Z⁴ a-z⁴ 2Aa-3Y⁴; VD16 L2830, RISM B/VIII 1569²⁴; title page in red and black; printer's device on title page and in colophon, initials, woodcut illustrations, includes index. 1569 LOSS

Comprehensive collection of liturgical music for the use of the Lutheran Church by Lucas Lossius, an editor and hymn writer from the northern city of Lüneburg. While some chants and hymns are in German, most of the liturgical chants are in Latin. This work became popular—especially in Latin schools and universities throughout Northern Germany—and contributed to the continued use of Latin in the Lutheran musical tradition, where the German and Latin versions of a hymn were sometimes sung antiphonally by congregation and choir.

Martin Luther (1483–1546): German Litany

Teütsche Letaney, vmb alles anligen der Cristenlichen gemayn. [Nuremberg: Jobst Gutknecht, 1529?]

[15] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); unsigned; Benzing 2714; title within engraved woodcut border, music. 1529 LUTH

Luther radically revised traditional litanies for the saints, prevelant in the late Middle Ages, into this litany to God. It contains both the musical notation and German text of the antiphons. Thomas Cranmer later adapted it for use in the first *Book of Common Prayer*.

Achtliederbuch: The First Wittenberg Hymnal

Etlich Cristlich lider Lobgesang, vn[d] Psalm dem reinen wort Gottes gemess, auss der heyliche[n] schrift, durch mancherley hochgelerter gemacht, in der Kirchen zu sigen, wie es dann zum tayl berayt zuo Wittenberg in übung ist. Wittenberg [i.e. Nuremberg]: [Jobst Gutknecht], 1514 [i.e. 1524].

[23] pages; 21 cm. (4to); A–C⁴; Benzing 3571, VD16 L4698t; title within engraved woodcut border by Erhard Schön, (Luther, *Titeleinfassungen*, Tafel 124 and 120); five pages with music. Bound in gilt-tooled green morocco with silver clasp and bosses. 1524 ETLI

The *Achtliederbuch*—literally eight-song-book—is the first volume of printed hymns for church use ever compiled. Jobst Gutknecht, the Nuremberg printer, gathered eight broadside hymns into one collection, thus making the world’s first church hymnal. Four hymns are by Luther; three are by Paul Speratus; and one is anonymous. The title page contains several curious errors, including the decorative fish-motif in the lower panel being printed upside down and, more significantly, a printing date of M.D.Xiiij [1514] instead of M.D.Xxiiij [1524].

Martin Luther (1483–1546): An Order of the Mass and Communion.

Ein weyse Christlich Mess zuhalten vn[d] zum tisch Gottis zu gehen Martinus Luther. Wyttemberg. M.D.xxiiii. Wytemberg: Cranach und Döring, M.D.xxiiii.

[38] pages; 20 cm. (4to); A–E⁴ (–E4); Benzing 1701, VD16 L4739; title within engraved, historiated, architectural, woodcut border (putti and animals); initials throughout. At end: “Der Psalmus Deus misereatur nostri” translated into rhymed German by Luther as: “Es wollt vns Gott genedig seyn” (E3A) and “Psalmus Laudate Dominu[m] omnes gentes,” translated into rhymed German by J. Agricola as: “Frolich wollen wyr Alleluia singen.” 1524 LUTH U

First published in Latin in 1523, Luther’s *Formula missae et communionis* defines the order of the Sunday worship service and the distribution of communion for the church at Wittenberg. The tract is an important attempt at revision of the Latin Mass. Displayed here is the German translation of the work by Paul Speratus, a Catholic priest who became an early supporter of the Lutheran Reformation and later Evangelical bishop of Pomerania in East Prussia.

Martin Luther (1483–1546): German Mass

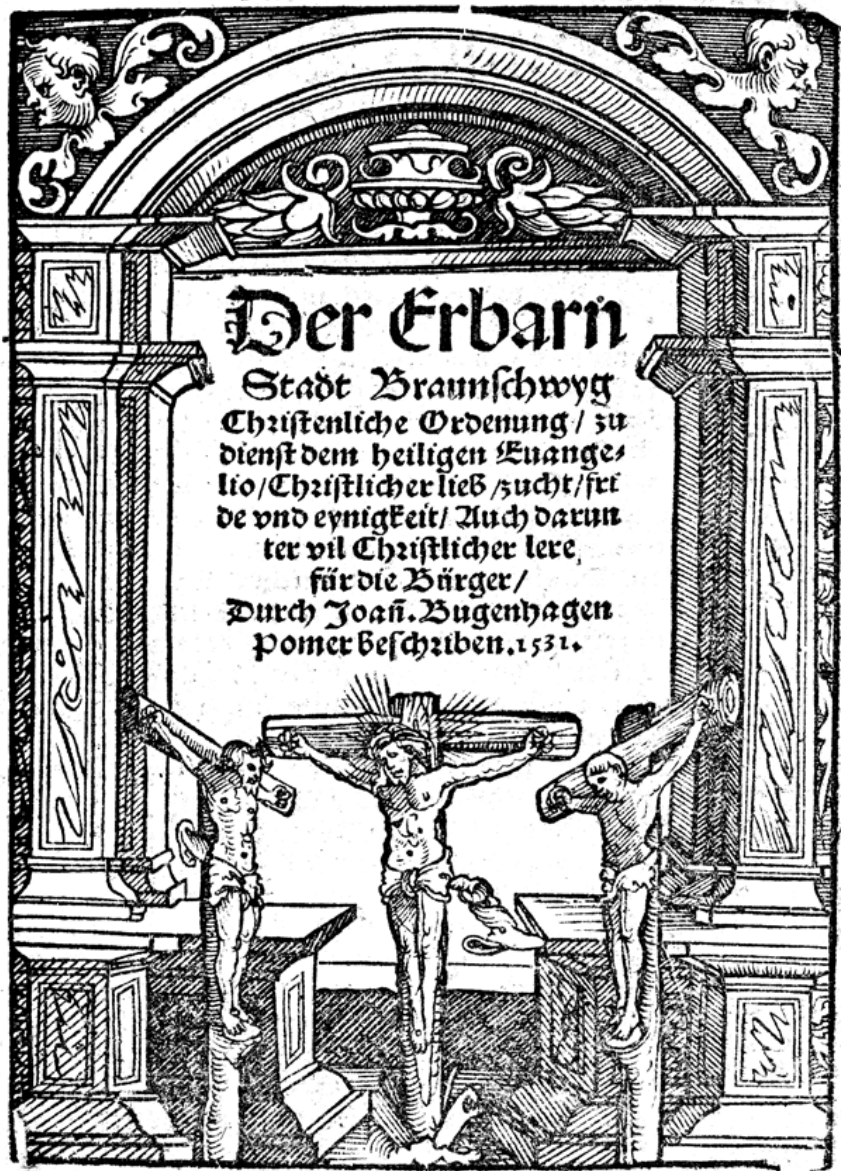
Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnung Gotes diensts, zuo Wittemberg, fürgenom[m]en. M.D.XXVI. [Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner], 1526.

[50] pages; 21 cm. (4to); A–E⁴ F² G⁴ (–G4); Benzing 2246, VD16 M4912; title within engraved, historiated, woodcut border, after Hans Springinklee; music. 1526 LUTH R

Luther’s *Deutsche Messe* (German Mass) is the foundation of the liturgical reformation of the German-language worship service. Luther provided most if the ideas and even some of the musical material, but he also availed himself of the services of his friend Johann Walther, music director of the court of Maurice of Saxony. This is the first Augsburg printing of the work: it follows the Nuremberg printing of Friedrich Peypus, which is based on the first Wittenberg printing of the work.

19. WITTENBERG EXAMINATION FOR ORDINATION OF THEOLOGY STUDENTS

To ensure that candidates for ordination were adequately educated and prepared for ministry, they were given an exam that tested their knowledge of biblical and theological matters. In 1553, Melanchthon collaborated with the Mecklenburg superintendent, Jakob Runge, to publish for the first time the examination questions and answers for candidates for ministry as part of the Mecklenburg church order. The following year he published his own Latin translation, and both versions were reissued annually after that. These publications were intended to be a comprehensive summary of what a successful candidate for ordination should know. As such, they were almost a question-and-answer-based academic catechism. In addition, Melanchthon and other



Title page of the Church Order for the City of Braunschweig, *Der erbarn Stadt Braunschwyg chris-
 tenliche Ordnung* (Nuremberg: Friedrich Peypus, 1531).

theological educators published shorter summaries and study aids that could be of use to students of theology in the sixteenth century.

Leonhard Culmann (1498?–1562): Study Aid for Theology Students.

Disputationes seu argumentationes theologiae, utiles ijs, qui sacris initiari et se examini subijcere uolunt collectae per Leonhardum Culmannum Craylsheimensem ac denuo ab ipso actuae & recognitae. Norimbergae: Apud Ioannem Daubman, M.D.L.I.

[12], 424, [6] pages; 15 cm. (8vo); A¹⁰ B–Z⁸ a–d⁸ e⁴ (–e4); VD16 C6249; title in architectural woodcut border, initials; printer's device in colophon, index. Inscription on title page and inside cover, as well as on two final blank pages. Bound in blind-tooled paneled alum-tawed pigskin over paper boards, with the initials A[?]H on the front cover. 1551 CULM

A compilation of questions and arguments for students preparing for theological examinations, collected by the Lutheran educator Leonard Culmann, a pastor in Nuremberg who would later be stripped of his position there and forced to settle in Württemberg. The work was first published in 1546.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Exam for Ordination Candidates (German)

Der Ordinanden Examen. Wie es in der Kirchen zu Wittemberg gehalten wird: Darinnen die Summa christlicher Lere begriffen, allen Gottfürchtigen nützlich vnd notwendig zu wissen. Geschrieben durch Herrn Philip. Melan. Witteberg: Gedruckt durch Hans Lufft, 1561.

120 leaves; 17 cm. (8vo); A–P⁸; VD16 M3920. Bound before the title page are eight leaves with handwritten notes on both sides about salvation and retribution. The first page is inscribed “Jacobus Leuwe est possessor huius libri Anno 87,” probably indicating sixteenth- (or possibly seventeenth-) century provenance. 1561 MELA C

A 1561 German printing of Melanchthon's examination questions for ordination candidates, first issued in 1553 for Mecklenburg but also, as the title indicates, used in Wittenberg.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Exam for Ordination Candidates (Latin)

Examen eorum qui audiuntur ante ritum publicae ordinationis: qua commendatur eis ministerium Evangelii. Traditum Vuitebergae anno 1554 Philippus Melanth. VVitebergae: Excudebant Haeredes Petri Seitzii, 1556.

[376] pages; 17 cm. (8vo); A–Z⁸; VD16 M3928; Melanchthon's coat of arms on title page; initials and tailpiece. 1556 MELA B

A 1556 printing of Melanchthon's Latin translation of the German exam questions for ordination candidates at the University of Wittenberg.

Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Questions and Responses on Academic Subjects

Quaestiones de rebus cognitione dignissimis explicatae in publicis congressibus in Academia VVitebergensi . . . Philippo Melanthon. VVitebergae: In Officina haeredum Georgii Rhau, 1558.

[416] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); [asterisk with tail]⁸ A–2B⁸; dedication signed: Paulus Eberus; initials. 1558 MELA B

A presentation of scholarly questions and answers by Philipp Melanchthon and Paul Eber.

20. CHURCH GOVERNMENT AND THE RELATIONSHIP OF CHURCH AND STATE

Church Order of Brandenburg-Nuremberg

Kirchen Ordnung in meiner gnedigen Herrn der Marggrauen zu Brandenburg, vnd eins Erborn Raths der Stadt Nürnberg Oberkeyt vnd Gebieten wie man sich bayde mit der Lehr vnd Ceremonien halten solle. Auffs new yetzo, dem alten Exemplar nach, mit sonderm Fleiss widerumb gedruckt. Zu Nürnberg: Bey Christoff Heussler, 1564.

[2], lvii, [1] leaves (final leaf blank); 31 cm. (folio); A–H⁶ G–I⁴ K⁶ L⁴ (L4 blank); VD16 B6966; title page and some portions of text printed in red and black; bound in paneled, blind-stamped vellum over beveled wooden boards; inscribed on inside cover: Hanns Gübler, 1567; 1564 EVAN:1

Drawing on Veit Dietrich's *Agendbüchlein*, this church order—commonly referred to as the Brandenburg-Nürnberg Kirchenordnung—was compiled by Andreas Osiander with the assistance of Johann Brenz. It resulted from an ecclesiastical visitation organized by Georg, Margrave of Brandenburg-Ansbach (whose territories did not include Brandenburg) jointly with the city of Nuremberg. This copy is bound with Andreas Osiander's *Catechismus oder Kindepredig* (Nürnberg: Christoff Heussler, 1564)

Church Order of the Palatinate

Kirchenordnung, wie es mit der christenlichen Leere, heiligen Sacramenten, vnd Ceremonien, inn des durchleuchtigsten, hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herren, Herrn Ottheinrichs, Pfaltzgrauen bey Rhein, des Heiligen Römischen Reichs Ertztruchsessens vnnnd Churfürsten, Hertzogen inn Nidern vnd Oberrn Bayern [etc.]. Chur vnd Fürstenthumben gehalten wirdt. Gedruckt zu Neuburg an der Thu[o]naw: Inn Hansen Kilians, churfu[e]rstlichen Secretarij, Druckerey, Anno M.D.LVI

[4], 122, [2] leaves; 20 cm. (4to); A–2I⁴; VD16 P2147' title in red and black; Otto Heinrich's coat of arms on verso of title page; bound in alum tawled, blind stamped pigskin. 1556 PALA: 1

First edition of Otto Heinrich's (Ottheinrich's) church order, based on the Würtemberg church order of 1553 as well as the Mecklenburg and Neuburg church orders of 1554. The Palatinate became Protestant when Otto Heinrich joined the Lutheran movement in 1542. The work is bound with two other publications by the Government of the Palatinate: *Von den Eesachen* (On Marriage Laws) and *Schul Ordnung* (School Regulations).

Veit Dietrich (1506–1549): Agendbüchlein

Agend Büchlein für die Pfarrherrn auff dem Land durch Vitum Dietrich. Gedruckt zu Nürnberg: durch Johan vom Berg, vnnnd Vlrich Neuber, wonhafft auff dem Newenbaw, bey der Kalckhütten, 1545.

[246] pages; 21 cm. (4to); π⁴ A⁴ a–z⁴ A–F⁴ (F4 blank); VD16 A640; imprint from colophon; title page printed in red and black; title within engraved woodcut border; printer's device, depicting the transfiguration, on leaf B3 verso; large woodcut initials throughout. 1545 DIET B

Printed in 1545, this is the fourth edition of Veit Dietrich's Lutheran church order, which was used in the city of Nuremberg until 1799.

Johann Bugenhagen (1485–1558): Church Order for the City of Braunschweig

Der Erborn Stadt Braunschwyg Christenliche Ordnung zu Dienst dem heiligen Euangelio, christlicher Lieb, Zucht, Fride, vnd Eynigkeit. Auch darunter vil christlicher Lere für die Bürger. Durch Ioan[em] Bugenhagen Pomer beschriben. 1531. Gedrückt zu Nürnberg: durch Friderichen Peypus, Anno [et]c. 1531.

[260] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); A–P⁸ Q⁶ R⁴ (R4 verso blank); VD16 B7236; imprint from colophon; printer's device below colophon; title within historiated architectural border (crucifixion in lower panel), initials (decorated and historiated), includes music. Marginalia inscribed in an old hand. 1531 BUGE

The first High German printing of the first major Lutheran church order, prepared by Johann Bugenhagen, pastor in Wittenberg and colleague of Luther at the university. It includes sections on the communal support of midwives and on public education. As Wittenberg's chief pastor, Bugenhagen often spent extended periods of time away from Wittenberg to promote the Reformation elsewhere.

Johannes Brenz (1499–1570): Church Order for the Duchy of Württemberg

Kirchenordnung, wie es mit der Leere und Ceremonien im Fürstenthumb Wirtemberg ansgericht vnd gehalten werden soll. Getruckt zů Tübingen: durch Vlrich Morhart, Anno M.D.LIII.

[2], XCI [i.e. 92] leaves; 16 cm. (8vo); A–L⁸ M⁶; VD16 W4492; title in red and black; crest of Württemberg on title page, printer's device on last page. Bound in blind-tooled panelled calf over wooden boards. 1553 CONF

Johannes Brenz wrote the first Protestant catechism in 1527/1528, a revision of which was accepted as the Lutheran church order of Nuremberg and Ansbach. It was revised and reprinted numerous times for use also in Württemberg, before being replaced by the Great Church Order of Württemberg (also written by Brenz), which came to serve as a model for many other Lutheran churches in Germany. The work is bound with two other publications:

1. Confession . . . zů Wirtemberg (Tubingen: Vlrich Morhart, 1553). A 1553 printing of the Württemberg Confession, commissioned by Duke Christoph, drafted by Johannes Brenz in 1551 and signed by other Swabian theologians to be presented at the Council of Trent in 1552.
2. J. Brenz, *Ordenliche Beschreibung deren Ding ... auff dem Concilio zů Triendt* (Tübingen : Ulrich Morhart, 1553). An account by Johannes Brenz about the delegation from the Duchy of Württemberg to the Council of Trent. The delegates were to present the Württemberg Confession, but they were not received before the Council. In response, Duke Christoph of Württemberg repealed the Augsburg Interim and prohibited celebration of the mass in his duchy.

Georg III von Anhalt (1507–1553): Instructions for Pastors in Times of War

Vnderricht wie die Pfarherrn das Volck in diesen geschwinden vnd gefährlichen Zeiten zur Buss vnd Gebett vermanen sollen, auff Fürstlichen Befehl durch den hochwirdigen durchlauchtigen hochgebornen Fürsten vnd Herrn, Herrn Georgen Fürsten zu Anhalt . . . aussgeschriben Anno 1546. Gedruckt zu Leipzig: durch Valentin Bapst, 1546.

[10] leaves; (4to); A⁴ B⁶; VD16 M4843; imprint from colophon; decorated initials, last page blank. Bound in modern blue decorated paper. 1546 GEOR

A short tract by Georg, Prince of Anhalt and Evangelical bishop of Merseburg, offering guidance to Lutheran clergy of his diocese on how they should instruct their people in repentance and prayer in the face of the threat of war. Trained early for the clergy, Georg had an exceptional education, even compared to some of the best scholars of his time. He became a Lutheran in the 1530s and Lutherans of his day valued his writings equally with those of Luther and Melanchthon.

Community order for the City of Wittenberg

Ain lobliche Ordnu[n]g der fürstlichen Stat Wittemberg. Im tausent fünfhundert und zway und zwaintzigsten Jar auffgericht. [Augsburg: Melchior Ramminger], 1522.

3 leaves; 21 cm. (4to); A⁴ (–A4); VD16 W3697. Vignette on title page, initials. 1522 WITT

Primarily drafted by Andreas Karlstadt in conjunction with a committee appointed by the University of Wittenberg, the earliest Protestant community order, which proposed a restructuring of the entire church system in Wittenberg. The same year, Luther returned to Wittenberg from the Wartburg, where he had been in protective custody, and opposed these changes, which were later only slowly introduced.



Map of Germany in Jean Matal, *Germania superior 38. inferior quae etiam Belgium dicitur*, 16. *tabulis aeneis descripta* (Cologne: Johann Christoffel, 1598).

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Renewing Church and University

The Twenty-seventh Annual Reformation Day at Emory
October 21, 2014

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