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The Reformation and Theological Education at Wittenberg

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THE HISTORICAL reconstruction of any age is difficult at best. The student of recent history realizes that even a thorough acquaintance with the sources does not suffice, for they usually cover but a part of what transpired. All too often scholars view the Reformation from the vantage point of the present. Thus, the first great danger is to view the Reformation as a fixed quantity which may be assumed to hold true throughout the period. This does not conform to fact. For example, there were, in fact, three Luthers rather than one. The Luther of 1512 was a scholastic; by 1517 he was an embryo Reformer, a Biblical exegete using modern methods of his own devising; while as the author of *Galatians* in 1535, he was a mature theologian who had reached the apex of his Biblical studies and had little in common with the man who was granted the doctorate in 1512.¹ The second danger is to forget that the Reformers of the Sixteenth Century knew nothing of the subsequent 450 years of history. They did not think in terms of a Lutheran Church as we know it today, but only of a reformed Catholic Church in which lost elements had been restored and abuses of the Middle Ages eliminated.

On the Roman Catholic side similar dangers beset the student of the Reformation. Prior to the Council of Trent in 1563, the Catholic Church might be viewed as a huge dome under which a number of theological systems flourished side by side. It was apparently no problem in a Medieval University to offer courses within its theological faculty *viam secundum Thome* or *viam Scoti* simultaneously, even though these systems began with opposite assumptions. The statutes of early Wittenberg even stressed that these philosophies should be offered "side by side without prejudice."² With the arrival at Wittenberg in 1507 of Jodocus Trutvetter, still a third system of Catholic philosophy began to be presented, the *via moderna* of Occam and Biel, with yet another set of basic assumptions and conclusions.³

Finally, as modern scholarship has uncovered more of the undercurrents and crosscurrents of Sixteenth Century thought, the Reformation has been revealed as a ground-swell movement. It is evident from sources that prior to Luther there were many sincere Catholics among the masses who were weary of Rome's fiscal policies, skeptical of its sacramental system defended by means of scholastic subtleties, and many were receptive to pure Gospel in hymns, catechisms, commentaries, and similar Bible media. Martin Luther's reforms would not have been possible had not the average German been hungry for his message and believed that this monk was restoring the true Word of God.⁴ And without the support of the German people the monumental task of reforming Christ's Church would have been impossible; for it could not have been accomplished by one man alone, however brilliant, however learned; but required the combined efforts of hundreds of co-workers at Wittenberg and in the field. How these people were trained to carry out this mission is the subject of this paper.

The Catholic Wittenberg

Although medieval universities generally were patterned after either Paris or Bologna, the former stressing control by the faculty and the latter student control, the methods of training clergymen did not vary much. The curriculum was rather formalized, and students could, and did, move from institution to institution without loss of credits. By the Sixteenth Century there were famous universities scattered all over Europe with some dozen located in German lands. The Saxon Lands had Erfurt and Leipzig, but the regions of Frederick the Wise lacked the distinction of having a university.

The *Stiftungsbrief* of 1502⁵ issued by Emperor Maximilian I established the University of Wittenberg and mentioned a whole series of distinguished institutions, among them Paris, Bologna, and Leipzig, after which the new university was to be modeled with the same rights and privileges as the older institutions. A few years later, 1507, Pope Julius II not only added his official blessing to the new undertaking but also ordered it financed to a degree from the funds of the rich *Stift* of the Castle Church.⁶

The University of Wittenberg, like those after which it was modeled, was composed of the philosophical faculty and the three graduate schools of theology, law, and medicine. In the education of Catholic clergymen, preparatory work was taken in the philosophical faculty, in theology, and in canon law. The *Liber Decanorum* provides excellent insight to these formative years of the young institution, for it is a carefully detailed record of faculty actions in establishing requirements for promotions to higher degrees and gives an account of the students examined.⁷ The university *Statutes* are also helpful in determining what was expected of the students, as are other sources to be found in Friedensburg's *Urkundenbuch*, I. Also preserved is a very fine vellum scroll, prepared at the direction

of Christopher Scheurl, Professor of Canon Law, which lists the faculty in 1507 and the courses offered.⁸

An analysis of the offerings of the philosophical college reveals that Aristotle was enthroned in all the subject matter. For it mattered not whether the subject was Aristotle's *de Anima*, or one of Galen's books on medicine, or a treatise on natural science, *de Natura*, all courses were taught with a specific slant *viam Scoti* or *viam sancti Thome*. Even as late as 1516, Amsdorf was still using the *logica Aristotelis secundum viam Scoti*, while Johann Gunckel was teaching *phisica secundum viam Thome*, and Feltkirchen was offering *phisica naturali secundum viam Scoti*.⁹ Some trends toward humanism could be discerned among younger members of the philosophical faculty, brought there by roving Humanists,¹⁰ but the movement did not go much beyond influencing the style of the faculty. Wittenberg in those early days prepared Catholic students for the bachelor and master degrees in philosophy very much according to the typical scholastic pattern with the result that when they entered graduate schools their ideas were already molded and fixed by scholastic presuppositions and settled conclusions.¹¹

According to the University regulations, preparation for the doctorate in theology required six years of diligent study, through five successive steps, each of which measured the candidate's worthiness for that much coveted prize. In reality, the training was still toward molding a definite thought pattern in theologians. The Bible, as expounded by the professors, supported in the main a previous set of assumptions. In the *Glossae* and *Scholia* almost anything could be proved, whether *viam Scoti* or *viam Thome*. Here the stress was on memorization, and the student learned to recite the official positions in defending himself in disputations, parrying every thrust with the skill of an accomplished dialectician.¹²

The first degree to be sought in the graduate school of Theology was that of *Biblicus*, or bachelor's degree. In preparation for this degree, the candidate studied the famous medieval textbook, Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, a four-volume work dating to the teaching of Peter Abelard at the University of Paris in the 12th Century. The student also attended the lectures of a professor covering this discipline. The subject matter in the first two books covered God and the Trinity, Creation, the Angels, the Fall of Man, and the Grace of God.¹³ As the *Liber Decanorum* shows, when a student was regarded as sufficiently mature, he was invited by the faculty to apply for the degree of *Biblicus*.¹⁴ Such a promotion called for a public disputation in which the student displayed his mastery of Lombard and demonstrated sufficient dialectical skill to be pronounced qualified to teach in the subjects covered.¹⁵

The next step in the upward climb was the degree of *Sententiarius*. It required further instruction in Lombard's *Sentences*, including Books III and IV which covered the Incarnation, the Virtues, Sin, the Seven Sacraments, and the Last Things.¹⁶ As the title implies, the student seeking the *Sententiarius* was required to be

thoroughly versed in all of Lombard's *Sentences* and would have lectured for two years on some prescribed portions of the Bible. Again the candidate demonstrated great dialectical skill in public disputation and the conferring of the degree implied faculty approval to lecture in the university on the subject matter covered.¹⁷ The extant notes of Martin Luther, delivered on the *Sentences* at Erfurt from 1509 to 1511, were for lectures given after he had attained the distinction of *Sententiarius* and assistant to Professor Nathin in those lectures.¹⁸

After receiving the second degree, the student was given time for maturation, during which he lectured on Lombard and some portions of Scripture. When deemed ready, the student was invited by the faculty to try for the next step, the degree of *Formatus* which appeared to be a kind of qualifying intermediate step toward the two final degrees.¹⁹ For the last two degrees, as indicated by the *Statutes of 1508*, great care was exercised by the theological faculty. Usually, after a lapse of two more years, promising students were examined publicly. Before granting the promotion, each case was discussed by the faculty *Senate*, and, if deemed advisable, the candidate might be brought before that body for further private examination. If that august body considered him qualified, the candidate was asked to defend himself in a circular disputation in which he stood in the center of a semicircle facing the professor in charge of his promotion and was flanked on both sides by two graduate students who tested his dialectical skill in answer to queries and disturbing arguments. If, in the opinion of his faculty mentors, he passed this test, he was granted the degree of *Licentiatus* which made him a fully-licensed teacher.²⁰

According to old records,²¹ the final step in the long journey toward the Doctorate in Theology was quite an impressive affair. The examination of the candidate was both a dramatic and exacting spectacle. His whole background would have been first discussed by the *Senate* which, if it viewed his candidacy favorably, would then set a date for the public examination. This began shortly after noon with a semireligious service called *Vespering*. The principal event was again the circular disputation in which several faculty members, in addition to the professor in charge, participated. The candidate faced a *Kathedr*, or lecture platform having several elevations, probably similar to the one still in the *Lutherhalle* of Wittenberg today.²² At the top sat the Master in charge. Forming a semicircle around the candidate were four bachelors of theology, two on each side.

The ranking professor mounted the *Kathedr* and officially opened the proceedings. The theses used for the debate were usually drafted by the professor whose student was being examined. The Master initiated the discussion by bringing up a problem area from the theses which one of the disputants was then asked to discuss. All three of the bachelors were permitted to take issue with the first. At a certain point in the disputation, the Master of ceremon-

ies would bring to a close that aspect of the debate and call upon a second Master who would take his place on the *Kathedr* and open the discussion on another aspect of the theses under debate. The same routine was followed. Frequently the professor might interject some observations of his own in the manner of Abelard's famous *Sic et Non*.²³

Finally, the candidate was called upon to analyze the fallacies in previous student assumptions and conclusions. Here his mastery of dialectics was demonstrated as well as his ability to cite Scholastic authority. He was permitted, by authority of the University *Statutes*, to reply to each of his assailants. But, once he had taken a position, the Masters, in turn, could challenge the validity of his arguments. Usually the Masters were given two opportunities to rebut further replies of the candidate.²⁴

The session ended with the candidate offering his final summation. According to the rules, he should not be offensive; but his final oration displayed oratorical ability, dialectical skill, wit, and humor. It was customary to end his speech with an expression of thanks to all participants and an invitation to all in the audience to attend the actual ceremonies attendant upon the conferral of the degree to take place the following day.²⁵

This sedate and solemn occasion was opened by the professor who was presenting the candidate. The short opening address by the professor was followed by the candidate's oration of praise of Theology, the queen of disciplines. On this occasion, also, there was another display of a public debate, although the records are not clear as to its exact length.²⁶ The *Statutes of 1508* concerning promotions to *Licentiat* and the *Doctorate* state that the candidate was required to take a special oath prior to his promotion in which he vowed loyalty to both the Roman Church and to Rome and promised to use his influence to promote peace and concord in the faculty.²⁷

In the case of Martin Luther's promotion to the doctorate, the *Liber Decanorum* contains the following entry:

On 18 October [1512], the festival day of St. Luke, the religious Father Martin Luther of the Eremites branch of the Order of St. Augustine, a *Licentiat*, was vespereed at one o'clock in the afternoon by our Master, the distinguished Lord Archdeacon of the Castle Church, Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt, complying with the University *Statutes*, in the presence of the University officials and many distinguished guests.

On the following day [19 October] the same Father was honored by being granted the doctorate in sacred theology in the Castle Church, accompanied during the official act by the tolling of the large bell in the Town Church. Our Master Andreas officiated in the presence of the faculty and guests.

This was then followed by addresses by Master Wenceslaus Link, a fellow Augustinian, the Dean at the time, and Master Nicholas von Amsdorf from the mountainous region, the Pastor of the Town Church. At the close the young Doctor [Luther] delivered an address expressing his thanks to the assembled audience.²⁸

At the close of the ceremony Carlstadt placed on Luther's finger a silver doctor's ring and a beret on his head. Often after such promotions, the recipient of the doctoral distinction was carried through the streets on the shoulders of his fellow students much like modern football heroes.

With this official ceremony Martin Luther became a Doctor of Theology, but he was not yet an accepted member of the Wittenberg faculty. One more official act was necessary before he could assume Staupitz's vacated post of *Lectura in Biblia*. Just three days later, 22 October 1512, the Dean's book made this further entry:

On this very day [the *Statutes* state at 7 a.m.] the Reverend Father, our Master Martin Lutlier of the Eremite branch of the Augustinian Order, was officially presented to the Senate in compliance with the regulations.²⁹

The training of Catholic clergy in the University of Wittenberg included another field beside theology, namely, that of Canon Law. There is a special set of regulations in the *Statutes of 1508* which the Elector of Saxony gave to the Faculty of Law.³⁰ Scheurl's faculty list in the *Rotulus of 1507* names seven regular faculty members in Canon Law and three in Civil Law.³¹ Many of the members of the law faculty had degrees in both Canon and Civil Law.³² The size of the law faculty, especially in Canon Law, attests to the popularity of this profession at Wittenberg as elsewhere. Theologians with degrees in Canon Law were in great demand in the whole Roman hierarchical system, being employed in the ecclesiastical courts and controlling much of the machinery relative to church life and discipline. In academic processions, the Prior of the Castle Church was third in rank behind the Rector and the Chancellor, while the Dean of the Castle Church ranked fifth, immediately after the Dean of Theology. Rank, then as now in Europe, indicated importance in academic and church life and served to enhance the legal profession in the eyes of the students and led to substantial enrollments in the School of Law.

From the above it may be noted that theological education at Wittenberg during its formative Catholic years was a rather rigid, formal, scholastic type of study in which the emphasis was on memorization with little encouragement for the student to do independent thinking. He was trained, rather than educated. Even in the Liberal Arts he was molded according to specific, carefully prepared patterns. In all disciplines he was taught the subject mat-

ter as explained by St. Thomas, or Duns Scotus, or Biel, using syllogistic methods of reasoning, memorizing a whole series of pat answers, and defending them with fine dialectical skill against all opponents. In Biblical exegesis every passage of Scripture was subjected to four possible interpretations by which it was possible to prove almost anything.³³ By this means it was possible to rationalize Indulgences, the Sacramental System, or any other problem in the Roman Church.

The Reformation Transforms Wittenberg

But the young university was not to remain enmeshed in scholasticism for very long. For it was to undergo a transformation which shook its accepted ways and methods of teaching to their very roots. The change was due to the impact of the German Reformation and the innovations introduced by Luther and his fellow professors in the methodology of training the clergy. Too often the Reformation, which began in the halls of Wittenberg, is studied almost solely from the angle of Luther as its lone protagonist. The key to his great success, where others before him had tried and failed, lay in the training of the clergymen who sat at his feet and those of his fellow professors and were taught how to interpret the Scriptures in the light of the Bible and the Apostolic Age.

All evidence indicates that Martin Luther at Erfurt, and his early years at Wittenberg, traveled the Lombard road. In his first lectures after having assumed the position of *Lectura in Biblia* his methodology very closely resembled that of other scholastics. He accepted the four senses of Scripture and, like the others, had his *Glossae*, the short textual analyses, and *Scholiae*, the longer Biblical explanations according to the four senses of scholasticism.³⁴ But Luther was no ordinary person. He was one of those rare individuals, those seminal thinkers, who appear but seldom in history. He instinctively felt there was something wrong with the Catholic dogma which brought on his monastic struggle from 1505 to 1514. He tried to find light in the Fathers and in the Bible, but his ignorance of Greek and Hebrew forced him to rely upon the Vulgate text.³⁵

However, between 1513 and 1517 a profound change came over Luther. This becomes clearly evident through a comparison between his lectures on the *Psalms* given in 1513 and those on *Romans*, *Galatians*, and *Hebrews* which followed.³⁶ Meanwhile Luther had begun to study Greek (1514)³⁷ and Hebrew (1516),³⁸ and also began to change his whole methodology of Biblical exegesis. Now he assumed the Bible had but one sense which had to be discovered by the grammatical-historical approach. The former *Glossae* and *Scholiae* were abandoned. The change began to appear first in *Romans*, matured more fully in *Galatians*, and by 1517-1518 in the lectures on *Hebrews* the transformation was completed. Luther had invented the modern method of Biblical exegesis.³⁹

But how could this change in a young instructor influence the university curricula? An analysis of the academic courses offered

indicates little impact before 1516.⁴⁰ Courses were still being taught according to Thomas and Scotus and Biel. The demand for Canon Law had not diminished. Only in Luther's classroom in the Black Cloister were the winds of change beginning. Luther was not one to hide his light. His "New Theology" could be seen emerging in letters to John Lang at Erfurt,⁴¹ in the advice he gave to Spalatin at the Saxon Court,⁴² and in the theses he drafted for a disputation by a theological graduate in the fall of 1516.⁴³ Luther now began to criticize Erasmus' views on "Justification," and sensed the widening gulf in Theology between himself and the distinguished Dutch Humanist.⁴⁴ By the time Luther completed his lectures on *Galatians* in the spring of 1517, he was a rapidly maturing theologian in matters of doctrine, far removed from the simple monk who had experienced the *Turmerlebnis* in 1514.⁴⁵

Soon Luther's "New Theology" spread among his fellow professors. Carlstadt, Amsdorf, Lupinus, Schurff, and Stahelin who taught Philosophy, Theology, and Canon Law, were mostly Thomists and Scotists, but Luther won them to his new point of view.⁴⁶ When Luther's student, Bartholomaeus Bernhardi, disputed with Carlstadt and Lupinus on "Sin and Grace" for the degree of *Sententiarium* in September, 1516,⁴⁷ his arguments so disturbed Carlstadt that he purchased a complete set of Augustine's works in order to check the claims made by Bernhardi. The cogency of Luther's arguments eventually won the entire Wittenberg faculty to his point of view and had a compelling effect on the education of the clergy.

Early in 1517 Luther wrote to John Lang that the first step in the training of future clergy would be to get rid of Aristotle. "Nothing so inflames my feelings," he wrote, "as that actor [Aristotle] who with his Greek mask mimics the Church. If I had but the time, I should like to tear that mask from his face, and expose him in his ignominy to the whole world."⁴⁸ By mid-spring both faculty and students had joined Luther in pressing toward further reforms, as is clearly indicated in another letter in May to John Lang in which Luther exulted:

Our theology and Augustine are continuing to prosper and reign in our University through the help of God. Aristotle is declining daily and riding for a fall which will finish him forever. It is remarkable how lectures on the *Sentences* are held in contempt; no one holding lectures can hope to get an audience unless he proposes to expound this Theology, that is, offer courses on the Bible, St. Augustine, or some other one of the Fathers.⁴⁹

By the fall of 1517 Luther was still endeavoring to remove Aristotle from the Wittenberg offerings. Another of his graduate students, Francis Guenther, debated the following main thesis for his degree of *Biblicus*:

It is false to claim that without Aristotle one cannot become a theologian. In fact, the opposite is the case. No one becomes a theologian unless it be without Aristotle, for the whole of Aristotle is related to theology as darkness is to light, and his *Ethics* is the worst enemy of Grace.⁵⁰

By the time Luther nailed his Ninety-five Theses on the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg on October 31, 1517, he was supported by the entire University.⁵¹

Wittenberg was now turning to the new grammatical-historical methodology in Biblical exegesis, introduced by Luther. It began with the assumption that a text contained but a single meaning established by the aid of Greek and Hebrew, an approach which presupposed a mastery of these languages. Once the exact meaning of a text was established, Luther believed the exegete should engage in prayer and reflection, inviting the Holy Spirit to lead the way into new spiritual insights. The value of such reflection was particularly helpful in assessing the Bible's relevance to contemporary applications. Among Luther's many friends and colleagues especially interested in this new approach to the study of the Scriptures was George Spalatin, secretary and later court preacher at the Saxon Court.⁵² Luther held the view that Erasmus was an example of a distinguished scholar who nevertheless failed to obtain the true inner meaning of God's Word because he followed Jerome rather than Augustine in his methodology. Evidently both faculty and students at Wittenberg were enthusiastic about Luther's "New Theology."⁵³

Since Luther's new approach was predicated on a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, which was, in his view, the *sine qua non* of the Biblical exegete, Luther urged the Saxon Court to create chairs in these disciplines and fill them with competent professors. Spalatin's recommendation of Peter Mosellanus of Leipzig for the Greek position resulted in his visiting Luther at Wittenberg to apply for the chair.⁵⁴ However, the Elector had another preference. He wrote twice to John Reuchlin seeking to interest him in the Wittenberg post. The famous Hebrew scholar declined, but suggested in his stead his great-nephew, Philip Melanchthon, whom he rated next to Erasmus as a Greek scholar. From the extant correspondence it is evident that the Elector and Reuchlin made most of the arrangements to bring Melanchthon to Wittenberg. There was still the formality of a personal interview between Frederick the Wise and young Philip, but it is clear that the matter had been settled prior to his arrival. Following upon his great-uncle's advice, Philip accepted the position of Professor of Greek at Wittenberg in 1518.⁵⁵ This event was to have a profound effect on the academic life of the University; in fact, it was to influence theological education in Lutheran Lands throughout all Europe.⁵⁶

Melanchthon's role in the Reformation was thoroughly restudied on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of his death in

1960.⁵⁷ Particular attention was devoted to his participation in the theological training of Wittenberg students during the first decade of his labors at the University. By education, temperament, and ability this young linguist was uniquely qualified to become Luther's co-worker.⁵⁸ Luther was the seminal thinker, the daring Reformer who spoke his mind freely and bluntly, and, like the rough oak, could weather all storms. Philip was the quiet scholar, the systematic organizer, but he needed peace and quiet for his best efforts. Luther needed Philip to reorganize the school, to prepare new texts and other tools for the exegetical work required by the New Theology. Together these two with their complementary gifts made a superlative team. Each supplied what the other lacked; which also explains why they were so drawn to each other.⁵⁹

Under the tutelage of John Reuchlin, Philip Melanchthon's early education had been quite unusual. He had received excellent preparatory training. At Heidelberg, under the influence of the writings of Reuchlin's friend Agricola, Melanchthon had turned from Aristotle to the Classics.⁶⁰ Then at Tuebingen he continued his studies for the Master's degree in Greek, and by the time he arrived at Wittenberg had already gained a considerable reputation as a classical scholar.⁶¹

Melanchthon's inaugural address, or *Antrittsrede*, delivered upon his arrival at Wittenberg, created quite an impression. Entitled *The Improvement of Studies*,⁶² it was delivered in the Castle Church, which was filled to capacity for the occasion. The speech was both original and timely, and fitted right into the Wittenberg new Gospel movement. Melanchthon traced education from the times of the early Church Fathers and described how it had deteriorated through later centuries. Denouncing Scholasticism, he showed how the elevation of Aristotle and the mutilation of Classical texts had caused the present sad state of learning. He asserted that true learning presupposed a mastery of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, which were the opening wedges to the Fathers, the Bible, and the Classics, those "well-springs" of true learning.

The effect of the speech was exhilarating. So spontaneous was the applause, expressed by the stamping of feet, that the building shook.⁶³ This address has survived as a classic in the history of education.

Almost immediately Luther and Melanchthon became the closest of friends.⁶⁴ Luther spoke of Melanchthon in a letter to his friend John Lang shortly after their meeting. "He seems like a boy," wrote Luther, "when one considers his age, but like a man of our own age [35] when one considers the versatility of this man and his knowledge of books."⁶⁵ That Melanchthon was equally attracted to Luther is indicated by his letter to the same John Lang, a mutual friend. "If there is anything on earth I love," he wrote, "it is Martin and his pious writings; but above everything else, I love Martin himself."⁶⁶ On another occasion in later life Melanchthon compared Luther to Isaiah, St. Paul, and Augustine. Already

in 1518 he expressed both his deep attachment and his admiration for Luther in the following words: "Never was there a greater man on the face of the earth; I would rather die than sever myself from that man."⁶⁷

Contemporary scholarship has provided a new appreciation of Melanchthon's contributions to the Reformation of the University of Wittenberg.⁶⁸ Luther was the innovator and the driving force behind the movement, but it required a linguist and systematic organizer like Melanchthon to introduce necessary curricula changes at both the Liberal Arts and Seminary levels. Melanchthon's productive genius was already evident at Heidelberg and Tuebingen,⁶⁹ but it is nevertheless simply amazing when one considers what he accomplished in his first years at Wittenberg in addition to his heavy teaching schedule. Upon the departure of Professor Boeschenstein after a few months,⁷⁰ Melanchthon was obliged to teach Hebrew in addition to Greek.⁷¹ Still he managed to publish a *Lucien* translation and a special *Titus* text for his students with a small *Lexicon* in Greek for ready reference. He also published two treatises on *Plutarch* and a small *Greek Dictionary*.⁷²

Luther lost no time in persuading his new found friend to study Theology, and on September 9, 1519, Melanchthon was a candidate for the degree of *Biblicus*.⁷³ He had drafted his own theses for the occasion, using for his theme Luther's favorite "Justification by Faith" as opposed to Catholic dogma as set forth by the Scholastics. After the occasion Luther wrote to his former Superior, Staupitz, that Melanchthon's performance was positively brilliant.⁷⁴ Over the next decade Melanchthon offered some two dozen courses in Old and New Testament exegesis,⁷⁵ thus actively participating in the changes in the university classrooms as well as contributing changes in the curricula. He produced textbooks in many fields, some of which were standard works in German universities for over a hundred years.⁷⁶

Melanchthon had other gifts. His manner was mild and unassuming, but people found him charming. He was an excellent orator who could quote at will from the Fathers and the Latin and Greek Classics. Students flocked to his classroom without much concern as to the subject matter. As early as 1519 he was reported to have had 400 students⁷⁷ and a year later, Spalatin reported after a visit to Wittenberg that Melanchthon's audience numbered at least 600,⁷⁸ while on this same occasion Spalatin estimated Luther to have about 400, but Luther's audience may have been limited by the size of his classroom, the *Grosse Hoersaal* in the Black Cloister, which could not accommodate more than that number.⁷⁹

Finding a permanent professor for the chair in Hebrew was more difficult. There were few scholars trained in Hebrew in Germany, and still fewer who would fit into the Wittenberg environment. Professor Boeschenstein, who came to Wittenberg from Augsburg in 1518, stayed but a few months. He was interested in Hebrew only as a language, whereas Luther looked upon it as a

tool to Old Testament exegesis. Also Boeschenstein did not wish to teach every semester, but asked for frequent leaves of absence. His manner seems to have been somewhat haughty and overbearing, and both his faculty colleagues and the students were relieved when he departed.⁸⁰

Prior to his departure, Luther, Melanchthon, and Carlstadt were all much impressed by a young Hebrew scholar from Forchheim, Bartholomaeus Caesar, who visited Wittenberg early in 1519. Luther wrote to Spalatin about the visit, relating how young Caesar had performed in a trial lecture before Luther and Carlstadt, both of whom were much impressed. Luther urged that Spalatin proceed with an offer of employment. Carlstadt also wrote to Spalatin, and mentioned how he had been impressed by the young man's command of Latin and his ability to quote from the Classics and the Old Testament. Boeschenstein, however, tried to belittle the young Hebrew scholar, and, in fact, made his brief visit to Wittenberg somewhat unpleasant. His employment failed to materialize, possibly partly due to Boeschenstein's attacks but more probably because his father opposed the appointment.⁸¹

For several months thereafter, efforts continued to fill the position. Among the several candidates were: Johann Keller of Burgkundstadt who had taught Hebrew at Heidelberg and had published a small grammar;⁸² a baptized Jew, Bernhard of Goeppingen;⁸³ the Spaniard, Matthaues Adriani, also a baptized Jew, well-educated and widely-traveled, who had been teaching at Louvain where his Humanistic lectures were not welcome;⁸⁴ and Werner Einhorn of Bacharach, also a converted Jew, who seemed to have the preference.⁸⁵ However, Adriani was finally appointed and began his duties on April 24, 1520, as "professor of the Hebrew language" and a Doctor of Medicine.⁸⁶ Nevertheless, he, too, proved a disappointment and was released in February 1521 at which time Luther and Melanchthon wrote Spalatin that they wanted no more of such "vagabond doctors."⁸⁷ The next attempt was more fortunate. In the appointment of Matthaues Goldhahn, more commonly known by his Humanistic title, Aurogallus, the university had gained an able scholar who filled the chair of Hebrew from 1521 until his death in 1543 and rendered valuable assistance to Luther in the translation of the Old Testament.⁸⁸

By 1520, then, the whole climate surrounding the training of theologians at Wittenberg had changed.⁸⁹ Although already in 1517-18 Aristotle's *Logic*, *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and *de animalibus* had been taught with the use of recent translations,⁹⁰ by 1520 the last three were dropped, and only Aristotle's *Logic*, *Rhetoric*, and *Poetry*, so useful to the eloquence of the clergy, were retained. The *Rhetoric* of Quintilian, the distinguished Roman author, was also used, and, in the *pedagogium* for boys, Latin, Greek, and some Hebrew were taught.⁹¹ It was clear that Lombard's Sentences would have to be dropped as they interfered in examinations with the humanistic approach which was being introduced.⁹² The sacred

languages, Greek, Hebrew, and Latin, were stressed by the Theological faculty as the keys to unlock the Scriptures and the Church Fathers.⁹³ An idea of the new climate surrounding the life of the University may be gathered from a letter written in 1520 by the Swiss student, Thomas Blaurer:

I recently confessed to Luther who had warned us to attend communion. Formerly we confessed to Melanchthon who has given himself entirely to the study of the Holy Scriptures to which he is trying to lead the students. The result is that there are practically no students in Wittenberg who do not go around with the Bible in hand, a fact which has impressed even me. Luther is lecturing on the *Psalms*, while Philip is treating St. Paul. Melanchthon is, so to say, Luther's traveling companion in Christ. The same enthusiasm unites the two, the same reliability as scholars, the same working together in all undertakings and teachings.⁹⁴

Recent research on Melanchthon has corroborated Blaurer's observations and shown how deeply involved he became in the "New Theology," devoting an amazing amount of energy to the cause.⁹⁵ The fact that the Elector insisted that Melanchthon divert most of his energies into training clergymen rather than in teaching Greek at the Liberal Arts level is further proof of his proficiency.⁹⁶ As for Luther, another student, John Hornberg, observed concerning the new Theological courses, "Here I began to learn all over again";⁹⁷ while the above-mentioned Thomas Blaurer wrote: "I consider myself fortunate, that under God's guidance I have come to a place where, it seems to me, one can learn the Christian religion right; and where the only man is living who really understands the Bible, which fact I daily witness here."⁹⁸

Actually, Luther was by then so popular that even the Town Church was too small to accommodate the crowds that gathered to hear his sermons. They also came to the Black Cloister to such an extent that "the prior was concerned lest the masses would cause his house to cave in."⁹⁹ The steady increase in student matriculations at the University of Wittenberg reached its peak just before Worms in 1521,¹⁰⁰ and had given the city on the Elbe River an enviable reputation as a new center of learning.¹⁰¹

In the midst of his deep involvement in the training of clergymen in the New Theology, the gentle, frail Melanchthon was forced to make one of the momentous decisions of his life. It will be recalled that his great-uncle, John Reuchlin, had refused a position at Wittenberg in 1518. Now for some reason, as yet unexplained, he decided to accept a post at Ingolstadt. Here he lived in the same house as John Eck, Luther's antagonist at the Leipzig Debate and bitter enemy. Melanchthon had been very close to his uncle, who had willed to Philip his rich library. Now Reuchlin tried to persuade him to leave Wittenberg and join his uncle at Ingolstadt.

Philip was torn between his conscience and the filial love he felt for his esteemed relative. He finally gave his answer in the negative, claiming that the Holy Spirit had called him to labor at Wittenberg and he would continue in this work until he believed the Spirit called him elsewhere. The elderly Reuchlin was deeply hurt and the break proved to be final. Philip never saw him again. This incident clearly reveals Melanchthon's intense loyalty to Luther and the cause for which they labored.¹⁰²

But the reformation of Wittenberg was not limited to Theology. Equally far-reaching changes occurred in the Graduate School of Law. It has been noted that the field of Canon Law was extremely lucrative in the Roman Church whose ecclesiastical courts handled cases of marriage, divorce, poor relief, and clerical misdemeanors.¹⁰³ Wittenberg, in common with other universities, enjoyed a heavy enrollment in this field in the beginning. However, this aspect changed following Luther's famous burning of the Canon Law and, as an afterthought, the Bull, *Exsurge, Domine*, on December 10, 1520. This act publicly declared that Canon Law was no longer a reputable profession at Wittenberg, and the whole school of Law suffered the effects for some years. Even the erection of new quarters for the law professors failed to create much enthusiasm among either professors or students.¹⁰⁴

But Luther and his fellow professors were soon to learn that Canon Law could not be summarily dropped without a profound impact upon the newly emerging Lutheran Church. The Catholic Church had controlled a large segment of the daily life of its members. The Lutheran Church Visitations begun around 1524 in Saxon Lands and continuing elsewhere after that date revealed a sad state of affairs in the life of each parish. With the rejection of Canon Law a vast vacuum was left and a whole new system had to be created covering marriages, family life, immorality, and ecclesiastical control of crimes which had formerly been covered under Canon Law. Superintendents were appointed over each region to supervise the religious life of the area, and over them was a system of *Consistoriums*, the principal one being in the new Law Building at Wittenberg. Justus Jonas, an able theologian and former professor of Canon Law, began the development of a new type of *Landeskirchenrecht*.¹⁰⁵ Those who claim that this was a reinstitution of the former Canon Law have completely missed the point. It is true the former Canon Law contained much on marriage and divorce, church life, and crimes, which would provide background material, but Jonas' *Landeskirchenrecht*, which reached full stature in the thirties, had a new Gospel orientation and nothing of the former glorification of the Roman Hierarchy. Its spirit, therefore, was very different fundamentally, even though it aimed to solve similar religious problems. It did not support the Sacramental System or the immunity of the clergy from Civil Law. The new Church Laws formulated by Jonas were limited to social and moral issues and established a new code of ethics and of family religious discipline

throughout the Saxon Lands which, with slight alterations, has continued in Germany into the Twentieth Century.¹⁰⁶

Wittenberg After Worms

The stormy days preceding and following Luther's stand at Worms have been viewed almost exclusively from the angle of Martin Luther. Historians have written at length about the Reformer's bold stand at Worms, of his days in hiding at the Wartburg, and of the disturbances caused in Wittenberg during Luther's absence by Carlstadt and the Zwickau prophets; but little has been said about the impact of these events upon the University of Wittenberg as an academic institution, and still less about the possible effect of this troubled time on the theological training of clergymen there.

Theological education was beginning to blossom at Wittenberg in 1519 and 1520 under the leadership of Luther and Melancthon. Luther's tracts had circulated all over Europe and students were traveling from all over Europe to the city on the Elbe River.¹⁰⁷ Then came the two papal Bulls: the first, *Exsurge, Domine*, issued in June 1520 which threatened Luther; and when he defied Rome and burned it at Elster Gate in December, the second, *Decet*, issued in January 1521 which condemned him as a heretic.¹⁰⁸ After the review of his case before Emperor Charles V at Worms in May 1521, he was also condemned by the State through the Edict of Worms. Luther was now declared "vogelfrei" which meant he could be killed on sight by anyone.¹⁰⁹

This act fell like a terrible blight on Wittenberg. The German people now had to decide for or against a "heretic." After Luther's condemnation many conservative Catholics were no longer willing to expose the faith of their youth to such teachers as Luther, Melancthon, and a faculty which had been described by the University of Paris as a "whole nest of vipers."¹¹⁰ In two years the student enrollment dropped from 552 to 200, and by 1524 it was feared the University might perish.¹¹¹ For over a decade enrollment continued at a comparatively low level.¹¹² The reason was readily apparent. An examination of the *Matrikel* shows that Catholic Lands like Meissen, Bamberg, Wuerzberg, and Mainz simply withdrew their support.¹¹³

There were also internal troubles. In the midst of the Wittenberg disturbances while Luther was at the Wartburg, Carlstadt began to expound a strange doctrine which inflamed some of the students to violence. Claiming degrees were sinful, he wanted to abolish them and, in fact, refused to take part in the ceremonies. In the *Liber Decanorum* the entry for February 3, 1523, reads as follows:

On February 3, 1523, the distinguished monks of the Augustinian Order, John Westerman and Gotschalk Krop, were granted their doctorates under [Bodenstein von] Carlstadt. At the close of the ceremony, however, Carlstadt publicly an-

nounced that in the future he would not mislead any more students by the granting of degrees.¹¹⁴

By his action the granting of degrees in Theology was to be suspended for a decade, and they were not reintroduced until 1533 when the school, under the leadership of the new Elector John Frederick, was completely reorganized with the assistance of Luther and Melanchthon.¹¹⁵ Later Luther explained, by way of a footnote, that he was unable to prevent Carlstadt's action at the time. Apparently he had discussed the subject with Carlstadt for he claims to have heard from Carlstadt's own "blasphemous mouth" the assertion that degrees should be terminated at Wittenberg, arguing that in Matthew 23 Christ had forbidden his followers to call themselves "Father" or "Master," for these terms were to be reserved for God the Father and His Son, Jesus Christ.¹¹⁶ The *Liber Decanorum* records a few promotions made by Justus Jonas in 1525, but then the record stopped.¹¹⁷ Luther later offered the following explanation for the lapse:

During this entire decade, he [Jonas] remained in the position of Dean, for these were turbulent times on account of the war with the Papacy. As a result the zeal for advanced degrees and promotions was dropped.¹¹⁸

These were trying years for Luther who was much occupied with his role as the Reformer. His prodigious literary efforts, the translation of the Bible,¹¹⁹ revision of the Wittenberg Church Liturgy,¹²⁰ polemical tracts, the preparation of *Flugschriften*,¹²¹ and a voluminous correspondence, left little time for other pursuits. After his return from the Wartburg he had to quell the Wittenberg Disturbances and rout the false prophets, but this had scarcely been accomplished when the Peasants' War brought added burdens.¹²² The future of education in Germany was so gloomy that Luther issued his famous *Weckruf of 1524* to the German people in behalf of learning.¹²³ Meanwhile the faithful Melanchthon tried to hold the school together. He was very active in Theology, lecturing on *Romans*, *Matthew*, and *John*, while at the same time trying to improve the general curriculum.¹²⁴ He also served as Rector in 1523.¹²⁵ The new Elector, John the Constant, who succeeded Frederick the Wise in 1525, also promised "he would not leave the school in the lurch."¹²⁶

By the following year the future outlook of Wittenberg looked brighter. Emperor Charles V had met with real resistance in trying to enforce the "Edict of Worms" throughout Germany. At the Diet of Speyer in 1526, the authorities were forced to recognize the centuries old practice of "*cuius regio eius religio*," which meant that each prince was responsible for the religious affairs within his own lands. Therefore, the Elector of Saxony had the right to whatever action he deemed advisable in dealing with the Reformation.¹²⁷

The Church Visitations which followed in Saxon Lands and other Lutheran territories brought about the reorganization of the churches, establishment of schools, and laid the basis of support for the University of Wittenberg in the next decade.¹²⁸

Within the University the faculty, under the leadership of Luther and Melancthon, was laying the groundwork for the future. Several innovations were introduced to prepare students properly for the future study of theology. In the two principal dormitories *Retoren* were appointed who would live with the students and supervise their conduct and also tutor them in Latin and Greek.¹²⁹ Those who failed to converse in Latin were punished by fines. Melancthon also introduced a system of *Declamations*,¹³⁰ orations in Latin or Greek, which formed a part of the classical training program. Melancthon, too, would recite portions of the Classics before the graduate students in Liberal Arts and would deliver orations in which he quoted liberally from the Classics. Advanced students were required to participate in these sessions which, it was believed, would develop eloquence in their diction in the theological students.¹³¹

The institution established to train younger students in the humanistic background was designated as the *Pedagogium*. Although in existence earlier, an *Urkunden*, doubtless drafted by Melancthon in January 1526, instituted a thorough curriculum for the beginner in the *Pedagogium*, and led him right into the Liberal Arts course.¹³² Melancthon's *Urkunden* implies that the undergraduates in Liberal Arts were formerly divided into groups without regard for maturity. Under the new plan the more mature student advanced more rapidly, while the slower student progressed at a more methodical rate. Since all class recitations were conducted in Latin, the study of Latin Grammar needed to be made more attractive. Students were required to master Terence, Cicero, and Virgil. They were also trained in dialectics so they could make logical outlines and engage in correct thinking and were required to master the principles of rhetoric. The works of Erasmus were recommended reading. Students were also taught Proklus, *libellus de sphaera sive circulis coelestibus*, and the fundamentals of mathematics.¹³³ When a student was regarded as sufficiently mature, he was given a public examination and, if found worthy, was granted the degree of bachelor and permitted to enter upon advanced courses leading to higher degrees.¹³⁴

Before entering the School of Theology, the student was required to obtain a masters degree in Liberal Arts. The textbook in rhetoric was the large work by the Roman Quintilian which, Melancthon claimed, would provide complete mastery of dialectics and rhetoric. The candidate for the masters degree was also required to take advanced courses in mathematics and physics. It was recommended that he acquaint himself with O. Horatius Flaccius' *Arc poetica*, and perhaps Cicero's *de officiis*, to improve his style and add to his erudition. The student who had followed this cur-

riculum faithfully would have developed certain qualities. He would have a grasp of Natural Science, be able to form balanced judgments, offer lucid explanations, and illustrate abstract ideas in the discussion of profound subjects.¹³⁵

The entire *Urkunde*, which has the typical Melancthonian flavor, summarized the goal of this training as follows:

The brilliant student, who has been properly trained in the mastery of languages, is indeed well prepared to interpret the Holy Scriptures and is qualified to administer public justice. For how can anyone, who wants to be versed in sacred literature, evaluate the conclusions based on information drawn from the Holy Scriptures if he does not know the languages in which they were written and does not grasp the figures of speech found therein? How can he expect to be able to interpret sacred dogma without the mastery of the correct use of Biblical exegesis, or in case he fails to grasp the context of passages from which conclusions are drawn?¹³⁶

Poorly trained clergymen would fail to organize their sermons properly, would spread "darkness rather than light," and leave their congregations neither uplifted nor better informed. Just as a medical doctor would not attempt the study of medicine without a mastery of physiology and mathematics, Melancthon maintained, so the theologian could not study theology without a mastery of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew.¹³⁷

All these recommended changes presupposed a better organized and more financially stable university. Luther had been giving considerable thought to the Castle Church, a richly endowed *Stift* or foundation, whose income at one time supported 81 clergymen of whom only 15 then remained.¹³⁸ This institution was a thorn in the flesh of the Reformers, for here there continued in the very center of Lutheranism the masses, vigils, and ceremonies common in Roman Catholic circles. Luther recommended to the Elector that this institution be secularized and its funds diverted to finance the University. Certain funds had been so used from the foundation of the University, and the changes made in 1526 were rather sweeping. The struggling University was now placed on a sounder financial basis which greatly improved the academic outlook, while at the same time the religious services and practices of the Castle Church were brought into harmony with the Reformation movement and the last vestiges of Catholic practice were removed.¹³⁹

An important feature of Wittenberg's academic life was the library. It has been said that an academic institution may well be judged by the size and quality of its library. Frederick the Wise had established the library as early as 1514 and had wisely provided for its growth and usefulness. The transformation of the University under the impact of Biblical Humanism is reflected in the growth of its library. Scholastic books were no longer needed, but gram-

mars, dictionaries, Biblical tools, and the Classics, as well as rare old manuscripts, were purchased by George Spalatin all over Europe. The library was housed in the Castle where fine, spacious quarters were especially renovated to accommodate students and faculty, and equipped with the most modern furniture consisting of bookracks, tables, and chairs. The library was also given special attention in the 1526 reorganization, but did not reach its full fruition until the founding of the first Lutheran University in the middle thirties. Whether the Elector regarded the library as University property or his private possession is not important. It was available for the use of students and faculty.¹⁴⁰

Wittenberg as a Lutheran University

The Elector, John the Constant, who succeeded Frederick the Wise in 1525, was always much closer to Luther and the Reformation than his brother. On his death bed in his Schweinitz Castle in 1532, John summoned Luther as his *Seelsorger*.¹⁴¹ John had been well-pleased with the progress of the University and the Reformation, and in his Will he strongly urged his son,¹⁴² John Frederick, and future descendants to provide adequately for the school:

It is important that we have clergymen and ministers who are mighty in the defense of the Word of God and in the maintenance of its purity, especially in these recent times when confusion and misfortune appear to increase daily. It is also necessary for this land to have experienced jurists to preserve order in the secular realm. Hence, we sound this solemn warning to our dear son and his loved ones. Their father kindly but most emphatically directs that they uphold the institution of higher learning at Wittenberg, regardless of its cost or the energy required. This is to be done, especially in praise to Almighty God, because in recent times there has arisen again in that place the rich, saving Grace of the Word of God.¹⁴³

The young Elector John Frederick faithfully carried out this charge. In fact, between 1532 and 1547 he so carefully nurtured the University that in its annals he is called the "second founder," and it was under his guardianship that it developed into the first Lutheran University in Europe.¹⁴⁴

Soon after his father's death, Elector John Frederick visited Wittenberg, an event recorded in the *Liber Decanorum* in some detail. This Prince had been tutored by George Spalatin and was thoroughly grounded in the New Gospel movement.¹⁴⁵ He read many of Luther's writings as soon as they were off the press, and he had a very high opinion of the Reformer as evidenced in an old document¹⁴⁶ in which he thanked Almighty God for having permitted:

His Holy Saving Word to flourish once more through the well-educated, distinguished Martin Luther, a Doctor of the Holy

Scriptures, who in these last times of the world has taught the Bible right and with true Christian understanding, which has become a blessing to peoples everywhere, for which we offer praise into all eternity.¹⁴⁷

He also recognized the role of Philip Melanchthon when he added:

And in addition to all this, God has permitted to grow and flourish other arts in this University, and especially the languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, because of the very unusual gifts and devotion to them by our highly-educated, pious Philip Melanchthon, which languages are useful in the furtherance of Law, a true Christian understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and all other good disciplines at the University.¹⁴⁸

The young Prince, on the occasion of his visit to Wittenberg, had a private meeting with Luther,¹⁴⁹ then called in Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and Jonas, to consider certain urgent problems in Saxon Lands with reference to the Emperor and the Pope,¹⁵⁰ and the future of the University. On this occasion Luther raised the question of reinstating the granting of advanced degrees at Wittenberg. The Prince and the senior faculty members present were in agreement, the Prince stating that this was an excellent idea if those promoted were truly worthy of the doctorate. It was then decided to hold promotions for four candidates while the Elector was still in Wittenberg. As in former days, a disputation would be held, for which Melanchthon drafted the theses.

The next day Caspar Cruciger, Johannes Bugenhagen, and Johann Aepinus debated on the themes of "Faith, the Church, Tradition, and the Literature of men." Melanchthon and some others served as disputants for the candidates. In the audience were the Prince, his wife, Sybilla, and many distinguished guests. John Frederick thoroughly enjoyed the arguments and was more convinced that such practices should be reinstated.¹⁵¹ The following day was a gala occasion when Dean Justus Jonas presided at the granting of the doctorate to Cruciger, Bugenhagen, and Aepinus. Also granted was the degree of *Licentiatus* to one Nicholas Glass.¹⁵² In the evening the Prince was host at a royal banquet for these candidates, the faculty, and members of the court. So it was with considerable fanfare that the granting of advanced degrees was reinstated at Wittenberg after a lapse of a decade.¹⁵³

John Frederick's profound interest in the University was further manifested by the whole series of new *Statutes* given to it between 1533 and 1536 which thoroughly reorganized the school. He had, of course, consulted the Wittenberg faculty and his court officials before making the changes. The *Statutes of 1533* were the first of the new directives.¹⁵⁴ Actually drafted by Philip Melanchthon, they were doubtless the fruit of much discussion, and were to have considerable impact upon the training of theologians.

The document began by asserting that young clergymen should be taught "the pure teaching of the Gospel" for which the Augsburg Confession was to be the norm. According to the *Statutes*, this Confession, presented to the Emperor Charles V, contained "the true and perpetual teaching of the Catholic Church" as it was founded. The Wittenberg faculty, it pointed out, was opposed to all heresies damned by the early Synods of Nicea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon, and the University upheld the teachings of their Fathers on the doctrines concerning God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and the two natures of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary. Thus, it was made clear, Wittenberg's theology was not new, but Apostolic.¹⁵⁵

To ensure that the theological faculty maintained these standards, all applicants from other institutions for positions at Wittenberg were first required to participate in a public disputation in which both their erudition and their basic convictions could be discerned. This practice also applied to candidates from elsewhere trying for advanced degrees in theology at Wittenberg.¹⁵⁶ The theological faculty provided by the 1533 *Statutes* consisted of four members: a professor in Old Testament, one in New Testament, a third to cover Augustine's *The Spirit and the Letter* (so students might learn how Saxon Churches conformed in their teachings to the erudite Fathers of the Church),¹⁵⁷ and the fourth, the town pastor, Johannes Bugenhagen, to give additional courses in exegesis. Those books of the Bible to be most frequently treated were *Romans*, the *Gospel of St. John*, the *Psalms*, *Genesis*, and *Isaiah*. These books were stressed because they offered "the greatest opportunity for students to get acquainted with the principles and the locations of Christian doctrine."¹⁵⁸ Although the document did not say so, these books, as we shall see, were also used in a final public examination of students.¹⁵⁹

Disputations were to be held four times each year by the professors to help educate their students. The themes covered must be first approved by the Dean, which meant Luther, for he was Dean of Theology from 1535 to 1546. Should a serious problem arise, similar to that of Carlstadt in the twenties, the Rector of the University might be consulted before a public debate was permitted; or, if necessary, the whole theological faculty might be consulted as to the wisdom of such a disputation. Should the case be a serious doctrinal matter the Elector might even be drawn into the controversy to select suitable judges. Such a situation did not arise in Luther's lifetime.¹⁶⁰

The *Statutes* of 1533 provided for four advanced degrees: *Biblicus*, *Sententiarius*, *Formatus*, and the Doctorate.¹⁶¹ The *Licentiatius* which had immediately preceded the doctorate in former years was now omitted. However, the time required for the doctorate, after obtaining the Masters in Liberal Arts, was still six years, but the content of the subject matter required for the degrees had completely changed from the former Catholic days. Instead of Lom-

bard's *Sentences*, which had been dropped around 1519, the emphasis was now on an interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. The student was required to appear before the theological faculty and read from the original Greek and Hebrew and then defend his doctrinal position by being able to cite from other books of the Bible. As the candidate progressed toward the advanced degrees the requirements became more exacting.¹⁶²

The candidate for *Biblicus* was called upon to interpret any portions of St. Paul's *Epistle to the Romans*, since here was contained practically the entire summation of Christian doctrine. The student was expected to know the *sedes doctrinae*, the beginnings and foundations of basic teachings, to be found almost entirely in *Romans*. When one added to this the doctrine of the Trinity found in St. John, one had the whole body of ecclesiastical doctrine.¹⁶³

Although the *Sentences* had been dropped, the title of *Sententiarius* was retained. For this degree the student was required to be able to interpret all of the *Epistles of St. Paul*, and, in addition, might be assigned portions of the *Psalms* and the *Prophets*.¹⁶⁴ For the *Formatus*, the public disputation was added in which the candidate proved his ability against others who sought to disparage his position.¹⁶⁵ For the Doctorate, the "silly practice of vespering" was now dropped.¹⁶⁶ The candidate was solemnly enjoined to approach this degree in all seriousness with the same reverence with which he would approach an altar, for with the granting of this degree he would be entrusted with the explanation and interpretation of divine doctrines. No one improperly taught, or adhering to beliefs contrary to the pure doctrine of the Church, should even be permitted to apply. Nor would those without proper moral character be considered. Only those should be admitted to all degrees who were modest and chaste. If married, they should be respectable husbands, for marriage was ordained wonderfully and ineffably by the plan of God.¹⁶⁷

The *Statutes* further provided that the Dean, in this case, Luther, was required to convoke all the students of theology once or twice annually to "examine the industry of each" and to take particular note of outstanding students. After graduation the students would be ordained in the Town Church, after which they would be assigned to pastorates; or, in the case of particularly gifted scholars, the Dean should guide them in advanced studies.¹⁶⁸

The Elector continued his deep concern for the University and three years later issued the *Statutes of 1536* covering all aspects of the Wittenberg academic life. As he had previously, he again consulted the faculty for their suggestions and recommendations, two drafts of which have been preserved. Our interest is confined to the School of Theology. According to the proposal of the faculty, there were to be five members on the theological staff: Luther, Melancthon, Cruciger, Bugenhagen, and Jonas; but Jonas, as Prior of the Castle Church, would be supported from that source.¹⁶⁹

Theological courses were prescribed as follows. One professor was to lecture four times weekly on *Romans*, *Galatians*, and *St. John* in rotation; a second on *Genesis*, the *Psalms*, and *Isaiah* with occasional lectures on Augustine's *de spiritu et littera*; a third lectured twice weekly in sequence on the remaining *Epistles of St. Paul*, the *Epistles of St. Peter* and of *St. John*, and would preach in the Castle Church on every other Sunday and Wednesday; the fourth professor, Bugenhagen, was also the Town Pastor and would lecture twice weekly on *St. Matthew*, *Deuteronomy*, and some of the *Minor Prophets* in rotation; and the fifth, Justus Jonas, in addition to his duties as Prior of the Castle Church and in his capacity of both theologian and lawyer, was to lecture on marriage, spiritual matters in the congregations, and issue decisions on legal matters requested by the Saxon Court.¹⁷⁰

The excellence of the training given in the School of Theology was directly conditioned by the quality of the Liberal Arts training which provided the foundation. This latter training, too, achieved new standards of excellence after Melanchthon had reorganized the *Pedagogium* in 1526 and was doubtless by this time beginning to bear real fruit, for boys who had learned their Latin, Greek, and Hebrew at the lower level were now entering the graduate School of Theology. Paulson's claim that "Melanchthon was the soul of the University of Wittenberg"¹⁷¹ is true only in the sense of a co-worker of Luther. Intensely interested in the final product, Melanchthon realized that the study of languages was not in itself sufficient, but only a tool toward a goal. He, therefore, combed the Classics for those materials which might be useful to train future ministers and help develop a well-informed Christian laity. He produced superior texts in Greek grammar and syntax, Latin grammar, rhetoric, psychology, physics, and mathematics. He prepared new translations, based on more authentic texts, of Cicero, Tacitus, Sallust, Quintilian, Virgil, Ovid, Demosthenes, and Pindar. He also translated selected portions of Thucydides, Xenophon, Plutarch, Homer, Hesiod, and Ptolemy, and provided translations of eighteen dramas of Euripides. His wide range of interests included astronomy, geography, history, and natural science; but in all of these pursuits he was the Christian scholar trying to prepare the well-rounded student.¹⁷²

Melanchthon believed, with Quintilian, that an eloquent speaker presupposed a good and noble character. Thus, a ministerial student who lacked prudence and wisdom was not properly prepared to preach. While the student needed grammar and languages as keys to unlock the knowledge of the past, to these must be added training in dialectics to give this material the proper substance and form, and rhetoric to add the final attractive and desirable shape. Such requisites also applied to other fields of learning, but were particularly needed when placing these disciplines in the service of the Gospel.¹⁷³

From the foregoing it is clear that the German Reformation had a profound effect on theological education in the Sixteenth Century. Instead of simple memorization of Lombard's *Sentences* and the defense of accepted answers with varying degrees of dialectical skill, the Lutheran theologians were given an entirely different type of background. Already in the *Pedagogium*, boys were taught the basic languages and were exposed to a humanistic background, including a study of the Classics and Sixteenth Century science. No longer were Greek and Roman writers taught according to the fixed interpretations of the Scholastics on the basis of corrupted texts; rather, the ancient writers were permitted to speak for themselves. In the later Graduate School of Theology, the emphasis was placed on Biblical exegesis. At this advanced level the students were expected to be capable of interpreting the Scriptures on the basis of the original texts, both in public examinations and in the disputations leading to advanced degrees. This training produced theologians who knew Biblical teaching on the basis of their own private investigations.

The record, as far as can be established, shows that Wittenberg graduates were in demand in the cities of Lutheran Lands. Their title was *Pfarrer*, and the older clergyman might have several deacons and assistants also Seminary graduates. The *Pfarrer*, generally, was a highly respected, cultured gentleman. He usually married into the better middle class families and, occasionally, into the nobility. In the smaller parishes and villages, pulpits had been filled in the early days of the Reformation by *Notprediger*, a pious and sincere but poorly-trained emergency preacher, who was placed in charge of a congregation following the Church Visitations, in the belief that he would serve the congregation better than the unqualified Catholic priest. By the late thirties the *Notprediger* began to disappear and by the early forties regularly ordained clergymen trained at Wittenberg were taking their places. It was not until the new theological training instituted at the University of Wittenberg had produced the necessary qualified clergymen that the Reformation was brought to full fruition in Lutheran Lands throughout Germany.¹⁷⁴

FOOTNOTES

1. So far as is known, Karl A. Meissinger, *Der katholische Luther* (Munich, 1952), is the only other scholar who shared the author's view that, in reality, we have to deal with three Luthers. A student of Johannes Ficker and author of *Luthers Exegese in der Fruhezzeit* (Leipzig, 1910), Meissinger had studied Luther's development very closely and observed how the Reformer underwent changes as he evolved from the Catholic Luther. Meissinger originally planned to write biographies of all three Luthers. Because he turned Catholic during the Hitler period, his book is somewhat slanted, but it does recognize the problem. An example of what happens when an author fails to distinguish between the different Luthers may be found in H. T. Kerr, Jr., *A Compend of Luther's Theology* (Philadelphia, 1943).

2. On October 1, 1508, Elector Frederick the Wise gave the University of Wittenberg its first Statutes for the different faculties. These have been printed in Walter Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch der Universität Wittenberg*, I (Magdeburg, 1926), which covers the university history from 1502 to 1611. Document 22, p. 20 states: "We encourage that the courses in the scholastic doctors be offered without any preference." (This source is hereafter cited as Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I.)
3. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, p. 14, cites the famous scroll, the so-called parchment, *Rotulus doctorum Vittemberge profitentium*, where is entered, under *In sacra theologia*, D. Jodocus Trutfitter de Ysennach, who is cited as a Master of Sacred Theology from Erfurt and also Prior of the Castle Church. He had been one of Luther's teachers.
4. In the microfilm library of the Foundation for Reformation Research (St. Louis, Mo.) is the Catalog of Manuscripts of the Wolfenbuettel Library, *Die Handschriften der Herzöglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, by Dr. Otto Heinemann, Main Librarian (Julius Zwissler, 1884), now located at Heidelberg University. An analysis of a part of this ten-volume set, "Die Helmstedter Handschriften," I, revealed to an amazing degree the stress placed on the Gospel theme in copies of old Bibles, Catechisms, Hymnals, etc., from collections originally in the possession of northern monasteries.
5. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 1-3. The original is in Halle, WUA, Tit. III, No. 1, a parchment with the Emperor's seal. See also Fr. Israël, *Das Wittenberger Universitätsarchiv*, in *Forschungen zur thüringisch-sächsischen Geschichte*, Heft 4 (Halle a.d.S., 1913), 96-99.
6. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 17; Israël, *Das Wittenberger Universitätsarchiv*, pp. 66-68.
7. *Liber Decanorum Facultatis Theologicae Academiae Vitebergensis*, ed. C. E. Foerstemann (Leipzig, 1838), pp. 2 ff. (Hereafter cited as *Liber Decanorum*.)
8. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 14-17.
9. *Ibid.* for the year 1507; pp. 77-78 for the year 1516.
10. The traveling Humanists were Herman von Busche who had studied in Italy with Langen; Nicolaus Marschalk who had introduced the study of Greek while in Wittenberg; younger men like George Sibutus, Ricardus Sbrulius, and Otto Beckmann. For an analysis of the early faculty as a whole see E. G. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times* (St. Louis, 1950), pp. 268-72; also Walter Friedensburg, *Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg* (Halle a.d.S., 1917) which treats the story of the early faculty in great detail. (Hereafter cited as Friedensburg, G.U.W.)
11. The theological *Statutes of 1508* (Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch* I, 34-35) contain a section, *De promociōibus*, which shows that the result could not be otherwise, because the examinations for all theological degrees presupposed memorization of specific dialectical replies to all difficult problems of doctrine. The student was not promoted in the five theological steps unless his mind conformed to the desired mold. The student had been examined by the Masters in the theological faculty and members of the *Senat* even before he was permitted to take any examination.
12. J. de Ghellinck, "The Liber Sententiarum," *Dublin Review* (1910), CXLVI, 139-6, contains an excellent treatise on this set. The Peabody Institute Library, Baltimore, Maryland, has an excellent 1489 edition of Lombard which the author used. Peter Lombard was an Italian from Novara, Italy, who was a contemporary of Peter Abelard. He drew heavily upon all Scholastic writings. Where Abelard in his *Sic et Non* tried to teach through instilling doubt of accepted viewpoints, Lombard attempted to harmonize the doubtful elements in Scholastic dogma. The

Sentences, a brief and handy treatise on systematic theology in four volumes, soon became quite popular. Abelard's learning and Bernard's reasonableness both deeply influenced the author in his writing. Although the *Sentences* were regarded as quite orthodox when first published in 1150, yet they seemed reactionary to extreme, hairsplitting Scholastics.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 160-61.
14. *Liber Decanorum*, pp. 3-10 *passim*.
15. *Ibid.* For specific regulations on this degree see Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 34. Before this degree was granted the student must have attended the prescribed courses and then appeared before the Dean, in the presence of the assembled theological faculty, where he took an oath to answer all questions with sincerity and promised not to seek revenge should the degree be denied. As a background he would have completed five years in the study of Theology since obtaining the Masters degree in the Philosophical Faculty. The faculty, on their part, were bound to consider both their personal reputations and that of the institution, and agreed not to promote any student unless he measured up to the accepted standards. Once granted the degree, the student was permitted to lecture on certain portions of the Old Testament and the New Testament in addition to volumes I and II of Lombard.
16. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 34. The *Sententiaris* testing was quite severe. The candidate was expected to be thoroughly familiar with the Bible as interpreted by Scholastic theologians. Before he was ever permitted to take the examination, his case had been discussed by the Dean with the faculty Senate. If approved, he then took a private examination before the faculty, followed by a public examination on the four volumes of Lombard's *Sentences*. If the candidate was found to be qualified, the Dean officially presented him to the Chancellor, asserting under oath that the candidate had been found worthy of promotion to *Sententiaris*.
17. *Ibid.*
18. On these lecture notes, the thesis by Herbert Rommel, *Über Luthers Randbemerkungen von 1509 bis 10* (Kiel, 1931) is excellent. See also K. A. Meissinger, *Luthers Exegese in der Frühzeit* (Leipzig, 1910) for an appraisal. For the actual text of the notes see *Weimar Ausgabe*, IX. (Hereafter cited as W.A.)
19. It is not clear exactly what this degree involved. As the *Liber Decanorum* shows, it was sometimes granted very shortly after the previous degree, for, in the case of Bodestein von Carlstadt, it states that, when he tried for the *Formatus* on 25 October 1510 under Polich von Mellerstadt, he was found to be so well qualified that he was also recommended for the degree of *Licentiat* and took that examination the following day.
20. Friedensburg *Urkundenbuch*, I, 34.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
22. For an illustration of such a *Kathed*, see Paul Schreckenbach und Franz Neubert, *Martin Luther* (Leipzig, 1921), p. 59, which shows the *Universitätskathed* in the *Grosse Hörsaal* of the present *Lutherhalle*. For a close-up view, see Oskar Thulin, *Die Lutherstadt Wittenberg und Torgau* (Berlin, 1932), illustration 49. Since the Castle Church burned in 1760 during the Seven Years War, the exact scene can no longer be reconstructed; however, from an old "*Handzeichnung vor 1760*" found in the *Lutherhalle*, it would appear that the *Kathed* may be on the right side near the center. It may have been brought in for these occasions.

23. J. W. Thompson and Edgar N. Johnson, *An Introduction to Medieval Europe* (New York, 1937), p. 701, quote this portion from the famous "Thus and Not": "We decided to collect the diverse statements of the holy fathers . . . raising an issue from their apparent repugnancy, which might incite the reader to search out the truth of the matter. . . . For the first key to wisdom is called interrogation, diligent and unceasing . . . By doubting we are led to inquiry; and from inquiry, we perceive the truth."
24. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 35.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*
28. *Liber Decanorum*, p. 12.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 39-45.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 15, lists the faculty members and the fields which they taught.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Heinrich Boehmer, *Der Junge Luther* (Gotha, 1925), p. 121. The former position was that every text had a literal meaning, and, in addition, an allegorical, tropological, or moral, and an anagogical sense. The first sense was practically unused in this early period.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 136 ff.
36. *Ibid.*, pp. 283 ff. Luther's lectures on *Romans* began on November 3, 1515 and were completed September 7, 1516; the lectures on *Galatians* ran from October 27, 1516 to March 10, 1517; and the lectures on *Hebrews* from March 16, 1517 to March 27, 1518.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 281.
38. *Ibid.*, pp. 252, 281, 416, 528, and 790, n. 18.
39. Boehmer, *Der Junge Luther*, p. 125. See an interesting letter by Luther to Spalatin, October 19, 1516 in which he analyzed how he now proceeded in Biblical studies, in W. A., "Briefe," I, 69-72; Jaroslav Pelikan, "Luther the Expositor," *Luther's Works* (Companion Volume) (St. Louis, 1959), pp. 32 ff; and Gerhard Ebeling, *Kirchengeschichte als Geschichte der Auslegung der Heiligen Schrift* (Tuebingen, 1947).
40. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 77. According to the record, Amsdorf was teaching a course in Aristotle's *Logic, secundum viam Scoti*, while at the same time he was lecturing for Carlstadt on the Philosophy of Gabriele [Biel]. Master Brück gave another course on Aristotle, *secundum viam Thome*, while Feltkirchen was lecturing on *phisica naturali secundum viam Scoti*. Physics was also taught by Johannes Gunckele *secundum viam Thome*. Thus, the same old methods were being followed in 1516.
41. W. A., "Briefe," I, 88-89. This letter was apparently written in the hope of winning his old teachers, Trutvetter and Usingen at Erfurt, to his "New Theology," for he evidently expected Lang to convey the message.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 69-72.
43. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 294-95; *Liber Decanorum*, p. 19; and for copy of these, W. A., I, 142.
44. W. A., "Briefe," I, 69-72.
45. The "iustitia Dei" question has been diligently dissected by now and the literature is overwhelming. When were the "Erstlinge" to which Luther referred in 1545? Ernst Bizer, *Fides ex auditu* (1952 and, enlarged, 1961) claimed it was not until 1518 to which Heinrich

- Bornkamm replied, upholding Vogelsang that the "breakthrough" came in 1514 while Luther was explaining the 72nd Psalm, in "Zur Frage der Iustitia Dei beim jungen Luther," Part I, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, LII, Heft I, 16-29; and Part II, *ibid.*, LIII, Heft II, 1-60. The author's reformation studies support this latter view.
46. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 294-96.
 47. W. A., "Briefe," I, 64-67, in which Luther wrote to Lang at Erfurt describing the occasion. See also p. 68, n. 5.
 48. W. A., "Briefe," I, 88.
 49. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
 50. *Ibid.*, pp. 103-104. This text is a free translation of Theses 40-45, for which see W. A., I, 226.
 51. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 297 ff. and especially p. 301.
 52. W. A., "Briefe," I, 133-34. For translation see Krodel, "Letters," I, *Luther's Works*, XLVIII, 52-55. Cf. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 293 ff.
 53. W. A., "Briefe," I, 155, and 156, notes 9-11.
 54. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 86; Spalatin's letter to Elector, June 9, 1518, in *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* (1907), cited in W. A., "Briefe," I, 180, n. 2. See Luther's letter to Spalatin of June 4, 1518 about Mosellanus' visit to Wittenberg in W. A., "Briefe," I, 179-80. For the situation at Leipzig involving the Dungersheim-Egran battle, see Irmgard Höss, *Georg Spalatin* (Weimar, 1956), pp. 112-13.
 55. Irmgard Höss, *Georg Spalatin* (Weimar, 1956), pp. 111 ff. tells the story of Greek and Hebrew chairs at Wittenberg in some detail. Johann Rach, who had assumed the title Aesticampianus, had been brought to Wittenberg by Spalatin to teach Pliny. He was a Humanist who had studied in Italy and came to Wittenberg for the winter semester 1517/18. He disappointed Luther by soon shifting from Pliny to teaching the Church Fathers. *Phillippi Melanchthonis Opera, Corpus Reformatorum*, ed., C. G. Bretschneider und H. E. Bindseil (Halis Saxonium, 1834 ff.), I, 34, contains Reuchlin's statement about Melanchthon: "For I know among the Germans no one who excells him except Erasmus of Rotterdam, who is a Hollander. Melanchthon also excells us all in Latin." (Hereafter cited as C. R.) For text of Reuchlin's letter to the Elector, May 7, 1518, see C. R., I, 34. For the Wittenberg side of the Melanchthon transactions see W. A., "Briefe," I, 172-75; Friedensburg G.U.W., pp. 115-16; and on trip to Wittenberg, W. A., "Briefe," I, 193, n. 4.
 56. Wittenberg was the first institution to be changed by the Reformation. Leipzig underwent a similar transformation after the death of Duke George in 1539. Jena was founded in 1549 and modeled after Wittenberg. Later, Frankfurt am Oder and Rostock also became model Lutheran institutions. On all of these the Wittenberg pattern made its deep imprint.
 57. The Second International Congress of Luther Research, held at Münster in August 1960, was devoted to this theme. See *Luther and Melanchthon*, ed., Vilmos Vajta (Philadelphia, 1961), which contains the papers presented to the Congress. The most useful study for our theme, however, is that of Peter F. Barton, "Die exegetische Arbeit des jungen Melanchthon 1518/19 bis 1528/29," *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*, LIV, Heft I (1963), 53 ff, which shows which courses Melanchthon actually taught. See also the doctoral dissertation of Lowell C. Green, *Die Entwicklung der evangelischen Rechtsfertigungslehre bei Melanchthon bis 1522 im Vergleich mit Luther* (1955); and Robert Stupperich, *Der unbekannte Melanchthon, Leben und Denken des Praeceptor Germaniae in neuer Sicht* (Stuttgart, 1961).

58. Clyde L. Manschreck, *Melanchthon, The Quiet Reformer* (Nashville, 1958), pp. 27-42, covers his early life in some detail.
59. W. A., "Briefe," I, 192; and n. 3; cf. W. A., "Briefe," I, 203-4; and n. 7 for Melanchthon's letter to Scheurl in Nürnberg (C.R., I, 48) for his feelings; also Friedensburg, G.U.W., pp. 126-27.
60. Manschreck, *Melanchthon, The Quiet Reformer*, pp. 34-35. Agricola had spent the last three years of his life at Heidelberg. His criticisms of Aristotle and translations of *Lucian* were well-remembered. Melanchthon had read his books and was much interested in Agricola's *Dialectics* which Oecolampadius had sent to him. It may have influenced Melanchthon to write his own book on Rhetoric.
61. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-42. While at Heidelberg, Melanchthon, a mere lad, began his publications with two poems, published by Jacob Wimpferling. Heidelberg, which had granted him the Bachelor degree when 14 years of age, refused his application for the Masters "on account of his youth and his boyish appearance," whereupon Melanchthon resolved to leave Heidelberg and go to Tuebingen. Here the Masters degree was duly granted at the age of 17. It was also here that Melanchthon's name first appeared in a published book, the *Dialogus Mythologicus* by Bartholomew of Cologne for which Melanchthon wrote a preface. In 1518 he published his *Rudiments of the Greek Language* (C.R., I, 24) and his fame spread throughout Europe. Reuchlin had every right to be proud of his great nephew.
62. W. A., "Briefe," I, 191-92, for Luther's August 31, 1518 letter to Spalatin describing the success of Melanchthon's debut at Wittenberg. For the text of the speech see Grunenberg's text, *Supplementa Melanchthoniana*, VI, 1, 49.
63. Manschreck, *Melanchthon, The Quiet Reformer*, pp. 22-24; cf. C. R. XI, 24.
64. Barton, "Die exegetische Arbeit des jungen Melanchthon 1518/19 bis 1528/29," *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*, LIV, Heft 1, 54-55, for the close relationship between them. Melanchthon was also highly regarded by his Wittenberg colleagues who soon turned to him for the final word on difficult matters. Luther relied on Melanchthon to check the German translation of the New Testament from the Greek text in 1522 before publishing it following his return from the Wartburg. On the other hand, Luther led Philip into the study of Theology.
65. W. A., "Briefe," I, 203; cf. Luther's Commentary on *Galatians*, W. A., II, 595: "Philippus meus Melanchthon, adolescens corpore, senex venerabili mentis canitie."
66. C. R., I, no. 46.
67. Friedensburg, G.U.W., p. 118. Manschreck, *Melanchthon, The Quiet Reformer*, p. 54.
68. For citations see note 57 above.
69. Manschreck, *Melanchthon, The Quiet Reformer*, pp. 34 ff.
70. Boeschstein was quite well prepared scholastically for the Hebrew chair, but he must have been a problem in other aspects. Already on November 12, 1518 Luther indicated his disappointment in this man, W. A., "Briefe," I, 229, n. 11. Boeschstein wanted to teach Hebrew as a language and was not interested in Luther's reforms. Luther, on the other hand, considered Hebrew a tool to unlock the Old Testament. Barton, "Die exegetische Arbeit des jungen Melanchthon 1518/19 bis 1528/29," *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*, LIV, Heft 1, 64, claims Boeschstein was also jealous of Melanchthon because Philip's students made such progress in speaking Hebrew.
71. W. A., "Briefe," I, 297, relates the efforts to find a replacement, and how it fell to Melanchthon to carry on where Boeschstein had failed.

- See Melanchthon's letter to Lang, April 3, 1519, C.R., I, 76, in which he indicates he is lecturing in both Greek and Hebrew and, in addition, giving a course in Old Testament exegesis on the *Psalms*.
72. Manschreck, *Melanchthon, The Quiet Reformer*, pp. 43-44. Cf. C.R., X, 302.
 73. *Liber Decanorum*, p. 22.
 74. W. A., "Briefe," I, 514: "He conducted himself in the disputation in such a manner that it revealed him as he really is, simply wonderful." According to Enders, II, 186, n. 17, even the Luther enemy, Cochlaeus, had similar words of praise for Melanchthon's performance in public disputations.
 75. Barton, "Die exegetische Arbeit des jungen Melanchthon 1518/1519 bis 1528/29," *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*, LIV, Heft 1, 53-82.
 76. Schwiebert, "New Groups and Ideas at the University of Wittenberg," *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*, XLIX, 77. On the use of Melanchthon's texts, Ferdinand Cohrs, *Philipp Melanchthon, Deutschlands Lehrer* (Halle, 1897), pp. 44-46.
 77. Spalatin to Veit Bild, W. A., "Briefe," I, 196, and n. 10. The figures vary somewhat for the years 1519-20.
 78. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 109.
 79. The author on a visit to the *Lutherhalle* in 1936 tried to estimate how many auditors could be accommodated by the *Grosse Hörsaal* on the second floor where Luther delivered his lectures. This room, right across the hall from his study, would be crowded to capacity by the 400 auditors which Spalatin claims.
 80. On Boeschstein's boasting see W.A., "Briefe," I, 211, n. 18.
 81. Although he had recommended Caesar, Boeschstein then tried to dissuade him from accepting the Wittenberg chair in Hebrew. For Luther's favorable reactions to Caesar see W.A., "Briefe," I, 297, for his letter to Spalatin. See note 1 for Caesar's academic record. In the same letter, note 3 quotes from Carlstadt who heard Caesar lecture and found the young man's "spirit, learning, eloquence, modesty, and intellectual curiosity" quite impressive. Carlstadt believed that the Boeschstein remarks were prompted by jealousy. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 88-89, gives evidence that Boeschstein tried to obtain a part-time teaching assignment at the Saxon Court, but was told by the Elector on March 20, 1519, that his services had been terminated. Luther in a letter to Lang on April 13, 1519, described Boeschstein's friendly departure, W.A., "Briefe," II, 10. For the claim that Caesar's father also objected, see W.A., "Briefe," I, 298, n. 3.
 82. W.A., "Briefe," I, 404-405. Note 2 gives Keller's background and also indicates that Melanchthon was but moderately impressed with his ability. Apparently discouraged by the length of the deliberations and disappointed in the offer of 50 Gulden per year salary, he accepted a position at Leipzig in which he was reported to have been quite successful.
 83. Höss, *Georg Spalatin*, p. 118.
 84. For Adrian's background see W.A., "Briefe," I, 551-52, n. 1. He had first taken a doctorate in Medicine, but at the suggestion of Reuchlin taught Hebrew at Tuebingen, then Basel, Heidelberg, Liege, and, finally, Louvain. Here a public address in which he claimed that a knowledge of the three classical languages was a requirement for theological studies aroused the fury of the traditionalists on the Louvain faculty and their persecution forced him to leave Louvain. See also W. A. "Briefe," II, 72.
 85. Einhorn is first mentioned in W.A., "Briefe," II, 72, in a letter from Luther to Spalatin, March 19, 1520. On April 16, 1520, while Adrian

- was waiting in Berlin for an answer, Luther wrote to Spalatin that they were trying to get an answer from Einhorn, W.A., "Briefe," II, 82-83.
86. W.A., "Briefe," II, 93-95, states that Adrian was hired for 100 Gulden. Cf. *ibid.*, I, 552, n. 1. For Melanchthon's reports to John Lang and John Hess in Breslau, see C.R., I, 161 and 163.
 87. W.A., "Briefe," I, 552, n. 1. For Luther's and Melanchthon's reactions, see C.R., I, 106.
 88. Friedensburg, G.U.W., pp. 125 ff; also, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 114, n. 6, and 117.
 89. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 85-109, gives illustrations; also in his G.U.W., pp. 112-27, where he gives a history of the times. See also Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 299-302.
 90. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 85-86. G.U.W., pp. 126-27.
 91. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 85-86. The new Rector, Balthasar Vach, entered the following note in the University *Matrikel* of the 1517/18 winter semester: "Through the clemency and munificence of the Great Prince, the Elector Frederick, the republic of letters [at Wittenberg] has been enlarged by courses in Pliny, Quintilian, and Priscian, and the employment of two pedagogues [for the *Pedagogium*], and the courses in Aristotle's *Physics* and *Logic* are to be continued."
 92. W.A., "Briefe," I, 155, and notes 9-11; also, 196, and n. 7. Here he also tells what a wonderful job Melanchthon is doing. Cf. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 156.
 93. W.A., "Briefe," I, 155; Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 86, and n. 2; and Friedensburg, G.U.W., p. 112.
 94. *Martin Luther* (Atlantis Verlag, Berlin, 1933), pp. 98-99. See also Friedensburg, G.U.W., p. 152.
 95. Barton, "Die exegetische Arbeit des jungen Melanchthon 1518/19 bis 1528/29," *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*, LIV, Heft 1, 53 ff.
 96. W.A., "Briefe," III, 258; Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 130; Enders, IV, 308 ff. for Luther's letter to the Elector on March 23, 1524, suggesting that Melanchthon should be used for theological courses in addition to those in Greek.
 97. Schiesz, *Briefwechsel der Brüder Ambrosius und Thomas Blaurer* (1908), I, 29 ff.; cf. 30-32 and 34; Friedensburg, G.U.W., p. 152.
 98. *Ibid.*
 99. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 109.
 100. *Album Academiae Vitebergensis*, C. E. Foerstemann (Leipzig, 1841 ff.), I, 1-99, for lists of students by semesters, giving name and home city; *ibid.*, III, 803-806, for total enrollment from 1502 to 1560. (Hereafter cited as *Album*.)
 101. *Ibid.* Also Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, p. 604, for a chart developed by the author on the basis of the original "Matrikel" in the Halle-Wittenberg Library in Halle, Germany in 1936.
 102. Manschrek, *Melanchthon, The Quiet Reformer*, p. 53. Melanchthon's reply is a touching document. He stated many reasons why he would like to accept Reuchlin's invitation, but could not break his pledged word to the Elector. Further, he must do what he believed Christ had called him to do. See C.R., I, 149-50.
 103. See page 9 above.
 104. On the background of *Exsurge, Domine* see Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 484 ff. From Friedensburg *Urkundenbuch*, I, 91 ff. it appears that there was some dissatisfaction with the Law College prior to Luther's removal of Canon Law. In Document 74 (p. 91), sometime prior to December 1519, the Elector was concerned about improving the morale of both professors and students of the Law School. Plans

- were even being discussed for a new building, which was erected later. The blow to Canon Law as a profession had a blighting effect on the Law School for some years. Although Civil Law continued to be taught, it was not as popular. Document 120, note 1 (p. 124) relates how Justus Jonas hired a substitute to teach *Kirchenrecht*.
105. Schwiebert, "New Groups and Ideas at the University of Wittenberg," *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*, XLIX, 76-77. A special study, though not acceptable in all details, was done by Johannes Heckel, "Das Decretum Gratiani und das Deutsche Evangelische Kirchenrecht," *Estratto da Studia Gratiana* (Bonn, 1955), III, 485 ff.
 106. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 175-76.
 107. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 603-604; also notes 100 and 101 above.
 108. Louise W. Holborn, "Printing and the Growth of a Protestant Movement in Germany from 1517 to 1524," *Church History*, XI, 129-30. See also Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 439 ff. Luther really redirected the usefulness of the tract by use of woodcuts and a serious religious message which reached the masses. On the Bull, *Decet*, see Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 492 and 495.
 109. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 509 ff. covers the *Edict of Worms* and its implications. For bibliography see notes to Chapter 15, beginning with note 78 and following (p. 829).
 110. *Ibid.*, pp. 432-37, and 604, n. 3, for Paris reference. The University of Paris had been selected as one of the judges in the Leipzig Debate in 1519, but for diplomatic reasons had delayed its answer until 1521.
 111. *Ibid.*, p. 604 for enrollment chart; *Album*, III, 804-805 for annual figures on enrollment. For the actual breakdown on this impact see materials from the author's doctoral dissertations summarized in "The Reformation from a New Perspective," *Church History*, XVII, pp. 20 ff.
 112. See notes 100, 101, and 111 above.
 113. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, p. 606, points out that in 1520 some 214 students matriculated at Wittenberg from conservative Catholic lands, while by 1530 this number had shrunk to 24. Meissen, which was but a short distance away, sent 83 students in 1520, but in the following years the number dwindled because Duke George had posted placards at the border threatening all who left his territories to attend Wittenberg with the death penalty. In 1530 Meissen sent 8 students.
 114. *Liber Decanorum*, p. 27.
 115. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29. Cf. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 154 ff. for new *Statutes of 1533*.
 116. *Liber Decanorum*, p. 27, n. 1 was added in Luther's own hand.
 117. *Ibid.*
 118. *Ibid.* Note 2 was also written in Luther's hand but at a later date, possibly when he was Dean of the Theological Faculty from 1535-46.
 119. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 527-31, for translation of the New Testament; pp. 643-63, for a treatment of "The German Bible."
 120. *Ibid.*, pp. 663-76.
 121. See note 108 above.
 122. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 535 ff. and 556 ff.
 123. W.A., XV, 28 ff. Cf. W.A., XXX, 508-88.
 124. Barton, "Die exegetische Arbeit des jungen Melanchthon 1518/19 bis 1528/29," *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte*, LIV, Heft 1, pp. 70 ff. Melanchthon's second series of lectures on *Romans* was in 1520, the

- third in 1521-22. From the spring of 1522 to the winter of 1523 he lectured on St. John's Gospel. He also lectured later on *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Proverbs* in 1523, *Colossians* in 1527, and *Psalms*, 1527-28. In all Barton has identified over two dozen lecture series between 1519 and 1529. In addition, he also gave lectures on Bible sources and published his *Loci Communes* in 1521.
125. *Album*, III, 804, shows him as Rector for the Winter Semester, 1523, for which only 75 students registered. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 128-30, states: "Philipp Melanchthon als Rektor verkündigt neue Satzungen über den Studiengang," etc.
 126. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 131. Here John the Constant tells Spalatin that he does not intend to let the noble work begun by his brother languish. Luther had written to him on May 20, 1525 (Enders, V, 174) that he hoped the new Prince would look after the school. Luther also wrote a communication to Spalatin indicating what reforms were necessary in the school (Enders, V, 179 f.).
 127. For the growth of this principle over the centuries see Schwiebert "The Medieval Pattern in Luther's Views of the State," *Church History*, XII, 98-117.
 128. For a standard account of the Saxon Church Visitations, see C.A.H. Burkhardt, *Geschichte der sächsischen Kirchen und Schulvisitationen von 1524 bis 1545* (Leipzig, 1879), and the actual sources, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, ed., E. Sehling (Leipzig, 1902 ff.), 5 vols.
 129. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 127 reads, "zwen retores in die collegian verordneth," which could only mean the two larger buildings named for Frederick the Wise. Elector John's instructions to Spalatin of September 17, 1525 (p. 134) also speak of "zweier retores und regenten in den collegien die jugent zu declamation und guter lere und zucht [anzuhalten] bedurftig." According to the earlier citation (p. 127), the *Retores* were to live in the dormitories with the students and "lead the young students to sound learning."
 130. *Ibid.*, p. 124. He cites G. Bauch, *Die Einführung der Melanchthonischen Deklamationen . . . an der Universität zu Wittenberg* (Breslau, 1900), pp. 10-14. On fines of faculty for neglect, see Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 204. On conversing in Latin to prepare for Declamations, see Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 146.
 131. The school was even more strict in this training later, see Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 177-78 and 204.
 132. *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.
 133. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
 134. *Ibid.*
 135. *Ibid.*
 136. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
 137. *Ibid.*
 138. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 259 ff. covers in detail the endowment of the Castle Church which had been initiated by Elector Rudolf I, and, by the time of Wenceslaus, boasted rich holdings. *Annalen der Universität Wittenberg*, ed., J.C.A. Grohmann (Meissen, 1801), I, 46 ff. for the feudal dues which had to be paid, usually in kind, by 30 villages, 3 priories, 2 woods, and 1 chapel. Frederick the Wise added 7 more parishes. These funds were the principal source of University finances. By 1536 the University was placed on a sound, fixed budget based mainly on *Stift* funds. At that time the total budget was \$55,440, evaluated in 1940 money values. Seven members of the Wittenberg faculty were still paid directly from *Stift*

- funds, but as these people died, their salaries were automatically diverted to the University budget. See Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 136 ff, especially Document 141.
139. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 259 ff.
 140. Schwiebert "Remnants of a Reformation Library," *The Library Quarterly* (October, 1940), X, 494 ff., gives a detailed account of this library, its origin, relationship to the university, location, internal appearance, and holdings. In 1547, during the Schmalkaldic War, it was transported to Weimar. When John Frederick organized the University of Jena in 1549, after loss of the Electoral circle to Duke Moritz, the former Wittenberg library formed the nucleus of the Jena University library. The author used its catalog in 1936 while at Jena and traced its history.
 141. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 152-53. At the funeral of John the Constant, Luther preached the funeral sermon, and the body was interred in the Castle Church. After the funeral, John Frederick and Luther spoke of his father's final hours.
 142. *Ibid.*, p. 183, n. 2. The Will had been drawn in 1529 and signed by both sons as being fully agreed to its provisions. John Frederick belonged to the second generation of Lutherans who had been tutored by Spalatin. See Höss, *Georg Spalatin*, pp. 39, 43, 45, 48, 185, 189-90, *passim*. He was a devoted Luther student and follower.
 143. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 183, n. 2.
 144. Schwiebert, "Remnants of a Reformation Library," *The Library Quarterly*, X, 523, and notes 161-63.
 145. *Ibid.*, n. 161.
 146. The quotation is a portion of the "Preface" to the May 5, 1536 *Statutes* of the University of Wittenberg. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 173.
 147. *Ibid.*
 148. *Ibid.*
 149. *Ibid.*, p. 153.
 150. *Liber Decanorum*, pp. 28 ff. tells this story in detail.
 151. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
 152. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
 153. *Ibid.*
 154. Friedensburg, *Urkundenbuch*, I, 154-58.
 155. *Ibid.*, p. 154.
 156. *Ibid.*, pp. 154-55.
 157. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
 158. *Ibid.*
 159. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
 160. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-56.
 161. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
 162. *Ibid.*
 163. *Ibid.*
 164. *Ibid.*
 165. *Ibid.*
 166. *Ibid.*
 167. *Ibid.*
 168. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
 169. Friedensburg *Urkundenbuch*, I, 161 ff. includes several documents bearing on the drafting of the new *Statutes*, beginning with a letter

from Dr. Justus Jonas to the Electoral Court as early as March 1535. Document 183 is a request from the Elector for background materials to be used in preparing the *Statutes*, such as how many professors there are, the amounts of their salaries, the salaries of the staff in the Castle Church, and fiscal matters generally. On the same day, April 14, 1535, the University replied, Document 184, supplying the requested data. There followed several "Entwürfen" for the Elector. Document 189 is particularly significant. For the actual *Statutes* see Document 193.

170. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-75.
171. Friedrich Paulsen, *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts* (Leipzig, 1919), II, 228.
172. Ferdinand Cohrs, *Philipp Melancthon, Deutschlands Lehrer* (Halle, 1897), pp. 31-47.
173. *Ibid.*, pp. 9-10.
174. Schwiebert, *Reformation Lectures* (Valparaiso, 1937), pp. 285-86, gives statistics of "Notprediger" and how their numbers diminished as regularly trained clergymen increased in Lutheran lands. Cf. Paul Drews, *Der evangelische Geistliche in der deutschen Vergangenheit* (Jena, 1905), pp. 7-30; Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times*, pp. 625 ff. for the type of clergymen who were in charge in Lutheran Lands after the Reformation was fully established.

Announcement

BIBLE LANDS SEMINAR

MANY TRAVELERS to Bible Lands have only a sketchy knowledge of Bible history. For the main part of their tours and in their sightseeing they are informed by local guides (with not much more, and sometimes even less, reliable information) on the historic and archeological points of interest to Christians. Anyone who has had to listen to the "spiel" of a guide concerning a matter on which the tourist himself happens to be well informed is inclined to doubt other guides that speak with authority. The educated traveler sometimes wishes he had at his side some expert on history, art, architecture or archeology to whom he could turn to get a reliable comment on an interesting object or locality. Imagine the value of seeing the scenes of the Bible Lands and visiting the local museums with their many unique and priceless objects in the company of professors and doctors of theology and philosophy who could explain and comment on the Biblical and historical significance of it all. Such a trip would not be a tour, but more of a seminar in Bible studies with on-the-spot references.

The Bible Lands Seminar conducted for the first time in 1965 by Concordia Theological Seminary, Springfield, offers not a tour, but an educational trip which promises to be both a venture and adventure. Two members of the faculty, Dr. Raymond Surburg and Dr. Lorman Petersen, both of the Exegetical Department of the Seminary, will offer two lecture courses on Old and New Testament studies on a trip through the Bible Lands from April 20th to May 26th. These courses will bring nine hours of academic credits to the participants and present an ideal educational situation.

The courses will present an on-location study of the world in which the Holy Scriptures were written. The mighty acts of God took place in these countries and no Christian could fail to profit by such studies. How much more can be added to the education of a pastor and student of theology by this type of instruction!

The folders mailed to many pastors of our church concerning the Bible Lands Seminar give only an outline of the trip and state the main objectives of this venture. The trip will take the group through parts of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Greece and Italy. The European cities visited on the return route offer contacts with the main points of old world culture. The Seminar has been approved by all synodical and seminary boards and committees. Recognizing the unique educational value of this Seminar, the Aid Association for Lutherans has made available a number of scholarships for students participating.

The Holy Land Seminar has caught the interest of the Springfield students from the very first announcement and there is no