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THE CONCEPT OF EDUCATION IN THE LIGHT OF THE
THEOLOGY OF D. MARTIN LUTHER

A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis,
Department of Systematic Theology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Theology

by
Won Yong Ji
May 1957

Approved by:

Lewis W. Spitz

Advisor

Paul H. Bruecker

Reader

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Short Title

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Dedicated to

MY PARENTS

who gave me the best they had
and had wanted to give me a fine education
under all imaginable adverse circumstances.

Acknowledgment

In the preparation of this thesis, the author is indebted to many people for inspiration, suggestions, criticism, encouragement and guidance. They are especially his professors, namely Drs. Paul M. Bratscher and Louis W. Spitz who served as advisors; Drs. Albert G. Harkens and Arthur C. Bopp of Concordia Theological Seminary; and Dr. A. C. Stelthorn.

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Preface

The chief sources of material were from the Pritzlaff Memorial Library of Concordia Theological Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri; the Ridgley Library of Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri; the St. Louis Municipal Library; and the main library of the University of Heidelberg, Germany.

ABBREVIATIONS

- E. - - - - - Erlanger Ausgabe (Erlangen Edition) of Luther's Works.
- Lenker Tr. - - - - - The writings of Dr. Martin Luther in English language, edited by J. N. Lenker.
- Phil. Ed. - - - - - The Philadelphia Edition of Luther's Works.
- S.L. - - - - - St. Louis Edition (German) of Luther's Works.
- W. - - - - - Weimarer Ausgabe (Weimar Edition) of Luther's Works.
- W. TR. - - - - - Luther's Tischreden (Table-Talks) in the Weimar Edition of his Works.
- W. Br. - - - - - Luther's Letters in the Weimar Edition of his Works.
- W. Bibel - - - - - Luther's Bible in the Weimar Edition of his Works.
- Wal. - - - - - Walch Ausgabe (Walch Edition) of Luther's Works.

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SECTION ONE

MARTIN LUTHER AND EDUCATION

his cosmological concept, proceed entirely from his theology.¹ How he understands the world (life), man, knowledge, and value determines Luther's educational philosophy. It is

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a study of the theological implications of Luther's emphasis on "education," and an examination of the contributions, if any, which Luther made to education, eventually derived from such an emphasis, to his subsequent generations. Its purpose is to survey briefly his theology in order to determine the theological significance or implications of its underlying pedagogical principles and practices. "What is Luther's view on education?" is the final goal of this study.

This study should prove to be of value to Lutheran educators in particular in that it attempts to bring Lutheran educational practices into harmony with the educational principles of Luther. Such an investigation is important and significant because, although the theology of Luther has been studied and developed in every generation since Luther, few studies of the theological foundation of Luther's views on education have heretofore been made.

The theology of Luther is precisely the determining factor of his educational concept. His educational view is naturally and consistently preceded by his theological thoughts. The latter lead to the former. The foundation of his philosophy of education, that is, his cosmological glimpse, his anthropological assumption, his epistemological view, and

¹ Cf. Martha Israel, "Luther als Erzieher" (Euniv. Zeitschrift Luther-Universität Jena, 1917), p. 22.

his axiological accent, proceed entirely from his theology.¹ How he understands the world (life), man, knowledge, and value determines Luther's educational philosophy. It is an imperative situation, therefore, to study his theology in order to comprehend his pedagogical stand-point, for his educational philosophy is embodied in his theology. Luther has never divorced education from theology. He himself was an educator as well as a theologian. His education is his applied theology.²

Luther's philosophy of education rests upon his specific view of God, Christ, the Word of God, man, the nature of the state, church, school, and home. The integration of these factors into a unified form is a task of the study of Luther's concept of education. True, in Luther one can hardly find an educational system, or, if there be any, only in a very limited degree.³ Does this necessarily indicate that Luther has no philosophy of education? As long as the philosophy of education denotes a philosophy of life, Luther definitely discloses a philosophy of education, which is unique to himself and peculiar to the special needs of his

¹We cannot treat these phases extensively. In chapter V of this thesis, we study the anthropological point of view of Luther. His view of MAN has a relevant connection with his idea of education. It should be noted that Luther's philosophy of education is based on his PHILOSOPHY of life, and his philosophy on his theology.

²Horst Keferstein, Die Paedagogik der Kirche (Berlin SW.: Verlag von Carl Habel, 1880), p. 22: "Die amtliche Thaetigkeit des Theologen wesentlich ist auch eine paedagogische. . . . Der Theologische Beruf ist ein im eminenten Sinne zugleich paedagogischer. . . ." Cf. G. M. Bruce, Luther as an Educator (Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928), p. 190.

³Cf. Hertha Israel, "Luther als Erzieher" (Thueringische Landesuniversitaet Jena, 1919), p. 22.

time, throughout his writings, both exegetical and reformational, in his private discourses, and through his private and public life.

An interesting but ironical question is, then, despite such a great possibility of discovering in Luther a well-developed philosophy of education, why is there no such work worthy of mentioning among Lutherans? Again, why is there no well-rounded theory of education, or an integrated, unified and complete system of educational philosophy,⁴ agreed upon by the followers of Luther? The answer must be sought in the following considerations.

Indeed, Luther wrote several stirring works that classify as pedagogical writings;⁵ and no less than 54 talks of his Tischreden have educational content, since they set forth his ideas of children and their education, teachers, method of teaching, and schools of various grades. Notwithstanding, Luther never wrote a volume on the theme "philosophy of education," nor did he publish a single text book or guide book on education, its philosophy and methods. His views of education are scattered throughout his pedagogical, theological, exegetical, reformational writings, his private discourses and letters. The aim of all his writings was didactic in one way or another. In fact, the emphasis on education was one of the

⁴Edwin H. Rian, Christianity and American Education (San Antonio, Texas: The Naylor Company, 1949), p. 205.

⁵Three of the most significant writings are: The address to the German nobility in 1520; the Letter to the German Councilmen in behalf of Christian Schools in 1524; the Sermon on Sending children to School in 1530, and the Catechisms.

fundamental principles of the Reformation.⁶ This factor complicates matters for those who study Luther's pedagogical views.

Another difficulty in Luther is the peculiar style of his writings and sayings. Despite the loud cry "Zu Luther zurueck!" throughout the centuries,⁷ no standard work which represents Luther's views comprehensively and exhaustively, including all phases of his teaching, has ever been produced. Luther's works are often quoted and interpreted by his followers and his enemies alike for their own advantages to justify their respective points of view. Luther's concrete historical allusions, candid and violent expressions, brilliant illustrations, realistic metaphors, clever turns, all these are characteristics of his unique style of writing.⁸ However, precisely these same factors sometimes cause considerable difficulty for the interpreter who tries to grasp what Luther really means.

A further problem arises from the complex nature of the Reformation.

⁶Cf. Walter H. Beck, Lutheran Elementary Schools in the United States (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1939), p. 5.

⁷Cf. Wilh. Walther, "Der Glaube an das Wort Gottes," Das Erbe der Reformation im Kampfe der Gegenwart (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf. -- Georg Boehme, 1903), p. 91.

⁸Observe the style of Luther's writing especially in his "Sermon on the Mount," Luther's Works, American edition, edited by Jaroslav Pelikan (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), XXI, 1-284. Luther seems to have a special fondness for the grossest symbols of all. To take one example among many, Cf. W. 20, 334 ff.: Luther pictures God as a fisherman; Christ the hook and bait, and the devil as the fish.

Increasing number of works have been made since 1945. A still more significant finding is that out of those 150 or more only the following two are related to Luther's educational views: "Luther als Erzieher," by Bertha Israel in 1919; "Erziehung und Erlebung" in Lehrjahre by P. Speck in 1933.

This movement was the most far-reaching, many-sided, and profound awakening in the history of the western world. No aspect of human personality and life was untouched by it. It involved political, economic, religious, moral, philosophical, literal, educational, and institutional changes of the most sweeping character.⁹ The chief champion of this movement was, of course, the former Augustinian friar Martin Luther. A study of him, therefore, may mean an involvement in the various problems of his time, and, consequently, a dealing with his attitude toward those phases of the Reformation. Luther-study is one of the most complicated areas of research.

Luther's views on education in particular have not received the attention, concern and interest they really merit, by both Lutherans and non-Lutherans.¹⁰ Studies of Luther's educational views are few, and good studies even fewer.¹¹ Although a considerable number of studies deal with

⁹ Cf. Frederick Eby, and Charles F. Arrowood, The Development of Modern Education (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934), p. 29.

¹⁰ Raymond H. Leach, "Luther and this new Education," School and Society, XXXVIII (December 16, 1933), 805.

¹¹ The author has checked the issues, between 1900-52, of Jahresverzeichnis der an den deutschen Universitaeten und Hochschulen Erschienenen Schriften (published in Berlin and Leipzig, Germany) with the intention of finding out the number of doctoral dissertations written in German universities during those 53 years; and studied those materials discovered. More than 150 dissertations have been written during that span of time, about Luther or on the topics related to Luther. Surprisingly few writings were produced between 1900-1940. However, a considerably increasing number of works have been made since 1945. A still more significant finding is that out of those 150 or more only the following two are related to Luther's educational view: "Luther als Erzieher," by Hertha Israel in 1919; "Erbsuende und Erziehung" im Luthertum, by F. Spanuth in 1933.

Christian pedagogy and elaborate upon Luther's educational principles,¹² not a single book exists which attempts to present a full and comprehensive view of his ideas on education and which can be regarded as a standard work, nor has a single study ever been made having as its sole objective the unfolding of Luther's philosophy of education. Whatever kind of studies exist, their number and scope are very limited.¹³ Like in Luther's

The author has also checked the Bibliographie zur deutschen Geschichte im Zeitalter der Glaubensspaltung (1517-1585) (Im auftrag der Kommission zur Erforschung der Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation; herausgegeben von Karl Schottenleher, I Band. Leipzig: Verlag Karl W. Hiersemann, 1933), under "Luther: --"Erziehung, Schule." This section alone contains more than 50 pages. From such a large collection of writings about Luther, no more than a dozen works are even worthy of mentioning in connection with this thesis. Some of the available materials from them are used in this dissertation.

It is not without significance to note that the Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte, issues from 1906 to 1955, which the author was able to inspect, do not contain a single essay on the educational view of Luther, or a similar topic or related theme.

¹²Gf. Bibliography, part Three.

¹³From the issues between 1929 to 1956 of The Educational Index (published by The H. W. Wilson Company in New York), only the following articles were found: "Methods of great religious teachers; Martin Luther" by R. H. Bainton in 1932; "Luther and this new Education" by R. H. Leach in 1933; and "Luther on Education in the Christian Home and School" by P. E. Kretzmann in 1940. It is indeed noteworthy that such a large educational index can reveal no more than three articles on Luther's educational view in 27 years.

Furthermore, Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature lists only one article in its issues between 1925 and 1956, which treats the educational concept of Martin Luther, that is also mentioned by The Educational Index, i.e. the article, "Luther and this new Education" by R. H. Leach in 1933.

The International Index to Periodicals (published by H. W. Wilson Company in New York) does list no single article, between 1934 and 1956, on the theme of Luther's view of education.

Although in a limited scope, these three indexes reveal a considerable number of writings on Luther and various phases of Luther's contribution

own works, so we also find his educational views, which are interpreted by his students, scattered throughout the theological and pedagogical literatures and books about Luther.

From the bibliography of this thesis, one can readily note the scope of the work. The source materials are divided into six categories.

Material under the first category, that is, Luther's own works, must be consulted to determine Luther's educational philosophy and objectives. They are therefore basic for the entire thesis, but especially for sections two and three, or chapters V through X. Individual works of Luther which are primarily utilized in this thesis are listed in Appendix III.

In the second part of the bibliography are listed those works which deal with Luther's theology and with interpretations of his theology. They were mainly consulted in the preparation of chapters V, VI and VII. Although these works may be classified as secondary, they are recognized as authoritative works on the theological thought of Luther. In the analysis and interpretation of Luther's theology, they are in substantial agreement with one another. In so far as these works have been with those of Luther himself, there is also substantial agreement.

Under the third category we find works which deal with Luther's concept of education and with those works of Christian education which support Luther's point of view. It is the author's intention to show how these works interpreted Luther as an educator, or as an educational

to Reformation and the subsequent churches of Reformation.



reformer, and what they reveal as to his educational philosophy and objectives, even though they may not all have been written for such purposes. In this section, particularly, the author attempted to assemble as completely as possible all the source materials available at the present time. The works under this section are to substantiate especially chapters III, IV, VIII, IX and X.

The writings on educational history, which evaluate Luther's views of education are intended primarily to provide materials for chapters III and IV.

Chapter II is substantiated chiefly by the materials listed under the fifth category in the bibliography.

The miscellaneous works consulted for this thesis have a certain general significance for the study as a whole. Even though the author studied them, not all of them are cited in the text of the thesis.

A study like this thesis covers such an extensive area that no complete list of source materials can be given. Except for the source materials under the first and third categories of the bibliography, all other references to materials are incomplete. There are almost limitless materials available on each of those sections, such as on the anthropology and Christology of Luther and his teaching on the Word of God. The vast number of works on the life of Luther and the Reformation are at least hinted at.¹⁴

¹⁴A comprehensive bibliography on "Martin Luther and His Times" is found in R. H. Bainton, Here I Stand (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), pp. 387 ff.

What are the basic principles of Luther's education? What position does divine Revelation play in his scheme of education? Does Luther make reason an important source of knowledge and an arbiter of truth? Is knowledge acquired through both religious and secular education based on revelation or reason? Does Luther agree with the idea that the ultimate ends of education are the same for all men at all times and everywhere, and are they absolute and universal? How about the means of education? Does Luther agree with the view of modern experimentalists that education is an "on-going process"? What did Luther think of the subject matters to be taught in schools? Shall all human knowledge, skills, and abilities have as their primary object wholesome Christian attitudes? What is Luther's humanistic and cultural concept of education? To what extent are the church, the State, the home, and the schools responsible for the education of the child? Finally, is Luther's idea of education old-fashioned and unpractical?

All these questions and many others are vital and relevant to an understanding of the principle as well as means and ends of education as conceived by Luther. But all these questions must be examined in the light of Luther's theological and Scriptural Weltanschauung. His education must be viewed in the light of his understanding of salvation, that is, from the soteriological stand-point.¹⁵

Since there exists no one-volume work, organized systematically,

¹⁵ Cf. Friedrich Spanuth, Erbsuende und Erziehung im Luthertum (Bad Salzdetfurth: Druck Richard Giesecke, 1933), p. 25.

A theological-christological-anthropological perspective. Cf. 1915, p. 53.

dealing with Luther's educational views, the inductive method seems the most logical way to approach the subject. His ideas are hidden in his writings; his answers to questions related to education are expressed by him either casually or intentionally throughout his writings. Comprehensive conclusions must be derived from a study of these source materials.

During the past century, numerous studies have been made, as shown in the bibliography, of the educational writings of Luther. Most of them are encyclopedic in character. They are often no more than anthologies compiled on the basis of the historical approach. This author followed the theological approach, that is, he tried to unfold Luther's views on education from Luther's theological perspective, for Luther's views on education must be treated from the stand-point of his theology.

In the first section of this thesis, the following themes are dealt with: a brief study of Luther, a glimpse of education in Germany immediately before and during the Reformation, and a summary of the special contributions of Luther to education during his lifetime and in subsequent generations. This section points out the place and role of Luther in the field of education.

The second section of this study examines the theological foundation on which Luther's educational views are based.¹⁶ In order to understand his views on basic educational questions, we must keep in mind Luther's theological assumptions such as the following.

Man created by God, fell into sin--homo peccator. He must be educa-

Each reference is directed to the respective appendix.

¹⁶ A theological-Christological-anthropological perspective. Cf. Ibid., p. 53.

ted with the help of God. Man is the means through whom God educates men, and he is also the one to be educated. To understand who man is, is therefore, the vital and basic consideration.

The educational process, the renewal of man's existence as man, occurs through the messages of God's Word which is preached and taught in the church, schools, and the family. The Word of God is the indispensable means in the process of education.

For the Reformer, the knowledge of justification through faith comprises a new view of the total structure of man. Luther believes that man must achieve fellowship with God and that his whole life essentially belongs to the Creator and the Savior Jesus Christ. This relationship to God is the determining factor of man as man. God's grace and love accepts man and places him in fellowship with Him and restores this relationship to its original order. This restoration of the God-man relationship takes place in Christ. Education is centered in this life-renewing Agent, Jesus Christ. Luther's education, therefore, is Christ-centered education.

Section three analyzes the educational agencies, such as, home, school, state and church and their natures and respective missions for the cause of education. Also treated in this section are educational means and methods, the nature of the office of teaching, and the task of education.

The appendixes elucidate in greater detail various aspects in this thesis. Each reference is directed to the respective appendix.

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CHAPTER II

MARTIN LUTHER

Examination of Luther

There is considerable truth in the statement of Swiss theologian

Karl Barth that the man Martin Luther is "schwerer verstaendlich und weniger zugänglich."¹ Contrasting phases in Luther's personality and ideas² are undeniable difficulties for students and biographers of Luther in understanding and interpreting him correctly. A complete and objective analysis of him, in a strict sense of the term, may hardly be feasible.³

Martin Luther⁴ was a child of the age in which he lived. In him one can find characteristics and needs of that age--not only the re-

¹Karl Barth, "Lutherfeier 1933--Luther; Luthers Wissenschaft," Theologische Existenz Heute (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1933), Heft 4, 8, 9.

²Ernst Wolf makes the following observation of Luther's character: ". . . so trat und so tritt auch die Gestalt Luthers in zeitbedingt verschiedene Sicht." Ernst Wolf, "Martin Luther, das Evangelium und die Religion," Theologische Existenz Heute (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1934), Heft 6, 3.

³One possible examination into Luther, however, can be made through a comparative study between him and his contemporaries and the prominent figures that followed him. In this respect, the following observation of Harnack has a significant meaning: "Luther ist nicht der von Anfang an dogmatisch Fertige und systematisch in sich Abschlossene, wie Calvin; aber er schwankt auch nicht unsicher, wie Melanchthon im Einzelnen." Theodosius Harnack, Luthers Theologie (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1927), I, 8.

⁴Martin Luther was born, as the first child of Hans and Margaret Luther, at Eisleben in Saxony on the 10th of November, 1483; and died,

ligious⁵ but also cultural, social and psychological—and possible answers for those needs. He could "incarnate the spirit of his time"⁶ and was powerful and courageous enough to assume the intellectual and religious leadership which was needed for such a time.

Der Mann, der zum Reformator werden sollte, musste wohl auch durch die Wissenschaft des Humanismus hindurchgehen, aber sein Werk musste

February 18, 1546, also at Eisleben. His father used to earn his living as a miner. "I am a peasant's son," said Luther once to Melancthon in conversation, "my father, grandfather—all my ancestors were through peasants." Luther is the father of Protestantism and the founder of Lutheranism. Both Zwingli and Calvin were influenced by him.

Among various other editions, Luther's works are found in Weimar, Erlangener, Walch, St. Louis Editions, which are used, as the source references, in this thesis.

The tables of Chronology of Luther are found in the following sources as well as in many other biographies of Luther: Here I Stand, by Roland Bainton, 1950, pp. 17-20; D. Martin Luther, Ein Lebensbild fuer das deutsches Haus, by Georg Buchwald, 1914; Luther, by Karl G. Steck and Helmut Gollwitzer, 1955, pp. 191-92; Luther, by Rudolf Thiel, 1936, II, 369-71.

⁵Kurz had to say about Luther: "Luther trug das ganze religioese Erbgut seiner Zeit in sich." As quoted in Wolf, op. cit., p. 6.

⁶In the concluding statement concerning the educational movements and influences which affected educational theory and practice during the Middle Ages and at the close of the 15th century, Bruce said: "The time was ripe for a leader who could incarnate the spirit of his time and was strong enough and courageous enough to assume the intellectual and religious leadership. Such a man arose in the person of Martin Luther." G. M. Bruce, Luther as an Educator (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928), p. 53.

getragen sein von dem tiefsten Ernste, von Herz und Gewissen; sein Ziel durfte nicht sein Genieszen, sondern Gottfinden, durfte nicht auf aesthetischen, sondern religioesem Gebiete liegen; der Mann durfte nicht um des lieben Friedens willen schliesslich der herrschenden Kirche sich wieder fuegen, sondern musste treu seinem Gewissen mit Einsetzung selbst des Lebens fuer die einmal erkannte Wahrheit eintreten; der Mann durfte nicht nur mit den Waffen des Spottes, sondern musste mit dem Schwerte des Geistes kaempfen; der Mann durfte die Heilige Schrift nicht nur als ein wertvolles Denkmal des Altertums ansehen, sondern musste in ihr finden das Evangelium von Christo, welches ist "eine Kraft Gottes, die da selig macht alle, die daran glauben!" Gott schenkte uns diesen Mann in MARTIN LUTHER.⁷

It is not the purpose of this treatise, however, to present a biographical sketch of Luther. He is not in want of biographers.⁸ The author's concern is rather this: In such an intricate biography as Luther's how can one maintain objectivity? Some authors, like Leopold von Ranke⁹ and Karl Holl,¹⁰ presented Luther in a rather scientific over-

⁷Georg Buchwald, D. Martin Luther, Ein Lebensbild fuer das deutsche Haus (Leipzig und Berlin: Druck u. Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1914), p. 16.

⁸"More than two hundred biographies have been written of him [Luther] in Latin, German, French, English, Danish, Swedish, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Polish and Lithuanian." Boehmer, Luther in the Light of Recent Research, p. 7 as cited in O. C. Kreinheder, Four-hundredth Anniversary of the Reformation, edited by W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917), p. 295.

⁹The author had particularly in mind the book: Leopold von Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation (Wien: Phaidon-Verlag, c. 1839).

¹⁰The author refers to: Karl Holl, "Luther," Gesammelte Aufsaetze zur Kirchengeschichte (Tuebingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr--Paul Siebeck, 1932), I.

ture; and on the other hand, a man like Thomas Carlyle, whose approach can be viewed as the "great man" type, did not hesitate to give his "heroes" almost unlimited tribute.¹¹ The question is yet to be answered: Has Luther been really understood?

In the examination of Luther, two factors must be considered.¹² First, the psychological milieu of Luther, that is, home life in his childhood, his school and university experiences, his associates and companions; and then his experiences in the monastery. How these various environmental factors affected him and his personality have an immeasur-

¹¹The following is an excerpt from Carlyle's glowing tribute to one of his "heroes," Martin Luther: "Martin Luther was the spiritual Captain of the people and a breaker of Idols. He dared the first stroke of honest demolition to an ancient thing down false and idolatrous; preparatory afar off to a new thing, which shall be true, and authentically divine! There was born at Eisleben in Saxony, once more, a mighty man; whose light was to flame as the beacon over long centuries and epochs of the world; the whole world and its history was waiting for this man. It is strange, it is great. It leads back to another Birth-hour, in a still meaner environment. Eighteen hundred years ago, -- of which it is fit that we say nothing, that we think only in silence; for what words are there! The Age of miracles past? The Age of miracles is forever here! He was not prompt to attack irreverently persons in authority. Again his will he ever became a notoriety. Luther and his Protestantism are not responsible for wars. The controversy did not fight so long as he was there. It is a proof of his greatness in all senses. How seldom do we find a man that has stirred-up some vast commotion, who does not himself perish, swept-away in it. We will call this Luther a true great man, great in all respects." Thomas Carlyle, Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History (London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1882), pp. 107-31.

¹²Cf. Andrew Edward Harvey, "Luther in the Estimate of Modern Historians," The American Journal of Theology, XXII (July, 1918), 321-48.

able significance for understanding Luther in his later years. What Luther taught concerning child-nature and education, for example, was in a large measure directly attributable to the training he himself received in his own early life. Particular influence at home and school helped to develop his character and shape and promote his WELTANSCHAUUNG.

Secondly, one must examine the sociological environments--cultural, religious, social, political and economic backgrounds of his time, and certain crucial questions of the day and national paths--in the midst of which Luther used to live and his relation thereto.

All these influences streamed into Luther's total personality. Every enduring element in his generation was also an enduring element of his being. One supreme task in such a critical examination is to make Luther less mythical, more natural and factual, and more human. The question notwithstanding still remains: Can one really understand Luther? and how can we understand Luther?

Luther in the Eyes of His Students

Luther was a German. Indeed he is the "genuine" and "over-rianting" German,¹³ in whom shines the gleaming light of courage and spirit of the

¹³ Gerhard Ritter, Martin Luther (Berlin: F. Schneider, 1921), p. 99: "Luther ist wir selber; der ewige Deutsche. Das ist nichts Scheinvolles, nichts Zweifelhaftes." Wilhelm Walther, Luthers Charakter (Leipzig: A. Reischert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Werner Scholl, 1917), p. 206: ". . . wer werden wir ihn [Luther] als einen echt deutschen Mann anerkennen müssen." Cf. Wm. Dallmann, "A Tribute to Luther," Lutheran Education, 7 (June, 1942), 61-14. Cf. Kniescheider, op. cit., pp. 200-206. Cf. C. W. H. Feltner, Luther as Educator (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1933), pp. 52-112.

Germans,¹⁴ and whose actions and deeds testify to him as a man of the people who could understand them, sympathize with them in their needs and work for them.¹⁵ Throughout his life Luther presents himself as a true representative of his people, the Germans.¹⁶ His influence became an important factor in the development of the Germans as a nation with an adequate form of existence and a unique content of life.¹⁷ Luther passed away physically; nevertheless, he lives always in the history of the German people and in their spirit.¹⁸ As Luther fondly spoke of his not-dying, so he ever lives in his works.¹⁹

The fact that Luther was a man of courage needs no further support. There is no exaggeration in the statement that Luther is "the union of

¹⁴ Cf. Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 108. Walther, *op. cit.*, p. 205: ". . . auf Gott bauender Mut, seine [Luther] Selbstaendigkeit Menschen gegenueber, seine Abhaengigkeit Gott gegenueber und sein gesunder Optimismus."

¹⁵ Cf. E. L. Kemp, *History of Education* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1902), p. 165.

¹⁶ Johannes Meyer and Johannes Prinzhorn, *Dr. Martin Luthers Gedanken ueber Erziehung und Unterricht* (Hannover: Verlag von Carl Meyer--Gustav Prior, 1883), pp. 6 f.

¹⁷ Cf. Theodor Pauls, *Luthers Auffassung von Stadt und Volk* (Bonn und Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1925), p. 145.

¹⁸ Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luthers Geistige Welt* (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1953), p. 329.

¹⁹ Luther especially loved the words from the Psalms during his stay in Coburg, and it is inscribed under his statue in Coburg Castle: "Non moriar, sed vivam et narrabo opera Domini." (Ps. 118: 17). Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 346.

impetuosities of courage."²⁰ His courage and conviction did not shrink from the consequences.²¹ True, he was gripped by an over-ruling sense of sin,²² but he conquered fears and dared to face the challenging missions of the Reformation. He did not hesitate to declare that he would be safe, even though he cut himself off from the authorized channel of supply, that is, the existing Roman Church.²³ This is the courage which Luther discovered in Christ who was hung on the Cross.

If history is the record of the successive impact of individual personalities upon society, wholly dominated by devotion to a cause, then so "controversial" a figure as Luther illustrates the truism of such a principle.²⁴ He made history, and he himself played a crucial role. Scherrill compares Luther with a controversial man, Abraham Lincoln,

²⁰Cf. C. F. Thwing, Education and Religion (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1929), pp. 5 f. Cf. Hertha Israel, "Luther als Erzieher" (Thuringische Landesuniversitaet Jena, 1919), p. 127.

²¹Cf. T. L. Jarman, Landmarks in the History of Education (London: The Cresset Press, 1951), p. 135.

²²Ibid., p. 155.

²³Cf. J. K. Hart, Democracy in Education (New York: The Century Co., 1918), pp. 11, 191. It should be noted that the authors mentioned in the preceding references are by no means Luther's students nor people who are particularly in favor of Luther. Also Cf. Melancthon's Oration at the Funeral of Luther.

²⁴George W. Forell, Faith Active in Love (New York: The American Press, 1954), p. 14. Cf. Frank E. Gaebelien, Christian Education in a Democracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 45.

in America.²⁵

Luther was a man with a strongly influential personality,²⁶ a born-leader whose influence was like a "tornado" blowing across the pages of human history.²⁷ Julius Koestlin points to Luther as the most influential and powerful figure in the history of the Germans.²⁸

Leopold von Ranke cites the significant words of Emericus Cordus in a session of the Marburg disputation, characterizing different representatives, when he had to introduce the reformers to the Prince: "den scharfsinnigen Luther, den sanften Oekolampad, den grossherzigen Zwingli, den beredten Melanchthon."²⁹ Luther was a great man without greatness, a

²⁵L. J. Scherrill, The Rise of Christian Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1944), p. 91. Harvey showed an interesting observation of contrasting views about Luther, saying: On one side, "extravagantly laudatory, extolling their hero [Luther] as a saint or at least as a divinely commissioned prophet, minimizing or explaining away if not wholly disregarding his blemishes, emphasizing and exaggerating his virtues, Similarly no one need be amazed that opponents of Luther . . . could see little or no good in him [Luther], depicted him as one depraved, possessed by devils, if not as the devil himself." Harvey, op. cit., p. 322.

²⁶Cf. Kahn's Rede in 1883: K. F. A. Kahn, Die Bedeutung der PERSOENLICHKEIT LUTHER'S fuer die Entstehung und die Entwicklung des deutschen Protestantismus (Leipzig: Verlag von Georg Boehme, 1883). Also Cf. Bruce, op. cit., p. 55.

²⁷Luella Cole, A History of Education (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1950), p. 221. The following comments are cited in Kreinheder, op. cit., p. 296: ". . . all human progress must remember Martin Luther," by Phillips Brooks; "Luther's teaching of justification by faith. . . changed the face of the whole world," spoken in Berger in his book Kulturaufgaben der Reformation.

²⁸Julius Koestlin, Life of Luther (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), p. ix.

²⁹von Ranke, op. cit., p. 543. Two worthwhile references are suggested, which are made by Thomas Carlyle and Robert Ulich concerning the Portraits of Luther by Lukas Cranach. In the Portrait, according to them, most of the distinct features and characteristics of Luther's personality

sharp man without cruelty, a common man without common-ness, a man of paradox.³⁰ On this point Harnack estimates Luther as

Ohne Klugheit ein Weiser, ohne Politik ein Staatsmann, ohne Kunst ein Kuenstler, inmitten der Welt ein Weltfreier Mann, in Kraftiger Sinnlichkeit und doch rein, rechthaberisch ungerecht und doch stets von der Sache getragen, der Autoritaeten spottend und an die Autoritaet gebunden, die Vernunft verlaestend und befreiend!³¹

What can be a greater tribute to Luther than the commendation that Luther was Germany's greatest and finest gift to the world?³² He was, all in all, the "Jungbrunnen des Protestantismus"³³ from which the new Weltanschauung was conceived and bore its fruits. To the world, as well as to the Germans, Luther presented a new God-man relationship.³⁴

are revealed. Cf. Carlyle, op. cit., p. 131; also Robert Olich, History of Educational Thought (New York: American Book Company, 1945), pp. 130-31.

³⁰Luther's humility has been expressed throughout his writings. On the other hand, he felt God's calling him as His chosen vessel to be used for His mighty work of Reformation. On this point the author refers to W. 30 ii, 635; Wal. 21, 314 f. E. 22; 171: ". . . mich Gott verordenet hat, es glaeube oder glaeube nicht, wer so will, . . . wo ihr mir hierin gehorchet, ohn Zweifel nicht mir, sondern Christo gehorchet: und wer mir nicht gehorchet, nicht mich, sondern Christum veracht, (Luc. 20, 16)."

³¹Adolf Harnack, "Martin Luther in seiner Bedeutung fuer die Geschichte der Wissenschaft und der Bildung," Deutsche Akademierenden (Muenchen: Meyer und Jessen, 1924), p. 248.

³²Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 46: "Er [Luther] wurde damit Deutschlands grösstes Geschenk an die Welt." Walther, op. cit., p. 209: "Luther ist nicht nur seinem deutschen Volke geschenkt, sondern ist fuer alle Erdenbewohner, die nach dem Goettlichen verlangen, eine unersetzliche Gabe Gottes."

³³Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 47.

³⁴Ibid., p. 313.

³⁵Wilhelm Pauck, The Heritage of the Reformation (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, c. 1950), pp. 41 ff., 52 ff.

for a ready-made religion which was offered by Luther; nevertheless, he presented us a firm foundation of life and religion which is Jesus Christ.³⁵

Understanding of Luther

In reference to the unanswered question mentioned previously, an understanding of Luther is possible through his "religion," the Gospel which he discovered in the Word, and his theology which he based upon the Cross of Christ.³⁵

Luther's discovery of the loving God, who is not a philosophically or mystically abstract Being, but He who is revealed in Jesus Christ, attainable for every Christian, the gracious One, this was the turning point in his life.³⁶ God was no longer a god of anger and punishment, but the God of love. Luther discovered Him in Jesus Christ. This is the starting point in the development of Luther as the Reformer. The spiritual struggle, which was rather unique to Luther,³⁷ took a gradual process through all possible vicissitudes. "Er [Luther] war wie ein Mensch, der nach langen Irren endlich den rechten Pfad gefunden hat und bei jedem Schrifte sich mehr davon ueberzeugt. . . ."³⁸

A study about the development of Luther, therefore, plays a pregnant role for understanding Luther. He was cautious and conservative in reforming the existing church's practices.³⁹ Neither a religious system

³⁵H. H. Borchardt, et al, editors, Martin Luther, Schriften der Jahres 1520 (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1948), p. 391. and also his commentaries on Paulus, Romans as well as his lectures on Galatians and

³⁶A. Harnack, op. cit., p. 254.

³⁷Ritter, op. cit., p. 12. and of Luther's Theology (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1943), as quoted in p. xi.

³⁸von Ranke, op. cit., p. 143.

³⁹Wilhelm Pauck, The Heritage of the Reformation (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, c. 1950), pp. 41 ff., 52 f.

nor a ready-made work-method was offered by Luther; nevertheless, he presented us a firm foundation of life and religion which is Jesus Christ.⁴⁰ His theological development from the beginning of his spiritual struggle in the monastery at Erfurt was a "gradual" process, a steady drift from the Roman Catholic fold.⁴¹ That makes it impossible to say that any of his teachings appeared at any given moment in his life. He was so steeped in the traditional doctrine that one cannot say with respect to this doctrine that one day Luther was a "Romanist" and the next a "Lutheran." No radical distinction between the types of his writings in their chronological sequence occurs in the survey of Luther's theology.⁴² The difference between "young Luther" and the "old Luther," therefore, is not in essence but in degree of emphasis; e.g., the former emphasized faith more, "the just shall live by faith," and the latter, the Word and Sacraments. Yet, neither part was ever ignored, neither faith, Word, nor the Sacraments.

What Luther did and accomplished, came out of his inner religious experiences.

. . . in der inneren Geschichte des jungen Luther fuer die neuere Forschung immer deutlicher geworden ist: die Untrennbarkeit der

⁴⁰A. Harnack, op. cit., p. 264.

⁴¹E. G. Schwiebert, Luther and His Time (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1950), p. 416. Concerning Luther's theological development, his late addition of his works gives us a new source material, especially in the Preface to his work in 1545; *W. 34*, 179-87; and also his Commentaries on Psalms, Romans as well as his lectures on Galatians and Hebrews.

⁴²H. T. Kerr, Jr., A Compend of Luther's Theology (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1943), as quoted in p. xi.

innersten, persoenlichsten Erlebnisse Luthers und seiner wissenschaftlich-theologischen, vor allem exegetischen, Erkenntnisse.⁴³

The way of understanding Luther, therefore, lies in the understanding of the Gospel which he found in Christ and in His Word. This is the sum total of his life and his accomplishments. We can understand Luther so far as we understand the Gospel.⁴⁴ The greatness of Luther, we dare say, is not in the fact that he was a great German, or the giver of a new culture, or even a religious leader, but that he is a testifier of the Gospel. Luther is lauded because he was the Reformer and the true teacher of God's Church, the lucid expositor of the Holy Scripture, and the witness to God's Word. To this Word, Luther led his generation and the generations that followed.

We meet the true Luther in the "theologia Crucis" which is the totality of his life and works.⁴⁵ The Cross of Christ is the key to his

⁴³ Heinrich Bornkamm, "Heinrich Boehmers 'Junger Luther' und die neuere Lutherforschung: Nachwort," Der junge Luther (Stuttgart: K. F. Koehler Verlag, 1951), p. 362. Also Cf. W. TR. 1, 146, 12; W. 5. 163, 28; W. 54, 186.

⁴⁴ J. Buehler, Deutsche Geschichte: Das Reformationszeitalter (Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1938), III, 231: "Luthers ganzes Denken und Tun maecht aus dem Religioesen hervor, aus der Beziehung zu dem ueberweltlichen persoenlichen Gott. . . ." Also Cf. Ibid., pp. 249, 263. Cf. Karl Hauschildt, "Luther im heutigen Schulbuch," Luther mitteilungen der Luthergesellschaft (1954), 2. Heft, 81. Cf. Walther, op. cit., pp. 5 f.

⁴⁵ Walther von Loewenich, Luthers Theologia Crucis (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1954), p. 7: "Die theologia crucis ist ein Prinzip der gesamten Theologie Luthers, sie darf nicht auf eine besondere Periode seiner Theologie eingeschraenkt werden. Vielmehr bietet diese Formel ebenso wie bei Paulus eine Charakteristik seines ganzen theologischen Denkens." Also Cf. Ibid., pp. 4-8 references in the footnotes. On the "Theology of Cross," Cf. Philip S. Watson, Let God Be God (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1949), pp. 102-48.

theology. "Siehe, also wart Christus krafftlosz am Kreutz, und eben da selb thet er die groeste macht, ubirwand die sunde, tod, welt, helle, teuffel und allis #bel."⁴⁶ To Staupitz Luther cried: "Oh, my sins, Oh, my sins." That is, as von Ranke commented, the longing cry of a creature for the purity of his Creator.⁴⁷ "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!" is the clearest meaning of the passion on the Cross and the ANKNUEPFUNGSPUNKT of the theology of the Cross which Luther experienced especially in the Psalms.⁴⁸ The death of the God-Man on the Cross was the wonder of all wonders and the most strange, unique act of the Lord God.⁴⁹

To comprehend the Gospel and the Cross of Christ, or the religion

⁴⁶W. 7, 586, Magnificat (1521). It is also suggested in the numerable Easter sermons by Luther which convey the same message on the victory of Christ on the Cross over all sins and Satan. Luther's Easter sermons can be located through the help of the "Register ueber saemtliche Predigten" in Weimar Edition XIII. Also Cf. Bornkamm, Luthers Geistliche Welt, op. cit., p. 241.

⁴⁷von Ranke, op. cit., p. 142: "Es war die Sehnsucht der Kreatur nach der Reinheit ihres Schoepfers, der sie sich in dem Grunde ihres Daseins verwandt, von der sie sich doch wieder durch eine unermessliche Kluft entfernt fuehlt, ein Gefuehl, das Luther durch unablaessiges einsames Gruebeln naehrte, und das ihn um so tiefer und schmerzhafter durchdrang, da es durch keine Bussuebung beschwichtigt, von keiner Lehre innerlich und wirksam beruehrt wurde, kein Beichtvater darum wissen wollte."

⁴⁸Holl affirmed that it would be more just to say that the whole later Luther is already present in the Lectures on the Psalms. Holl, op. cit., p. III, fn. 1.

⁴⁹Cf. Rudolf Thiel, Luther (Berlin: Paul Neff Verlag, 1936), I, 204 ff. A fine summary on God's Righteousness in reference to the theology of Cross is found in loc. cit., especially on pp. 207-12.

of God which Luther found in Jesus Christ, we summarize, is to understand Luther, the true Luther. Without this understanding, a biographical sketch of Luther, with full dates, facts, data and events, exposes no more than a vain effort. The clearer one know the Gospel and the better one comprehends the theology of Luther, the closer he can get to Luther. Luther's religion was his all. Man meets the living Luther in his religion, the Gospel of Christ. We join with Karl Holl in his remark: "Wir halten keine Totenfeier, wenn wir an Luther gedenken; wir beruehren uns mit einem Lebendigen."⁵⁰

⁵⁰Holl, op. cit., p. 1.

CHAPTER III

REFORMATION AND THE EDUCATION IN GERMANY DURING LUTHER'S TIME

Education During the Middle Ages and at the Close of the Fifteenth Century

The importance of Luther as an educational as well as religious reformer can better be appreciated in the light of the educational world of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries.¹ As with theology, Luther was also well acquainted with the education of his time and its explicit needs.

All education, secular and religious, with possible exceptions of universities and a few burgher schools, was under the immediate control of the Roman church. Most of the educational institutions were existing for the cause and interest of the Church. The time had not yet arrived that the State would participate in education for its citizens.² Paradoxically enough, though the splendid cathedrals and churches of northern France, southern Germany and England were the products of those centuries preceding Luther, hardly one out of a hundred priests had taken an adequate theological training or had even seen a university from a distance.³

¹A clear summary on the "Chronological Table of Educational Development" from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century is found in Paul Monroe, A Text-Book in the History of Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1914), p. 350.

²Cf. G. M. Bruce, Luther as an Educator (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928), p. 52.

³Cf. P. E. Kretzmann, A Brief History of Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, n.d.), II, 53 ff.

Consequently the ignorance of the priests and clergy was reflected in the lives of the people, while the schools at the beginning of the sixteenth century suffered from the depraved condition of the Roman Church.⁴ The arraignment of Philip Melanchthon,⁵ after visiting the schools and churches of Thuringia by order of the Elector John, presents sententious witness to the whole situation:

What can be offered in justification, that these poor people have hitherto been left in such great ignorance and stupidity? My heart

⁴Cf. F. V. N. Painter, Luther on Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928), p. 87.

⁵Since we do not treat Philip Melanchthon ("preceptor Germaniae") in a separate section in this thesis, it may be appropriate to mention here briefly his role in Luther's educational movement.

Melanchthon (1497-1560), together with Johann Bugenhagen (1485-1558), was Luther's prominent colleague at the University of Wittenberg, and much responsible for the German schools, especially the Saxony School Plan which became fundamental for the greater part of Germany. He applied Luther's concept of universal education into practice, both in secondary school and university, and set an educational pattern that has persisted in Germany up to the present time. Considering the restricted field of education alone, Melanchthon was possibly a more commanding figure than Luther. (On this point, however, Painter disagrees!) As much as Melanchthon's high respect for Luther, Luther often commented highly Melanchthon for his scholarly talents and achievements. Most significant, but somewhat disappointing as for the original intention of Luther, however, is the fact that as Melanchthon undertook his education program, he gradually reverted to humanism. Thus he impressed upon the educational program of Lutheran Protestantism rather a humanistic stamp. The following sources can be mentioned: P. J. Marique, History of Christian Education (New York: Fordham University Press, 1926), II, 110; Kretzmann, op. cit., p. 63; Luella Cole, A History of Education (New York: Pinehart & Company, 1950), pp. 224-26; Painter, op. cit., pp. 148 ff; also Cf. Luther's Preface to Melanchthon's Commentary on Colossians.

bleeds when I regard this misery. . . . And who would not mourn to see the faculties of man so utterly neglected, and that his soul, which is able to learn and grasp so much, does not even know anything of its Creator and Lord.⁶

Still better known is the cry of Luther, after the visitation of the churches of Saxony in 1528, in the preface to his Small Catechism:

The deplorable, miserable condition which I discovered lately when I, too, was a visitor, has forced and urged me to prepare (publish) this Catechism, or Christian doctrine, in this small, plain, simple form. Mercy, Good God! What manifold misery I behold! The common people, especially in the villages, have no knowledge whatever of Christian doctrine, and, alas! many pastors are altogether incapable and incompetent to teach (so much so, that one is ashamed to speak of it). . . .⁷

Prior to Luther's time, Latin grammar schools and universities were established under so called the Revival of Learning.⁸ The former used to offer the languages of educational classics of the time for those intending to go to universities to prepare for service in either Church or State, or for teaching; and the latter, for advanced education. However, the religious training or the learning of the Holy Scripture was completely neglected, as Luther observed, ". . . wir jetzt den hohen Schulen die heilige Schrift gestohlen haben."⁹

⁶As cited in Painter, op. cit., p. 87.

⁷Cf. The Preface to the Small Catechism, found in W. 30 i, 239 ff. The text cited in this thesis is found in Concordia Triglotta, edited by F. Bente (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 533.

⁸Cf. E. P. Cubberley, The History of Education (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948), pp. 263-86.

⁹E. 35, 251. A further observation was made in E. 15, 536: "Der Teufel hat lange regiert in den Hohen Schulen, da ist es alles in Frieden gewesen."

The form of instruction and curriculum of the educational institutions remained essentially the same from the Middle Ages down to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The limited elementary education was confined to the three R's--reading, writing, and arithmetic--in modern sense of the term, and even this was limited to the few. The texts being used during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not much more advanced than the traditional "Seven Liberal Arts,"¹⁰ possibly with a few additional instructions in philosophy and natural science, such as physics.¹¹ Most of the instruction was based upon the ancient textbooks.¹²

¹⁰Seven Liberal Arts: TRIVIUM and QUADRIVIUM. Trivium: Grammar, Rhetoric and Dialectic. Quadrivium: Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music. Luther was made Magister Artium in the Seven Liberal Arts. For a further reference, Cf. Bruce, op. cit., p. 53; William A. Kramer, "Christian Education," Lutheran Cyclopedia, edited by E. L. Lueker (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1954), p. 208. A table on the development of the Seven Liberal Arts, from early Middle Ages to the period of the Revival of Learning, is stated in a diagram form in Cubberley, op. cit., p. 281.

¹¹Ibid., p. 281.

¹²The great textbooks of the Middle Ages: The Marriage of Mercury and Philology, written by Martianus Capella, between 410 and 427 A. D.; De Musica, by Boethius (475-524); On the Liberal Arts and Sciences of Cassiodorus (c. 490-585); Etymologies or Origines by the Bishop of Seville, Isidore (c. 570-636); Treatises on the studies of the TRIVIUM by Alcuin, a learned scholar of the eighth century; On the Instruction of the Clergy, and De Universo, written by Maurus, in 819, a learned monk of Fulda. These textbooks were used for the study of the TRIVIUM and the QUADRIVIUM throughout all the early Middle Ages. Cf. Cubberley, op. cit., pp. 163-234.

Luther mentioned in his letter to the councilmen in 1524 Donatus and Alexander. Aelius Donatus wrote Ars Grammatica and Ars Minor which were widely used during the Middle Ages. Alexander de Villa Dei wrote Doctrinale puerorum which is a commentary on Aristotle in verse form. Luther also mentions, in the same writing, Catholicon, Florista, Graecista, Labyrinthus, Dormi Secure, which are the names of Latin grammars and collections of sermons. However, he considered these books as the senseless, and hurtful books of the monks, introduced by Satan. Cf. W. 15,

Condition of Intellectual and Spiritual Worlds of Sixteenth Century

Under such a narrow and strictly controlled school system, authority was the very technique of instruction, and free investigation found little or no encouragement but was rather repressed. On the whole, intellectual freedom was not allowed under the papal system and its control. In the function of the Pope as universal teacher and the representative of God on earth, he was logically the source of all authority, and even the authority over the intellect of man. He pretends to be the ruler of both ecclesiastical and secular matters.¹³ This fact is expressively stated in the famous Bull, *UNAM SANCTAM*, of Boniface VIII, in 1302, that "every creature" should be subject to the Roman Pontiff.¹⁴ This control of intellectual freedom naturally curtailed the advancement of science and education in general.¹⁵ The following statement summarizes well the tragic picture of schools prior to Luther's Reformation: "dass es kurz vor der

¹³ and ¹⁵; Otto Scheel, *Martin Luther* (Tuebingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1921), I, 3, 6.

¹³ Cf. Bruce, *op. cit.*, p. 52; Painter, *op. cit.*, pp. 42 ff., 38.

¹⁴ The Bull *UNAM SANCTAM* was issued in defiance of Philip the Fair of France, who with his people had set himself against the secular pretensions of the Papal See. It lays down dogmatic propositions on the unity of the Church; the Pope as the supreme head of the Church; "every creature" should submit to the Pope, as stated in the Bull, "porro subesse Romano pontifici omni humane creature. . . omni esse de necessitate salvatis"; both spiritual and secular swords under the control of the Church, and other points. Cf. Karl Heussi, *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte* (Tuebingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr--Paul Siebeck, 1949), p. 243.

¹⁵ Cf. Adolf Harnack, "Martin Luther in seiner Bedeutung fuer die Geschichte der Wissenschaft und der Bildung," *Deutsche Akademiearbeiten* (Leipzig: Verlag von Mayer und Jensen, 1918), p. 231.

Reformation um das Schulwesen ebenso traurig bestellt war wie um das kirchliche Leben."¹⁶ The deteriorating condition of schools throughout Germany¹⁷ awakened Luther's deep regret, and appealed to those in authority to think of the subject seriously and intensely, for the instruction of the youth is an "ernste und grosse Sache," a matter of which Christ and all the world are concerned. Lamenting over the wretched situation of the schools, Luther warned the people that the neglecting of education for children is a grievous sin against God's commandment, and the neglecting and corruption of precious souls as well.¹⁸ All the towns and villages, therefore, should spend money generously for schools, as they spend it for roads, defense, bridges and the necessities of life.¹⁹ One of the notable and tragic facts in the educational arrangements of the Middle Ages and during Luther's time was the complete neglect of the common people.

No general effort was made to reach and elevate them [common people] by education. The ecclesiastical schools were designed chiefly for candidates for the priesthood; the parochial schools fitted the young for Church membership; the burgher schools were intended for the commercial and artisan classes of the cities; knightly education gave a training for chivalry. Thus the labouring classes

¹⁶J. Meyer and J. Prinzhorn, Dr. Martin Luthers Gedanken ueber Erziehung und Unterricht (Hannover: Verlag von Carl Meyer, 1883), p. 9. Also Cf. E. 22, 171.

¹⁷Cf. W. 15, 27 ff.

¹⁸Cf. E. 22, 177 f.

¹⁹Cf. E. 22, 174; also See Appendix IV.

were left to toil on in ignorance and want; they remained in a dependent and servile condition, their lives unilluminated by intellectual pleasures.²⁰

Educational Agencies during Middle Ages and Luther's Time

As for the various educational agencies during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the following institutions can be mentioned.²¹

Monastic Schools:

These included a large area of study.²² Monasteries were originated under the impulse of asceticism which had already been developed highly in Asia before the Christian era. Since the seventh century, these institutions were scattered throughout all the countries of Europe. However, from an educational point of view, asceticism had hindered, rather than accelerated, the advancement of human knowledge and sciences. "Die Weltfluechtigkeit als die Grundstimmung des mittelalterlichen Menschen hemmte alle Wissenschaft. Wo keine Naturfreudigkeit ist, da ist auch keine Naturerkenntnis. So war ein Fortschritt nach keiner Seite moeglich."

²⁰Painter, op. cit., pp. 86 f. W. C. Kohn, "Luther's Influence on Popular Education," Four-hundredth Anniversary of the Reformation, edited by W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917), p. 209: "The neglect of the common people was a notable and lamentable defect in the educational system of the Middle Ages as no great effort was made to elevate and enlighten them by education."

²¹Most of the books on the history of education give quite extensive space to the various educational agencies during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

²²The following encyclopedias give an extensive summary of the MONASTERY, its essential teachings, historical development, and its educational activities: Religious Encyclopedia; Catholic Encyclopedia; Encyclopedia Britannica.

1188.²² Luther too did not have a high opinion of the educational contributions by the cloisters and the higher educational institutions.

Ja, was hat mann gelernt in hohen Schulen und Kloestern bisher, denn fuer Esel, Kloeese und Block werden? Zwanzig, vierzig Jahr hat einer gelernt, und hat noch wider Lateinisch noch Deutsch gewusst. Ich schweige das schaedlich, laesterlich Leben, darinnen die edle Jugend so jaecerlich verderbt ist. . . . Es sind fuer Kinderfresser und Verderber.²⁴

On the positive side, these monasteries taught reading and writing, and were provided for the preservation and copying of ancient Church manuscripts.

Universities:

The birth of universities²⁵ is a most striking manifestation of the awakening of intellect in Europe. The particular mission of these universities was a systematization and impartation of the old knowledge rather than uncovering of new knowledge. Disputations and expositions were instructional procedures as well as the determining criteria for the development of the respective universities. Although they arose at first independently of both Church and State, in many instances, like

²²Harnack, op. cit., p. 252.

²⁴L. 22, 175, 177.

²⁵The first universities in the German tradition: Prag founded in 1348; Vienna followed in 1365, reorganized in 1383; Heidelberg founded in 1386; Cologne in 1388, dissolved 1795, and reopened in 1919; Erfurt in 1392, dissolved 1811; Leipzig in 1409; Rostock in 1419; Greifswald in 1454; Freiburg in 1457; Ingoelstadt in 1472, dissolved 1800; Trier in 1473; Salence in 1477; dissolved 1797, reopened in 1946; Tuebingen in 1477; Hiltenberg in 1527, dissolved 1817; Frankfurt on Oder in 1527, dissolved 1811; Martburg in 1544; Jena in 1558; and others.

H. F. Cameron, The Education of Representative German Princes in

the religious life in Europe, they too were under the domain of rulers, princes, and the Church.

The history of the German universities and schools during the sixteenth century . . . produced the tutors of the princes and thus defined the method of their own education. But in many instances they also came under the purview of the princes, subject to their protection and direction. Hence, in history, their courses and methods outlined goals of the prince's own competence and training.²⁶

Guild Schools:

Guild schools or Burgher schools were also organized. They were intended for the commercial and artisan classes in the cities, accepting principally the children of guild members, though others also attended. In many towns and communities these schools gradually became town schools, supported by the civic authorities.²⁷

Knightly Education:

This type of education during the sixteenth century should also be mentioned. It used to give a training for chivalry which was exclusive in nature.

the sixteenth Century" (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation: St. Louis: Washington University, 1944), p. 130: "The medieval university did not propose to uncover new knowledge, but to systematize and impart the old. The instruction consisted of comment on digests or outlines, and disputations on theses set up by instructor or student. The conflict marking the development of university studies concerned the nature of knowledge, or the method of its exposition, but not its extent."

²⁶ Ibid., p. 146.

²⁷ Cf. Kræmer, op. cit., p. 206.

Brethren of the Common Life:

In considering the favorable side of education during the Middle Ages, the Brethren of the Common Life deserved especial attention. It was "an association of pious priests and laymen, founded by Gerhard Groot of Deventer, not long before the death of Groot in 1384."²⁸ During 1497-98 Luther also was at a school of the Brethren of the Common Life in Magdeburg, and their piety influenced him considerably.

Cultural Connotation of Luther's Reformation

The event in Wittenberg, Germany on the 31st of October, 1517 became one of the most significant pages in world history, and it introduced a "grosse Wende der Geschichte"²⁹ with respect to human civilization, the intellect of man, political and religious freedom, prosperity and morality.³⁰ The cultural as well as the religious significance of the Reformation lies in Luther's break with authority,³¹ substituting the authority of the Bible for the authority of the institutional Roman Catholic Church; substituting

²⁸Ibid., p. 138; also Painter, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 f.

²⁹Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luthers Geistige Welt* (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1953), p. 67.

³⁰Cf. Meyer and Prinzhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

³¹On the revolt against authority, note especially the following theses of Luther's 95 Theses: Nos. 5, 6, 13, 20-25, 88, 89, 91, and 94 and 95. Concerning the cultural and religious significances of the Reformation, Heussi observes: "Die deutsche Reformation, eine der umfassendsten Bewegungen der Geschichte, hat in ihrem Verlauffast alle Gebiete der Kulturlebens mehr oder minder stark beeinflusst. Aber sie

individual judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures for the collective judgment of the Church; and substituting individual responsibility for salvation, in view of his teaching of "justification by faith," for the collective responsibility for salvation taught by the Roman Catholic Church. For this mighty task of liberation the Reformation was the beginning point, not in the least the end,³² and the underlying force of the Reformation, expressed in the first thesis of Luther's 95 Theses, "Repent ye, . . ." moves on during Luther's time and the generations following.

One of the enormous contributions of Luther is in the field of ethics.³³ His ethical concept is based upon three agents: God, "I" and "My Neighbor"; namely, the fulfillment of the will of God, "Persoenlichkeitsgedanken" and "Gemeinschaftsgedanken."³⁴ Luther's ethics is

war in ihrem Ursprung eine rein religioese Bewegung; sie wurzelt durchaus in der theologischen Entwicklung ihres Fuehrers, Martin Luther." Heussi, op. cit., p. 285.

³²Cf. Karl Holl, "Luther," Gesammelte Aufsaeetze zur Kirchengeschichte (Tuebingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr--Paul Siebeck, 1932), I, 542 f.

³³Carl Stange observed that the modern moral philosophy, such as Kant's Categorical Imperative, is not original. It is a revision, in terms of rational philosophy, of one aspect of the Reformation, i.e. on morality. "Das Axiom (katagorischer Imperativ Kants) ist tatsaechlich keineswegs eine Entdeckung der modernen Philosophie, sondern wird schon von den Reformatoren in der ihnen eigentuemlichen Form der Problemstellung mit Nachdruck betont. . . . Das pflichtbewusstsein Kants hat nichts zu tun mit der naiven Heiterkeit antiker Lebensauffassung, sondern klingt sehr deutlich an die reformatorische Predigt von der Busse und Bekehrung an." Carl Stange, Studien zur Theologie Luthers (Gutersloh: Druck und Verlag von C Bertelsmann, 1928), pp. 112, 159. Rupp considers Luther as the father of Protestant moral theology, for Luther's religion is a religion of conscience. Cf. Gordon Rupp, The Righteousness of God (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953), 252.

³⁴Cf. Holl, op. cit., pp. 227 ff.

incomprehensible apart from the theological method which created it. It can be understood only within the framework of the principles that motivated his life and thought, which is in the context of his entire approach to life.³⁵

To fulfill God's will and to do good before Him are nothing else than to know and to keep His commandments. This can be realized only through one means, LOVE.³⁶ However, the "love" cannot exist independently from faith through which the Law can be fulfilled. "Eben darum lehren wir den Glauben, damit das Gesetz moege erfuehlt werden."³⁷ "Fides tamen

³⁵Forell, in his investigation of the principles underlying Luther's ethics, concludes the following points as the conclusive insights about Luther's social ethics: 1). Luther's approach to ethical problems is existential, not legal. All ethical principles are good if they serve to reveal God in Christ, and they are evil if they hid God from man. This is true of social ethics as well as individual ethics. 2). The motivating force behind all Christian ethics is God's love. Man receives God's love in faith and passes it on to the neighbor. 3). God confronts all men in His Universe and demands from them obedience to the orders that He has ordained for nature. 4). The Gospel, as such, cannot be used to rule since it applies only to those who believe. Through the Christian individual, be he peasant or prince, the inexhaustible resources of the Gospel become available to the social order. 5). All life, of individuals as well as of collectivities, is lived in the shadow of eternity. Cf. G. W. Forell, Faith Active in Love (New York: The American Press, 1954), pp. 187-88.

³⁶St. Jerome views "love" as "sola Domina et Magistra operum," cited by Luther in W. 40 11, 69, 14. The sum total of Christian life is LOVE; its origin is "die Liebe Christi." Cf. E. 18, 279; E. 16, 123; E. 18: 282 f.: "Ich liebe dich nicht darum, dass du fromm oder boese bist. Denn ich schoepfe meine Liebe nicht aus deiner Frommheit, als aus einem fremden Brunnen, sondern aus meinem eigenen Quellbeernlein." Also Cf. W. 2, 98 f.; W. 10 111, 279.

³⁷E. 14, 180 ff. Cf. W. 14, 111 f.; W. 24, 50.

primum plantanda est, sine ea enim impossibile est intelligi, quid bonum opus sit, quid Deo placeat. . . . Sublata arbore refers to faith necesse est auferri quoque fructus good work."³⁸ The act of love, therefore, is the act of faith.³⁹ Faith and love are the sum total of Christian strength and understanding.⁴⁰

According to Luther, individual and community cannot be separated. Each individual has both the right and the obligation to his neighbor and his community. Freedom equals responsibility. The man-man relation is within the pale of responsibility. The significance of Luther's introduction of "Persoenlichkeitsgedanken" lies in the awareness of responsibility, while his emphasis on "Gemeinschaftgedanken" presupposes the act of love which is illucidated throughout the New Testament.⁴¹ A Christian man exists no longer for himself, nor for his own benefit or for the benefit of his family, but he lives for his "neighbor." In his daily life and in profession, he serves his neighbor and his community.

³⁸W. 40 ii, 66, Gal. 5: 14 (1531). Also E. 16, 299 f.: "Der Glaube bringt den Geist mit ihm, der alle guten Werke mit Lust und Liebe tut und also Gottes Gebote erfuehlt."

³⁹Cf. Ottmar Dittrich, Geschichte Der Ethik (Leipzig: Verlag von Felix Meiner, 1932), IV, 24-25.

⁴⁰Cf. W. 19, 77; W. 30 i, 349. For a thorough treatment of the subject, faith and love in Luther's social ethics, the author refers to Forrell, op. cit., pp. 1-198. See also Georg Buchwald, D. Martin Luther, Ein Lebensbild fuer das deutsche Haus (Leipzig und Berlin: Druck u. Verlag von B. G. Teubner, 1914), p. 1.

⁴¹Holl, op. cit., pp. 473 f.

This is the highest and purest ethical principle we ever knew.⁴² Luther has these pregnant words to say:

Dieser arme Mensch ist mein Naechster. Denn er ist auch ein Mensch, hat Leib und Seele wie ich. Ja, er hat auch den Gott, den ich habe. Darum gehoert er mir naeher zu, denn ein unvermuenftig Tier. Er ist mir nahe genug, weil er ein Mensch ist.⁴³

Concerning man-man relation, Keferstein summarizes explicitly:

Alle haben dem Gemeinwohle zu dienen, alle und zwar jeder nach seinem besonderen Berufe, Stande und individuellen geistig-sittlichen Vermoegen zu diesem beizutragen. . . . Wir sehen darin die aller christlichen Ethik entsprechende Forderung, sowohl das eigene Ich, wie zugleich die Gemeinschaft, in welcher allein das Ich, die einzelne Person sich sittlich bethaetigen kann, ununterbrochen zu bilden und zu vervollkommen. . . . Allen faellt die Selbsterziehung und die Miterziehung an dem Naechsten zu. Daher der Kampf Luthers gegen jeden starren Egoismus den blossen Selbstgeniessen- und Gelten-wollens, gegen jene Art von Individualismus,⁴⁴

The Reformation represented by Luther was no less an educational than a religious movement. Luther was well aware of the importance of the schools for the success of his work of the Reformation.⁴⁵ Luther's Re-

⁴²Cf. Horst Keferstein, Dr. Martin Luthers Paedagogische Schriften und Aeuszerungen (Langensalza: Druck und Verlag von Hermann Beyer und Seehne, 1888), p. LXXXVII; Wilh. Walther, "Der Glaube an das Wort Gottes," Das Erbe der Reformation (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf.--Georg Boehme, 1903), pp. 65 f. Education takes place in the community situation. Cf. Martin Doerne, Die Bildungslehre der evangelischen Religion (Muenchen: Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1932), p. 35. The Reformation layed down a new Christian concept of welfare work. Cf. L. Cordier, "Evangelische Jugendwohlfahrt," Evangelische Jugendkunde (Schwerin i. Mecklb.: Verlag Friedrich Bahn, 1929), p. 23.

⁴³E. 6, 4. Also Cf. W. 40 11, 72 f. Erasm. op. cit. p. 209; Cole, op. cit. p. 223; Johann Hinrich, Modern Pedagogy and Their Ideals (New York: Keferstein, op. cit., p. LXXXVII. Also Cf. Stange, op. cit., p. 223.

⁴⁵Cf. Marique, op. cit., p. 107. Doerne, op. cit., p. 14: ". . . Reformation eine neue Epoche des deutschen Erziehungswesens beginne. Durch die Reformation, sagt man wohl, sei die Kirche selbst zu einer grossen Erziehungsanstalt geworden. . . . Paedagogisierung der Religion."

⁴⁶Cf. R. A. Petersen, Lutheranism and the Educational Mission (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930), p. 29.

formation rectified the essential meaning of morality, restored the value of individual man,⁴⁶ and thus aimed at training the all-sided personality with its intellectual, moral and physical developments. As a result, wherever the Reformation spread, education played a large part in it, training systematically the young people.⁴⁷ "So ist das gewisse das beste Zeugnis fuer die Kulturbedeutung der Reformation und insbesondere fuer die Kulturmacht des evangelischen Erziehungs--Unterrichts--und Schulwesens."⁴⁸

The Reformation re-emphasized the important position of religion in education, which is an absolutely essential element of education and culture.⁴⁹ Education moves in double-direction processes: in the direction of freedom, and to the attainment of a religious ideal. The one complements the other. Neither can be divorced or separated from the other.⁵⁰ This integration between education and religion is an eloquent emphasis of the Reformation and a monumental contribution to the Christian education.

⁴⁶Often authors, like Gaebelein and others, observe that Luther laid many of the foundations for political democracy and individual freedom, and thus promoted the progresses of all phases of life. Cf. F. F. Gaebelein, Christian Education in a Democracy (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 11.

⁴⁷Among many references, the following sources can be mentioned on the subject: Cf. Frederick Eby, Christianity and Education (Dallas, Texas: J. B. Sambrell, Chr. Sec., 1915), p. 59; Krazer, op. cit., p. 209; Cole, op. cit., p. 223; Tadasu Misawa, Modern Educators and Their Ideals (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1909), p. 11.

⁴⁸Meyer and Frinzhorn, op. cit., p. 48.

⁴⁹Op. cit., p. 13.

⁵⁰Cf. S. A. Peterson, Lutheranism and the Educational Ethic (Boston: Tender Publications Company, 1950), p. 29.

1919) rather education was not an end in itself, but a means to more effective service in church and state.⁵¹ Thus the total motivation of education is intended to serve God and humanity. Ever since Luther, the Reformation-Church and its education serve the whole life of man, promoting the temporal as well as the spiritual well-being of mankind.⁵²

⁵¹F. V. N. Painter, History of Education (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), p. 143.

⁵²Of. Peterson, op. cit., p. 12.

CHAPTER IV

LUTHER'S CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION

Luther, the Educational Reformer

Luther is an educational reformer. In a careful examination of his monumental writings, especially the writings of 1520 through 1530, one discovers this distinct truth.

Nevertheless, this question is as controversial as the Reformation itself. That is, the question: Was Luther really an educational, as well as religious, reformer? The significant position of Luther in the early Protestant schools and his contributions to the schools of subsequent generations are obvious, and so recognized by various types of educators, religious and secular.¹ Paradoxically, however, Luther in a strict sense, is scarcely known as an educator. Modern educators seldom expect Luther to answer the contemporary educational questions and problems. The reason lies in the obvious fact that Luther's pedagogical writings and utterances

¹Russell A. Peterson, Lutheranism and the Educational Ethic (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1950), p. 13: "With each new inquiry comes the realization that modern educators are showing more and more interest in Luther's educational philosophy. These educators are voicing the need for a re-examination of traditional educational theory." R. H. Leach, "Luther and this new Education," School and Society, 38 (Dec. 16, 1933), 805-06: ". . . Martin Luther brought about as important a reform in education as in religion. . . . Many of Luther's ideas on educational theory and practice embody the opinion of our present-day leaders in the educational field." H. G. Good, "The Position of Luther upon Education," School and Society, VI (Nov. 3, 1917), 511: ". . . Luther, a great educational as well as religious prophet . . . laid the foundations upon which we are now building [our education] . . ."

are scattered all over his entire works, in his Reformation writings, exegetical works, disputations, sermons, catechisms, and in private talks. Seldom has he ever treated coherently and systematically the educational matters in a few writings or utterances; nor has he written a book on the philosophy of education, nor on instructional methods.²

In the educational writings of E. A. Fitzpatrick, a well-known Roman Catholic educator, where Bacon, Comenius, Milton, Locke, Pestalozzi and Froebel were ranked under the "great educational reformers," neither Luther nor Melancthon have their respective places in the history of education.³ A man like Reisner accepts, but reluctantly, the contribution of Luther to the field of education, only in connection with the establishment of the vernacular schools in Germany. He is, however, skeptical about the entire matter, whether the Reformation and Luther did help or harm education, when he said, "As is likely to be the case in such controversies [about Luther's contribution to education], the truth lies partly in both camps."⁴

Despite such contrasted inquiries, the undeniable fact about Luther

²This point we have already observed in the Introduction of this thesis. Cf. H. B. Kaufmann, "Grundfragen der Erziehung bei Luther," Luther Mitteilungen der Luthergesellschaft, (1954), Zweites Heft, 60 ff.

³Cf. Edward A. Fitzpatrick, Exploring a Theology of Education (Milwaukee, Wisc.: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1950), p. 8. For a further insight, the author refers to other works by Fitzpatrick, such as, Philosophy of Education: Reading in the Philosophy of Education; the Christian Education; How to Educate Human Beings.

⁴E. H. Reisner, The Evolution of the Common School (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1930), p. 29.

being an educational reformer still stands. His contributions to education are too distinct to deny.⁵ In fact, his educational principles and proposals were too far advanced for his time, and therefore he was largely misunderstood.⁶

Luther announced the most progressive ideas on education of all the German Protestant reformers. In his writings in 1524 and 1526 we find these set forth. . . . That his ideas could be but partially carried out is not surprising. There were not few among his followers who could understand such progressive proposals, they were entirely too advanced for the time, there was no body of vernacular teachers or means to prepare them, the importance of such training was not understood, and the religious wars which followed made such educational advantages impossible, for a long time to come.⁷

The Reformation truly marks the beginning of modern popular or public education in Europe and in America. Luther is naturally the greatest figure in this movement and deserves to represent it in its

⁵As to the educational contributions of Luther, the author refers to the following works: T. Fay and L. P. Arnsperg, The Development of Modern Education (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1924), pp. 82-130; W. M. Brown, Luther as an Educator (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1907), pp. 307-99; F. V. N. Painter, Luther on Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928), pp. 167-68; F. V. N. Painter, History of Education (New York: T. Appleton and Company, 1926), pp. 146-47. A further study will be made in the third section of this thesis.

⁶ Cf. Robert Ulrich, History of Educational Thought (New York: American Book Company, 1941), p. 182. Prof. Good observed the following rather significant point: "Luther took partly from choice and partly from force of circumstances very advanced ground on educational theory and practice. Centuries of progress were required for the world to advance to his positions." Good, op. cit., p. 317.

⁷E. F. Cobbyler, The History of Education (New York: Macmillan Company, 1944), p. 117.

educational as well as religious aspects of Reformation.⁸ "Luther, therefore, stands forth as the greatest educator of his age, and in the very front rank of the world's greatest educators."⁹ He has especially served for the cause of universal elementary education with the most ardor, appealing to the magistrates in behalf of founding schools for the people. By his influence, methods of instruction were improved, and the educational spirit was renewed in accordance with the principles of the Reformation.¹⁰

"There is scarcely any phase of education that Luther left untouched.

⁸Cf. T. Misawa, Modern Educators and Their Ideals (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1909), p. 7. W. C. Kohn, "Luther's Influence on Popular Education," Four-hundredth Anniversary of the Reformation, edited by W. H. T. Dau (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917), p. 219: ". . . indisputable fact is that Luther is the father of popular education. . ." Also Cf. Horst Keferstein, "Martin Luther," Encyklopaedisches Handbuch der Paedagogik, herausgegeben von W. Rein (Langensalza: Herrmann Beyer & Soehne--Beyer & Mann, 1906), pp. 694-701.

⁹See Appendix I of this thesis. Also Cf. Bruce, op. cit., p. 299.

¹⁰Luther's rather advanced thoughts on education can be observed in these respects: 1) Adequate program of course of study; 2) Attractive school rooms and pleasant atmosphere for learning and teaching; 3) Graded instruction according to the capacity of each child; 4) Stress on the importance of teachers; 5) Source study and rational methods; 6) School for girls; 7) Vocational training; 8) Character-building, and religious instruction. The following sources can be consulted: Kohn, op. cit., p. 218; Helland, "Martin Luther," Encyklopaedie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens, herausgegeben von K. A. Schmid, et al (Gotha: Verlag von Rudolf Besser, 1865), IV, 469 on Luther and German Volkschule; Painter, Luther on Education, op. cit., pp. 152 f., 159 f., 159 f.; George Mertz, Das Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitaetsbuchhandlung, 1902), pp. 336-78 on the methods of instruction during Reformation. Also Good, op. cit., p. 515: "It was Luther who just clearly perceived that the principles of the Reformation logically demanded an universal elementary education."

Although no complete system of popular education has been established,¹¹ the necessary foundation for such a system was laid by Luther. In this respect, his contribution is outstanding, and this fact alone proves him to be the leading educational reformer of the sixteenth century.¹² Luther has been considered as the "geistige Grossmaechte unserer Zeit,"¹³ through his educational as well as religious contributions, especially in the line of Christian instruction centered in the teachings of Reformation.¹⁴ With regard to the fundamentals of education, Luther is able and ready to give the appropriate answers which not only give a surprise in their simplicity and clarity but also point out the ways to a genuine Christian education. Even though contemporary educators often undermine his direct contribution to education, his "educational ideas stand out by themselves in many particulars, such as originality, freshness, boldness, practicability, and comprehensiveness, whatever debt he may owe to past and contemporary educators. . . ."¹⁵ Luther's writings on

¹¹Cf. Hertha Israel, "Luther als Erzieher" (Thuringische Landesuniversitaet Jena, 1919), p. 22.

¹²Cf. E. L. Kemp, History of Education (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1902), p. 167; Painter, Luther on Education, op. cit., pp. 167 f.; Painter, History of Education, op. cit., p. 147.

¹³Helmut Kittel, Vom Religionsunterricht zur Evangelischen Unterweisung (Hannover: Wissenschaftliche Verlagsanstalt K. G., 1949), p. 54.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 55: ". . . naemlich Bekenntnis zu Luthers Evangelium, das koennen sie nur in dem Hasse werden, in dem Luthers Werke wieder zu Lehrbuechern werden, aus denen wir Lehrer lernen, was echte evangelische Unterweisung sei."

¹⁵Bruce, op. cit., p. 288.

education and various works with pedagogical implications, and, above all, the actual contribution to the establishment of schools make him to occupy a special place in the history of education.¹⁶

Pedagogical Implications of Some of the Literary Works by the Reformer

"Es ist unnoetig," said Gerhard Ritter

den Inhalt dieser Reformschrift hier zu entwickeln. Sie gehoert heute--ueber beide Konfessionen hinweg--zu den klassischen Stuecken unserer Literatur--ein Dokument menschlicher Leidenschaft und Seelengroesse, vor allem doch ein Quellenzeugnis deutscher Geschichte, dessen lebendige eigne Sprache der Bericht eines andern immer nur lahm zu wiederholen vermag.¹⁷

The Reformation writings of Luther, furthermore, make a notable contribution to the literary field. With usual glowing and descriptive language, Carlyle declares that in no books has he ever found a more robust, genuine, more commanding style, and more appealing contents of the literary works

¹⁶ Martin Doerne, Die Bildungslehre der evangelischen Religion (Muenchen: Verlag von R. Oldenbourg, 1932), p. 15: "Luthers Bedeutung fuer die Geschichte der Erziehung, der 'Kinderzucht', liegt dem Reformator so dringlich am Herzen, dass er sie in seinen Predigten und Mahnreden dem deutschen Volke, der evangelischen Obrigkeit, den christlichen Eltern immer wieder unermuedlich einschaeuft." Heinrich Bornkamm, Luthers Geistige Welt (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1953), p. 47: ". . . Luther ein groesser Erzieher zur Wirklichkeit. . . Wirklichkeit Gottes. . . Wirklichkeit des Menschen. . . gab ihm seinen Platz in der Wirklichen Welt." Also Cf. Good, op. cit., pp. 515, 518.

¹⁷ Gerhard Ritter, Martin Luther (Berlin: F. Schneider, 1923), p. 49.

¹⁸ See Appendix III of this thesis.

¹⁹ Especially the educational writings of Luther in 1524 and 1530. Cf. Appendix IV and V of this thesis.

²⁰ Cf. pp. 27-33. For an English translation, cf. Peinater, Luther in Munich, pp. 100 ff. Also see Appendix IV of this thesis.

than Luther's.¹⁸

Concerning the educational implications of some of the literary works by the Reformer, we face a practical problem, that is, which writings can be more adequately counted as the most important on this account? Most of his writings have in one way or the other some educational significance.¹⁹ For example, his commentaries often bring as much pedagogical precepts as other strictly educational treatises of Luther.²⁰

Sermons, addresses, commentaries, and letters of Luther contain references to education; nevertheless, his educational ideas are, in the main, set forth in his educational treatises, such as, issued in 1524: AN DIE RATSCHERRN ALLER STAEDTE DEUTSCHE LANDS, DASS SIE CHRISTLICHE SCHULEN AUFRICHTEN UND HALTEN SOLLEN.²¹ This treatise is generally

¹⁸Thomas Carlyle, Heroes, Heroworship and the Heroic in History (Schilling edition; London: Chapman and Hall, Ltd., 1882), 128: "Luther's written works give similar testimony of him. The dialect of these speculations is now grown obsolete for us; but one still reads them with a singular attraction. And indeed the mere grammatical diction is still legible enough; Luther's merit in literary history is of the greatest; his dialect became the language of all writing. They are written . . . hastily, with quite other than literary objects. But in no Books have I found a more robust, genuine, I will say noble faculty of a man than in there. A rugged honesty, homeliness, simplicity, a rugged sterling sense and strength. He flashes-out illumination from him; his smiting idiomatic phrases seem to cleave into the very secret of the matter. Good humour too, nay tender affection, nobleness, and depth: this man could have been a Poet too! He had to work an Epic Poem, not write one. I call him a great Thinker; as indeed his greatness of heart already betokens that. . . . The essential quality of him was, that he could fight and conquer; that he was a right piece of human Valour."

¹⁹See Appendix III of this thesis.

²⁰Especially the educational writings of Luther in 1524 and 1530. Cf. Appendix IV and V of this thesis.

²¹W. 15, 27-53. For an English translation, Cf. Painter, Luther on Education, op. cit., pp. 169 ff. Also See Appendix IV of this thesis.

regarded the "first Reformation document on education."²² It is short, but a remarkably lucid exposition of Luther's philosophy of education and its practice, and worthy of careful examination, even today.²³ In this writing Luther earnestly pleads the cause of the schools, solemnly enjoined upon the magistrates of cities their obligation to support and to promote the means of education.²⁴ The consequences of this stirring plea of Luther is clearly examined by Dr. O. Albrecht, who has edited this treatise for the Weimar Edition of Luther's Works and written the critical introduction to it.

Luther's rousing call was not in vain. Already in the year 1524 certain significant evangelical school reforms took place which must be regarded as the fruit of the efforts of the reformers and, especially, of Luther's tract addressed to the councilmen, such as in Magdeburg, Nordhausen, Halberstadt, and Gotha, in 1525 Eisleben followed and Nuremberg in 1526. During the following decade there was a manifest growing zeal for founding and remodelling city Latin schools throughout the entire Germany and, indeed, it prevailed until well into the middle of the 16th century in the Protestant territories.²⁵

Luther wrote this treatise on the eve of the Peasant's Revolt, in 1524, in the midst of confusion. For a comment on this writing, See J. Koestlin, Life of Luther (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), pp. 193-4.

²²p. J. Marique, History of Christian Education (New York: Fordham University Press, 1926), II, 108. Cf. Painter, History of Education, op. cit., p. 143.

²³Cf. P. E. Kretzmann, A Brief History of Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, n.d.), II, 55.

²⁴Cf. E. H. Reisner, The Evolution of the Common School (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1930), pp. 26 f.

²⁵w. 15, 15.

The sermon of 1530, EINE PREDIGT, DASS MAN KINDER ZUR SCHULEN HALTEN SOLLE,²⁶ was directed primarily to the parents. In it Luther stressed once again the importance of formal education to train the children for church and state. His appeal was so powerful, as to be almost irresistible. The principal emphasis of Luther was on the welfare of the Church and the glory of God on the one hand, and the needs of the state on the other.²⁷

In the treatise of August, 1520, AN DEN CHRISTLICHEN ADEL DEUTSCHER NATION VON DES CHRISTLICHEN STANDES BESSERUNG,²⁸ Luther developed a detail Reform-program: the reform of the Papacy; independence of German state and church from Rome; abolishment of the financial exhaustion of Germany by the Roman Curie (Gravamina for German Nation); a reform of the Christian and worldly lives, such as, the life of cloister, celibacy or priests, low cults, universities and other schools. Luther emphasized the responsibility to the princes, formerly that of the hierarchy, for making proper provision for training children as the servants of Church and State. The direction was also given, how to observe the true Church which is founded upon the Word of God and faith.²⁹

²⁶W. 30 11, 517-88. For a translation, Cf. Painter, Luther on Education, *op. cit.*, pp. 210 ff. For a detailed outline of this treatise, Cf. Appendix V of this thesis. Luther wrote this Sermon just after the Saxon Church visitation.

²⁷Cf. Kretzmann, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

²⁸W. 6, 404-69.

²⁹Cf. H. H. Borchardt, et al, editors, Martin Luther, Schriften des Jahres 1520 (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1948), pp. 391-93; Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 50; Karl Heussi, Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte (Tuebingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr--Paul Siebeck, 1949), p. 291.

The importance of Luther's translation of the Bible,³⁰ in reference to education, can hardly be exaggerated. It is the zenith of his entire work. Even such a cynical critic of Luther, as Friedrich Nietzsche, has yet one admiration for Luther, that is, Luther's supreme mastery of the German language and his Bible. "Die Sprache Luthers und die poetische Form der Bibel als Grundlage einer neuen deutschen Poesie: -- das ist MEINE Erfindung!"³¹ Goethe estimates Luther's Bible as the means to unite the

³⁰Luther based his translation of the Bible on the best Greek text of his day, the second edition of Erasmus, 1519. He began his work in December, 1521 on the Wartburg. In September, 1522, the New Testament in German left the presses at Wittenberg in an edition of 3,000 copies which was sold out in less than three months. Cf. A. T. W. Steinaeuser, Luther Primer (Columbia, S. C.: Survey Publishing Company, 1917), p. 59.

Luther's Bible and Melanchthon: To Phillip Melanchthon goes the credit for having induced Luther (December 1521) to translate the Bible into German, and also for having collaborated in this work as a philologist as one of the best students of Greek of his day. He cooperated by checking the Reformer's translated manuscripts before they were sent to the printer, both those of the N.T. and those of the O.T.--above all as a student of the Septuagint. But it is impossible to indicate exactly which were his contributions. According to the records dealing with the various revisions, he also played a leading role in the revision of the Ps. in 1531 and of the entire Bible in 1534 and 1539-41, as well as in the partial revision of the N.T. in the Fall of 1544. Indisputable and complete documentation makes it clear that from 1522 to 1544 Melanchthon collaborated as a philological interpreter of the Biblical texts and as an expert in such technical matters as coins, where as the linguistic formulations in German was in the main Luther's own work. The two books of Maccabees in Luther's Bible deserve special mention, for the linguistic indices and marginal notes indicate that Melanchthon translated the first book, and probably also the second. It has also been demonstrated that various changes made in the Bible after Luther's death were those of Melanchthon. Cf. Hans Volz, "Melanchthons Anteil an der Lutherbibel," Archiv fuer Reformationgeschichte, edited by Heinrich Bornkamm, et al., 45 (1954), 233.

³¹As cited in Heinrich Bornkamm, Luther, im Spiegel der deutschen Geistesgeschichte (Heidelberg: Quelle & Meyer, 1955), p. 230.

German nation, saying, "Die Deutschen sind ein Volk ohne Buchhalter geworden."²² Some readers called Luther, page 1

To [Luther] into, for die deutsche Sprache, einen schickenden
Blick, aufgeweckt auf langwierig; er late, der die schickende
Vorkamerer, wie jene Kochsalzische, verzeichnet; er hat
durch seine Translation eine ganze Nation zum Denken und Tadel
--> den.²³

The extent of the contribution made by Luther's translation of the Bible
to the German nation, for the development of modern High German,²⁴ and
to the religious²⁵ and cultural²⁶ life is almost immeasurable. Its

²² Von Flunberg, 29, Mai 1517, as quoted in Ibid., p. 136.

²³ Luther's "deutsche Werke, frag. v. Kapitel I, 157, as cited in
Ibid., p. 135.

²⁴ "Luther's Influence on the German Nation," ibid., p. 138 "...
die vollendete Beherrschung der neuen Bibel hat wesentlich befruchtend den
deutschen Sprachgeschichte." ibid., p. 166; "This Bible of
Luther raised the literary standard of the German language, thus marking
the beginning of modern High German, just as Wycliffe's translation and
the Wycliffe Bible of Chaucer and the beginning of modern English
language." E. P. Grosser, A Student's History of Education (New York:
The MacMillan Company, 1925), p. 136; Luther's Bible was "historically closer
to the colloquial language of the times. (See: large number of translations
that had preceded that of Luther)." ibid., p. 136 f.

²⁵ J. J. Gieser, Luther's Bible in the History of Education (London: The
Duckworth Press, 1922), p. 147: "Luther's translation of the Bible, into
German and his preparation of the catechisms supplied the means of
... for instruction on the new Protestant faith." ibid., p. 147.

²⁶ ibid., p. 147: "If Luther had done nothing else than
translate the Bible into German, he would have been considered as a great
cultural figure. Through his translation the Bible became the textbook
of the people, not only in religion and morality, but also in language
study. His plain, refined style is said to have introduced a new era in
the German language and worked toward the unification of the nation's
speech. But he did more direct service for the cause of education."

importance is inestimable.

Wir besitzen kein literarisches Werk von ihm [Luther] von dem man sagen koennte: das ist—das ist der ganze Luther. Die göttliche Komoedie ist uns Dante, der Faust ist uns in gewissen Sinne der ganze Goethe: nichts vergleichen besitzen wir von Luther. Das Werk, welches noch am meisten die ganze Tiefe und den Reichtum seines Geistes abstrahlt, ist eine Uebersetzung: die Uebersetzung der Bibel.³⁷

Luther's Large Catechism and Small Catechism³⁸ with an informative preface have an indispensable and practical value. These works, which are based upon the Bible, have ever increasing significance, even today, in the instructions of the Christian religion in the family and in the Church. In them, Luther has given to posterity manuals of permanent value in religious education.

The Place of Luther in the History of Education

Although the critical views of numerous Roman Catholic and non-sectarian authors concerning the works and results of Luther's teachings on education,³⁹ his educational treatises⁴⁰ and actual contributions to schools;

³⁷Adolf Harnack, "Martin Luther in seiner Bedeutung fuer die Geschichte der Wissenschaft und der Bildung," Deutsche Akademierenden (Muenchen: Meyer und Jessen, 1924), p. 248.

³⁸Grosser Katechismus, 1529: W. 30 1, 123-238; Der kleine Katechismus, 1529: W. 30 1, 239-425. "Luther begann . . . den, beso. fuer die Pfarrer bestimmten, grossen Katechismus (Grundlage: Luthers Katechismuspredigten von 1528), gab aber vor Vollendung desselben den, fuer die Jugend und das Volk bestimmen, KLEINEN Katechismus heraus." Heussi, op. cit., p. 102.

³⁹Jessen and numerous Catholic authors are critical of Luther and his teachings on education and schools. Paulsen, a German philosopher and a Catholic educational historian, treats the question with more discrimination but does not attribute the origin of popular education to the credit of Luther. Cf. Friedrich Paulsen, German Education, Past and Present (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912), pp. 76-77.

⁴⁰It refers especially to those treatises mentioned in this chapter.

during his time and the centuries followed, testify an established fact that Luther was the first educator in Germany who did advocate wholeheartedly universal education: an education of the whole people. His contribution was substantial for such education for all children without regard or special life-work. To Luther Germany owes its splendid educational system in its roots and in its conception.⁴¹ In utterance on educational matters, a few men have excelled Luther as a writer and speaker in behalf of popular education. He seized this important point, that is, the universal education, and insisted upon it throughout his writings. The outcome of his influence in this respect was the building up of the system of schools of the Protestant states in Germany.⁴² Thus Luther contributed materially to the formulation of a new and broader conception of education,⁴³

⁴¹Cf. Eby and Arrowood, *op. cit.*, pp. 99 f.; T. M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1953), p. 238; Painter, Luther on Education, *op. cit.*, p. 167; Painter, History of Education, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 f. Some authors list Luther with such educational reformer as John Amos Comenius (1592-1670) in connection with universal elementary education. Cf. Jarman, *op. cit.*, p. 196; G. Compayre, The History of Pedagogy (Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1907), pp. 86, 114; Misawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

⁴²Cf. Paul Monroe, A Text-Book in the History of Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1914), pp. 412 f, 410.

⁴³Luther was interested in a broad and general Christian education, in contrast with the monastic and ecclesiastical schools with a narrow outlook, ascetic spirit and harsh discipline. In Luther's conception of education is included a training essential to the ordinary duties of life, in the home, the occupation, the State and the Church. Cf. Bruce, *op. cit.*, pp. 131 f.; Monrow, *op. cit.*, p. 412; also the Fourth Commandment, as stated in Concordia Triglotta, edited by F. Bente (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 630.

and gave powerful impetus to practical changes already initiated. The concrete work, particularly, on the basis of his principles of education, was made by his followers, chief of whom was Philip Melanchthon. "To the Reformation, then, we owe our idea of universal elementary education and also the early realization of this idea."⁴⁴ Luther's efforts in behalf of education were not without fruits. Protestant Germany was aroused by his appeals. By the commission of the Duke of Mansfeld, Luther wrote, in 1525, to Spalatin that he would go to Eisleben, Luther's home town, with Melanchthon and Agricola in order to establish schools there, one for primary and the other for secondary education.⁴⁵

Luther is the founder of modern state school education. He never tired of emphasizing that the purpose of education involves the promotion of the welfare of the state just as much as that of the Church.⁴⁶ As a result of Luther's dictum that every Christian must read the Bible, and his immortal contribution, the translation of the Bible into German the masses could be literated and the state brought to a conscious support of

⁴⁴ Paul Monroe, A Brief Course in the History of Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1928), p. 214.

⁴⁵ Concerning the establishment of schools during the Reformation, Cf. Georg Mertz, Das Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1902), pp. 166-231; and especially for the "Gelehrte Mittelschulen," See pp. 184-204, Ibid. Also Cf. S. L. 21 f, 737, Wittenberg, April 16, 1525.

⁴⁶ Cf. J. M. Price, Introduction to Religious Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1932), pp. 84 f.

the cause of schools. The establishment of the school system, therefore, based upon the idea of universal education, is wholly due in its origin to Luther's Reformation.⁴⁷ Following the Reformation, there has been a great revival of interest in common schools. In keeping with Luther's doctrine of salvation, justification by faith alone in Jesus Christ, the teaching of "universal priesthood," and the encouragement of the private study of the Bible, it was necessary that men must be educated to read, study, and think for themselves. Without education, the element of individual liberty projected into human society cannot be maintained by itself.⁴⁸ E. H. Wilds admits that the education in the United States of America owes a great deal to the Reformation.

The educational history of the U. S. cannot be understood without knowledge of the religious forces and struggles released by the Reformation movement; and the development of one of our dominant educational theories, the theory of education for religious moralism, can be studied only in reference to this same movement.⁴⁹

Through Luther, the scope of education has been widened. Education is no longer restricted to the isolated interest for a single phase of man, either intellectual or moral, as being administered by monastic and

⁴⁷Cf. A. E. Meyer, The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949), pp. 6 f.; Monroe, op. cit., p. 407.

⁴⁸This thought is also shared by Comenius, as stated in his The Great Didactic.

⁴⁹E. H. Wilds, The Foundation of Modern Education (New York: Rinehart & Company, 1942), pp. 276 f. Cf. G. Romoser, Four-hundredth Anniversary of the Reformation, edited by Dau, op. cit., p. 313. Also Prof. Good, op. cit., p. 517 f.: "The educational philosophy and colonial school laws, that passed by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1647, were fathered by the Reformation and had served in Europe for just a century since the death of Luther who formulated it; and it was carried thence in the MAYFLOWERS and the WELCOMES of the 17th century to America where it served many years longer."

ecclesiastical schools during the Middle Ages. Luther viewed education from various angles, intellectual, moral, spiritual, domestic, social, civic, vocational, aesthetic, and even physical. He never viewed them as separate entities, divorced from his underlying principle which permeated all actions and activities of man. Education is therefore an entire development of man, in so far as this is effected by external influences upon which the person reacts favorably. Any division of the intellectual and moral, for example, is not only impossible except in an academic sense.⁵⁰ The social aspect of education, which includes the relation of man to society, cannot be divorced nor alienated from the cultural aspect of it which is to widen man's vision, to improve his tastes, to develop skill and ability, and to create attitudes and habits.⁵¹ In Luther's conception of education not only the various phases of education are inter-related, but there also exists a progress which affects the entire person. On the development of the young man, his emphasis is not less emphatic than any of our contemporary educators.⁵²

⁵⁰ E. C. Koehler, Christliche Erziehung (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1931), pp. 3 f.; W. F. Wise, op. cit., pp. 36 f.; F. J. Yoderstein, "Luther's Theory," op. cit., pp. 36 f.; "Luthers Anschauungen von den verschiedenen Hauptaufgaben der Erziehung und des Unterrichts nach religiöser, ethischer, intellektueller, ästhetischer und physischer Seite neuerdings,"

⁵¹ W. V. Schmale, "The Role of Education in the Growth of the Church," Religious Education, 27 (October, 1932), 111.

⁵² W. F. Wise, op. cit., pp. 36 f.; "Theologie vor der Bildung der christlichen Jugend," op. cit., pp. 36 f.; W. F. Wise, op. cit., pp. 36 f.; also "The Role of Education in the Growth of the Church," Religious Education, 27 (October, 1932), 111.

Under such an integrated system of education by Luther, all agencies, home, Church, State and schools, should be in operation. He inspired magistrates and princes to establish schools being permeated by the spirit of the Reformation. Education, according to him, is a perpetuation (execution) of usus politicus legis, and it extends freely through the "ganzen Koerper der Christenheit."⁵³ To make such a liberal education-- suos liberos educet,⁵⁴ Luther encourages the rulers to introduce compulsory education whenever the necessity arises.⁵⁵

In the education of children, one finds the source of genuine strength of a city, the spring of the highest welfare of the people, training of good citizens, and treasure of treasures.

Nun liegt einer Stadt Gedeihen nicht allein darin, dass man grosse Schaetsse sammle, feste Mauren, schoene Haeuser, viel Buechsen und Harnisch zeuge; ja, wo dess viel ist, und tolle Narren drueber kommen, ist so viel deste aerger und deste groesser Schade derselben Stadt; sondern das ist einer Stadt bestes und allerreichest Gedeihen, Heil und Kraft, dass sie (so) vielseiner, gelehrter, vernuenftiger, ehebar, wohlgezogener Burger hat, die kuennten darnach wohl Schaesse und alles Gut sammeln, halten und recht brauchen.⁵⁶

Luther's ideal of education is a lofty one: in each one's respective station, in his own surroundings, dedicate himself to a life of service to

⁵³H. Werdermann, Luther als Erzieher und die Religionspaedagogik (Guetersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann, 1938), p. 6. Cf. Koehler, op. cit., p. 391; W. 30 ii, 569 f., 575 ff.

⁵⁴"Fourth Commandment," Concordia Triglotta, op. cit., p. 630 f.

⁵⁵Cf. Wilds, op. cit., p. 288; Bruce, op. cit., p. 171: the statement spoken by Schmidt in the Geschichte der Paedagogik, I, 46. And also Cf. Leach, op. cit., p. 805.

⁵⁶E. 22, 179.

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⁵⁶E. 22, 179.

his God, the Church, his country and community. All the basic tasks and objectives of education, which Luther has discovered and taught, is in a clear form.⁵⁷ "Luthers Erziehungsziel ist nicht nur das umfassendste, sondern auch das schlichteste, klarste und gesundeste, das es in der Geschichte der Erziehung gibt."⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Cf. Gerhard Bohne, "Aufgabe und Weg der Erziehung," Grundlagen der Erziehung (Hamburg: Im Paderborn-Verlag, 1953), II, 74. A further study on the "Task of Education" is made in chapter IX of this thesis.

⁵⁸ Ibid., I, 158.

CHAPTER V

LUTHER'S CONCEPT OF MAN AND ITS

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Theological Implications of the Study of MAN

"Man is man, that that he is, a child of God." Luther's concept
itself with God, and is created by God. Man is the one to be educated
and trained, and God is the very agent through whom education is material-
ized. That is, we educate man through God. Therefore the ideas and
practices of education depend greatly upon one's fundamental concept of

MAN: his origin, his nature, **SECTION TWO** his purpose of life,
and his destiny.² MAN has been one of the perennial concerns of theology

THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATION UPON WHICH

LUTHER'S EDUCATIONAL VIEW IS BASED

¹Gen. 1:26.

²The view of man is the determining factor of educational substance.
MAN is viewed in various ways: Progenitive views man as an integral part
of Nature and a social and cooperative being; Evolutionary, man as a signi-
ficant child of Nature, and in the evolutionary process; Humanistic esti-
mates man as a self and spiritual entity with natural morality; Great-
philosophers and Kant views man as a thinking being; Relativistic (e.g.
Cooley), man as an active being; Utilitarianism, man as the means, society
the end. For a further treatment on these points, cf. F. D. Butler, Man
Philosophy and Their Bearing on Education and Religion (New York:
Harper and Brothers, 1921), pp. 100 f., 110 f., 120 f.

Regarding the Christian alternative, in contrast with the pervasiveness
of manism, Dr. Hines says the following rather clear comment in his
book: "The Christian always views man as he stands in relation to God.
This is a faith-judgment. For this conviction has substituted an alternate
faith-judgment, the belief that man is his own sovereign, and in doing so
removes man from an underlying affinity with the naturalism that is
feasible in much of the Western world today. While this is ostensibly
a noble and elevating view of man, the Christian faith judges it to be both
destructive and degrading. According to this view man is finally little more
than a sophisticated beast, born to be pushed around for a brief while by

and continues to be. Without an adequate understanding of man, education cannot be properly planned and operated.

Rediscovery of MAN is one of the momentous contributions of Martin Luther and his Reformation. Luther took this question of man very seriously. Man is neither a righteous nor a self-sufficient being, nor so hopeless that he is mere subject of a human institution. Such a discovery of man is the starting point of the educational ideas of Luther.

God works through man; and likewise, He educates man through man.

"Gott wirkt immer konkret, immer geschichtlich, immer nur durch Menschen, Menschen als Organe und Instrumente."³ Luther's primary concern was:

Velle hominum esse hominum, i.e. to place MAN where he rightly belongs.

"Tell Master Philip Melancthon," Luther said once, "he is a man, but not a god." This problem of placing man into his proper province was the problem for Adam and Eve, and is that even today. Luther never missed this crucial point. "Wir sollen Menschen und nicht Gott sein. Das ist Summa."⁴

forces and circumstances over which he has virtually no control. The Christian faith is not only realistic in judging man's pretended sovereignty as idolatry, but it elevates man above the despair of temporality and evil by regarding him as a special creation, fashioned in the image of God, "created and redeemed for eternal life with God." Arthur Simon, "The Anthropology of Communism" (Unpublished Bachelor's Thesis; St. Louis: Concordia Theological Seminary, 1956), pp., 53 f.

Also See Wm. A. Kramer, "The Lutheran Philosophy of Education," *Journal*, (October 6, 1948).

³Ernst Lichtenstein, "Luther und die Humanitaet," Evangelische Theologie (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1950-51), Heft 9, 394. Cf. W. TR. 1, 439.

⁴In a letter of Luther to Spalatin, on June 30, 1530.

No one ranks with Luther in his understanding of human nature, its needs and capacities, its ruin and its glory. No one touched man at so many points, helped them so much, entered so profoundly into the deepest secrets of their hearts, opened to them such sources of strength.⁵

Man cannot understand himself without a knowledge of God and the God-man relationship. In his relation to God, man can only be viewed as man. In God man sees himself and understands himself. He has no possibility of knowing himself, what he is and what he does, until he has seen himself in the only source of knowledge, which is God, -domus in fonte ipse, cui Deus est.⁶ The obvious reason is that man exists by virtue of God's creation. With the knowledge of God, an understanding of man, society and education is possible. Only with the reference to the loving will of almighty God has the life of man meaning.⁷ "Anthropologische Auffassung wurzelt in der Gottesanschauung."⁸ "Luthers Anthropologie ist insofern der auf den Menschen bezogene Ausdruck seiner Gottesanschauung."⁹

⁵G. M. Frazer, Luther as an Educator (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928), p. 272.

⁶Co. 39 1, 174 ff., NO. 17.

⁷Co. W. 16, 711: ". . . sed vitio nostro, qui nos sicut natura malit. Deus vero bonus, esse ratione sua pro natura omnipotentiae suae rationis, aliter facere non potuit, quam quod ipse bonus male instrumento malum faciat. licet hoc male pro sua sapientia nostrum bene ad gloriam suam saltem vertat."

⁸Co. Ernst Holt, "Luther," Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte (Düsseldorf: Verlag von J. C. F. Mohr, 1940), I, 14 ff.

⁹Friedrich Spanth, Erbsünde und Erziehung in Luthers Lehre (Bad Nauheim: Richard Siebeck, 1922), p. 7.

Luther presented a thoroughly theocentric and evangelical view of man over against one that was legal and anthropocentric. His theology was theocentric and evangelical. God acts in the history of man. World history is nothing else than God's work, His judgment, and the thoughts developed under His guidance.¹⁰

The relationship between God and man is absolute. There is no gradual process of improvement by which man can merit the blessings of the Spirit of God. The total man apart from faith in Christ is under condemnation and judgment.¹¹ The righteousness of man is solely God's work, not man's.¹² It originates from God without consideration of the worthiness or merit of man.¹³ Man's relation to God in Christ is the only way to understand God, himself, and the man-God relationship.

The Christian man lives not for himself, but for Christ and for his neighbor. The classical question, "Am I my brother's keeper?"¹⁴ is his

¹⁰Cf. W. 50, 384-5: Preface to the Historia Galeatii Capelle, 1538. Heinrich Bornkamm, Luther und das Alte Testament (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1948), p. 55: ". . . Gott selbst es wirkt und durch alles natuerliche Geschehen hindurch unverwandt den Menschen anschaut und zu ihm redet, so ist auch das Spiegelbild das geschichtlichen Lebens, das Luther ihm Alten Testament findet und das wir skizzierten, doppelschichtig und hintergruendig. Alles in ihm ist Gottes Werk und Bestimmung."

¹¹Cf. Heinrich Bornkamm, "Aeuszterer und innerer Mensch bei Luther und den Spiritualisten," Imago Dei (Giessen: Verlag von Alfred Toepelmann, 1932), pp. 88 ff.

¹²Cf. Ibid., p. 91.

¹³Cf. R. Seeberg, Text Book of the History of Doctrines, translated by C. E. Hay (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1952), p. 225.

¹⁴Gen. 4:9.

vital concern. The answer to this question must be nothing but a sincere affirmative reply. Man lives in Christ through faith, and for his neighbor through love. The man who has experienced the love of God in Christ, is moved by a life of love toward God and his neighbor. By faith he ascends to God, whence he descends to his neighbor by love. His love for God shows itself pre-eminently in loving service of the neighbor. Here is the true spiritual, Christian liberty that sets the hearts free from all sins, laws and precepts. Love exceeds "alle andere freyheit, wie der hymell die erden . . ." so concludes Luther in his treatise "Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen," in 1520.¹⁵ True love for man originates in the heart of God. Its great manifestation is in the Cross of Christ. God's love is "eine Liebe des Kreuzes, die aus dem Kreuz entstehet," which goes not where it may find the good, but where it can do good to a poor and evil man.¹⁶ Love for God and love for man

lifts the plane of Christian life to glorious heights. No other philosophy of life has ever touched it. There is no doubt that here lies one of the great secrets of Luther's power and influence. In his heart were two great loves: the love of truth and the love of men; and behind them both, a burning love for his Lord.¹⁷

Who can comprehend the riches and the glory of the Christian life? It lacks nothing, and can do all things, and has all things—allis dings yn

¹⁵W. 7, 38.

¹⁶Wal 18, 80: Heidelberg Disputation, April 26, 1518. Also See Walter Loewenich v., Luthers Theologia Crucis (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1954).

¹⁷Herman A. Preus, "Luther's Doctrine of Man," (Unpublished Seminar paper, c. 1944), p. 43.

Christo ergo habe.¹⁸

Christ took the form of man,¹⁹ establishing a high example for us. A Christian man gives himself for his neighbor. Just as Christ offered Himself for man, he will do nothing in this life except what he sees is necessary, profitable, and salutary to his neighbor, since through faith he has an abundance of all good things in Christ.²⁰ Just as God helps men freely through Christ, so the Christian man seeks only to help his neighbor freely through works of Christian love. This is a free activity, with no compulsion but love. Gratitude, love, joy in Christ, are the fruits of faith which are the marks of Christian life of freedom.²¹

The Original State of Man

Homo est creatura Dei,²² is the core of Luther's definition of his anthropology. Everything depends on this thesis that man has his being in God, that God is his Creator, and that man is God's creature. This theme of the reminder that man is God's creature but not a creator of himself and destiny, is the essential message of Luther's doctrine of man.²³

¹⁸W. 7, 36.

¹⁹Col. Phil. 2: 5ff.

²⁰Cor. 4: 7, 25.

²¹1st. 102 sit.

²²Cor. W. 39 f., 176 ff.; W. 21: "Sed licet, quod homo est creatura Dei, nec se et animas spirante coeque, ab initio ad imaginem Dei facta, sine peccato, ut generaret et rebus dominaretur, nec unquam moreretur."

²³Let's remind you that he is God's creature! "But let this century not proceed in his own mind, claiming to be the creator of his own soul, and thus, for distraction, he reminded that he is a creature of God's hand."

The fundamental doctrine is, that the human mind possesses a faculty of self-direction, which is the source of all moral and intellectual progress. This faculty is called the "will," and it is the power of the mind to determine its own course of action. The will is the principle of self-determination, and it is the source of all moral and intellectual progress.

The will is the source of all moral and intellectual progress. It is the power of the mind to determine its own course of action. The will is the principle of self-determination, and it is the source of all moral and intellectual progress.

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describable on the basis of positive materials in the Scriptures. On this point, Luther suggests that a study of imago Dei is possible only negatively, but not positively: solum privative et non positive ea possimus intelligere. From the awful state of evil in which we now stand, we can only gather negatively an idea of the greatness of that good and that glory which we have lost in the Garden of Eden.²⁶ Luther again declares that since this "image" has been lost by sin, we can never fully attain to the knowledge of what it was--non satis eam possimus intelligere. Memory, mind and will we do most certainly possess, but they are wholly corrupted.²⁷

Imago Dei is an opus Dei singulare, a peculiar work of God.²⁸ Man was the most beautiful of God's creatures who did possess the knowledge of God and the image of Him in which shines forth the similitude of the Divine nature in all enlightened reason, in righteousness and in wisdom. It was assigned to him to rule over all the earth, the sea and air.²⁹

²⁶W. 42, 126; W. 42, 48 f.: "per peccatum haec imago obscurata et viciata est." The doctrine of the original state of man was with Luther simply the counterpart of that of original sin. For a further study on the natural state of man before and since the Fall, See Koestlin, op. cit., pp. 338-59.

²⁷W. 42, 46.

²⁸Loc cit.; E. 1, 81 ff.; S. L. 1, 79 f.

²⁹Cf. W. 42, 49: "Hic pulcherrimae creaturae, quae cognoscit Deum et est imago Dei, in qua lucet similitudo divinae naturae per rationem illuminatam, per iusticiam et sapientiam, tribuitur regnum et fiunt Adam et Heva rectores terrae, maris et aeris." Koestlin observes that the imago (TELEIOM) denotes the image in itself, which does not necessarily imply a full delineation of all the features; and similitudo (D' MOOTH) indicates the completeness of the image. Cf. Koestlin, op. cit., p. 341.

"Der Mensch ist ein Herr aller Thiere."³⁰ "Der Mensch ist von Anfang ge-
schaffen nach dem Bilde Gottes, voll Weisheit, Tugend und Liebe, usw.,
ohne alle boesen Laeste, also dass er voll Gottes war. Das meint auch den
weiser Mann."³¹

Love and knowledge stand out as the most noble characteristics of man
in Paradise. Frequently Luther mentioned this point. Adam was in the
possession of an illuminated reason (ratio illuminata), a true knowledge
of God (vera noticia Dei), and the most upright will (voluntas rectissima)
to love both God and his neighbor.³² He was in possession of also the
righteousness and the knowledge of all things. ". . . in Adamo, vere
cognoscitur, quia in eo est sapientia illa, iusticia et omnium rerum
cognitio, ut recte dicatur MIKROKOSMOS."³³

Das Sein wie Gott ist das Sein zu Gott. Fuer den Menschen bedeutet
das Bild Gottes: sein Wesen haben in Bezogen-sein. . . . Die Liebe
ist der Inhalt des Bildes Gottes, die Gerechtigkeit. . . . Das
Wesensgesetz des Menschen ist die Liebe zu Gott. Diese Liebe hat
einen ganz eigenen Charakter . . . sie ist wesentlich und einzig
. . . sie gruendet in der Kreatuerlichkeit. Gott ist Grund des

Das Bild Gottes . . . beide, die innerlicher und aus-

³⁰ S.L. 3, 68; W. 42, 92; Cf. Loc. cit., in reference to Gen. 2:
18-20.

³¹ S.L. 3, 47; W. 42, 53, in reference to Gen. 1:27.

³² W. 42, 47. Gen. 2:17.

³³ W. 42, 51. Gen. 1:27. Johann Wilhelm Bader (1547-95) an early
Lutheran theologian expressed a similar view on the attribute of
reason possessed by the paradisiac man: "Alte homo iungo Dei in homine
non refertur solum ad potentiam animi, quae in Deo est. . . . Neque eo
perfectioris gradu est in homine, quae est in Deo." J. W. Bader,
Concordia Theologicae Facultatis (Berolinæ: Augustinus Gust. Schlawitz, 1864),
p. 207.

³⁴ S. 42, 85. Gen. 2:17.

Menschen als Ziel.³⁴ possibility. He was capable of life eternal.

The will which had been possessed by the Paradisaic man was perfectly free and had an upright and wonderful understanding of all things.³⁵

However, that man was in a state of transition, puerilem innocentiam, i.e. he was not at once to enjoy the final state of glory and ultimate perfection.

He was by no means an ultimately perfect being as God: non erit in ille perfecta innocentia.³⁶ Man was in a state of natural immortality. "Sed

immortalitas haec non sic ei erat confirmata, ut impossibile esset eum cadere in mortalitatem." He was a compound being, in whom were united the

brute and the angelic natures: sit homo mixtum animal ex brutali et angelica natura.³⁷ In this respect man was a middle being. God created him to an

animal life and to corporeal action, which also the other animals have.

But He gave man also a power of intellect which indeed the angels also possess.³⁸

He was created with a physical body, a material nature, and a living

³⁴Stomps, *op. cit.*, p. 32. S.L. 1, 75: ". . . das Bild Gottes . . . allerherrlichste und edelste Ding . . . beide, die innerlicher und ausserlicher Sinne alle, auf das reinste gewessen sind. Der Verstand ist ganz rein, das Gedächtniss ganz gut und frisch, under der Wille ganz aufrichtig und wahrhaftig . . . in einem sehr schoenen, reinen und sicheren Gewissen, ohne alle Sorge und Furcht des Todes." Cf. S. L. 1, 135 ff.; W. 42, 43 ff.

³⁵W. 42, 87. Gen. 2:17b.

³⁶W. 42, 84. Gen. 2:17. Johann Wilhelm Baier (1647-95) an early orthodox Lutheran theologian expressed a similar view on the attribute of imago Dei possessed by the Paradisaic man: "Atque haec imago Dei in homine non referri debet vel potest ad omnia, quae in Deo sunt. . . Neque eo perfectionis gradu est in homine, quo est in Deo." J. W. Baieri, Compendium Theologiae Positivae (Berolini: Sumptibus Gust. Schlawitz, 1864), p. 202.

³⁷W. 42, 85. Gen. 2:17.

³⁸Loc. cit. "Imago Dei", Johann Gerhard (1583-1637), the "arch-theologian"

Man in Paradise had "possibility." He was capable of life eternal—quod etiam aeterna vitae fuit capax, but not on the highest life. Rather he was on the way to a higher life still—in haec corporali vita viveret.³⁹

Furthermore the Paradisaic man had the best imaginable attributes of any creature on earth. This Luther describes: Referring to this

Imago Dei, ad quam Adam fuit conditus, fuit res longe praestantissima et nobilissima, cum scilicet nulla lepra peccati neque in ratione neque voluntate haesit. Sed et interiores et exteriores sensus omnes fuere mundissimi. Intellectus fuit purissimus, memoria optima, et voluntas sincerissima in pulcherrima securitate sine omni metu mortis et sine sollicitudine ulla. Ad haec interiora accessit etiam illa corporis et omnium membrorum pulcherrima et excellentissima virtus, quo omnes reliquas naturas virtus, qua omnes reliquas naturas animatas vicit.⁴⁰

Luther uses the terms iustitia originalis and imago Dei interchangeably. These terms imply that God made man as participem Dei et qui fructurus sit regnie Dei, that is, a participator of the Divine nature, or man as pulcherrimam creaturam participem immortalitatis.⁴¹

Man was created with a physical body, a material nature, and a living

³⁹W. 42, 49. Gen. 1:25a. Cf. W. TR. 4, 309. Also See Koestlin, op. cit., pp. 339 ff.

⁴⁰W. 42, 46. A translation of the original text, found in Tr. Lenker, I, 115: "The image of God was a workmanship of the most beautiful, the most excellent and the most noble, while as yet no leprosy of sin adhered either to his reason or to his will. Then all his senses, both internal and external, were the most perfect and pure. His intellect was most clear, his memory most complete and his will the most sincere, accompanied with the most charming security, without any fear of death and without any care or anxiety whatever. To these internal perfections of Adam was added a power of body and of all limbs, so beautiful and so excellent that he surpassed all other animate natural creatures."

Adam not only knew God and believed Him to be good, but that he lived also a life truly divine,—quod etiam vitam vexerit place divinam. W. 42, 47. Man was the noblest creature before the Fall. Cf. E. 1, 77, 81; E. 2, 88, 291; E. 33, 55, 152.

⁴¹W. 42, 63. Gen. 2:7. In regard to the attributes of "iustitia originalis" and "imago Dei", Johann Gerhard (1582-1637), the "arch-theologian"

soul, i. e., the non-material nature of man.⁴² In the explanation of the Magnificat, a work of 1520, Luther discussed the problem at length, especially under Luke 1:46.⁴³ Sometimes man is divided into two parts, spirit and flesh. At other times there is a three-fold division into spirit, soul, and body, like in I Thess. 5:23. Referring to this passage, Luther comments that there is no conflict. "This is a division, not of the nature of man but of his qualities. The nature of man consists of the parts--spirit, soul and body; and all of these may be good or evil, that is, they may be spirit or flesh."⁴⁴

Luther calls the spirit "das hohste, tieffste, edlieste teil des menschen, damit er geschickt ist, unbefreiflich, unsichtige, ewige ding zu fassen. Und ist kurzlich das haus da der glaege und gottis wort innen wonet."⁴⁵ Carl Stange said, "Geist degegen ist der Mensch, insofern als er

of the period of orthodoxy, made the following statement: "Imago Dei et iustitia originalis habent se ut totum et pars. Nam imago Dei in primo homine fuit excellens quaedam conformitas cum Deo archetypo . . ." quoted in Baueri, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁴²Cf. W. 42, 65. Gen. 2:7. Luther faced the question raised by the terms, "body", "soul," "spirit," which are used in the Scripture, but he did not make it a bone of theological contention. Cf. E. 33, 70 f.

⁴³Cf. W. 7, 550 ff.

⁴⁴Luther's Works, edited by J. Pelikan and translated by the editor et al (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), 21, 303. Cf. W. 7, 551 f. Luther is unique in that he is both educational and devotional appealing equally to head and heart, i. e., total person. Cf. Ch. IV.

⁴⁵W. 7, 550. Some explanations on "Seele" founded in the St. Louis Edition of Luther's Works:

"Seele in der Schrift heisst des Leibes Leben, was in den fuenf Sinnen daher geht, und alles, was die Seele durch den Leib wirk." S.L. 11, 1541 (Sermon on Lk. 10:23-27)

"Die Schrift heisst Seele alles, was da lebt in den fuenf Sinnen." S.L. 3, 60 (Gen. 2:7b)

zugleich, Fleisch und Geist. Wenn das Fleisch in ihm eine Macht sei, so sei auch der Geist, der ganze Mensch davon betroffen. . . . Denn 'Geist' trifft die Schuld, wenn das Fleisch noch mächtig ist.⁵¹ "Anima dividitur in spiritum (et) animam. Et secundum hoc fit duplex homo, interior et exterior. Est tamen una eademque anima."⁵² Referring to this passage of Luther, Karl Holl comments:

In Wirklichkeit ist der Mensch eine lebendige Einheit; als Ganzes in all seinen Regungen und Handlungen gegenwaertig. Er ist ein und derselbe, und derselbe ganz in seiner Sinnlichkeit, in seinem 'Fleisch', wie in seinem 'Geist'. Grobes und Feines wohnt in ihm nicht nur nebeneinander, sondern durchdringt sich gegenseitig. Das Hoehere, das bessere 'Ich' ist nie da, ohne dass er durch das Fleisch mitbeeinflusst wurde.⁵³

Luther's concern is the hominem totum. He introduces the Scriptural anthropology with the lapidary statement: "Theology . . . applies to the entire man and to every aspect of man--hominem totum et perfectum definit."⁵⁴

Luther has a keen concept of the vital significance of Christian education from the standpoint of the physical and spiritual well-being of man. He is religiously helpful and intellectually profitable, covering every

⁵¹Holl, op. cit., p. 141. Arvid Runestam, Gustav Ljunggren and Ragner Bring have devoted special study to Luther's anthropology of the "whole" man (totus homo) and of the use he makes of the Pauline dichotomies, especially of "flesh" and "spirit."

⁵²W. 9, 83. S.L. 8, 1248 (1 Cor. 15:44-47): "Der Leib soll da bleiben, wo die Seele bleibt an juengsten Tage, denn wir werden getauft nicht allein nach der Seele, sondern auch der Leib wird getauft. . . ." S.L. 7, 1658 (Jn. 1:14: "Sas Wort ward Fleisch"): ". . . also fasst oder begreift das Wort Fleisch, nach der Schrift Brauch, beide, Leib und Seele; denn ohne die Seele ist der Leib todt."

⁵³Holl, op. cit., pp. 61 f.

⁵⁴W. 39 1, 174 ff., NO. 20: "Theologia vero der plenitudine sapientiae suas Hominem totum et perfectum definit."

degrees of intelligence, moral and social conditions, and training every
instrument of humanity.⁵⁵ On the one hand, he particularly stresses the
spiritual importance of Christian education,⁵⁶ and, on the other, he also
lays emphasis upon the maintenance of schools for the purpose of training
pious and well-qualified pastors and teachers in order to serve mankind
in body and soul.⁵⁷

The Fallen State of Man: Man's Degradation

Man has fallen. He has fallen from the original high estate and lost
his innocence. In pride (superbia) man listened to and followed after the
suggestions of the Devil and refused to honor God. That pride is rampant
to this day, especially in society, where man puts upon man, the stronger
oppresses the weak. Man is degraded in senses, reason and will,⁵⁸ yet he
stubbornly refuses to acknowledge the fact.

Unbelief is the basis of all sin. The Devil's strategy with Man

Genesis I., II., 4.

⁵⁵ The Preface of Dr. Martin Luther to the Small Catechism and the
Large Catechism, stated in Germany's Religious History, edited by W. Deane Cox, by
the World's Publishing House, 1927, pp. 27-29, 296-301. Also in N. D. B.,
1927, 4, 231, 232 pp.

⁵⁶ The text of Luther's explanation of the Lord's Supper, pp. 1-2.

⁵⁷ Against the Jews and their Lies, ch. 1. These 3 parts of my series
I. and especially in Germany, in voluntate individualis, in ordinem
illius mundi. Principia are also in N. D. B.

⁵⁸ The condition of the world of Luther's time is described in Germany's Religious History,
pp. 27-29, 296-301. The text of Luther's explanation of the Lord's Supper, pp. 1-2.
The text of Luther's explanation of the Lord's Supper, pp. 1-2. The text of Luther's
explanation of the Lord's Supper, pp. 1-2. The text of Luther's explanation of the
Lord's Supper, pp. 1-2. The text of Luther's explanation of the Lord's Supper,
pp. 1-2. The text of Luther's explanation of the Lord's Supper, pp. 1-2.

and Eve was to create distrust in God's Word. In the disobedient act of man, contrary to the Word of God and His good will, all sins are included. "Der Unglaube ist die Ursach und Ursprung aller Sunden, und wenn der Teufel den Hertzzen das Wort entweder abgewonnen, oder gefalschet und sie auf Unglauben gebracht hat, so ist ihm nichts mehr schwer."⁵⁹

In sinning Eve acted directly against God and His Word, "wider Gott und sein Wort selbst." She cast the Word of God away and became "ganz und gar des Teufels Schulerin."⁶⁰ Thus the unbelief of man is turned into blasphemy, and his disobedience into reproach against his Creator.

Sin is impietas and iniquitas, which resulted from man's aversion (abersis) to God and turning away from His presence--Peccatum, quod homo aventitur a Deo.⁶¹

Sin is injustitia which is the result of alienation from God. "Injustus refertur ad hoc, quod non est conversus ad Deum, sed aversus, iniquus autem ad hoc, quod non est aversus a se et iis que sua sent, sed conversus."⁶²

⁵⁹Wal. 1, 268, 269. The mistrust of God's Word and good will to man which had imposed the prohibition. Such unbelief is the source of all sins. And unbelief is essentially Luther's idea of sin in general. On this point the following sources can be consulted: W. 5, 50, 8; 7, 322, 8; 16, 320, and 417, 8 ff.; 37, 564, 13; 39 I, 345, 26; 42, 133, 9; 43, 302, 10; 52, 291, 24.

⁶⁰Wal. 1, 296.

⁶¹cf. W. 3, 73 f.

⁶²W. 3, 331 (Ps. 58; 59); W. 18, 486-87 (Buss-Ps. Kommentar).

⁶³cf. W. 2, 202.

⁶⁴Wal. 1, 296, 297.

⁶⁵cf. W. 1, 14.

⁶⁶cf. W. 2, 202.

⁶⁷Morav. 1, 1, 1, p. 25.

Sin is amor sui. "Die Sünde ist privatio boni, amor sui und concupiscentia."⁶³ Not the fleshly lust, but self-love, according to Luther is concupiscentia.⁶⁴ Therefore, amor sui, Selbstsucht,⁶⁵ selbstauechtigen ICHWILLEN⁶⁶ are Luther's understanding of sin originated in the Garden of Eden.⁶⁷

Dazu füegt Luther aber, Paulus aufnehmend, noch den weiteren Nachweis, dass in dem unvermeidlichen Widerstreit zwischen dem Niederen und dem Hoeheren der Ichwille, die CONCUPISCENTIA, wie Luther ihn auch nennen kann, tatsaechlich immer der ueberlegende Teil ist. Denn der Ichwille ist immer vorher auf dem Platz; er entsteht ja unmittelbar mit dem Willensvorgang selbst.⁶⁸

By the Fall, man is completely alienated from God and His image that which was originally given to him was lost, destroyed and no longer evident.⁶⁹ Instead of having God's image, man possesses the image of the Devil.⁷⁰ The image of God has been destroyed and man has become like the devil.⁷¹ Man has lost not only the image of God, but also the knowledge of God, and his original righteousness. He is even fallen into enmity against God. Ever since the Fall, by nature man hates God. Luther points this out again and

⁶³Walther v. Loewenich, "Zur Gnadenlehre bei Augustin und bei Luther," Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte (1954), 44, 57.

⁶⁴Cf. W. 3, 331, 361. Cf. Stoops, op. cit., p. 83; H. H. Kramm, The Theology of Martin Luther (London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1947), p. 37; The Augsburg Confession (Art. II) summarizes: "sine metu Dei, sine fiducia erga Deum et cum concupiscentia."

⁶⁵Spanuth, op. cit., p. 10.

⁶⁶Holl, op. cit., p. 62.

⁶⁷Cf. W. 2, 102.

⁶⁸Holl, op. cit., p. 62.

⁶⁹Cf. E. 15, 46.

⁷⁰Cf. E. 33, 55.

⁷¹Koestlin, op. cit., p. 352.

again in his commentary on Galatians.⁷²

Man is totally depraved. The sin committed by Adam and Eve became the sin of the whole human race. It is not a mere "Suenden-und Schuld-BEWUSSTSEIN"⁷³ but it is a reality which leads man to death, the eternal death. "So ist es kurzum abgesagt mit dem Spruch, dass wir alle sterben muessen; nur todt, todt, und kein Anderes."⁷⁴ The entire nature of man is corrupted by sins and thrown eternally into death. "Der Mensch hat durch die Suende alle seine Herrlichkeit, Lust und Freude verloren,"⁷⁵ "per peccatum hanc felicitatem amisit homo."⁷⁶

⁷²Luther's Commentary on Galatians is found in the Weimar Edition of his Works, 40 i, 1-688 and 40 ii, 1-184. The Epistle to the Galatians was a favourite of Luther's. He used to call it his own Epistle, to which he has pledged his troth. Thus he said about the Epistle: "It is my Katie von Bora." (The name of Luther's wife.) The Epistle points out the centrality of the doctrine of justification. And also See the Genesis Commentary and Bondage of Free Will.

⁷³Thus said Nietzsche. Karl Loewith, Von Hegel zu Nietzsche (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1953), p. 392. The sin of the first man and woman has affected all mankind. This is the terrible law of original sin. See Werner Elert, Morphologie des Luthertums (Muenchen: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1952), I, 25-31.

⁷⁴S.L. 3, 100. Cf. W. 42, 167 f. Elert views sin as the original source of all troubles in life. Cf. Elert, op. cit., p. 98, and his references to Weimar Edition of Luther's Works. For a further treatment on the "original sin," the following sources can be consulted: Erich Seeberg, Christus, Wirklichkeit und Urbild, Luthers Theologie (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1937), II, 401-03; Elert, op. cit., II, 346 f.

⁷⁵S.L. 1, 100 (Gen. 2:3-4).

⁷⁶W. 42, 62. Spanuth points out that original sin in man is the fundamental necessity of education: "Die Tatsache der Erbsuende und ihrer Folgen ist ein wesentlicher Grund fuer die Notwendigkeit der Erziehung. Christliche Erziehung ist mit hin die notwendige Form, unter der Erloessers-wille Gottes, der heilige Geist, dauernd in das Leben des Kindes ueberge-bitet wird, um das in der Taufe angelegte zur Herrschaft zu bringen." Spanuth, op. cit., p. 28 f.

Man, therefore, deserves nothing but God's eternal wrath and judgment. In him nothing else can be seen but "Gottes Zorn."⁷⁷ Thus, anxiety and uncertainty have become the ruling force in man's inner conscientia,⁷⁸ which move man toward death and eternal hell. "Er [Man] lauft hin, wo er hin wolle, tum adest tremor et timor mortis inferni."⁷⁹ Human conscience can go no farther than what the Law can reach. Law and conscience belong together, and conscience cannot give more assurance than what the Law can offer. "Ego peccavi; tum venit mala conscientia, quia lex steckt ym im hertzen drinnen."⁸⁰

By the Fall, the "free will" of man is also completely corrupted. Except its function in the sphere of external or civil righteousness,⁸¹

⁷⁷S.L. 22, 164.

⁷⁸W. 42, 127 f.

⁷⁹W. 27, 152.

⁸⁰W. 27, 152.

⁸¹Cf. Apology of the Augsburg Confession, Art. XVIII: Of Free Will: "The human will has liberty in the choice of works and things which reason can comprehend by itself. It can to a certain extent render civil righteousness or the righteousness of works; it can speak of God, offer to God a certain service by an outward work, obey magistrates, parents; in the choice of an outward work it can restrain the hands from murder, from adultery, from theft." Concordia Triglotta, op. cit., p. 335.

Man still has free will in regard to the things of reason and things in the realm of civil righteousness, but "not in respect of those things which are above him, but in respect only of the things which are below him—God-ward, or in things which pertain unto salvation or damnation, he has no free will, but is a captive, slave, and servant, either to the will of God, or to the will of Satan." Martin Luther, Bondage of the Will, translated by Henry Cole (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1931), p. 79.

S.L. 18: 1906: "Wir wissen, dass der frei Wille im natuerlichen Wesen etwas thue, als essen trinken, zeugen, regieren."

it is but an empty title,--res de solo titulo,⁸² "ein leerer Schall und ein Toenen von Worten,"⁸³—and an empty name and is therefore empty word.⁸⁴ The liberum arbitrium is nothing else than a servant of sin, death and the Devil. It can do nothing and "kann auch nichts thun oder unternehmen, als Boeses."⁸⁵ The term "free" in the absolute sense can only be rendered to God. In man there can be no liberum arbitrium, nor can it be used by man.⁸⁶ By the year 1521 Luther had become so completely nauseated by the talk about "free-will," that he exploded with the declaration: "Ich wolt das wortlin, 'frey wille' were nie erfunden, es steht auch nit ynn der schrift und hiesz billicher, eygen wille', der kein nutz ist."⁸⁷

Freedom of the Christian Man

Viewing the total corruption of the human nature, and the deprivation of the original righteousness, the conclusion is self-evident. Some one else must save man. The salvation of the fallen man was gained through the price of God's only begotten Son. Through Him all men are delivered from

⁸²W. 2, 354. The eagerly disputed question of "free will" eventually brought about the rupture between Luther and Erasmus in 1525. Cf. De servo arbitrio in W. 18, 600-787. For a further study, See James Mackinnon, Luther and the Reformation (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co. Ltd., 1928), III, 251-73.

⁸³S.L. 18, 1733.

⁸⁴Cf. S.L. 18, 1769; Wal. 18, 69-70 (Heidelberg Disputation, NO. 13).

⁸⁵S.L. 18, 1947.

⁸⁶W. 18, 674.

⁸⁷W. 7, 449.

sin and death, and are made alive, "nicht aus sich noch durch sich selbst, sondern durch fremde Gerechtigkeit und Leben dieses Herra Christi."⁸⁸ Salvation is God's gift in Christ, and man can receive it by faith. Outside of faith in Christ there is nothing but sin and damnation.⁸⁹

This gracious saving work of God is conveyed to man through the means of His Word. Through the Word, God reaches out to the sinner, where he is, lost, dead, condemned, helpless. This is also the only means by which man knows who God is.

The Word of God is the foundation of faith, and "Scriptura est ventur, unde oritur veritas divina et Ecclesia."⁹⁰ Therein have all the saints found comfort and assurance of their salvation; not in any special revelation, but in faith in Christ. The Word is used in the Scriptures in a two-fold sense, the one legal, the other evangelical.⁹¹

The Christian man who has been redeemed in Christ is in a paradoxical situation. He is a free man, and at the same time a servant. "Ein christen Mensch ist eyn freyer herr ueber alle ding und niemandt unterthan. Ein christen Mensch ist eyn dienstpar knecht aller ding und yderman unterthan."⁹²

⁸⁸S.L. 11, 1668 f.; E. 14, 144.

⁸⁹Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

⁹⁰W. 3, 454.

⁹¹Cf. Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-56, 169. Also See Chapter V of this Thesis.

⁹²W. 7, 21.

A Christian man is a dutiful servant and subject to everyone. Although, inwardly and so far as his soul, is concerned, the new man, justified by faith, is free and constantly growing and increasing in a new life; yet he remains at a stand-still in this bodily life here on earth, and must rule his own body and help fellowmen. Here is where the works of Christian love come in for which he dares not be idle and negligent.⁹³ Christian freedom includes not only a right but also an obligation.⁹⁴

Ecce Homo!⁹⁵ Pilate taunted. In this man, Jesus Christ, the lost image Dei is restored.⁹⁶ Now, after a long bondage of Satan, man regained

In the significant treatise "Disputatio Reverendi viri Domini J. Martini Lutheri de Servino," a summary of the doctrine of man and the

⁹³Cf. W. 7, 20 ff. Also Cf. A. Harnack, "Martin Luther in seiner Bedeutung fuer die Geschichte der Wissenschaft und der Bildung," Deutsche Akademierenden (Muenchen: Meyer und Jessen, 1924), p. 255.

⁹⁴Cf. Holl, op. cit., p. 238.

⁹⁵John 19:5.

⁹⁶Preus has made a rather intense study on the subject that in Christ the lost image Dei is restored, e.g.: "The whole discussion of the image of God may appear to be futile and of no practical value. Yet to man in his present state of corruption it has in it, like the Cross itself, both law and Gospel. For in it man sees what he was, and was meant to be, in the plan of God. He is thereby brought to the shocking realization of what he has done to the perfect work of God. On the other hand there lies in that contemplation a note both of hope and of inspiration. For this is what man can again become through Christ, the perfect image of God, Himself God. For we are predestinated 'to be conformed to the image of His Son,' (Rom. 8: 29) and 'we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory' (2 Cor. 3:18). The whole life of the Christian is to be a putting on of the image of God. For the believer has 'put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge, after the image of Him that created him,' (Col. 3:10)

Dr. Bretman, in his essay on the Imago Dei (March 6, 1938), gives
 "So in the last analysis, our contemplation of the image of God points us to Christ. It is only in Him that we can hope to have the lost image restored and to regain our lost righteousness. For He is our righteousness. By faith we are clothed with it, even here and now. And 'When he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is.'" (1 John 3:2)

the image, the "new man," and the true freedom of Christian man by God's gracious act of love in His Son, the true Man hung on the Cross.⁹⁷

Jesus Christ is in reality that man, that true man, the first and only man on earth since the fall who fully corresponds to God's image. He was in the truest sense the man of God, who lived, before God, and in God, and for God. Yet he became man for man. He thus made it possible for man once more to become man. He is the Protagonist, the Founder and Inaugurator of a new humanity. Through faith in His sacrificial suffering and death, man again becomes man, becomes what God the Creator destined him to be.⁹⁸

A Summary of Luther's Doctrine of Man

In the significant treatise "Disputatio Reverendi viri Domini D. Martini Lutheri de Homine,"⁹⁹ a summary of the doctrine of man and the teaching of justification is presented in a rather precise manner.¹⁰⁰

Herman A. Preus, "Luther's Doctrine of Man" (Unpublished Seminar paper; c. 1944), p. 12.

⁹⁷Cf. S.L. 7, 1861 f.; S.L. 3, 658; S.L. 1, 600 f.; S.L. 12, 916.

⁹⁸Paul M. Bretscher, "Luther's Disputatio De Homine" (Unpublished article in the possession of the author, March 6, 1954), p. 5.

⁹⁹We include this summary section in the Thesis, for in this Disputatio is outlined a concise summary of Luther's doctrine of man. It consists of forty theses. They were debated January 14, 1536, by the Theological Faculty of the University of Wittenberg. There is but scanty information regarding the debate. Cf. W. 39 1, 174-77; W. 39 11, XV f.; E. 4, 413 ff.; Wal. 19, 1776 ff.; S.L. 19, 1462-67. The quotations in this text are taken from the Weimar Edition; and the numbers in the footnotes following are representing respective number of the theses in the Disputatio.

¹⁰⁰Dr. Bretscher, in his essay on the Disputatio (March 6, 1954), gives the following introductory remarks and outline:

The theses deal with the interpretation of the nature of man by philosophic-scholastic humanism and by Christianity.

In it Luther did clarify such points as the natural man's view of REASON, that is, the Aristotelian approach to man; God's creation of man; man's fall; "reason" after the Fall, and Christ's redemptive work.

Man is created by God. He consists of both a body and a living soul. The thought that God is the Creator of man and man had his being in God is the prime concern of Luther. In the beginning, man was originally created-- creatura Dei--in the image of God and lived without sin. By God he was commanded and blessed to multiply and to rule over all creatures on earth. It was the most blessed state of man before the Fall in the Garden of Eden.¹⁰¹

After the Fall, however, by his rebellious act against God and disobedience to His Word, man placed himself under the power of the Devil. Sin and death swallowed him, and ever since no man can rescue himself from this bondage.¹⁰²

"The theses are relevant in view of the growing interest in secular humanism. They present a challenge and call to responsibility. All optimistic and idealistic interpretation of the nature of man received a severe jolt since the wars. Nevertheless, people do not resign from life readily. EVIDENCE: The growing spread of existentialism which many take very seriously. The existentialist is determined to find the answer to the 'borderline situations' (dread, melancholy, boredom, despair, death). The question in our day, as it was in Luther's day, is: 'How can man become man?'"

- I. (theses 1-19): Philosophic-scholastic Anthropology (humanism).
 - A. (theses 1-9): Positive evaluation.
 - B. (theses 10-19): Criticism (this part constitutes also the transition to Part II.)
- II. (theses 20-40): Scriptural and Theological Anthropology.

¹⁰¹No. 21.

¹⁰²No. 22. Death itself is also personified, and then spoken of by Luther interchangeably with the Devil. Cf. E. 18, 91; E. 14, 318; E. 15, 261; E. 33, 107; E. 18, 176.

By this everlasting tragedy of man, the Fall, "reason" which was considered the most precious and best asset of man--optimum et divinum quiddam,¹⁰³ the discoverer and ruler of all arts and sciences, and whatever else man in this life possesses proudly of wisdom, power, virtues, and honor;¹⁰⁴ is miserably subjected to the power of the Devil.¹⁰⁵ Therefore we now must conclude that every man, high and low, mighty or weak, rich or poor, learned or unlearned, wise or unwise, righteous or unrighteous, man or woman, colored or white, are all guilty and dead in sin under the mighty power of Satan.¹⁰⁶ No longer can man understand what he is, nor discern what he speaks.¹⁰⁷ St. Paul concludes that "a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law."¹⁰⁸ In short, we summarize: man is justified solely by faith, which is the center of the teachings of Luther.¹⁰⁹

Thus arises the necessity for some one, other than man himself, who must save man and make him righteous. This savior has to take sinful men's

¹⁰³NO. 4.

¹⁰⁴NO. 5.

¹⁰⁵NO. 24.

¹⁰⁶NO. 25.

¹⁰⁷NO. 31.

¹⁰⁸Rom. 3:28.

¹⁰⁹NO. 32.

place and pay his penalty. Such a redemptive plan, in fact, has been realized through God's grace—per gratiam salvandum.¹¹⁰ The only begotten Son of God, or God Himself, bore the Cross for men. Through no other name on earth except Jesus Christ can man be freed from the bondage of sin and the Satan, and participate in eternal life.¹¹¹ This is God's redemptive work for man through His Son Jesus Christ.

1. "Word" and Luther.

¹¹⁰NO. 33.

¹¹¹NO. 23.

... and theology are orientated in the Word of God. His experiences and theological development have proceeded from it; and those which are contrary to it have been eliminated.¹ In total submission to the will of God, Luther discovered that the Word is the bearer of the definite content which is Christ to whom the Gospel and the forgiveness of sins are related.² God's Word stands over all other mighty agents in the world. In it are Luther's strength and pride, and it was his only proclamation. To Luther, the Word of God is everlasting and stands above everything,³ which man must take earnestly.⁴

¹Op. v. 6, 519, 12 ff.; v. 7, 785, 1 ff.; v. 12, 495, 96 ff. Also Cf. Gerhard Böcher, *Wortlehre des Martin Luther* (Neuburg: in Verlage-Verlag, 1921), I, 155; v. A. A. Frosser, "Luther's Attitude toward Scripture," *The Lutheran Quarterly*, XVII (1917), 361. For a further study on the "Doctrine of the Word" according to Luther, see Philip S. Watson, *Let God Be God* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1909), pp. 249-59.

²Op. *ibid.*, p. 146-52. Frosser, *op. cit.*, p. 374: "Christ determinat Scripturam and Scripture desinit descendens in Christum."

³v. 10 11, 236, 26 ff.; v. 11, 376, 379: "Ich setze über aller Vetter gewichte, wider aller Regel, Menschen, Teufel Konnt und Wort die Schrift und das Evangelium. Hier stehet ich, hier treibe ich, hier stehe ich und wende Gottes Wort ist mir über alles, göttlich unbestant nicht bei mir . . . und bis ich gottse, das die rechte Kirche all die Welt an Gottes Wort." "Das Wort Gottes ist das erste, der Grund, der Fels, darauf sich bauen alle Worte, Werke, Gedanken des Menschen bauen." v. 6, 156 (von der Heiligen Messe, 1483-1520).

⁴v. 12, 166 ff. v. 1, . . . vest halten an Gottes Wort . . . Gottes Wort mit Ernst ergreiffen . . ."

CHAPTER VI

THE WORD OF GOD: AS THE MEANS OF GOD'S GRACE IN THE PROCESS OF EDUCATION

The Word of God in Luther's Theology

1. "Word" and Luther.

Luther's thinking and theology are orientated in the Word of God. His religious experiences and theological development have proceeded from it; and those which are contrary to it have been eliminated.¹ In total submission to the will of God, Luther discovered that the Word is the bearer of the definite content which is Christ to whom the Gospel and the forgiveness of sins are related.² God's Word stands over all other mighty agents in the world. In it are Luther's strength and pride, and it was his only proclamation. To Luther, the Word of God is everlasting and stands above everything,³ which man must take earnestly.⁴

¹cf. W. 6, 519, 12 ff.; W. 7, 785, 2 ff.; W. 18, 495, 36 ff. Also cf. Gerhard Bohne, Grundlegung der Erziehung (Hamburg: Im Fische-Verlag, 1951), I, 159; V. G. A. Tressler, "Luther's Attitude toward Scripture," The Lutheran Quarterly, XLVII (1917), 361. For a further study on the "Doctrine of the Word" according to Luther, see Philip S. Watson, Let God Be God (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1949), pp. 149-59.

²cf. Ibid., p. 149-52. Tressler, op. cit., p. 374: "Christ determines Scripture and Scripture should determine in Christ."

³W. 10 II, 296, 26 ff.; W. 1, 28, 376, 379: "Ich setze wider aller Väter, prieder, wider aller Engel, Menschen, Teufel Kunst und Wort die Schrift und das Evangelium. Hier sitze ich, hier trotze ich, hier stolziere ich und sage: Gottes Wort ist mir lieber alles, prestlich nejustat steht bei mir . . . und bin ich gewiss, dass die rechte Kirche mit mir halt an Gottes Wort." "Das Wort Gottes ist das erste, der Grund, der Fels, darauf sich bauen alle Werke, Worte, Gedanken des Menschen sollen." W. 6, 356 "Von der heiligen Masse, Aug. 1524".

⁴W. 11, 1846 ff.: ". . . wort halten an Gottes Wort; . . . Gottes Wort mit Ernst nehmen. . . ."

The entire creation is nothing but the expression of the Word which God Himself had used. The Word was before all creation, being so powerful that everything had been created by it. Nothing in the world exists without the activity of the Word.⁵ Through it everything is sustained. Thus the Word is not only the creative power but also the sustaining Might in the universe.⁶

2. The Nature of the Word.

The Word is reality.⁷ It is creative: acting and working. It is the "Pflug Gottes." The Word, the deus actuosissimus, is the eternal activity, the working God. "The Word became Flesh" is the root of all thinking in the theology of Luther.⁸ Christ, the incarnate Logos, is the secret of the Word. This mystery is described in Luther's teaching on the Justification.

⁵W. 42, 17, 37, 40: "Verbum creatum est factum per verbum increatum. Nam quid est aliud creatura quam verbum dei a deo prolatum?" Cf. S.L. 3, 536. Some of the casual remarks on the nature of the "Word" by Luther: S.L. 5, 413: "Gottes Wort ist eine unschaetzbare Gabe." S.L. 5, 637, 1327: ". . . treue Schatz." S.L. 7, 991, 992: ". . . allezeit recht . . . wahrhaftig." S.L. 10, 464: "Gottes Wort und Gnade ist ein fahrender Platzregen, der nicht wieder kommt, wo er einmal gewesen ist." S.L. 4, 2146: "Wenn das Wort verloren oder verderben ist, dann sind zugleich alle Guster verloren."

⁶Cf. W. 42, 57 f.

⁷W. 42, 13, 14, 17.

⁸W. 18, 606, 659; W. 42, 27; W. 44, XXXII.

The Word is the power of God and His strength and wisdom.⁹ Nothing in heaven and on earth is stronger than the Word. It transcends all.¹⁰ The sustaining and ruling power of God is the almighty strength of the Word.¹¹

"Das Wort, und nur das Wort ist das Mittel der Gnade Gottes."¹² Without it no man can understand God, His activity and plans.¹³ Man can meet God through the Word, and he can only comprehend the will of God, revealed in His Word, through faith.¹⁴ Furthermore, through the Word Holy Spirit

⁹S.L. 3, 773; 11, 2269; 9, 855.

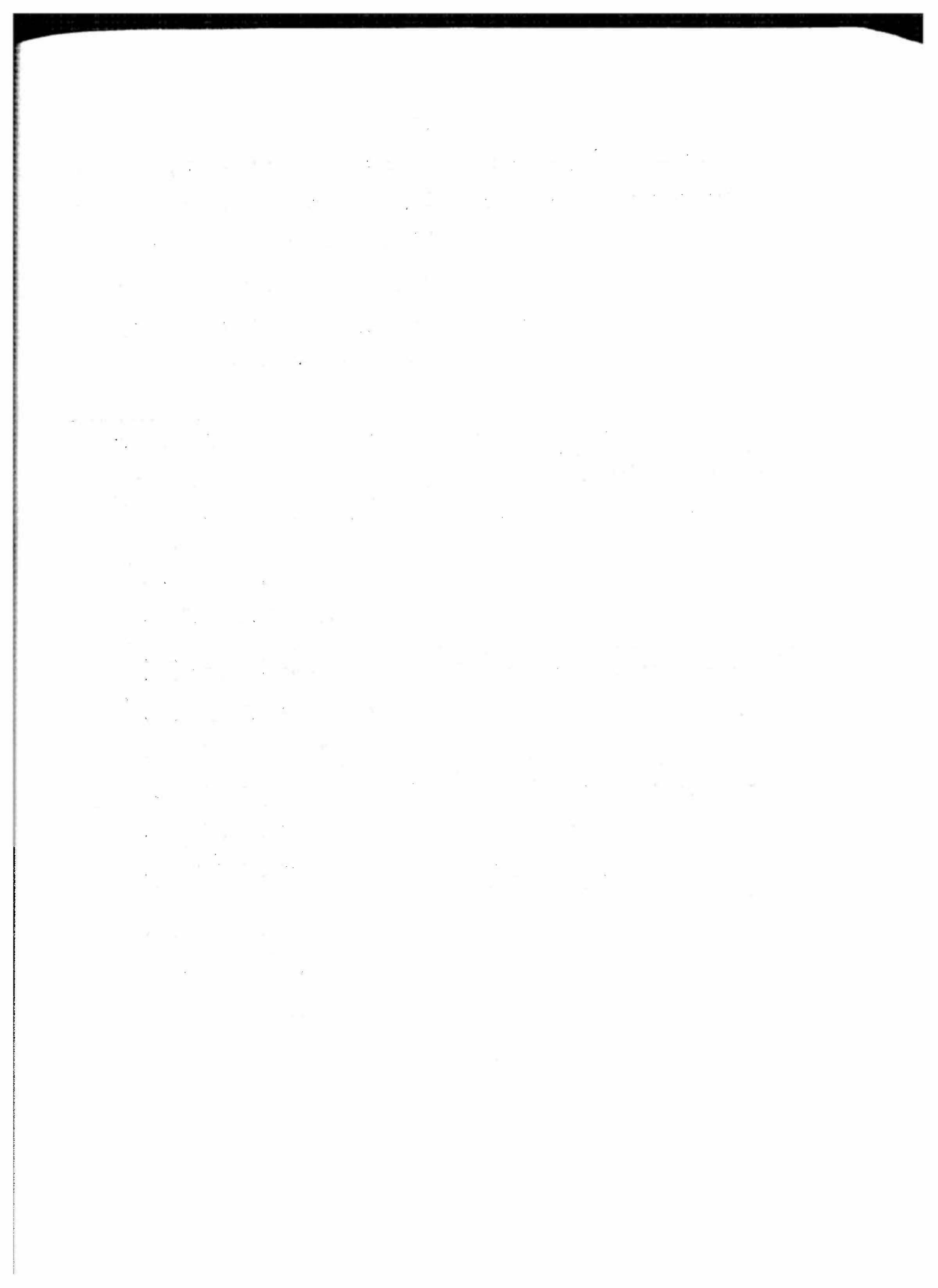
¹⁰W. 3, 381, 25 f.: "Nonne mirabilis hoc est Ecclesia, que ferreum cornu et ungulas ereas, i. e., insuperabile et victorialis verbum predicationis habet?" Cf. S.L. 12, 2094.

¹¹W. 42, 19; "Haec sunt miracula dei, in quibus omnipotentia verbi cernitur. W. 42, 57; 39: "Omnipotens verbi vis et virtus est, quod totam creaturam sic conservat et gubernat." Cf. Wal. XII, 1535; S.L. 12, 190.

¹²W. 2, 509. ¹⁴(Gal. Comm., 1519).

¹³Roland H. Bainton, Here I Stand (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1950), p. 224: "God is to be found in the concrete outward signs which He Himself has chosen, as Luther says: 'God is everywhere, but He does not desire that you should seek Him everywhere but only where the Word is. There if you seek Him you will truly find, namely in the Word.'" Watson, op. cit., p. 94: "This shows the theocentric view of Luther's whole theology that the way to fellowship with God is not our way to God but God's way to us."

¹⁴Cf. Karl Holl, "Luther," Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1932), I, 234. W. 16, 53: "Also weist uns Gott auf sich und auf sein Wort und zeigt an, dass niemand Gott treffe, denn allein durch sein Wort, und dass man das Wort nicht nicht fassen könne, denn durch den Glauben." Against King Henry VIII of England, Luther said: "Stat enim fixa sententia, fidem non deveri nisi certo verbo Dei, sicut dicit Rom. 10:17." W. 10 ii, 194. Also Cf. Tressler, op. cit., p. 360.



is established²² and will be preserved always.²³ The Church does not make the Word but is made by the Word.²⁴

Luther's Understanding of the Word of God

1. The Word of God: Incarnated WORD.

As in the Holy Scriptures,²⁵ Luther speaks of Jesus Christ as the "Word of God." "Luther nannte Jesus so gern das Wort Gottes, weil es kein genaueres Bild fuer die geistige Selbstmitteilung gibt."²⁶ Christ is called the "Word" because He is God's Son from eternity, manifesting to the world what are God's thoughts, plans and expressions; and revealing God to men. He who lays hold of the Word, therefore, possesses Christ. The Word brings to men all things, necessity for salvation, and Christ Himself.²⁷ Where God's Word is, there is Christ.²⁸ With the Father He

²²W. 3, 454, 25: "scriptura est ventur, unde oritur veritas divina et ecclesia."

W. 4, 189, 34: "quia in verbo evangelii est ecclesia constructa, quod est verbum sapientie et virtutis dei."

W. 3, 571, 28: "ex Christo et evangelio nascuntur plurimi fideles."

W. 4, 415, 21: "quia per literam et humanas traditiones non edificatur ecclesia Christo, sed per evangelium."

²³W. 3, 259, 18: "verbum enim dei conservat ecclesiam dei."

²⁴Cf. W. 8, 491. Luther's 96 Theses, NO. 62: "The true treasure of the Church is the holy Gospel of the glory and grace of God."

²⁵Cf. Jn. 1:1; 1:14; I Jn. 1:1; Rev. 19:13, etc.

²⁶Heinrich Bornkamm, Luthers Geistige Welt (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1953), p. 86. On this point, however, Prof. Bornkamm's view is somewhat dubious.

²⁷Cf. E. 47, 390 ff.; 11, 140; 12, 216.

²⁸W. 17 ii, 132, 32: Fastenpostille (1525); Cf. W. 54, 66, 28 ff.

works in the creative activity, who is yet in a different Person.²⁹ God created, and then spoke. He and His eternal Word also preserve all.³⁰

The Word, the incarnate Son of God,³¹ was the only Agent in creation,³² existing from eternity before the creation and the universe.³³ He is God Himself.³⁴ "Das Wort war bei Gott, und Gott war das Wort,"³⁵—das SICH SELBST.³⁶

God came to the world in a form of man.³⁷ Luther saw the true Man in Christ,³⁸ who is the only means to direct men to Heaven and the only

²⁹W. 42, 14: "Ergo in principio et ante omnem creaturam est verbum, et est tam potens verbum, quod ex nihilo facit omnia. . . . Et tamen haec distinctio eiusmodi est, ut unissima . . . unitas essentiae maneat."

³⁰Cf. W. 42, 14, 32 ff. (Lecture on Genesis, 1535)

³¹Cf. Exposition on the Gospel According to St. John 1:1, stated in S.L. 7, 1662 f. Also the exposition on Jn. 1:1-14, documented in S.L. 7, 2150-65, especially in pp. 2152 and 2161.

³²Cf. S.L. 3, 1932.

³³Cf. S.L. 3, 28 f.; 7, 1545.

³⁴Cf. S.L. 7, 1547, 1551.

³⁵E. 15, 152 f.

³⁶Holl, op. cit., p. 35.

³⁷Phil. 2:5 ff.

³⁸Cf. Friedrich Huck, Die Entwicklung der Christologie Luthers (Gotha: Druck von Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.-G., 1930), p. 16.

sign by which God draws men to Himself. It is God acting in Christ to establish fellowship with men, and to grant His forgiveness of sins, which is sheer unmerited love of Him through His Son, the revealed Will of God, and manifested through the Word.³⁹

2. The Holy Scriptures as the Word of God: The Written Word.

In writing the Holy Scripture preserves the Word of God in human languages. God speaks to men through the Scriptures.⁴⁰ In the preaching of this written Word, Christ Himself acts and works.⁴¹

Luther's understanding of the Bible, the written Word of God, however, is a complex affair, for it includes a wide area.⁴² The Holy Scripture

³⁹Cf. Watson, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 61 f.

⁴⁰Pastor E. George Pearce outlines "The Word of God" as the witness of and to Jesus Christ according to the following sequence: 1. The Holy Scriptures are the saving testimony of and to the incarnated Word; 2. The Holy Scriptures are the testimony of the incarnate Word given through prophets and apostles by His Spirit; 3. As the incarnate Word is Truth, so the written Word which bears Him is totally and infallibly true; 4. The incarnate Word in authority, so the written Word which derives from Him is authoritative and evokes the unqualified obedience of the believer; 5. As the incarnate Word is life, so the written Word which proclaims Him is dynamic and living.

Cf. *The Australian Theological Review*, (March-June, 1956), pp. 29-44.

⁴¹W. 4, 208, 22: "facientes operationes¹ Christia, scil. verbum eius predicando."

W. 4, 229, 36 ff.: "Sunt autem pedes eius ipsa verba veritatis: illis enim conculcat et subiectos habet omnes fideles. quia veritas quomodo potest aliis pedibus ambulare, quam verbis? . . . Unde frequenter in scriptura predicatorum sicut leones conculcare dicuntur bestias."

⁴²For the whole subject, Cf. D. Reu, *Luther and the Scriptures* (Columbus, Ohio: The Wartburg Press, 1944), 211 pp.

as the only authority of the Church had been stressed in Luther's debates with his opponents, in his various writings and preachings; nevertheless, it is not so easy to define exactly Luther's doctrine on the Bible. The fact that Luther's attitude toward the Scriptures is interpreted in so many different ways by various learned men of his own followers and opponents alike, indeed confuses all those who wish to know what his thoughts really were.⁴³ Seldom did Luther give a detailed account and explanation of his attitude toward the Bible. There are many casual references, also longer passages dealing with the subject,⁴⁴ but there are no writings known in which he deals systematically and exhaustively with the doctrine of the Bible. In consequence of such an outlook, some scholars conclude that this is a sign that Luther did hold a "free attitude" toward the Scriptures, while others interpret it as an indication of the doctrine of "verbal inspiration." This has been an expressly disputed point among especially the theologians of Lutheranism. In this regard, Kramm sums up:

⁴³ H. H. Kramm observes: "Quite a number of Continental Lutherans and a very great number of American Lutherans believe that the doctrine of verbal inspiration alone represents Luther's mind correctly, while, on the other hand, even those among the Nazis who want to abolish the O.T. and the Apostle Paul claim to act in Luther's name. And all of them bring forward quite a number of quotations from Luther which seem to support their point of view." H. H. Kramm, The Theology of Martin Luther (London: James Clarke and Co., Ltd., 1947), p. 107.

⁴⁴ For an overall examination of such casual references and some longer passages, Cf. S.L. XXIII: under "Schrift" and "Wort Gottes."

"Luther hat die heilige Schrift als einen Organismus anzusehen gelehrt, in dem alles einzelne sein Licht von dem Mittelpunkt empfaengt, in dem daher auch Unterschiede des Wertes bestehen."⁴⁹ By Luther "the Old Testament was best handled in exposition, the New Testament was best handled in sermons." "This was in keeping with his distinction between the Old Testament as 'Scripture' in the more precise sense of the word and the New Testament as 'preaching.'"⁵⁰ In no respect was Luther less an expert on the Old Testament than on the New, nor did he minimize the importance of the former.⁵¹

⁴⁹Wilh. Walther, "Der Glaube an das Wort Gottes," Das Erbe der Reformation (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf., 1903), Erstes Heft, 24.

⁵⁰Luther's Works, edited by J. Pelikan and translated by the editor et al (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1956), XXI, x. Prof. Heinrich Bornkamm made the following observation: "Wenn sich die Lage bei den Predigten genau umgekehrt—Luther hat dreissigmal so viel Predigten ueber neutestamentliche Texte gehalten wie ueber alttestamentliche" Heinrich Bornkamm, Luther und das Alte Testament, op. cit., p. 6. Ibid., p. 7: "Luther hat etwa sechs Jahre lang (1523-29) die fuenf Buecher Mose vor der Wittenberger Gemeinde durchgepredigt." Cf. L. W. Spitz, Jr., "Luther Expounds the Gospels," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXVIII (January, 1956), 15.

⁵¹We should remember that Luther detected the central doctrine of justification by faith, not during his N. T. studies, but while he was preparing his lecture on the Psalms. Cf. W. 51, i-ii. There is a mountain of material on Luther's understanding of the Old Testament, twenty volumes of LUTHER'S WORKS. Prof. Bornkamm brought out an interesting point, when he said: "Wenn man Luthers damals einheitliche biblische Professor in die heute ueblichen beiden Faecher aufteilen koennte, so muesste man Luther viel eher einen Professor der alttestamentlichen Exegese nennen denn der neutestamentlichen." Heinrich Bornkamm, Luther und das Alte Testament, op. cit., p. 6. E. 18, 319: "Es ist aber ein gewoehnlicher Ausspruch in den Schulen der Theologen, dass im alten Testamente nicht viele Zeugnisse vom ewigen Leben und von der Auferstehung der Todten vorhanden seien; (doch dies ist irrtuemlich)."

One can observe some notable statements of Luther which seem to undermine the Old Testament and emphasize only the New Testament;⁵² nevertheless, these should not be the cause of weakening the importance of the Old Testament. As in other subjects of Luther's works, one must examine his writings on the Bible in their total context. An isolated passage is not necessarily representative of the true meaning of his theological thought; nor should it be considered as a proof text for a preconceived notion which one is expected to ascribe to Luther's thinking. In Luther the difference between the Old Testament and the New Testament

⁵²The following passages seem not only to undermine the Old Testament, but also contradict each other, when one reads them alone without considering the total context of Luther's works.

"Das alte Testament wird nicht mehr gepredigt werden, sondern nur das neue, so dass diese Gerechtigkeit werde ausgebreitet, als weit die ganze Welt ist." W. 20, 379, 11 ff. (Sermon on Jer. 23:5-8).

Es ist kein Wort im neuen Testament, das sich hinderlich setze in das Alte, darinnen es zuvor verkündigt ist. Das neue Testament ist mehr denn ein Offenbarung des alten, gleich als wenn jemand zum ersten ein beschlossener Brief huette und darnach aufbraech. Also ist das alte Testament ein Testamentsbrief Christi, welchen er nach seinem Tod hat aufgetan uns lassen durchs Evangelium lesen und ueberall verkundigen." W. 10 7 4, 181, 21 ff. (Kirchenvestille, 1522).

"Wenn du dir einer Moses annehlest mit seinem Gepotter und will dich dringen die zu halten, sprich: Gehe hin zu den Juden mit deinem Mose. Ich bin kein Jude, lass uns unverwarren mit Mose. Wenn ich Mosen annehme in ein Stuck (spricht Paulus von Galatern am 5. Kapit.), so bin ich schuldig, das ganz Gesetz zu halten. Aber kein Paulus gehet uns zu an Mose." W. 10, 375, 10 (1525).

"Gleichwie aller griechischen Poeten Kunst aus Homers als einem Brunnen, also auch aus Mose sind gelossen aller Propheten Buecher, ja das ganze New Testament, welches darinnen verheissen ist. Und alles, was gut und guettlich gelehrt ist und wird in Volke Gottes oder Kirchen, ist alles aus Mose unprunglich herkommen." W. 10, 3, 6 (Vorrede zu W. 10, 1541).

is the same as in the relationship between the Law and the Gospel. Therefore one must observe these two aspects simultaneously in connection with the overall context of his writings; and by such a study, one should clearly distinguish between the two. The Gospel, the message of Christ and His Apostles, is nothing else than the fulfillment of the Old Testament Scripture which is promised by God to His people in the coming Messiah.⁵³ Throughout his writing, Luther thus views his Scriptures as an entity.⁵⁴

Although the term "Word of God" includes more than Holy Scripture, "all Scripture"⁵⁵ is the Word of God. Everything which Scripture contains is God's Word.⁵⁶ Luther often used the word "Scripture" and "Word of God"

⁵³Of. W. 10 I 11, 159, 7; W. 10 I 1, 17, 4.

⁵⁴On the whole subject, Cf. Heinrich Bornkamm, Luther und das Alte Testament (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr—Paul Siebeck, 1948), 234 pp.

W. Bibel 6, 2, 16 (1522): "Gleichwie das Alte Testament ist ein Buch, darinnen Gottis Gesetz und Gebot, daneben die Geschichte, beide, dere die dieselben gehalten und nicht gehalten haben, geschrieben sind: also ist das Neue Testament ein Buch, darinnen das Euanigelion und Gottis Verheissung, daneben auch Geschichte, beide dere die dran glaeuben und mit glaeuben, geschrieben sind."

W. 10 I 1, 15, 1 ff. (1522): "Sintemal die Euanigeli und Epistel der Apostel darum geschrieben sind, dass sie selb solche Zeiger sein wollen und uns weisen in die Schrift der Propheten und Mosi des Alten Testaments, dass wir allda selbs lesen und sehen sollen, wie Christus in die Windeltucher gewickelt und in die Krippen gelegt sei, das ist, wie er in der Schrift der Propheten voffasset sei."

⁵⁵2 Tim. 3:16.

⁵⁶E. Seeberg's observation brings somewhat different point of view, when he said: "Wort Gottes und Bibel sind von Luther nicht identifiziert worden. Er ist nicht Biblizist im Sinn eines die Bibel woertlich nehmenden Glaubens." Erich Seeberg, Luthers Theologie in ihren Grunduegen (Stuttgart: W. Koehlhammer, 1958), p. 140.

interchangeably, i.e., when he says: "Purum Verbum Dei, hoc est, Sancta Scriptura."⁵⁷ Often he expressed his conviction of his personal relation to the Holy Scripture.

"Ich moechte ohne das Wort auch im Paradies nicht leben, aber mit dem Worte ist es leicht auch in der Hoelle zu leben, wie wir in dieser Welt gleich als in einer Hoelle leben und uns nur der Hoffnung troesten, die uns Gottes Wort zeigt, und mit dieser Hoffnung ueberwinden wir Missgeschick und Kreuz aller Art."⁵⁸

"Ich habe nicht mehr denn dieses Buch. Damit soll ich mich wehren und ich habe keinen andern Troest als dieses Buch von Papier."⁵⁹ Luther's teaching on justification has no other foundation than the Scriptures.⁶⁰ All that God has given to men is found in the Holy Writ.⁶¹ Whatever is contrary to Scripture was rejected by Luther, and whoever denied this written Word was likewise attacked.⁶²

The content of Scripture is Christ. "Ego non intelligo usquam in Script. nisi Christum crucifixum."⁶³ Because of Christ's presence and His utterance, Scripture is the Word of God.

Das Evangelium lehrt nichts anderes denn Christum. So hat auch die Schrift nichts anderes denn Christum. Wer Christum nicht kennt, der mag das Evangelium hoeren oder das Buch wohl in Haenden tragen, aber

⁵⁷Wal. 8, 1662. Cf. Erl. 63, 387; 51, 99; 51, 118.

⁵⁸W. 40 111, 44, 12.

⁵⁹W. 34 11, 486, 1.

⁶⁰Cf. W. 34 11, 488, 25.

⁶¹Cf. W. 16, 598, 14.

⁶²Cf. W. FR. 4, 356, 22. Cf. Luther's declaration before the Emperor and the Diet of Worms in 1521.

⁶³W. 4, 153, 27. Also W. 3, 13, 2: "Non indicavi me scire aliquid inter vos, nisi Ihesum Christum et hunc crucifixum." (1 Cor. 2:2) "I believe in Scripture as the Word of God" is a statement of faith no less

seinen Verstand hat er noch nicht. Denn Evangelium ohne Verstand haben, ist kein Evangelium haben; und die Schrift haben ohne Erkenntnis Christi, ist keine Schrift haben.⁶⁴

Luther is often quoted as saying: the Bible is the Word of God in so far as it is concerned with Christ--"soweit sie Christum treibet; soweit sie Christum und sein Evangelium bringt."⁶⁵ So also E. Seeberg said, "Die Bibel ist Gottes Wort, insofern sie die am Bild Christi gewonnene Lehre Luthers von der Rechtfertigung enthaelt."⁶⁶ This does not mean, however, that we should select certain parts of the Bible as especially Christian and reject other parts as non-Christian. Luther believes that in the deepest sense all parts of the canonical books refer to Christ.⁶⁷

The Scriptures is given through prophets and apostles inspired by the Holy Spirit. Luther opposed any subjective approach to the revelation

than to say "I believe in Jesus Christ, God's Son and my Savior." We believe in Jesus Christ because we believe in Scripture; we believe in Scripture because we believe in Jesus Christ. This circle exists because it has a center about which it revolves: Jesus Christ. See Walter R. Roehrs, "The Word in the Word," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXV (February, 1954), 108.

⁶⁴Z. 10 11, 398. Cf. E. 27, 177 f.

⁶⁵cf. W. 40 111, 652, 12 ff.

⁶⁶Seeberg, Luthers Theologie in ihren Grundzügen, op. cit., p. 141.

⁶⁷cf. E. H. Kramm, The Theology of Martin Luther (London: James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 1947), p. 114: ". . . Luther applied a principle of SELECTION all through the Bible and excludes those passages which were not concerned with Christ. But he did not apply this principle of selection to CANONICAL books, and we must be careful to bear this distinction in mind: St. James, Hebrews, Jude and Revelation, were not canonical books to him, because he could not manage to reconcile ALL the passages of these books with the central Christian Gospel message. He could do this, however, with the canonical books. The Principle 'as far as it concerns Christ' is a principle of INTERPRETATION, not of SELECTION." Also cf. Seeberg, Luthers Theologie in ihren Grundzügen, op. cit., pp. 140, 147.

apart from the written Word of God.⁶⁸ Since the Bible is divinely inspired, it is the divine source of the Truth.⁶⁹ For this reason man must submit to Scripture even though he cannot yet understand in what sense it is God's Word. "Wir muessen die Propheten und Apostel lassen auf dem Pult sitzen und wir hienieden zu ihren Fuessen hoeren, was sie sagen, und nicht sagen, was sie hoeren muessen,"⁷⁰ Luther admonished Christians not to ask what human wisdom says and how it agrees with reason, but what the Scripture teaches.⁷¹ The Scriptures is not developed by means of an evolutionary process, nor by the work of human hands.⁷² On the contrary, it was spoken by the Holy Spirit,⁷³ and was written, formed, expressed in human languages.⁷⁴ Luther calls the printed or written Bible, "the Word of God"; it is the Word of God put in letters—gebuchstabet.⁷⁵ The

⁶⁸Cf. The Smalcald Articles, included in Concordia Triplotta, edited by F. Bente (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 495.

⁶⁹Cf. Wilhelm Pauck, The Heritage of the Reformation (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, c. 1950), p. 29.

⁷⁰W. 50, 657, 28. Cf. W. 3, 640, 35: "Die Schriften (der Bibel) sind die Altaere Christi, auf denen wir uns in seinen Gehorsam opfern muessen."

⁷¹Cf. W. 36, 501, 23 ff.

⁷²Cf. E. 47, 166.

⁷³Cf. E. 37, 17.

⁷⁴Cf. E. 52, 298 f.

⁷⁵Cf. W. 48, 31, 4 ff.: "Die heilige Schrift ist Gottes Wort, geschrieben und (dass ich so rede) gebuchstabet und in Buchstaben gebildet, gleich wie Christus ist das ewige Wort Gottes, in die Menschheit verhuellet."

That from what Luther reads in books one can draw conclusions concerning the character and the importance of the authors.

The only certain way, according to which all decisions and actions are to

Bible has a divine and human nature; it is a true book and the true Word of God.

God speaks to men in Scripture; therefore, it is His Word. He spoke through men, such as prophets, Apostles and other men of God.⁷⁶ The authors of Scripture were the organum of the Spirit.⁷⁷ However, God did not dictate mechanically to the authors. They wrote their respective books through the inspiration of God's Spirit, as individual men with different backgrounds and characteristics, various talents and interest. Thus God did not mould nor fix the thought pattern or style of the authors. This makes the writings divine and God's Word; and yet makes the writings works by different individual authors.⁷⁸

The Scriptures must remain as the Meister and Richter, for it is the only source of Truth and the visible form of the revelation of God in human languages.⁷⁹ "Die Bibel allein ist der rechte Lehrherr und Meister

⁷⁶Cf. E. 52, 333.

⁷⁷Cf. W. 3, 347, 11: "Deus ipse, ipse inquam per se deus; non iam Moses aut Helias, sed deus locutus est, id est loquetur in Sanctuario suo; Also Cf. W. 3, 262, 30: ". . . propheta vult, quod lingua sua sit organum spiritus sancti."

⁷⁸Walther, op. cit., p. 46. Cf. W. Reu, Luther and the Scriptures (Columbia, Ohio: The Wartburg Press, 1944), p. 109: "No matter how emphatically Luther emphasized the inerrancy and the consistency of the original text of Holy Scripture as the work of the Holy Ghost, he is also, on the other hand, convinced of the personal cooperation of the original authors. They are not, in his opinion, mechanical instruments and dead machines, mere amanuenses who set down on paper only what was dictated to them by the Spirit of God. He regarded them rather as independent instruments of the Spirit who spoke THEIR faith, THEIR heart, THEIR thoughts; who put their entire will and feeling into the words to such an extent that from what Luther reads in such a case he draws conclusions concerning the character and the temperament of the authors. . . ."

⁷⁹E. 25 ii, 292. Cf. Tressler, op. cit., p. 364. The Scriptures are the only certain RULE, according to which all teachers and teaching are to

ueber alle Schrift und Lehre auf Erden."⁸⁰ It must be the authority of all authorities. In opposition to Adolph Harnack⁸¹ W. M. Walther⁸² ascribed the following view to Luther:

Luther meint: Gott hat sich uns in der heiligen Schrift geoffenbart; das macht sie wertvoll; und alles, was Gott uns geoffenbart hat, muss Autoritaet sein oder werden. Luther erteilt: Was die Bibel von Christo sagt, steht zu ihrem sonstigen Inhalt in dem Verhaeltnis, dass es uns das Ziel der gesamten Gottesoffenbarung zeigt und dadurch alles Uebrige richtig verstehen lehrt. Und wenn er von Christo redet, so meint er alles, was die Schrift von ihm sagt, auch das, was sie ueber das Wesen seiner Person und ueber sein Werk, ueber sein erloesendes Leiden und ueber seine Auferstehung, ueber die absolute Unerloesslichkeit und Gemugsamkeit des Glaubens an ihn bezeugt. Kurz, Luther weist Unterschiede in der Bibel nur zu dem Zweck auf, um das richtige Verstaendnis zu erleichtern;⁸³

Luther understands the Word as the total revelation of God.⁸⁴ God's Word is His revelation in the ultimate sense.⁸⁵ Through the Scriptures men

be judged and evaluated. The title page of the Book of Concord describes the explanations of the Lutheran position contained in the Formula of Concord as being based on God's Word as the only standard (Richtschur), judge (Richter), rule (Regel), and touchstone (Proberstein). Cf. Concordia Triglotta, op. cit., p. 778 f.

⁸⁰W. 7. 317. 7.

⁸¹Adolph Harnack (1851-1930): Educated at Dorpat, was professor at Leipzig, Giessen, Marburg, and Berlin. He was a man of immense learning, and an exponent of Ritschlianism. Karl Barth was one of his students. Some of his works are: Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte; Marcion; Apostle's Creed; Das Wesen des Christentums.

⁸²Wilhelm Markus Walther (1846-1925): A positive Lutheran theologian. He was a pastor at Cuxhaven, and professor of church history at Rostock; wrote extensively on the Reformation, Luther, German medieval translation of the Bible, etc. He also wrote against Adolph Harnack's Das Wesen des Christentums and Lehrbuch der Symbolik.

⁸³Walther, op. cit., pp. 30 f. Also Cf. Ibid., p. 43: "Luther haelt mit der Christenheit vor ihm fast alle neuentestamentlichen Schriften fuer sicher durch Gott gewirkt und ist ueberzeugt, dass sich ueber die Zugehoerigkeit einiger weiterer Schriften zum Neuen Testamente noch ein allgemeiner Konsensus herausbilden wird und sucht hierzu beizutragen."

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 20.

⁸⁵Cf. Seeberg, Luthers Theologie in ihren Grundsuegen, op. cit., p. 134.

meet God, and God reveals His message to His children on earth.⁸⁶ Outside this written Word, man cannot understand nor discern the Will and the voice of God.

Because of the inspiration by Holy Spirit, the Truth in Holy Writ extends to every word of it and validates every word in the Scriptures. For Luther every single word of Scripture is important and indispensable.⁸⁷ a firm conviction on this point was clearly declared in his disputation with Zwingli in Marburg, in 1529, on the Lord's Supper.⁸⁸ Luther stressed that we must seek diligently the Scriptures and accept it, and utter not one syllable against it, for it is God's Mouth. In the controversy with Henry VIII, the king of England, Luther sounded out the truth that God's Word is above all, and His majesty is on the side of Christians—allein das Wort der ewigen majestaet.⁸⁹ Sufficient is the witness which Scripture gives us in regard to the message which God intends to offer men. No man

⁸⁶Cf. Bohme, op. cit., I, 154.

⁸⁷Walther, op. cit., p. 33.

⁸⁸Cf. E. 29, 341. In the controversy on the Lord's Supper, Luther said: "The text stands there too mightily." When Zwingli ridiculed his theology of "fuenf arme und elende Worte," Luther replied: "They are revealing what kind of spirit is in them and know much they think of God's Word, ridiculing these precious words as five poor, miserable words: they do not believe they are God's words. For if they believed that they are God's words, they would call them miserable, poor, but would prize one title and letter more highly than the whole world."

⁸⁹Wal. 19, 419. Cf. E. 11, 29: "Und zuletzt ist doch kein Rat, denn dass du dich auszer dir selbst und allen menschlichen Trost allein in das Wort ergebest."

can add to nor subtract from Scripture.⁹⁰

"Die Schrift kann nicht irren," Luther often spoke and wrote.⁹¹ In Scriptures the God of Truth speaks, against whom no man should speak.⁹²

"Ein klarer Spruch aus der Schrift, so viel bewegen, als die Welt voll Schrift."⁹³ At another time Luther said that one Scripture passage has more power than all the books in the world.⁹⁴ When we read the words of Holy Scripture, we must realize that God, not man, is speaking them—Gott selbst redet.⁹⁵ Confidently Luther stated that it would not hurt us at all

⁹⁰Cf. E. 52, 146; E. 15, 153. His tract ON THE ABUSE OF THE MASS was followed by DE VOTIS MONASTICIS JUDICIUM in which Luther again underlined the sole authority of the Scripture. Cf. W. 8, 597, 1 ff.: "Ego plane huius solius verbi autoritate, cum sit verbum Spiritus sancti, qui est Deus noster benedictus, Amen, ausim universos monachos a suis votis absolvere et cum fiducia pronunciare vota eorum esse coram Deo reprobata et nulla."

⁹¹W. 8, 484 f.; E. 28, 33; E. 63, 379. W. 2, 288, 36 ff.: "Verbum Dei infallibile." Cf. Walther, op. cit., pp. 45 f. Reu observes that Luther did not ascribe the absolute inerrancy of the Scriptures to our present text but only to the original drafts of the Bible. ". . . it should hardly be necessary to stress the fact that Luther did not predicate inerrancy nor lack of contradiction with regard to the transmitted Hebrew or Greek text, but only with regard to the original documents of the prophets or the apostles, or, in case they availed themselves of an amanuensis as, for example, St. Paul, of the words they dictated. That follows naturally from the fact that he frequently refers to the transmitted text as erroneous and even on occasion ventured corrections of his own." See Reu, op. cit., p. 103. On a summary of the view on the Scriptures, Lutheran Symbols and verbal inspiration, Cf. A. C. Piepkorn, "The Position of the Church and Her Symbols on the Inspiration of Scripture," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXV (October, 1954), 740.

⁹²Cf. Wal. 14, 1117.

⁹³E. 30, 41.

⁹⁴Cf. E. 29, 21.

⁹⁵E. 33, 24.

if we cannot find a perfectly satisfying solution, for it is certain that Scripture does not lie.⁹⁶

Scripture remained Luther's sole authority until the end of his life.⁹⁷

To sum up, for Luther, Scripture is the revealed Word of God, written by divinely inspired authors. In their writings God speaks, and His messages to men were written in human languages. The Truth which Scripture affirms is without error and resulted from no evolutionary processes. It is the perennial message of God to men. The decisive proof of the authority of the Word of God is in the testimony of the Holy Spirit, i.e., the fact that Holy Spirit at all times and still today thereby creates faith in us.

The Scriptures can be understood alone by that Spirit who have produced them through the inspired writers. No natural man perceives the Word of God.⁹⁸ However, the Spirit through which Scripture can be comprehended is

⁹⁶E. 3, 61. W. 10 ii, 299: "Ich rede davon nach der Schrift, die mir gewisser ist denn alles Erfahren und luegt mir nicht." W. 11, 224: "Glaube lehrt und haelt die Wahrheit; denn er haftet an der Schrift, die truegt und luegt nicht."

⁹⁷In 1520, Luther said: "Die Schrift kann nicht irren." E. 28, 33. In 1524, he said: "Die Schrift uebereinstimmt allenthalben." E. 33, 22. In 1527, "It is certain that the Scripture cannot disagree with itself." E. 30, 51. In 1535, "It is impossible that the Scripture should contradict itself—das kann nur bei den unsinnigen und verstockten Heuchlern stattfinden." Wal. 8, 2140. In 1541, Luther said: In the Scripture, "der wahrhaftige Gott rede." Wal. 14, 1117.

⁹⁸Cf. Reu, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 ff.

Once Luther quoted St. Augustine's words written to St. Hieronymo: "This I have learned to do: to hold only those books which are called the Holy Scriptures in such honour that I finally believe that not one of the holy writers ever erred." Wal. 15, 1757 f.

⁹⁸W. 18, 609, 5 ff.: "si de interna claritate dixeris, nullus homo unum iota in scripturis videt, nisi qui spiritum dei habet, omnes habent obscuratum cor, ut si etiam dicant et norint proferre omnia scripturae, nihil tamen horum sentiant aut vere cognoscant."

found nowhere more vivid and more alive than in Scripture itself which He has written.⁹⁹ "Man muss den Geist haben, um das Wort zu verstehen; aber wiederum ist es das Wort allein, das den Geist vermittelt. Durch das Wort und nur durch das Wort vermag man in die Sache, mit Gott und Christus, in Berührung gekommen sein, um den Sinn des Wortes zu begreifen."¹⁰⁰

Die Tatsache, dass niemand das Wort Gottes ohne besondere Offenbarung Gottes erfassen kann, ist der klare Beweis dafür, dass es sich nicht um etwas durch natürliche Entwicklung Erreichbares handelt, dass dieses Wort Gottes nicht anders den Menschen geworden sein kann, als wie die Bibel es berichtet, nämlich durch eine Offenbarung Gottes.¹⁰¹

Moreover, man can be sure of Scripture as the Word of God through faith.¹⁰² "Gottes Wort soll Artikel des Glaubens stellen und sonst niemand, auch kein Engel."¹⁰³ No human reason can ever grasp the meaning of the Word since it often contradicts itself. Scripture is God's own witness concerning Himself, and human reason cannot understand the divine nature but still wants to judge concerning that about which it knows nothing.¹⁰⁴ To pure human reason, Scripture is often unclear and unreasonable, but to the eyes

⁹⁹Cf. W. 7, 96: In the writing, "Assertio omnium articulorum M. Lutheri per bullam Leonis X," 1520.

W. 8, 459, 39: "evangelium) enim advehit spiritum." W. 8, 594, 2: "Christus. . . per auditum verbi sui cordi manifestatus."

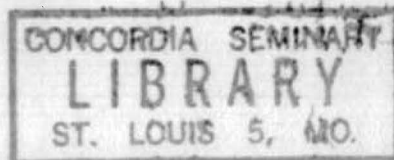
¹⁰⁰Holl, *op. cit.*, p. 567.

¹⁰¹Walther, *op. cit.*, p. 20. Cf. E. 40, 286.

¹⁰²Cf. Walther, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 ff.

¹⁰³W. 50, 206, 27.

¹⁰⁴W. 50, 282, 1 ff.



of faith it is clear with certainty.¹⁰⁵ Understanding the Buchstaben and spiritual understanding should not be divided asunder. Without one, the other by itself cannot be understood.¹⁰⁶ The external Word must be with the Spirit, and the Spirit with the Word.¹⁰⁷

From personal experiences, Luther affirms that when God reveals Himself, He not only does use means, but He must. God gives spiritual understanding to no one except through the written message, that is, an external sign of grace.¹⁰⁸ He speaks to the souls of men through the Word,¹⁰⁹ and deals with them in no other way than through the spoken or written Word and the Sacraments.¹¹⁰ Luther was accustomed to repeat over and over again, with the greatest possible emphasis, the assertion, that the Holy Spirit

¹⁰⁵Cf. E. 11 11, 267.

¹⁰⁶Cf. W. 7, 651, 22: "Es leydet die schrift nit solch spalten des buchstabens und geystes, wie Emszer frevelt, ist nur . . . ein einfeltiger synn darynnen." Also Cf. W. 7, 656, 3; W. 5, 505, 29.

¹⁰⁷Cf. E. 2, 150.

¹⁰⁸Cf. Reinhold Seeberg, Textbook of the History of Doctrines, translated from the German by Charles E. Hay (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Baker Book House, 1952), II, 280; Watson, op. cit., p. 161.

¹⁰⁹Cf. W. 3, 153, 20 ff.: "'silet' deus . . . quando non respondet verbo suo . . . quando non consolatur intus, ubi vere loquitur verbo suo invisibili, ut audiam quid loquatur in me." Also Cf. W. 3, 192, 23; W. 4, 9, 31 ff.

¹¹⁰Cf. Concordia Triglotta, op. cit., p. 497 (Smalcald Articles). And also Cf. Oskar Hammelsbeck, Glaube Welt Erziehung (Essen: M.B.H., 1954), P. 266.

comes in no other way than through the Word.¹¹¹ In his Commentary on Galatians, he calls the Word the *vehiculum gratiae*.¹¹² According to Romans 1:16, it is the Divine power itself. Where the Word is employed, there God Himself is present in the mouth of the speaker, and obliterates sin, death and hell. This divine power which is needed to accomplish such mighty works does come to us in no other way than in and through the Word.¹¹³ And only through the Word, can faith enter the heart. God's Word produces results, even in the case of those who refuse to receive it. The hearers are hardened by it, just as by the rays of the one sun, good things are softened, but evil things, "like dung," are made hard. For the ungodly, the Word is a stone of stumbling, a hailstorm, a Word of perdition.¹¹⁴

3. The Oral or Preached Word: the Gospel.

We note a further characteristic of Luther's teaching on the Word of

¹¹¹Cf. Julius Koestlin, Theology of Luther (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1897), II, 490.

¹¹²In 1535, Luther's commentary to the Galatians was published for the first time. On this first appearance, it evoked protests from theologians of the Zurich school. Luther attacked the Sacramentarians, Enthusiasmus or Schwaermerei, as well as scholastic theology and the Papacy. The original text is found in the Weimar Edition of Luther's Works: W. 40 i, 1-688; 40 ii, 1-184. For a translation of the Commentary into English language, see Philip S. Watson, A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle To the Galatians (Los Angeles and London: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1953). This commentary is based on lectures delivered by Luther at the University of Wittenberg in the year 1531 and first published in 1535.

¹¹³Cf. E. 25, 138; E. 45, 358; E. 48, 205; E. 15, 417.

¹¹⁴Cf. E. 50, 251; E. 10, 250; E. 51, 78; E. 2, 150.

God, i.e.: the Word as the oral or preached Word. Here the Word has ^{obtained} primary and special reference to the Gospel message. In the proclamation of the Gospel, the crucified and risen Lord confronts us, and He Himself speaks to us. In the Bible and through the Bible, Christ speaks to men.¹¹⁵

"... die Evangelium eigentlich sey nicht das geschrieben ist in Buechern; sondern eine leibliche predigt, die da gehoeret soll werden in allter Welt. . . ."¹¹⁶ Often Luther used "Word" and "preaching" interchangeably.¹¹⁷

For the proclamation of the Word, Luther lays particular emphasis upon the divinely-chosen method in accordance with which the Word to be brought to men through His servants in the Church and the agency of Christians in general.¹¹⁸ ". . . an allen Orten seyn gute, gelehrte, geistliche, fleissige Prediger, die das lebendige Wort aus der alten Schrift zoenen . . . wie die Apostel gethan haben."¹¹⁹ Through open proclamation or preaching, the Word becomes powerful and active among men, moving their hearts and leading them

¹¹⁵Cf. W. Bibel 5, 11, 24; Wal 9, 1062 (1 John 5:9, 10); E. 26, 37; E. 48, 206 f. W. 48, 148: "Darum lass dir sein Buch, darin er mit dir redet, befohlen sein."

¹¹⁶E. 12, 156.

¹¹⁷E. 11, 279: ". . . durchs Wort oder Predigtamt regieren will in den Hersens der Menschen."

¹¹⁸Cf. E. 25, 360; E. 4, 85 ff.; E. 11, 27.

¹¹⁹E. 10, 367 f. Cf. E. 26, 37. *of Education* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), p. 142.

¹²⁰Cf. E. 10, 368 ff., *parson of West*, 25, 11-12.

to accept the living message of the Gospel.¹²⁰ The Word must be proclaimed, heard, and taught to the children at home and in Church. ". . . man vor allen Dingen den Knaben in der Kirche einen bequemen und gelegenen Ort einthue, dass sie Gottes Wort hoeren."¹²¹

Although we distinguish, on the functional basis, between the written and spoken Word, both merge into the one Word, the Gospel. There is only one Word of God, the same message from God, the same Gospel, and as Luther said: "die ewige Wahrheit Gottes."¹²²

The Word of God as the Means of Education

Luther's appeal to the cause of schools had been directed toward the Word of God, and it was necessary to teach the message to read it.¹²³ Through God's Word children can be led to the Kingdom of God. This is the primary task of schools.¹²⁴

God educates man through the Word. Luther's education is to make the Word available to man in the actual life-situation, and to enable man to

¹²⁰Cf. E. 4, 401.

¹²¹Wal. 22, 1020.

¹²²W. 26, 436.

¹²³Cf. F. V. N. Painter, History of Education (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), p. 142.

¹²⁴Cf. E. 14, 398 ff., sermon on Matt. 25:31-42.

live with the Word and in the Word. He sees education as the process of the application of the Word of God in all walks of life.¹²⁵ As long as which theology is an interpretation of the Word of God, and Luther's theology is an exposition of the same, Luther's education or his educational philosophy is his theology applied to the actual life situation, i.e., it is an applied theology.

The Word of God and His revelation are the foundation and means of Luther's education, in contrast to the strong emphasis of "experience" in the experimentalism of our contemporary American public educators.¹²⁶ The basic concept of Luther's education is rooted in Divine revelation; more specifically, in the written Word of God, the Bible. True, he grants both human reason and scientific knowledge their proper places in developing methods and determining goals for conducting the educational process. However, Divine revelation alone, for Luther, is the sole source of knowledge.¹²⁷ All learning must be judged by the authority of such

¹²⁵ Cf. Friedrich Bruns, "Der Deutschunterricht unter dem Wort," Erziehung unter dem Wort (Bethel bei Bielefeld: Verlagshandlung der Anstalt Bethel, 1948), p. 81: "Es ist der Wille Gottes, dass sein Wort alle Lebensbereiche des Menschen ergreife, richte und erlöse."

¹²⁶ Cf. Appendix II.

¹²⁷ The attitude toward Divine revelation is one of the cardinal factors which differentiates the various philosophies of education. Less revelation is found in Roman Catholic Church than in the Lutheran Church; still less in natural or secular philosophy of education; still less in idealism; still less in realism; and least of all in experimentalism. Cf. Paul M. Bretscher, "Toward a Lutheran Philosophy of Education," Concordia Theological Monthly XIV (Jan. and Feb. 1943), 8-33 and 81-95. Also Cf. Appendix II of this thesis.

revelation, the Bible, whenever such judgment is in order. On the other hand, for such information as the date of the discovery of America, of which the Bible says nothing, a history book therefore must be consulted.

In every school, the chief subject should be the Scriptures. Luther advised people not to send their children to schools where the Word of God was not taught. Every school curriculum which does not employ God's Word constantly, must become corrupt.¹²⁸ From the Word of God, which teaches that God wants all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of the Truth,¹²⁹ Luther drew the conclusion that every man, regardless of his economic standing and social status, was entitled to a Christian education.¹³⁰ "Wo Gottes Wort ist, da ist auch Gottes Haus,"¹³¹ "Gottes Reich [ist] das Reich des Lebens."¹³² Through the Word comes the "rechte Erkenntnis Gottes"¹³³ or "rechte gewisse Erkenntnis Gottes."¹³⁴ "Das Studium der heiligen Schrift und der Hilfsbuecher dazu wird nun zur Hauptaufgabe der Schule."¹³⁵ Speaking of his own life, Luther said: "Ich sein auch ein Doktor der Heiligen Schrift und muss sie dennoch taeglich in die Hand naehmen, lesen und

¹²⁸Cf. S.L. 10, 341.

¹²⁹Cf. I Tim. 2:4.

¹³⁰Cf. W. C. Kohn, "Luther's Influence on Popular Education," Four-hundredth Anniversary of the Reformation (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917), p. 218.

¹³¹S.L. 3, 781.

¹³²S.L. 4, 2094.

¹³³S.L. 3, 1412.

¹³⁴S.L. 8, 760.

¹³⁵Fritz Blaettner, Geschichte der Paedagogik (Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer, 1953), p. 16.

dran denken von Wort zu Wort."¹³⁶ With such emphasis on Scripture in school lessons, Luther's Bible did play an indispensable role in educating children. Truly, it was the foremost school lesson material during the Reformation, just as it has been for the Christian schools in the subsequent generations.¹³⁷

Luther supplemented Scripture with other teaching materials, both religious and ethical. In his earlier zeal, he emphasized that all should read the Bible; but, in the later years of his life, especially after the Peasants' Revolt,¹³⁸ when he lost some of his faith in the common people, believed that the study of his catechisms might probably be

¹³⁶W. 34 II, 167, 12.

¹³⁷Cf. Theodor Heckel, Zur Methodik des evangelischen Religionsunterrichtes (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1930), p. 69; "Luther," Encyclopaedie des gesamten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens, edited and compiled by Prof. V. Palmer, et al. (Gotha: Verlag von Rudolf, 1865), IV, 461. Also Cf. E. A. Koehler, A Christian Pedagogy (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928), p. 113: ". . . the Bible offers the most sane and rational and satisfactory Weltanschauung and that the Christian principle of education represents indeed the highest type of ethical training."

¹³⁸The Peasants' Revolt (1524-25) was a rising of the underprivileged, such as artisans and workmen of the towns. Many different people were motivated by different causes. Strictly speaking, it was not religious movement, even though the church prelates were large landowners and treated their dependents more harshly than others, which was one of the immediate touches of the Revolt. The causes of the Revolt were more economic, partly social. Luther advised both lords and peasants as to their rights and obligations, but never encouraged them to use force. His writings were grossly misunderstood and misapplied; his emphasis on the spiritual liberty was interpreted to cover civil and political rights. When the Revolt broke out, Luther called on the government to do its duty and protect the citizens by quashing the rebellion. After the Revolt, he pleaded with the rulers to be just and merciful to their subjects. The Reformation cannot be held responsible for the Revolt, for such risings antedate the Reformation by at least 150 years. The following sources can be consulted: Thomas M. Lindsay, A History of the Reformation (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1928), III, 159-210; E. G. Schwiebert, Luther and His Time (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, c. 1950), pp. 550-70.

enough.¹³⁹ He published two catechisms, one for children and one for adults, and composed numerous hymns.¹⁴⁰ From time to time Luther called attention to his belief that everyone should know the Catechisms.¹⁴¹ He also translated Aesop's Fables which he considered next to the Bible in importance for moral instruction.¹⁴² From the beginning, Luther's attention was directed toward instruction in the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer.¹⁴³ "Darum seydt wacker allezeit, und vergesset des Vater Unsers nicht, sondern betet, dass Gottes Reich zu euch komme, wie ich euch gelehret habe."¹⁴⁴

To conclude this chapter, we note once again the significance of Scripture. Sola Scriptura is one of the great principles of the Reformation and the methods of Luther's theology.¹⁴⁵ It is the fundamental thought

¹³⁹Cf. R. F. Butts, A Cultural History of Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1947), p. 265.

¹⁴⁰Those hymns which are listed in Weimar Edition 35, 411-73 alone number 36. For a further reference on hymns of Luther, Cf. W. 35. Concerning other poetic works of Luther, both in German and in Latin, See W. 35, 568-608.

¹⁴¹Cf. W. 30 111, 317.

¹⁴²Cf. E. H. Wilds, The Foundation of Modern Education (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1942), p. 289.

¹⁴³Cf. Hertha Israel, "Luther als Erzieher" (Thuringische Landesuniversitaet Jena, 1919), p. 9. A further study on the school lessons by Luther is made in chapter IX of this thesis.

¹⁴⁴E. 1, 132.

¹⁴⁵A brief study is made on the three principles of the Reformation: on Sola Scriptura by P. C. G. Seltz; Sola Gratia by P. Th. Schurdel; and on Sola Fide by P. Fr. Sievers. Cf. Unser Erbteil, written by various authors (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917), pp. 144-66. Cf. C. A. Tingelstad, "A Lutheran Philosophy of Education," The Lutheran Outlook, (April, 1949), p. 109: ". . . Lutheran philosophy of education

of the Reformation.¹⁴⁶ The opening statement of the 95 Theses of Luther,

"Our Lord and Master Jesus Christ says, . . ." gives us a significant

reminder on this point. Luther took this principle, sola Scriptura,

very seriously. What cannot be proved from the Scripture has no authori-

ty in the Church. His famous declaration before the Emperor and the Diet

of Worms, on the 18th of April, 1521, clearly bears witness to this point.¹⁴⁷

His theology is the foundation of his teaching, and education its center

is rooted in the cardinal principles of the Lutheran Reformation, and that our responsibility is to make this God-given legacy 'articulate' to a listening and bewildering world and effective in our own lives . . ."

¹⁴⁶Cf. S.L. 17, 1340 f. Describing Luther's upon His . . . Therefore,

in the next analysis, Christ, or the Word and God's Revelation, is the

¹⁴⁷Cf. Kramm, op. cit., p. 108.

solo foundation upon which the entire concept, purpose and motive of

Luther's education are based; and, furthermore, throughout the Christian

education must have its foundation. Christ is the center of Luther's educa-

14. 20. 11. 1521 "An gewisse Artikel liegen, von diesen Artikel bekennen wir Christus und also auch sein demselbigen durchs Evangelium berufen, gelehrt und in die Christenheit gebracht und angenommen, und empfangen durch demselbigen des Heiligen Geistes und Vergebung der Sünden, denn die Aufrechterhaltung von dem Leben und das ewige Leben. Denn dieser Artikel macht uns zu Gottes Kindern und Christus Erben, denn wir ihn ewiglich gleich und lieblich werden."

In the famous edition of Luther to Melancthon's letter to Rome, in May, 1521, the following words are included: "I . . . But I want His blessing to be my gift and my wedding, that I may have All in Him, as He says: 'I will be my, the Youth and the Life.'" Cf. W. Br. 5, 104 f.; B. 33, 155; German Reformation, II, 502 f.

Christ, the Gospel and Faith are the pillars of Luther's Reformation. The essential point had been revealed by the Reformer himself, and upheld by his followers in subsequent generations. It is significant to observe these central teachings of Luther stated on the "Luther's Gospel" in Weymouth, Ontario.

Under the statue of Luther, his statements are inscribed on the four sides of the monument. On the front side, together with the names of the Diet of Worms, stands the famous words of Luther: "Hier steht Ich, Ich kann

CHAPTER VII

LUTHER'S CHRISTOLOGY: CHRIST-CENTERED EDUCATION

Christ and Education

For Luther, education and theology have an inseparable relationship. His theology is the foundation of his teaching, and education its superstructure. Luther's education is thus founded upon no other foundation than his theology; his theology no other foundation than the crucified and risen Lord, Jesus Christ. Everything depends upon Him.¹ Therefore, in the last analysis, Christ, or the Word and God's Revelation, is the sole foundation upon which the entire concept, purpose and motive of Luther's education are based;² and, furthermore, thereupon the Christian education must have its foundation. Christ is the center of Luther's educa-

¹W. 30 ii, 186: "An diesem Artikel liegts, von diesem Artikel heissen wir Christen und sind auch auf denselbigen durchs Evangelium berufen, getauft und in die Christenheit gezählt und angenommen, und empfangen durch denselbigen den Heiligen Geist und Vergebung der Sunden, dazu die Auferstehung von den Toten und das ewige Leben. Denn dieser Artikel macht uns zu Gottes Kindern und Christus Bruedern, dass wir ihm ewiglich gleich und Miterben werden."

In the famous addition of Luther to Melancthon's letter to Brenz, in May, 1531, the following words are included: ". . . . But I want Him Himself to be my Gift and my Teaching, that I may have Alles in ihm, as He says: 'I am the way, the Truth and the Life.'" Cf. W. Br. 6, 100 f.; E. 58, 359; Corpus Reformatorum, II, 502 f.

²Christ, the Gospel and faith are the pillars of Luther's Reformation. This essential point had been stressed by the Reformer himself, and upheld by his followers in subsequent generations. It is significant to observe these central teachings of Luther stated on the "Lutherdenkmal" in Worms by Rhine, Germany.

Under the statue of Luther, his statements are inscribed on the four sides of the monument. On the front side, together with the Scene of the Diet of Worms, stated the famous words of Luther: "Hier stehe ich, ich kann

tion, that is, his education is Christ-centered education.

The question, "Education where to?", is rightly significant and legitimate in the case of Luther. Education can hardly move into its course without having in mind some destination at which it wishes to arrive; nor will any one undertake such an educational task without having a definite end which he hopes to accomplish. Such a destination determines the means and the methods that are to be employed and will affect the entire educative procedure.³ Luther's education, which is devised by not the ingenuity and self-sufficiency of man, but by divine Revelation in the Bible,⁴ directs its ultimate objectives to Christ.⁵ He is the foundation,

nicht anders, Gott helfe mir! Amen!"

On the right, with the scenes of Christian instruction, confirmation and the marriage of Luther: "Der Glaube nichts anders, denn das Rechte, Wahhaftige Leben in Gott selbst. Die Schrift recht zu verstehen, dazu gehoert der Geist Christi."

In the rear, together with the scene of posting the 95 Theses: "Das Evangelium welches der Herr den Aposteln in den Mund gelegt hat, ist sein Schwert, damit schlaegt er in die Welt, als mit Blitz und Donner."

With the scene of the translation of the Bible and the preaching of Luther, is inscribed on the left: "Die Christus recht verstehen, die wird keine Menschensatzung gefangen nehmen koennen, sie sind frei, nicht nach dem Fleische, sondern nach dem Geistes." (All underlines are the author's.)

This statue of Martin Luther was originally erected in 1895 in Eisenach, Saxony, where Luther lived from 1498 to 1501. Adolf Deandorf, a professor at the Art School in Stuttgart, Germany, was the sculptor for the memorial.

³ Cf. E. A. Koehler, A Christian Pedagogy (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928), p. 111.

⁴ See Appendix II.

⁵ See Section Three of this Thesis.

corner stone, cause and the essential means of education. "Whom do you say that I am?"⁶ This fundamental question must be answered in the same way as the Apostle Peter's. On the "Son of the Living God" are built the whole system, motive and goal of education of Luther.

Only Christ should be our "doctor" and "teacher", says Luther.⁷ He who knows Christ, knows everything; he who has Christ, has all things, for God has given and bestowed upon men all things in Christ.⁸ "So ist Christus der einzigartige 'Lehrer', der tut, was er lehrt; und er ist zugleich das Haupt seiner Kirche, und teilt seinem 'leib' die neuen Lebenskraefte mit."⁹

Deus in Christo

Luther's theology is Christocentric throughout.¹⁰ He conceived of God as almighty love and righteousness revealed in Christ—God of grace and mercy in Jesus Christ. He who looks into the work of Christ, finds there the love of God. Everything which man does, believes or possesses must be

⁶Matt. 16:15.

⁷W. TR. 2, NO. 1246.

⁸W. TR. 6, NO. 6624.

⁹Erich Seeberg, Luthers Theologie in Ihren Grundzuegen (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1950), p. 90.

¹⁰Cf. Luther's TISCHREDEN, (W. TR. Vols. 1-6), where he spoke quite extensively relating to Christology: Christ's incarnation, Trinity, Nature of Christ, His humiliation and exaltation, Purpose of His coming, His works, Law and Gospel, etc.

evaluated in terms of the purpose which God had in mind for man in His Son Jesus Christ. "Also auch von hier aus immer wieder Christus der alleinige Quell und Mittler des Heils, und die Summe der Theologie Luther: 'Gott, der in Christus verhuelte Gott, handelt mit dem suendigen Menschen als Heiland',—sofern er ihn erwaeht. . . ."¹¹ Knowing Christ is knowing the "hidden" God who is however revealed in Christ.¹² Due to such strong emphasis on Christ, it is natural, therefore, that Luther should have "developed the doctrine of Christology and Soteriology more fully than any other doctrines, laying special emphasis upon them in his sermons, lectures and writings. He does not sharply distinguish between these two doctrines but invariably considers them together."¹³

Luther's theology is deeply and firmly based upon the "Versoehnungs-
werke Jesu Christi."¹⁴ Such Christocentric theology of Luther, however,

¹¹Ottmar Dittrich, Geschichte Der Ethik (Leipzig: Verlag von Felix Meiner, 1932), IV, 20. Iustitia Dei and gratia by Luther, Cf. Otto Scheel, Dokumente zu Luthers Entwicklung (Bis 1519; Tuebingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1929), II, 96: "Iusticiam: i. e., gratiam. Istud vocabulum cum sudore milto adeptus. . . ." (W. 40 ff, 444 f.)

¹²W. 1, 362, 23: ". . . quia dum ignorat Christum ignorat Deum absconditum in passionibus." In the Gospel of Christ, we meet not "Gott an sich," but the "Gott fuer mich." This is what Christ has done for men establishing a new relationship between God and men.

¹³G. W. Bruce, Luther as an Educator (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928), p. 110.

¹⁴Theodosius Harnack, Luthers Theologie (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1927), I, 3. Luther's Christology is well summed up in his masterly exposition of the Second Article of the Apostles' Creed: "I believe that Jesus Christ, true God, begotten of the Father from eternity and also true man, born of the virgin Mary, is my Lord, who has redeemed me, a lost and condemned creature, . . ." W. 30 I, 296.

is not totally new, nor is it his new discovery. It is the very teaching of the New Testament. "Es ist die älteste Christologie, zu der Luther wieder zurückkehrt, die Christologie des neuen Testaments."¹⁵

The theology of Luther can be characterized as the theologia crucis¹⁶ which originated from Christ and Him crucified.¹⁷ In this theology of the Cross, there is the true knowledge of God. God can be found in the Passion and the Cross. "Deum non inveniri nisi in passionibus et cruce."¹⁸ The Cross of Christ made it evident how to achieve the relationship between God and man.¹⁹ Nygren sums it up: "Only at the Cross do we find God, but there we really find Him. 'Theologia crucis' is the only true theology."²⁰

¹⁵Friedrich Hück, Die Entwicklung der Christologie Luthers (Gotha: Druck von Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.-G., 1920), p. 45.

¹⁶Cf. W. 1, 354. For a thorough treatment of this subject the reader is referred to Walther v. Loewenich, Luthers Theologia crucis (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1954), 248 pp.

¹⁷Theodor Hechel, Zur Methodik des evangelischen Religionsunterrichtes (München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1930), p. 37: "Theologie des Kreuzes ist das aktuelle Problem der ganzen Theologie: -- der Gotteslehre und der Christuslehre, der Auffassung von Menschen, von der Lebensanstellung und Lebenshaltung; das Erziehungswesen und der Erziehungsweg." Many joined in the chorus proclaiming Luther as the true THEOLOGUS CRUCIS. The twenty-first theological thesis in the Heidelberg Theses of 1518 reads: "Theologus gloriae dicit malum bonum et bonum malum; theologus crucis dicit id quod res est."

¹⁸W. 1, 362, 28 f.

¹⁹Cf. W. 1, 354, 21 f.

²⁰Anders Nygren, Agony and Eros, translated by Philip S. Watson (London: S. P. C. K., 1953), p. 740. Concerning the theology of Cross in the light of Agony Motif, that is, "the Agony of the Cross," Cf. Ibid., pp. 115-122, 196, 198, 273 ff.

Theologia crucis is not "ein Kapitel der theologie, sondern eine bestimmte Art von Theologie,"²¹ and "ein Prinzip der gesamten Theologie Luthers."²²

The theological method of Luther does not proceed from the idea of God and His eternal counsel, but from the Revelation of God in His incarnate Son and the means of grace.²³ Faith in Christ is indispensable, in his theological principle²⁴ and method, in order to understand such Revelation of God. Christ is the Anfang, Mittel and Ende of our happiness and our approach to God. "Die wahre, rechtschaffene Theologie stehet in der Praktik, Brauch und Uebung; und ihr Fundament und Grundveste ist Christus, dass man sein Leiden, Sterben und Auferstehen im Glauben ergreife."²⁵

²¹Loewenich, op. cit., p. 12.

²²Ibid., p. 7. Cf. Ibid., pp. 21 ff. Heckel, op. cit., pp. 38 f.; "Die Theologie des Kreuzes ist keine metaphysische Spekulation ueber Gott, das Sein Gottes an sich. Gott offenbart sich im Kreuz Christi und ruft uns durch auferlegtes Kreuz zum Kreuz. . . . In dem gekreuzigten Christus gibt es allein eine wahre Theologie und Erkenntnis Gottes. . . . Gottes Weg zu den Menschen ist das Kreuz Christi."

²³Cf. W. 25, 394; Wal. 11, 1553 f.

²⁴Ottmar Dittrich distinguishes between the material and formal principles of Luther's theology, on the basis of Luther's own work, as follows: "Ihr Materialprinzip ist der in Jesus Christus verhuelte und ihm als einzigem Heilmittler konzentrierte Gott, der den suendigen Menschen allein durch den Glauben an sich, diesen Gott, rechtfertigt oder errettet; ihr Formalprinzip, aus dem sie ihre Glaubenserkenntnis schoepft, ist das Offenbarungs- und Verheissungs-Wort dieses Gottes, wie es durch seinen hl. Geist dem einzelnen mittelst 'Schrift, in die Buchstaben verfasset' und 'Stimme, oder die Worte durch den Mund ausgerufen' nahegebracht wird, auf dasz er glaube." Dittrich, op. cit., p. 8. Also Cf. E. 10, 366; E. 63, 156.

²⁵T. Harnack, op. cit., I, 41. Cf. W. TR. 1, NO. 72; W. TR. 2, 141. Concerning the truth that Christ is the beginning, middle and end of our happiness and our approach to God, the following sources may be consulted: W. 40 1, 33, 7; W. 45, 504, 31; W. 45, 511, 8; W. 23, 690. 9.

In Christ there is the hidden treasure of wisdom and knowledge of God.²⁶ In Him alone, God is revealed and understandable to men.²⁷ Nowhere outside Christ is God found.²⁸ He is and remains unknown to those who are without Christ, whether or not they have many thoughts, knowledge or arguments about Him. In short, outside Christ, God cannot be known and understood.²⁹ Man should think of no other God but Christ; the God who does not speak through the mouth of Christ is an alien god.³⁰ God wishes to be found in the atonement; thus He will hear no one but through Christ. They who do not seek God or the Lord in Christ do not find Him at all.³¹ To sum up God confronts man and the world in two ways: outside Christ and in Christ; as the Creator and as the Savior.³² "Aus dem deus absconditus wird in Christo crucifixo der deus revelatus."³³

²⁶Cf. W. TR. 4, 515.

²⁷Cf. W. 40 ii, 342 on Ps. 51:3; W. 42, 294 on Gen. 6:5; W. 25, 107.

²⁸Cf. W. 25, 224, 386; W. 1, 362; Wal. 18, 74 f.; and also Cf. T. Harnack, op. cit., I, 97, 460 f.

²⁹W. TR. 6, NO. 6539.

³⁰E. 22, 165: "Das ist ein fremder Gott, auf den wir ausser dem Wort unser Vertrauen setzen."

³¹W. TR. 2, NO. 1543.

³²T. Harnack, op. cit., I, 94.

³³Werner Elert, Morphologie des Inthertums (Muenchen: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1952), I, 95. Cf. W. 43, 463.

Untiringly Luther emphasized again and again that our knowledge of God should not be employed in the things "oben," hidden of God,³⁴ as secular philosophers so often speculate; notwithstanding, we must "unten anheben und darnach herauskommen."³⁵ That is, all knowledge of God must come from Christ; more specifically, from His suffering and death on the Cross,³⁶ for "ausser Christo ist Gott ein verzehrend Feuer und will unbekannt und ungefasset sein."³⁷ This knowledge of God in Christ is revealed in writing, the Holy Scripture, and proclaimed in the Gospel.³⁸ To know Christ is greater than any thing else in the world. "You ought not to take the whole world in exchange for this," says Luther, "that you know Christ is only our Lord, high priest, king and God whom I did not know while living at the cloister."³⁹

³⁴This refers to God's Power, Counsel, Wisdom, Majesty and His Godhead. Cf. W. 40 i, 77.

³⁵W. 10 I ii, 297. The problem of the knowledge of God, as well as the forgiveness of sins, is wholly the act of God. Theodosius Harnack comments: ". . . dass sich seine [Luthers] Theologie von unten nach oben auffahrt, d.h. dass ihr Anker fest und tief in Christo, dem Menschgewordenen, in der Tatsache der Offenbarung und des Glaubens, ruht." Harnack, op. cit., I, 53. Cf. Ibid., p. 55. Also Cf. W. 25, 244, on Is. 38:11; Wal. 6, 738: "Nicht von oben nach unten . . . , sondern von unten nach oben . . . von Gott in Christo, in dem Wort uew. . . ."

³⁶Cf. W. 1, 362.

³⁷W. 4, 7; 175; W. 3, 182; Cf. W. 37, 457 f.

³⁸Cf. W. 46, 668, 24; W. 46, 669, 7, 19; W. 18, 785; W. 43, 240, on Gen. 22:16. Cf. Harnack, op. cit., I, 74.

³⁹W. TR. 6, NO. 6613; TR. 1, NO. 615.

Deus Homo

The incarnation of God⁴⁰ has been a major consideration by the Church Fathers of the early Christian history; so it also occupies a significant role in Luther's theology. Erich Seeberg describes it as "der Schluessel zu seinen [Luthers] Gedanken."⁴¹ Luther has many points common with early orthodox Church Fathers, such as Athanasius and St. Augustine;⁴² his explanation of the incarnation has notable similarity with the form of early Church confessions.⁴³

⁴⁰For an overall study, Cf. Erich Seeberg, Christus, Wirklichkeit und Urbild, Luthers Theologie (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1937), II, 22-31 and 56-66.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 57.

⁴²Athanasius (ca. 296-373): He is considered as the "Father of Orthodoxy" and one of the most imposing figures in the history of the Christian Church. He vindicated strongly against Arianism and Semi-Arianism the true deity of Christ and thus safeguarded the Christian faith against pagan dissolution. Due to his dialectic skill and fearless testimony the Arian was condemned in 325 at the Council of Nicaea. His works, Against the Gentiles, and De Incarnatione reveal his outstanding ability before the Arian controversy. Heussi made the following observation: "Das HOMOIOUSIOS (Wesensgleichheit Jesu mit Gott) hat uebrigens Athanasius bis c. 351 selten gebraucht." Karl Heussi, Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte (Tuebingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1949), p. 100.

St. Augustine (354-430): As a defender of the orthodox faith he stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries; for more than 30 years he was the leading theologian in the Latin Church and leader of the Church in Africa. He fought the Pelagian heresy consistently. In some points, however, he did not reach the clearness in the doctrine of sin and grace which is found in the later writings of Luther. Among his chief writings are: De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio; De Catechizandis Rudibus; De Doctrina Christiana; De Civitate Dei; Confessions.

⁴³Cf. W. 26, 501; W. 26, 26, 38 f. See The symbola oecumenica (Apostles' Creed, Nicene Creed, Athanasian Creed).

The incarnation is the "first rising" of Christ, and then follows the "second ascending" or His resurrection from the dead.⁴⁴ Once God was hidden, but now He is revealed. Christ, the incarnate Son of God, is the Revelation of God in human flesh, that is, God hidden in the "Flesh."

"Sicut in Christo occulte fuit deus, ita justitia et gratia dei occulte est in proximo."⁴⁵

Deus et homo unus est Christus is the formula for the person of the Savior. Christ is the "neue Predigt vom Himmel"⁴⁶ without which man has no other choice but to remain under God's anger and condemnation. He is "auch Gott"⁴⁷ and "Gott gleich," and sits at the right side of God as God.⁴⁸ He is God,⁴⁹ the Son, and the Countenance of the Father.⁵⁰ Above all, He is our God⁵¹ who offered us righteousness and peace.⁵² Having restored the

⁴⁴W. 3, 390: "Eurgit deus Christus primo, quando incarnatur; quia tunc coepit stare et servi formam assumere, ut pro nobis serviret et pubnaret, qui antea in sinu patris quievit . . . Secundo, quando a mortuis resurgit, ut hic. . . ."

W. 4, 147: "quia facies Christi est triplex. Primo in adventu eius primo, quando incarnatus est filius dei, qui est facies patris. . . . Secundo in adventu spirituali, sine quo primus nihil prodest. . . ."

⁴⁵W. 3, 52. W. 4, 7: ". . . Deus in carne absconditus est. . . ." Cf. W. 3, 124; W. 4, 58.

⁴⁶E. 11, 289.

⁴⁷E. 18, 117 (1530).

⁴⁸W. 32, 61 (April 18, 1530).

⁴⁹W. 3, 162: ". . . Quia est Christus deus. . . ." Cf. W. 3, 267; W. 4, 60; W. 3, 111.

⁵⁰W. 4, 147.

⁵¹W. 3, 56: "Quia sperare in domino est in Christo deo nostro esse et participare ei ac sic in ipso existendo sperare in dominum." (Underlines are the author's!)

⁵²W. 4, 19: "Quocirca Christus non dicitur justitia, pax, misericordia, salus nostra, in persona sua nisi efficax. Sed fides Christi, qua justifica-

state of man which existed in the beginning, Christ became incarnate in order to make men the sons of God. He brought us to the knowledge of ourselves and our Creator, so that we might learn to know who and what we have been, and who and what we now are. We were utterly lost and destroyed, but now we are delivered from sins, and became pure, justified and saved.⁵³

Luther expressed his joy in the incarnation of Christ in this way:

Ach, wir armen Menschen! Das wir so kalt und faul zu dieser grossen freudt uns stellen, die doch uns geschehen ist, die gross wolthat, die weit uber alle ander werk der schopffung sindt, und sollens dennoch so schwachlig glauben, so es uns von Engeln gepredigt und gesungen wirdt, welchs himlische Theologie sindt und haben sich unsert halben so gefreuet!⁵⁴

In the incarnation, there is an objective lesson given to men. Christ, the Almighty God, chose to become a man to save man and to serve man with the Apostles and His believers.⁵⁵ If it were His will, He, with His almighty power could turn the world upside down with one single move. However, He preferred to be a servant rather than to be ministered unto.⁵⁶ In the form of a man, Christ lowered Himself in a deep humiliation becoming a servant of sinners. For us it is a good example.⁵⁷

mur, pacificamur, per quam in nobis regnat." Also W. 4, 16.

⁵³W. TR. 1, NO. 58.

⁵⁴W. TR. 4, NO. 4201.

⁵⁵Cf. Matt. 20:28.

⁵⁶Cf. Phil. 2:5 ff.; Matt. 20:28; Mk. 10:45.

⁵⁷W. TR. 3, NO. 3286. Luther stressed consistently that such a spirit of Christ ought to be the example for teachers and educators. As Christ became man in order to save man, so the teachers must become a child in order to educate, teach and help them. Cf. Wal. 10, 52. For further treatment of this topic, cf. Ch. VII of this Thesis.

Deus homo is the greatest miracle that has ever taken place on earth. It makes us marvel, so Luther observed, that the almighty Father would say to His only begotten Son: Go, let yourself be nailed on the Cross of Calvary and hang there!⁵⁸ God's Son is so miserably driven forth as "a worm and no man; and reproach of men, and despised of the people."⁵⁹ So great a miracle, and so unfathomable a mystery is the incarnation, that no human by himself can understand it.⁶⁰ Luther once said that the angels have in this miracle enough to study to keep them busy.⁶¹ Due to the fact that this paradoxical event, the incarnation, is a primary article of faith,⁶² such a question as "how and why did God become a man?"⁶³ cannot be rationally answered, for it is above and beyond human reason and understanding.⁶⁴

⁵⁸W. TR. 6, NO. 6618.

⁵⁹Ps. 22:6.

⁶⁰W. TR. 6 NO. 6624; TR 1, NO. 272.

⁶¹W. TR. 5, NO. 5333.

⁶²W. TR. 2, NO. 1982.

⁶³Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109) wrote Cur Deus Homo in which he subjected the doctrine of satisfactio to dialectical investigation and vindication. He may be considered as the Father of medieval scholasticism. The starting-point of his theological thinking is in the proposition: "Credo, ut intelligam."

⁶⁴W. TR. 4, NO. 4915, 4963; TR. 5, 6291, 6363, 6364; TR. 6, 7074. For further reference, Cf. "Tischreden" of Luther where he spoke on the incarnation of Christ very exhaustively.

⁶⁵Julius Ewald, Epistles of Luther, translated by C. F. May (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1877), II, 307.

⁶⁶Op. cit. II, 307.

Christ as the true God, born of the Father in eternity, and also as true man, born⁶⁵ and "created"⁶⁶ of the Virgin Mary, was ever for Luther a fundamental article of Christian faith. In it lies one of the special interests in Luther's theology, known by the name communicatio idiomatum. The Idiomata, i.e., the attributes by which the human and divine nature can be described, are to some degree interchangeable in the person of Christ.⁶⁷ "The characteristic peculiarity of Luther's Christology . . . lies in its PROFOUND AND EARNEST ATTEMPT TO SECURE FULL RECOGNITION OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE UNION OF THE TRULY DIVINE AND TRULY HUMAN NATURES--and we may further add, especially in the peculiar stress which he lays upon the HUMAN ELEMENT in this union."⁶⁸ We must ascend to the divinity, and hold fast to it, in such a way as not to abandon the humanity of Christ. He is the Son of God, and at the same time the Son of man.⁶⁹ This union, like

⁶⁵Cf. Luther's Small Catechism: The Second Article.

⁶⁶Luther calls Christ, with reference to His human nature, also "created," and considers this as an expression inaccurate only when used, as in the ignorant ravings of Schwenkfeld, in the abstract title, "Geschoepf." Cf. E. 10, 307 f., 131; E. 15, 298; E. 16, 236; E. 29, 53; E. 37, 71; E. 41, 191; E. 45, 317; E. 63, 339.

⁶⁷Cf. W. 26, 314-18; W. TR. 1, NO. 111: ". . . coram Deo unus locus et omnis locus et omnis locus unus." Cf. Franz Pieper, Christliche Dogmatik (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1917), II, 133 ff.

Idiomata of humanity: which belong to His human nature, such as, being born, eating, drinking, suffering, dying.
Idiomata of divinity, that he is immortal, omnipotent, infinite, or that he is not born, does not eat, sleep and the like. Cf. E. 25, 309.

⁶⁸Julius Koestlin, Theology of Luther, translated by C. E. Hay (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1897), II, 387.

⁶⁹Cf. E. 47, 362.

the event of incarnation, Luther always regards as a mystery, absolutely transcending our power of understanding.⁷⁰

Justitia propter Christum

For Luther, Christ is the Mediator between God and man--the only Mediator.⁷¹ Through His blood and death on the Cross, He achieved an objective propitiation between God and men, paying⁷² for and reconciling the wrath of God.⁷³ Christ joined Himself to the company of the cursed, taking upon Himself their flesh and their blood; and thus set Himself as the Mediator through whom all men are blessed.⁷⁴ Unfathomable is this

⁷⁰Here we examine one interesting but somewhat complicated phase of Luther's teachings, that is, whether or not Christ suffered and died according to His Divine nature as well as His human nature. On this point Luther seems self-contradictory at times. On one occasion, he said that all God-fearing and righteous Christians without any doubt accept that the God-man, Christ, with His human and divine natures, was born of the Virgin Mary having been conceived by the Holy Ghost, suffered, crucified, died and was buried. We therefore believe that not only the human nature but also the divine nature suffered and died for us. (Cf. the lengthy saying in W. TR. 6, NO. 6600.

In another occasion Luther said that Divine nature cannot be humbled and suffer. Where the Scriptures declare that Christ has suffered, etc., according to Luther, no one is so stupid as not to understand that they are speaking of Him as a man; for God cannot suffer and die. Cf. E. 15, 422.

However, the following illustrative statement of Luther explains and irons out the above mentioned discrepancy considerably: "Although the two natures are diverse, it is yet One person, so that everything which Christ does or suffers God has certainly done and suffered, although still the experience in question has befallen only One nature; as when I speak of man's wounded leg, I say, 'the man is wounded,' although his soul is not wounded, nor his entire body," E. 7, 186. (Heb. 1:1-12)

⁷¹Cf. W. 2, 521, 28 ff.; W. 40 1, 451, 15; W. 40 1, 503, 5 ff.

⁷²Cf. E. 12, 422; E. 4, 302; E. 20, 160.

⁷³Cf. E. 3, 137 f.; E. 46, 315; E. 50, 179.

⁷⁴Cf. W. 40 1, 451.

grace of God, to give His Son⁷⁵ to take the curse and wrath and thereby reconcile man to God Himself.⁷⁶ God permitted Christ to bear the curse, for He loves man.

Tu, Christe, es peccatum et maledictum meum, vel potius: Ego sum peccatum tuum, maledictum tuum, mors tua, ira Dei, infernus tuus! Tu contra es justitia, benedictio, vita, gratia Dei, coelum meum, quia textus clare dicit: Christus factus est pro nobis maledictum.⁷⁷

In Christ and through HIM alone, there is the forgiveness of sins.⁷⁸ He prays for men,⁷⁹ and makes His believers free,⁸⁰ not because of the merit in their faith but by the grace of God which He promised in His Son Jesus Christ.⁸¹

⁷⁵Cf. E. 15, 385; E. 7, 175.

⁷⁶Cf. E. 7, 298 ff., 175 f., 178, 195; 15, 385; 19, 172; 11, 290.

⁷⁷W. 40 i, 454, 20 ff. Cf. W. 29, 578, 2 ff.

⁷⁸W. TR. 6, NO. 6647. W. 3, 174: "Nullus est sine iniquitate, nullus est non filius irae et itaque eget, ut sibi remittantur. Hoc autem non fit nisi per Christum: Ergo nemo ex se, sed per solum Christum salvus erit."

⁷⁹W. 3, 211.

⁸⁰W. 3, 226.

⁸¹Cf. W. 3, 289, 330. W. 2, 497, 16: "Deus non imputat peccata propter Christum." W. 40 i, 366, 8: "Fides reputatur ad justitiam propter Christum." Cf. W. 2, 495, 12 f.; 25, 337, 33.

Christ is the Savior who has delivered men from sins.⁸² He is the just and loving God who confronts men in meekness and power and reveals their sins.⁸³ He bears our punishment, takes our sins, and is condemned by God in our behalf. Such an act of Atonement is the satisfactio Christi.⁸⁴ The Savior was forsaken and condemned by God at this moment, that "Him who knew no sin He made to be sin on our behalf."⁸⁵ "Propter Christum reputamur justi absolute in fide,"—Christus pro me.⁸⁶

The entire activity of Christ, as Redeemer and Savior, is His once-for-all (εφάπαξ) complete act, and His continual bestowal of salvation upon mankind. In our stead Christ stands coram Deo and vindicates us saying: "O, Father, you know I have done so; let this be set to their credit—ihnen zu Gute kommen—because they believe on me."⁸⁷ Christ, the

⁸²W. 4, 283: "Humiles peccatores venit salvos facere."

⁸³Cf. W. 4, 231; W. 4, 60; W. 3, 375, 301, 302.

⁸⁴This doctrine of the Atonement is not developed by Luther once more into a great system as was previously taught by some scholastics, such as Anselm of Canterbury (1033-1109). Many of Luther's writings and utterances refer to Christ as suffering for us in order to give satisfaction for us to God. Cf. S. Anselm Cantuariensis, Cur Deus Homo, Libri Duo, recognovit Hugo Laemmer (Berolini: Sumtibus Gust. Schlawitz, 1857), pp. 92. On the vicarious atonement of Christ, Cf. W. 36, 293; W. 25, 328.

⁸⁵2 Cor. 5:21.

⁸⁶W. 40 11, 527, 9.

⁸⁷Cf. E. 27, 183; 3, 311, 313 f.; 46, 67; 15, 57; 2, 261; 10, 25; 14, 16. Rupp makes the following observation: "The antithesis 'coram Deo'—'coram nobis' (or coram hominibus) is fundamental to the understanding of Luther's exposition of the Gospel and not least to the appreciation of his anthropology. This Biblical and Augustinian phrase reveals the dimension within which Luther discusses 'Righteousness': the concern is not, in the first place, with man's behavior in relation to his fellows, or his place within the hierarchy of creation, but with man as he stands in the presence of the Holy and the Living God, who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity,

true God and true man, came to the world that He might be overcome by the fears and terrors of the Law in order to overcome such terrors and also to fulfill satisfactorily the Law. He was thus terrorized by the Law, and so finally He overcame the Law for us,⁸⁸ being the Conqueror over sins, death and hell; and saving and sustaining, in the midst of death, those who believe in Him.⁸⁹ Standing in our place and making such claim that we are justified by His redemptive work, Christ must pay also the appropriate penalty.⁹⁰

Sin and the wrath of God were the cause of the death of Christ,⁹¹ and, in addition, the whole kingdom of Satan was involved.⁹² Christ's entire life was a sole descending "unters gesetz, unter den teuffel, tod, suende und helle, das ist, mein ich, yn die letzte und unterste tieffe."⁹³ By being forsaken of God,⁹⁴ He was abandoned in death, darkness, folly, sin, weakness, distress, despair and eternal condemnation. This was the summa passio of Christ. Finally, He was left in the hand of the Devil. The latter

yet who of His pure mercy receives sinners in His Son Jesus Christ." Gordon Rupp, The Righteousness of God: Luther Studies (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953), p. 161. For an over-all study on "coram Deo" idea by Luther, See Ibid., pp. 158 ff. on "Luther's Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans."

⁸⁸W. TR. 6, NO. 6610.

⁸⁹W. TR. 6, NO. 6605.

⁹⁰E. 50, 362 ff.

⁹¹E. 14, 119; 3, 22 ff.

⁹²The most terrible thing about sin is that it involves the eternal wrath of God, and, in addition, the whole kingdom of Satan. Cf. E. 25, 115; E. 21, 13, 99; E. 41, 214; E. 49, 140; E. 18, 177, 179; E. 10, 24; E. 9, 380.

⁹³W. 52, 80, 21; W. 40 1, 433 ff.; 434, 8; 442, 10; 451, 4; W. 41, 232, 2 ff.; W. 23, 702, 16; W. 2, 517, 27 ff.

⁹⁴E. 17, 182; E. 38, 217.

not only prepared for Him the tortures, but also brought Him the Cross.⁹⁵ Christ in such a way experienced hell itself, even though it was for a while.⁹⁶ It was necessary for Him to experience for men, in His innocent and tender heart, eternal death and condemnation which a lost sinner has merited and must eternally suffer.⁹⁷

Christ's entry into Jerusalem was beggarly. The King of kings rode on a barnyard mule.⁹⁸ It is still a greater wonder that the Son of God sat there on the Cross and allowed Himself to be mocked and martyred.⁹⁹ The Cross meant to Luther the real act, a real change in God's attitude to men, a transformation of God's wrath into His grace. It meant the fight between life and death.¹⁰⁰ Lo, He won the victory.

⁹⁵E. 3, 100.

⁹⁶Cf. E. 16, 244 ff.; 259; E. 39, 48.

⁹⁷Cf. E. 3, 283; 17, 76; 33, 488; 39, 47 f.

⁹⁸He was the First-born of all creatures, and the true and eternal God. The concept, Christ as the Lord of Creation and the Church, is clearly brought out in Col. 1:15-20. Luther's brief comment on this passage brings out this thought. Cf. S.L. 12, 648.

⁹⁹As recorded in W. TR. 3, NO. 3834, 3832; 6, 6603, 6839; 2, 1859; 4, 4795, 4150.

¹⁰⁰Luther interprets the Cross and Resurrection of Christ as a fight between God and Devil. This idea is strongly emphasized in sermons and hymns, such as in the following hymn verse: "Es war ein wunderlich Krieg, da Tod und Leben rungen, Das Leben behielt den Sieg, es hat den Tod verschlungen. Die Schrift hat verkundet das, wie ein Tod den andern frass. Ein Spott der Tod ist worden. W. 35, 444; "Christ lag ynn todes banden," v. 4.

Christ concluded the great chapter in God's redemptive plan of work for mankind. He fulfilled the Law¹⁰¹ and terminated the Law to its end,¹⁰² in whom alone men can seek their salvation.¹⁰³ The believers in Christ can now fulfill the Law, for Christ became the first Fulfiller of the Law.¹⁰⁴

The Resurrection of Christ

The Artickel Resurrectionis¹⁰⁵ stands with historical audacity and factual witnesses.¹⁰⁶ It is joy and bliss.¹⁰⁷ The Resurrection of Christ has actually occurred on the Easter morning,¹⁰⁸ had already been recorded in the Holy Writ,¹⁰⁹ and our Lord Himself had further given such

¹⁰¹Cf. W. 2, 466, 14; 497 ff.; 523, 10; 529, 30; 563, 35.

¹⁰²Cf. Rom. 10:4. Cf. Heinrich Bornkamm, Luther und das Alte Testament (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1948), p. 116.

¹⁰³Cf. W. 2, 477, 33.

¹⁰⁴Cf. W. 2, 492, 17 ff.; 563, 35.

¹⁰⁵Cf. Especially the numerous Easter sermons by Luther, in which references are found in the Predigtregister in W. 22, LXXXIV-V. The author followed closely those sermons, which are more than 10 in number, on Lk. 24: 13 ff. and 36 ff.

¹⁰⁶W. 15, 523: "Heri audistis summam huius festi et krafft et historiam audistis usque ad hodiernum Evangelium, in quibus vides dominum se sepe manifestasse discipulus, das es ist umb den artickel Resurrectionis. Alias non est spes neque in celis neque in terra, nisi sit in nobis efficax ista resurrectio, non solum verbis, sed factis."

¹⁰⁷Cf. E. 11, 235.

¹⁰⁸W. 37, 32, 9; W. 52, 259, 26: "Ista historia de resurrectione ista an ostertag geschehen sc."

¹⁰⁹W. 37, 364 f.: "Ideo certum, quod Moses de christo scribat, Sed liget daran, quod illi, qui legem intelligant. Sicut et Paulus dicit, quod

witness to His disciples.¹¹⁰

"Das Evangelium ist eine Predigt von der Auferstehung Christi."¹¹¹
 The Resurrection is the triumphant victory over sin, death and Devil.¹¹²
 Yes, Christus resuscitatus is our righteousness and our victory—the
 message of victory.¹¹³ Luther attributes this all-comprehensive conquest
 and blotting out of sin, together with reconciliation with God, also, it
 is true, to the sufferings and death of Christ;¹¹⁴ but he regards its
 final completion only in the resurrection. The expulsion of sins and
 death is a daily repetition in us of Christ's death and resurrection.
 Indeed it is Christ being daily victorious in us.¹¹⁵

Christ, the Redeemer and Savior, had done enough not only for our
 sins and weakness, but He also did deliver us from the power of death,
 the Devil and Hell; and did ratify the eternal Kingdom of grace through

iudaeis legentibus Mosen hengt thuch fur oculis, quod non videant.
 (2 Kor. 3:14) Et Christus: 'videntes non intelligunt!'. Cf. Lk. 8:10;
 1 Pet. 1:10.

¹¹⁰W. 37, 363: "Hodie audivimus, wie unser herr Gott an dem ersten
 suae resurrectionis 1. apparuit 2 discipulis euntibus Emaus, da sie nu
 unter wegen von im redten und schatzten unterander, hat er sich zu jenen
 than et cum eis praedicavit ein schone grosse predigt, ut textus laut et
 dicit: Lk. 24:27."

¹¹¹E. 11, 252.

¹¹²Cf. E. 11, 261, 196; E. 3, 302 ff., 342; 56, 321; 12, 97; 17,
 117; 15, 58; 18, 150.

¹¹³Cf. E. 12, 174, 88 f.; 3, 306, 150; 51, 137 f. In a rather com-
 prehensive essay, Prof. Merckens observes that the Lordship of the Risen
 Christ is the starting-point and the determining and integrating principle
 of the Lutheran philosophy of education. The risen Lord is the interpret-
 ing center and unifying factor in anthropology and cosmology. To present
 Him as such must be a fundamental aim of a Lutheran philosophy of educa-
 tion. See Albert G. Merckens, and Martin H. Franzmann, "The Integrating
 Principle of a Lutheran Philosophy of Education," (March 1, 1957).

¹¹⁴Cf. E. 49, 191.

¹¹⁵Cf. Edgar M. Carlson, The Reinterpretation of Luther (Philadelphia:
 Muhlenberg Press, c. 1948), p. 75.

the daily forgiveness of the ever remaining sins in us.¹¹⁶ Luther spoke about eternal redemption and sanctification in the same way as St. Paul wrote in 1 Cor. 1:30.¹¹⁷ From sins, God's wrath and everlasting death, Christ led us to Grace and the heavenly life. His resurrection is therefore the precise indication of His redemptive victory.¹¹⁸ By the "seed of woman," that is, a natural seed of a woman, the head of the Serpent had been destroyed, namely, the sins, eternal death and the wrath of God.¹¹⁹ From it follows a "ganz neues Testament," the preachings of St. Paul and the Apostles.¹²⁰ The Gospel is, therefore, a message and preaching, which is proclaimed to us, how the Lord Jesus Christ has taken away sins, death and all miseries from those who believe in Him.¹²¹ "Quia fides est cognitio KRISTOU. . . . Talis scientiae vivacis fidei in Christum doctrina est novum testamentum."¹²²

¹¹⁶Cf. E. 11, 297.

¹¹⁷1 Cor. 1:30: "But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption."

¹¹⁸Cf. W. 21, 250, 256; W. 30 1, 186; W. 20, 334 f. Cf. Gustav Aulén, Christus Victor (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1956), pp. 101-22.

¹¹⁹Cf. W. 1, 111. Cf. Rom. 1:18.

¹²⁰Cf. E. 11, 215 f.

¹²¹Cf. E. 11, 250

¹²²W. 9, 515. W. 31 11, 439, 20: "Justitia est cognitio Christi." This knowledge of Christ has the justifying Power as cognitio Christi portantis iniquitates nostras. W. 31 11, 439, 6 and 30.

Secondly, the resurrection is the eternal life in the Redeemer. Christ must not remain dead, but rise and become the first-fruits of the eternal life. By the resurrection, He secured the eternal victory to rule over all, so that He could finally free the believers from sins, death and Devil, and lead them to the everlasting righteousness and eternal bliss.¹²³ What the risen Lord has done, was not a realization of a new regiment and lordship connected with temporal mundane affairs of life, but rather a spiritual and divine power by which He rules and works everywhere invisibly in the hearts of men through the Word or preaching. From such Power the Grace and heavenly life come; sins, the wrath of God, and the eternal death are vanquished.¹²⁴ No longer does Christ stay in the grave. He lives. Our life in Christ, therefore, is the life with the living Lord. In Him is the religion of the "lebendig."¹²⁵ In our behalf, Christ carried all sins and all wrath, and expiated them so highly and so wholly that God is now satisfied and says as in the Gospel according to St. John 6:39-40: ". . . and I will raise him up at the last day."¹²⁶

¹²³Cf. E. 3, 343 (1534).

¹²⁴Cf. E. 11, 279.

¹²⁵W. 9, 666, 670.

¹²⁶Cf. E. 11, 290.

Finally, the resurrection of Christ is the fulfilling point of God's promise, that is, the forgiveness of sins, which is the "crimen" of the Gospel.¹²⁷ For that purpose Christ had to die and to rise from the dead.¹²⁸ All who believe in Christ, that He suffered, died and rose for them, would receive the forgiveness of sins.¹²⁹

¹²⁷W. 37, 34, 19.

¹²⁸E. 3, 352 (1533); W. 52, 261.

¹²⁹Note on the dates and content of sermons! Evidently Luther preached the same sermon in 1544 which he had preached in April 15, 1533.

E. 3, 352, 1533: "Zu Jerusalem, spricht er, soll diese predigt anfehen, und darnach in alle Welt erschallen," dass Christus habe müssen sterben, und von Todten auferstehen. Wozu? dazu, dass in seinem Namen Busse und Vergebung der Sunden, and sonst in kleinem Namen gepredigt wurde. . . . Dass, wer Vergebung der Sunden will haben, der soll glauben, dass Christus fuer ihn gelitten, und wieder von der Todten auferstanden sei. Das soll die rechte Predigt sein."

W. 37, 33, April 15, 1533: "Christus musste leiden und predigen lassen zc. i. e., das sol man predigen, sagt Christus, und sol gepredigt werden, nicht allein in Jerusalem d. sol man wol anheben, sed per totum terrarum orbem. Er sol erfüllen totum mundum Evangelio, Et so sol man predigen, das Christus hab müssen sterben. Das ist der heubterbickel, wozu? Ideo, das inn seinem namen verkündigt werde zc. . . . "In nomine eius", (Mc. 24:47) das ers durch sein leiden und auferstehen erworben hat, das sol man so predigen. Qui ergo vult habere remissionem peccatorum, der sol glauben resurrexisse eum a morte, das sol die predigt sein."

W. 52, 261, 1544: "Zu Jerusalem, spricht er, soll diese predigt anfehen und darnach inn die gantzen welt auszschallen, das Christus hab müssen sterben und von todten auferstehen. Wozu? Dazu, das in seinem namen Busz und vergabung der Sunden und sonst in keinem namen gepredigt wurde. Das also kein Busz, kein ablass gelte, weder inn S. Petters oder S. Pauls namen. 3. 262: . . . wer vergabung der sunden will haben, der soll glauben, das Christus fuer ihn gelitten und wider vom Tod auferstanden sey, Das soll die rechte predigt sein."

The message of forgiveness of sins is the Gospel. The preaching of forgiveness in the name of Jesus is nothing else than the preaching of the Gospel proclaimed into all the world, that, in Christ, all the world was swallowed up by sins, died with Him, and also rose with Him.¹³⁰

Therefore, we conclude: The Gospel is a message of the resurrection of Christ.¹³¹ "Christus selbst, den der Glaube fassen darf, ist das Heil des Glaubenden: Insofern er in Christus sein darf, ist ihm Vergebung der Sünden und ewiges Leben geschenkt: Das ist die Heilsbedeutung der Auferstehung Christi."¹³²

Remissio peccatorum which was completed in the resurrection of Christ, is totally the gift of God.¹³³ Without consideration of human worthiness or merit, Christ did gain it for us.¹³⁴

¹³⁰Cf. W. 12, 515.

¹³¹W. 12, 508: "Das kan man auch mercken usz der art des Evangelii: denn das Evangelium ist ein botschafft unnd predig, den von todten, das er sol hynweg nemen suend und tod und alles ungluck von denen die an yhn glauben. . . . Ist nun dem also, dass das Evangelion nicht anders leret, denn wie Christus durch ufferstehung suend und todt überwunden hat, so müssen wir freylich bekennen, das es niemant kan zu hilff komen denn den yhenigen die suend unnd tod fulhen. W. 12, 508: also ist nun das der beschluss von diesem stuck, das das Evangelion sey, ein predig von der uffersteung Christi, welche dazu dienen soll, das es die armen betruchten unnd erschrocken gewissen tröste unnd erquicke."

¹³²A comment by Dr. Ulrich Wilckens, an assistant to Prof. Edmund Schlink at Universitaet Heidelberg, on the Seminar Arbeit written by the present author with the title "Die Heilsbedeutung der Auferstehung Jesu Christi nach Luthers Oster-Predigten," during Winter-Semester, 1955-56, under Prof. Schlink.

¹³³W. 37, 35, 26-29. For Luther, righteousness and the gratia are identical. Cf. W. 3, 47, 11; W. 5, 144, 5; W. 2, 504, 26.

¹³⁴The following passages bring out sufficiently the idea that the forgiveness of sins is absolutely the gift of God. (All underlines are the author's.) W. 21, 260 Z. 1-2: ". . . befihet Christus vergebung

"Gross, hoch und tief ist das Geheimnis der Auferstehung, dass Christus sollte von den Toten auferstehen und lebendig bei uns sein."¹³⁵

No man's wisdom, pure reason and human experience and logic can grasp or comprehend this mystery of resurrection of our Lord.¹³⁶

There is only one possibility of understanding the resurrection, namely, through God's Word and faith. Knowledge must be a knowledge from

der suende zu predigen in Seinem Namen, das ich wissen, soll, das sie mir gewis geschenckt werde umb des willen," Z. 27-29: ". . . das Mir von wegen des Herrn Christi Vergebung der Sunden geschenckt werde, und nu durch ju von dem schrecklichen Zorn Gottes und ewigem Tod sol erloeset sein," W. 21, 261, Z. 30-31: ". . . sol sie (Vergebung-Gnade) nicht schaden, sondern geschenckt und, nicht zugerech net werden. . . . wir auch im Glauben bleiben." W. 11, 94: "Nunc cum Evangelium nobis illuxit, debemus nos aliter schicken. In causis necessariis scandalum non curandum, sed conscientiu infirma liberanda." W. 37, 34: "Ideo sol denen, die das Evangelium annehmen, geschenckt sein omnia peccata. Das heisset remissio peccatorum in Christi nomine. Extra Christum non fit, das man ablas bringe, nihil est. . . . Ich erkenne mich als einen suender, Et discite, all, die sich so erkennen, preisen Gott, dicentes: Du bist warhafftig, Ich bekenne es, quod sim peccator etc. So ehrestu Gott, 2. ehrest ihn auch, quando remissionem peccatorum amplecteris in nomine Christi. Das sol under leben sein fur Christo und fur Gott."

¹³⁵ E. 11, 278.

¹³⁶ Cf. E. 11, 237, 235, 242; W. 21, 258. Cf. Matt. 11:25. Further references on the logical absurdity of the Gospel by human reason, Cf. H. M. Mueller, Erfahrung und Glaube bei Luther (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1929), pp. 78, 81 and 87. Also Ibid., p. 79: "Der Artikel von der Menschwerdung Gottes, von Geburt, Tod und Auferstehung Jesu Christi ist eine logische Absurditat. Er ist weit unsinniger als etwa der Satz: der Mensch ist ein Pferd."

¹³⁷ Cf. E. 13, 493, 15 47.

faith. Such an essential understanding per solam fidem¹³⁷ contents itself with intellectus fidei.¹³⁸ No other means but through this faith alone can man know Christ correctly. The "lebendigen Glauben"¹³⁹ can recognize "was Christus sei,"¹⁴⁰ and that He died and rose for us.¹⁴¹

In Luther's teaching exists a paradoxical structure, that is, the eschatological dialectic of simul iustus et peccator. This famous formula is for Luther a "strange theologische Aussage."¹⁴² Such a distinction in Luther between Law and Gospel,¹⁴³ heaven and earth, grace and nature, and faith and good work, etc., is as noticeable as his dualistic claim on the state of salvation, or on the position of the Christian man, one positive side: "righteous," "strong," or "living"; on the other hand, negative: "not-righteous," "not-strong" or weak, and "not-living" or dead.

¹³⁷W. 3, 172.

¹³⁸W. 4, 149.

¹³⁹W. 9, 666.

¹⁴⁰W. 9, 669.

¹⁴¹Cf. W. 9, 665.

¹⁴²Walther v. Loewenich, "Zur Gnadenlehre bei Augustin und bei Luther," Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte, 44 (1953), 59. Cf. T. F. Torrance, "The Eschatology of the Reformation," Eschatology, edited by William Manson (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd Ltd., 1952), pp. 41 f.

¹⁴³Cf. W. 18, 493, 15 ff.

The people of God¹⁴⁴ are both sinners and saints, righteous and unrighteous at the same time: "sanctified sinners"—sinners who are sanctified in Christ. In Christ, the Christian man is always sinner and saint at the same time before God. He is both bad and pious. In his own name and merit, man is a sinner and always in sin. However, Christ has brought an "andern Namen," namely the forgiveness of sins in view of His own Name.¹⁴⁵

A Christian is both weak and strong: weak in his own nature, and strong in Jesus Christ. In Christ the "strong-ness" is hidden under the "weak-ness." Whenever we recognize our weakness and seek after the strength in Christ, we become ever stronger. Christ no longer suffers and is no longer laid in the grave, but has risen from the dead and walks into life.¹⁴⁶

A Christian man is "dead" as well as "living." He is dead in sin, but alive in Christ. The Lord Christ Himself was also in the same manner:

¹⁴⁴ Luther was referring to Ps. 68:25.

¹⁴⁵ E. 3, 357, 1533: Also ist ein Christ zugleich ein Sinder, und ein Heiliger; er ist zugleich boese und fromm. Denn unserer Person halb sind wir in Suenden, und in unserm eignen Namen sind wir Suender. Aber Christus bringt uns einen andern Namen, der da heisst Vergebung der Suenden, dass uns un scinetwilen die Suenden nachgelassen, und geschenkt werden. . . . Aber da ist Christus, der heisst mir predigen, ich soll Buesse thun, das ist, fuer einen Suender mich bekennen, und Vergebung der Suenden glauben, in seinem Namen.

W. 52, 264, 1544: Also ist ein Christ zu gleich ein suender unnd ein heylig, Er ist zu gleich boese und fromm. Dann unser Person halb sind wir in suender und im unserm eygen namen sind wir suender. Aber Christus bringt uns ein andern namen, der da heyst verggebung der suenden, Das uns unnd scinet willer die suend nachgelassen und geschenckt werden.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. E. 11, 258.

crucified and dead, but became alive anew and placed Himself into the highest glory and honor.¹⁴⁷

Faith

Faith assumes understanding and knowing—quaedam cognitio.¹⁴⁸ Further it directs "recte de Deo cognitare."¹⁴⁹ According to Luther, faith is none other than a knowledge of God or "das Erkenntnis oder der Brauch und nuss Christi."¹⁵⁰ In another occasion, he defined faith as substantia Dei,¹⁵¹ and "ein herzlich Vertrauen zu Gott."¹⁵² There are almost innumerable statements by Luther on faith,¹⁵³ and likewise various interpretations of Luther's understanding of faith by different scholars.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷Cf. W. 12, 512; E. 11, 260.

¹⁴⁸W. 40 i, 228 f.

¹⁴⁹W. 40 i, 376.

¹⁵⁰W. 9, 666.

¹⁵¹W. 3, 440.

¹⁵²W. 47, 93. E. 7, 134: "Fides est, habere verbum in corde et non dubitare de eo." Cf. W. M. Oesch, "Luther on Faith," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXVII (March, 1956), 193 f.

¹⁵³Some references suggested: W. 42, 564; 11, 198; W. 40 i, 649; 2, 694, 7 f.; 35, 434, 9; 21, 304, 27; 40 i, 296, 11; 8, 157, 22; 32, 84, 3; 37, 326 f.; 19, 149, 17; 2, 458, 20 ff.; 31 ii, 20; 40 i, 274, 6; And for further casual references, Cf. S.L. XXIII, under "Glaube" and topics related with it.

¹⁵⁴The following sources are consulted: Heinrich Bornkamm, Luthers Geistige Welt (Gutersloh: G. Bertelsmann, 1953), pp. 90, 94, 104, 106 f., 157; Carl Stange, Studien zur Theologie Luthers (Gutersloh: Druck und Verlag von G. Bertelsmann, 1928), p. 227; Karl Holl, "Luther," Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte (Tuebingen: Verlag von J. C. E. Mohr, 1932),

Suffice it to say, however, the following description probably summarizes well his total conception of faith. Faith is not a "hollow space or cavity," nor a "jump into abyss," but it is in ipsa fide Christus adest.¹⁵⁵

Christian life is a life of faith and at the same time a life of "good work." Man is justified by faith; he witnesses the state of his justification through good works. This relation is indispensable. "Szo stehet ein christlich leben recht innern durch den glauben und ausen durch die werk sz."¹⁵⁶ Faith brings forth love.¹⁵⁷ Where there is true faith, there is true love.¹⁵⁸ Love is the sum total of the Christian life and

I, 344; M. A. H. Stoops, Die Anthropologie Martin Luthers (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1935), p. 7; T. Harnack, op. cit., I, 43 f; H. M. Mueller, op. cit., pp. 7, 76, 132 f., 94, 146.

¹⁵⁵W. 40 i, 228, 31 ff.: "Quare fides christiana non est otiosa qualitas vel vacua siliqua in code quae possit excistere in peccato mortali, donec charitas accedat et eam vivificet, Sed si est vera fides, est quaedam certa fiducia cordis et firmus assensus quo Christus apprehenditus,"

¹⁵⁶W. 9, 679, 5 f. (April, 1521). On faith and good work, the following works of Luther are recommended: Commentary on Galatians (W. 40 i, 1-688, and W. 40 ii, 1-184); "Von den guten Werken" (1520) (W. 6, 196-276); "Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen" (1520) (W. 7, 12-38).

¹⁵⁷Cf. E. 16, 127. For a thorough treatment on faith and love, the reader is referred to: G. W. Forell, Faith Active in Love (New York: The American Press, 1854), 198 pp. And especially read Ibid., p. 189.

¹⁵⁸Cf. E. 8, 119; 3, 62; 13, 304 f.; 24, 341; E. 63, 125: "Unmoeglich ist, dass der Glaube nicht ohne Unterlass sollte Gutes wirken. Er fragt auch nicht, ob gute Werke zu tun sind, sondern ehe man fragt, hat er sie getan und ist immer im Tun, . . . also dass unmoeglich ist, Werke vom Glauben zu scheiden, ja so unmoeglich, als Brennen und Leuchten vom Feuer mag geschieden werden."

Christian morality.¹⁵⁹ Faith propels and enables man to equip himself with a true Christian morality.¹⁶⁰

Preaching the Gospel creates faith, according to Luther, and faith brings forth good works. Where both the Law and the Gospel are rightly preached, there are manifested good and noble works of Christian love.¹⁶¹ Luther stresses in all good works which we do, the agent is not we but Christ in us.¹⁶² With extraordinary emphasis on the Word of God, Luther relates it to faith, love and good works in these words: "Verbum Dei omnium primum est, quod sequitur fides, fidem caritas, caritas deinde facit omne bonum opus."¹⁶³

To sum up: Luther's education starts with Christ and ends with Christ. Jesus Christ, who became incarnate man, became the Mediator and Savior of mankind, and arose from the dead, is the core of Luther's education. His education is Christ-centered; Christ-centered education is God-centered education. The primary purpose of this chapter is not to add one more work to the study of Luther's Christology, which has already

¹⁵⁹ Cf. E. 18, 279; 51, 284; 17, 257; 14, 167.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Wilh. Walther, "Die christliche Sittlichkeit nach Luther," Das Erde der Reformation (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Nachf., 1909), pp. 50 ff., 70 ff.

¹⁶¹ Cf. E. 33, 271; 16, 123. For a comprehensive study on Luther's view of love, or the "Christian Agape motif," the present author refers to Nygren's book, Agape and Eros, which has previously been cited in this chapter.

¹⁶² Cf. W. 3, 545, 32 f.; 3, 257, 5 ff.

¹⁶³ W. 6, 514, (De captiv. Babyl., 1520).



CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES AND INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS AND METHODS

Christian Education

For Luther the value of religion and education is one and the same, the estimation of the teaching profession is as high as of the office of preaching.¹ The difference between the two is not a difference in essence and aim, but only in form. Stollhorn observes that "the teaching of the Word, which leads the sinner to repentance and his justification before God, and later keeps him in the state of grace, is a matter of EDUCATION."²

¹Dr. Missa Salass, Modern Education and Moral Ideas (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1909), p. 7.

²Dr. O. Stollhorn, "Christian Education-Its Nature and Its Relation to the Modern Doctrine of Justification and Sanctification," spoken at various conferences (Oct. 7, 1907). Concerning the topic "Erziehung und Veranschaulichung," Dr. Stollhorn speaks rather extensively, which may be enlightening in some respects. He brought out the following points: the difference and similarity between the two, "Erziehung" and "Veranschaulichung," and the difficulty to bridge between the two. Difference: "In den alten ist Veranschaulichung von der Erziehung durch eine unüberwindliche Kluft getrennt. Erziehung beschränkt sich auf die Veranschaulichung, die nicht nur in der Gemeinde, sondern auch im Unterricht, Veranschaulichung in der Welt, Erziehung von Welt zu Welt, so wie der Welt des Menschen der Atmosphäre durch die Welt. Erziehung ist die Hilfe an einen Menschen; Veranschaulichung ist Veranschaulichung eines Menschen, jedes einzelne Individuum, dessen Name Kinder heißt." Similarity: "Während in der Erziehung die Hilfe an einen Menschen ist, so gibt die Veranschaulichung eine gewisse Hilfe. Von ihnen her scheint der Tod dem Erzieher in der Welt notwendig. Beide haben es jedenfalls mit dem Menschen als Mensch zu tun. Beide sollen den die Distanz der Welt zu ihnen beseitigen. Der Mensch ist der Mensch, der die Hilfe von der Welt zu ihm bringt, so wie die Hilfe des Menschen, der die Hilfe von der Welt zu ihm bringt, so wie die Hilfe des Menschen, der die Hilfe von der Welt zu ihm bringt." Conclusion: "Die Erziehung ist die Hilfe an einen Menschen, die Veranschaulichung ist die Hilfe an einen Menschen, der die Hilfe von der Welt zu ihm bringt, so wie die Hilfe des Menschen, der die Hilfe von der Welt zu ihm bringt." Summary: "Die Erziehung ist die Hilfe an einen Menschen, die Veranschaulichung ist die Hilfe an einen Menschen, der die Hilfe von der Welt zu ihm bringt, so wie die Hilfe des Menschen, der die Hilfe von der Welt zu ihm bringt." Final: "Die Erziehung ist die Hilfe an einen Menschen, die Veranschaulichung ist die Hilfe an einen Menschen, der die Hilfe von der Welt zu ihm bringt, so wie die Hilfe des Menschen, der die Hilfe von der Welt zu ihm bringt."

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work during the year. It is followed by a detailed account of the various projects and the results achieved. The report concludes with a summary of the work done and the plans for the future.

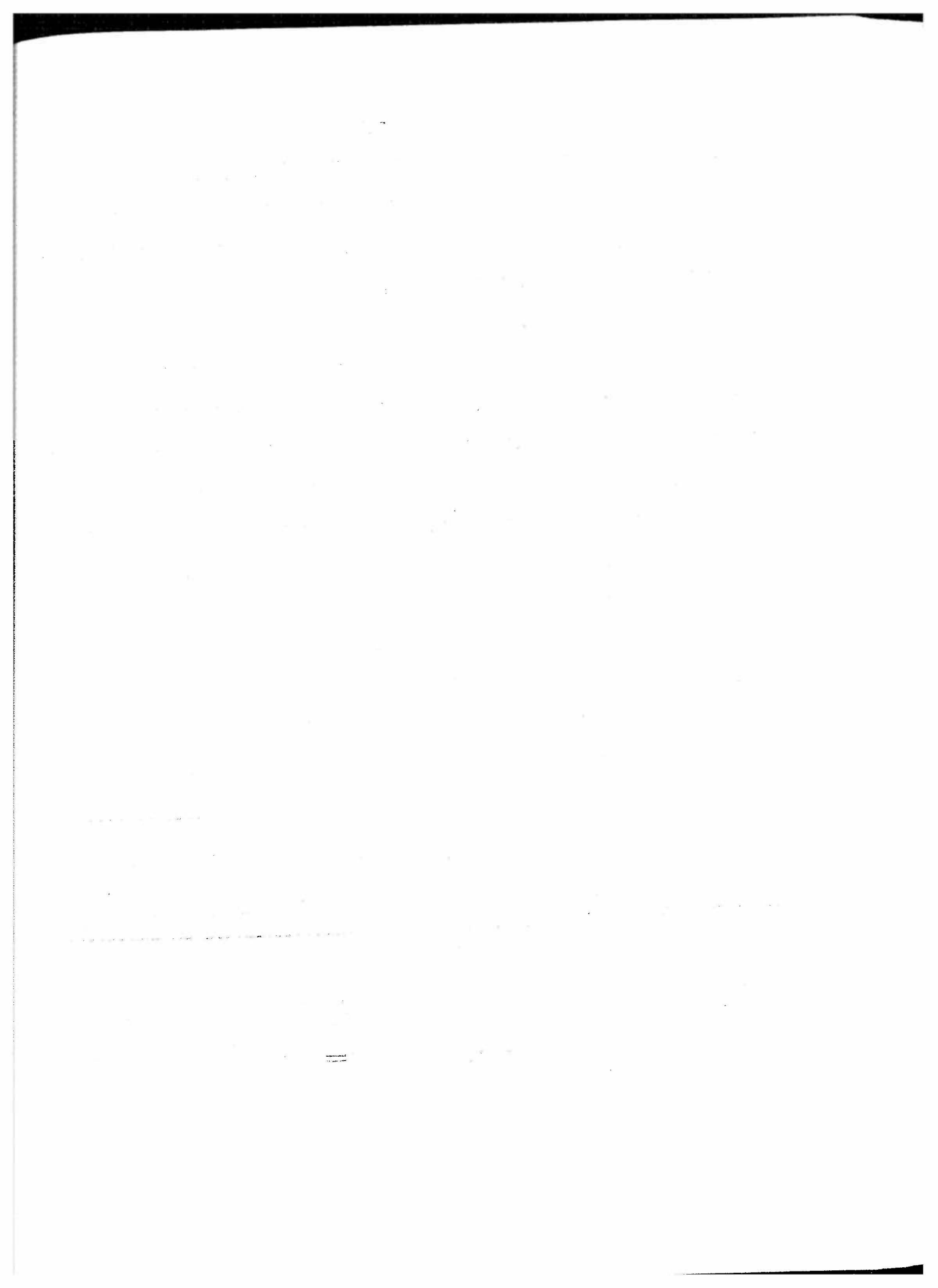
The work has been carried out in accordance with the programme of work approved by the Council of the Institute. It has been a year of hard work and many achievements have been made. The results of the work are set out in the following pages.

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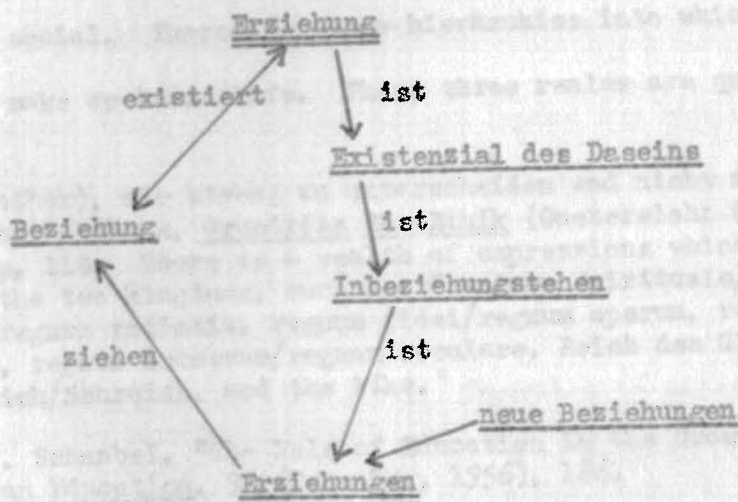
The following table shows the results of the work done during the year. It is divided into two columns, one for the number of projects completed and one for the number of pages written.

Project	Number of Projects Completed	Number of Pages Written
Project A	10	100
Project B	15	150
Project C	20	200
Project D	25	250
Project E	30	300
Project F	35	350
Project G	40	400
Project H	45	450
Project I	50	500
Project J	55	550
Project K	60	600
Project L	65	650
Project M	70	700
Project N	75	750
Project O	80	800
Project P	85	850
Project Q	90	900
Project R	95	950
Project S	100	1000



aim to train the "Schola Christiana." "Es gibt fuer Luther keine direkte menschliche Erziehung, Zuruestung, Bildung zum Glauben. Es gibt nur eine Erziehung und Bildung und menschliche Kulturarbeit zum Glauben. Aber Erziehung, Bildung und Kultur sind notwendig fuer die Existenz des Christen in der Welt."⁸

Paradoxically, the Christian man lives in two dimensions; he is a member of the kingdom of God and the kingdom on earth at the same time.⁹ As a citizen of the heavenly kingdom, he participates in the communion of saints, and strives for his heavenly calling; as a citizen of the earthly kingdom, he pursues his earthly calling, to nurture and to edify his fellow



Cf. Wilhelm Koepf, Die Erziehung unter dem Evangelium (Tuebingen: Verlag von T. C. B. Mohr, 1932), pp. 5 ff.

⁸ Ernst Lichtenstein, "Luther und die Humanitaet," Evangelische Theologie (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1950-51), Heft 9, 388. As to the education in faith, Op. Doerne, op. cit., p. 55. Also Cf. Luther's educational writings in 1524 and 1530 which are stated in appendixes IV and V.

⁹ For a thorough treatment of this subject the reader is referred to Franz Lau, "Luthers Lehre von den beiden Reichen," Luthertum (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1953), Heft 8. A further observation is made by Althaus: "Der Christ lebt in zwei Ordnungen oder 'Reichen,' unter zwei

men.¹⁰ Luther's educational ideal was in reality twofold: education for the heavenly calling which is the same for all men and necessary for every man and everywhere;¹¹ education for the earthly calling which differs in each particular situation, being unique to individual talent and adopted to the individual community and nation.¹² The former should be participated in by every man; however, the latter is limited to the capable person who can carry out the common goal of education.¹³ ". . . nach Luthers Anschauung von der Erziehung uebt Gott seine beiden Regimente in einem Amt und in einer Person gleichseitig und in konkret unsertrennlicher Einheit aus, ohne dass beide sachlich vermischt und verwechselt werden."¹⁴

Education is essentially a personal phenomenon. Its principle, however, is always social. There are three hierarchies into which man is born, and these make up human life. These three realms are quite distinct

'Regimenten' (Luther), die streng zu unterscheiden und nicht miteinander zu vermischen." Paul Althaus, Grundriss der Ethik (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann Verlag, 1953), p. 110. There is a wealth of expressions which Luther employs to distinguish the two kingdoms, such as: "regimen spirituale/regimen corporale, regnum gratiae/regnum rationis, regnum fidei/regnum operum, regnum Christi/regnum Caesaris, regnum aeternum/regnum seculare, Reich des Glaubens/Reich der Tat, Hoerreich/Schreich, and the like."

¹⁰Cf. R. V. Schnabel, "The Role of Education in the Growth of the Church," Lutheran Education, 92 (December, 1956), 166.

¹¹Cf. Wal. 7, 1531.

¹²Cf. Wal. 10, 1646.

¹³Cf. J. Meyer and J. Prinzhorn, Dr. Martin Luthers Gedanken ueber Erziehung und Unterricht (Hannover: Verlag von Carl Meyer, 1883), p. 43.

¹⁴Hans-Bernhard Kaufmann, "Grundfragen der Erziehung bei Luther," Luther, mitteilungen der Luthergesellschaft und herausgegeben von Theodor Knolle (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1954), p. 63.

in function, yet possess the same origin. A similarity in them permits a harmonious and organic unity. The family, State, and Church comprise this synthesis.¹⁵ Luther hoped to accomplish his educational ideals through these agencies, co-operating with each other. Education belongs to them;¹⁶ and, on these agencies, rests the future of education. Each of them has its unique part to play.

Familie, Staat und Kirche haben auf diesem Felde zusammenzuwirken, und ihr Hilfsorgan ist die Schule. Die Pflichten dieser drei Gemeinschaften grenzt Luther dahin ab, dass die Eltern die Kinder zur Schule senden sollen, dass die Obrigkeit die Schulen errichten, erhalten, die finanziellen Mittel herbeischaffen und saeuemige Eltern zum Schulbesuch ihrer Kinder anhalten soll, und dass endlich die Kirche fuer den Unterricht und fuer dessen Inspektion und Visitation, jedoch unter Mitwirkung des Staates, zu sorgen hat.¹⁷

Significance of the Home in the Educational Endeavor

Luther regarded home, church and school (under the support of State) as the normal educational agencies. The one, however, which could best

¹⁵Cf. W. 31 i, 217; W. 50, 488 ff.

¹⁶Cf. W. 40 i, 293; W. 15, 44, 29 f. Education by parents, State, school and church: See Doerne, *op. cit.*, pp. 39 ff. Bohne observes education as "Hilfe zum Wachstum" in three places: "Die Familie als behueteter Raum; Die Schule als behueteter Raum; Die Kirche als behueteter Raum." Gerhard Bohne, Grundlagen der Erziehung (Hamburg: Im Furche-Verlag, 1953), pp. 143-94.

¹⁷Meyer and Prinzhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Cf. Kaufmann, *op. cit.*, p. 69. Bornkamm comments: "Diese umspannt drei Ordnungen, in denen alle Christen leben: Familie, Staat, Kirchengemeinde—alle drei gleich unmittelbar zu Gott, fuer jeden gleich verpflichtend, nur durch ihren besonderen Auftrag geschieden." Heinrich Bornkamm, Luthers Geistige Welt (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1953), p. 38.

realize his educational goal, is the Christian home. He realized clearly how greatly the welfare of the Church and State depends upon it, and how important the home is to realize the final goal of education. In the home, every phase of education can normally be practiced with success. Luther's view on the importance of the home as a basic educational agency and his stress on domestic training are among his finest contributions to education. To Luther, the family is the educational institution of primary importance. The basic source of well-being for both church and state is the family where the youth can be trained for civil and church services.¹⁸ Luther considered the Fourth Commandment, "honor thy father and mother," as the basis of his social order and his ethical concept. A good home training and sound family life are the very foundation of good government and social welfare. The church and the state (or school) may complement education, but by no means can they substitute for the home. Home-school-church co-operation is, therefore, not only desirable, but absolutely essential.¹⁹

God gave the responsibility of training youth, according to Luther, chiefly to the home, and therefore, it is a divine obligation to fulfill such

¹⁸Cf. Horst Keferstein, Dr. Martin Luthers Paedagogische Schriften und Aeusserungen (Langensalza: Druck und Verlag von Hermann Beyer und Soehne, 1888), pp. XVII-XXVII. Luther's defense of the domestic interests of the young people may have been no less praiseworthy than the ideals of those revolutionaries who tried to make every man a king, and a political scientist in addition, whether or not he had the competence, training, or calling to rule. Cf. Ottmar Dittrich, Luthers Ethik in Ihren Grundzuegen dargestellt (Leipzig: Verlag von Felix Meiner, 1930), pp. 107-16.

¹⁹Cf. E. H. Wilde, The Foundations of Modern Education (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1942), p. 294; Schnabel, op. cit., p. 167.

a task at home. To ignore the home brings the whole world into confusion and uproar.²⁰

Domestic training is the duty of parents; the use of school and teachers is only supplementary. No matter how important the teacher is he is second to the parents.²¹ Parents are the first, chief and natural educators of children. The influence of parents and home lasts long in the life of a child. It is "not limited to the pre-school age, but continues with all force during the school age, during the age of adolescence, and in a measure throughout life."²²

The home is in a sense a "church." All high and honorable, respectable titles, such as ruler, bishop, doctor, pastor, preacher, judge, schoolmaster, etc., can be ascribed to the parents. Parenthood is honorable; it is a divine blessing.²³

²⁰Cf. Jaroslav Pelikan, Fools for Christ (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955), p. 110: "Society, especially as represented in the family, was a creation of God and, as such, one of the most elemental contexts within which the Christian Good was to operate."

²¹Cf. W. 30 1, 35. Also Cf. Werner Jentsch, Urchristliches Erziehungsdenken (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1951), pp. 228 ff.

²²A. C. Stellhorn, "The Lutheran Philosophy of Education," addressed at a Seminar, sponsored by the Lutheran High School Association, in Pittsburgh, (Nov. 12, 1947), p. 7. Home is the first school; parents first teachers. See Deut. 6:6-7.

²³W. 16, 490, 30 ff.: "Fuer war yhr haus were eine rechte kirche, ein auserwelet Kloester, ja ein Paradies, Denn Vater und Mutter werden Gott hie gleich, denn sie sind Regenden, Bisschoff, Bapst, Doktor, Pfarrer, Prädiger, Schulmeister, Richter und Herr, der Vater hat alle namen und ampt Gottes ueber seine Kinder. . . ."

Concordia Tripletta, edited by F. Bente (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 611: "To this estate of fatherhood and motherhood God has given the special distinction above all other estates that are beneath it that He not simply commands us to love our parents, but to love them."

Luther's idea of marriage is a lofty one. Marriage is not just a natural phenomenon, but it is God's blessing and gift. It is a blessed state which ought to be highly honored and respected as a divine institution, for it assumes the great responsibility of educating children. In marriage lies the highest earthly pleasure and happiness.²⁴

Das ist denn wahrlich ein sehr schoener und glueckseliger Ehestand, darinnen beide, am Tisch und am Bett geschrieben stehet: Hier ist Gottes Gunst, Wille und sein gnaediges Wohlgefallen. Dies sind die rechten und unermesslichen Gueter und Reichtum.²⁵

LOVE, which must be the ruling power in marriage, is the foundation and the corner-stone of marriage. Luther ascribed such lofty attributes to love as: "Reich der Tugenden," "die Koenigin der Verdienste,"²⁶ "Allen

²⁴Wal. 3, 1639: ". . . denn in Vater und Mutter koennen wir spueren und erfahren, wie Gott gegen den Menschen gesinnet ist. Das ist nun fein abgemalet in der Ehe.--Aber die Welt achtet sein nicht; es ist ihr ein schlecht Ding ein solch fein koestlich Gottes Werk, Vater und Mutter sein, Kinder zeugen, ihrer warten.--Gott befiehet Vater und Mutter also das Amt, dass sie der Kinder warten." Cf. Luther's sermon on Lk. 5:1-11; S.L. 11, 464 f. (Jn. 2:1-11): ". . . wedlock . . . was instituted by God and that God regards it highly, and Christ Himself honors it and speaks words of comfort . . ." Cf. Luther als Erzieher (Berlin: Verlag von Martin Warnack, 1902), pp. 130-37.

Concerning marriage, Luther in his commentary on 1 Cor. 7, presents the following views: Whether being married or not married, it is a personal freedom. No law or commandment can take away this freedom from a man who is in Christ. (in connection with 7:6-7). To get married and to have children are God's ordinances (Gen. 1:28) as much as to remain single in order to serve God and His Kingdom better. Either is commendable as long as it follows the Will of God. (7:8-9). Marriage is instituted by the Lord, and it ought to be kept in an honorable manner. This holy bond exists so long as one's spouse lives. After the death of one partner, the mutual bond is loosed (referring to Rom. 7:1). In keeping this holy matrimony purely and faithfully, there are the mutual happiness and joy in the lives of men and women. (7:39-40). Cf. W. 12, 95-142; S.L. 8, 1026-85. Also Cf. W. TR. 4, 4495.

²⁵Wal. 1, 2476.

For a man nothing is a greater gift than to have a fine wife. Since Luther showed affection and respect for his wife,³³ his teaching emphasizes throughout the importance of having a good wife. Indeed, the wife is the crown of the husband. Through her and by her, he can rise or fall. A famous statement of Luther reads: "Die groesste Gnade ist's ein fromm, gottfuerchtig, haeuslich Weib haben, dem eines sein Gut, ja Leib und Leben vertrauen darf."³⁴ For a husband, a wife is the best gift of God.

St. Paul said in 1 Cor. 11:7, "the woman is the glory of the man." God thus commanded man to govern his wife, children and the rest of his household; not to over-rule or to dominate, but rather to manage them in a good order according to God's ordinances. Therefore, the husband belongs to an honorable realm.³⁵ "Denn Gott hat Frauen geschaffen zu Ehren und Huelfe dem Mann; darum will er solche Liebe unverbotten und unverachtet haben."³⁶ Faithfulness and trust are the basic virtues in marriage: the husband ought to be the best friend of his wife, the wife his best helpmeet.³⁷

³³Luther thanked God that He gave him Katherine as his wife. "Luther," Encyklopaedie des gesammten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens, edited and compiled by Prof. V. Palmer et al. (Gotha: Verlag von Rudolf Besser, 1865), p. 477: ". . . er Gott ihm Luther seiner Baethe ein freundlich, gottesfuerchtig und haeuslich Gemahl geschenkt habe, die er theuer achten muesse denn das Koenigreich Frankreich und der Venediger Herrschaft."

³⁴W. TR. 2, 428, 25. Concerning wife, Cf. W. TR. 1, 6, 5 ff.; W. 42, 51, 39 f.; W. 20, 149, 20; W. 42, 151, 1 f.; W. 28, 27, 34 f.; W. 17, 461, 25. Also Cf. Luther als Erzieher (Berlin: Verlag von Martin Warneck, 1902), pp. 115-29.

³⁵Cf. Wal. 3, 1654.

³⁶W. 11, 399. Cf. W. 12, 95; W. 10 11, 277, 295; W. 12, 114; W. 30 1, 161 ff.; W. TR. 3, 257.

³⁷Cf. W. 30 11, 325 f.; 15, 419; 2, 167.

Husband and wife, united by marriage in love, are "king" and "queen" for each other, and glorious in each other's eyes. To this united force, God committed the great mission of rearing and training children, who would be able to serve His Church and the earthly state.

kein Koenig, ja auch die Sonne nicht schoener und in deinen Augen leuchten soll als even deine Frau oder dein Mann. Denn allerhier hast due Gottes Wort, welches dir die Frau oder den Mann zuspricht: Der Mann soll dein sein, die Frau soll dein sein. Denn es ist ja kein Schmuck ueber Gottes Wort, damit due dein Weib ansieht als ein Gottesgeschenk.³⁸

God has honored the parental estate above all other estates that are beneath Him, so that He not only commands us to love our parents, but also to honor them.³⁹ A father ought to chastise his children as a judge; teach them as a doctor, admonish them as a pastor or a bishop. In their home and to their children, parents are house-bishops, house-doctors, kings, princes and lords.

Gewisslich ist Vater und Mutter des Kindes Apostel, Bischoff, Pfarrer, ynn dem sie das Evangelium ynn kundt machen. Und kirzlich, keyn grosser, edler gewalt auff erden ist, denn der elltern uber yhre kinder, syntemal sie geystlich unnd weltlich gewalt uber sie haben.⁴⁰

The degree of honor due fatherhood or parenthood is inestimable. To parenthood Luther pays the greatest tribute.⁴¹ God-fearing parents ever live! Even after their death, their pious words of admonition and example to their

³⁸W. 34 1, 52, 11.

³⁹Cf. Fourth Commandment: W. 30 1, 147, 22 ff.

⁴⁰W. 10 11, 301.

⁴¹Cf. W. 16, 491; Jentsch, op. cit., pp. 224 ff.

children will continue to be present among them.

With a vivid example, Luther illustrates beautifully the glorious task of motherhood and her work: If a young lady would wear such a brilliant adornment as a queen wears, people would look and be surprised and envious. Nevertheless, when a wife rears her children in the way God has commanded her to do, all such worldly bright and costly decorations and velvets, and golden coats, become like a beggar's old and torn mantle. The work and purpose of motherhood are a precious, beautiful and costly as a diamond.⁴² No better educational example can one be exposed to in school or elsewhere than that which one finds in his good mother, who prays, thanks God, manages and governs her household, and does whatever a pious and faithful wife and mother can and should do for the glory of God and the welfare of her house and community. Such an important and worthwhile task and accomplishment, no pope, cardinal, bishop and ruler can fully recognize.⁴³ Among many examples, the patriarchs are the best model.⁴⁴ Sarah and Rebecca were the excellent mothers. Their virtues one must teach and exemplify in the home.⁴⁵

Children are precious gifts of God. The parents, there, must

⁴²Cf. Wal. 13, 1968; Jentsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 227 f.

⁴³Wal. 2, 788.

⁴⁴Cf. Wal. 13, 17.

⁴⁵Cf. Wal. 1, 1764.

must see them as the "koestlichen ewigen schatz."⁴⁶ "Mira gratia est iuniores pueros parentibus semper chariores esse. Mein jungst Kind, mein groester schatz."⁴⁷ The young ones are little plants, as in a beautiful garden, through whom the Church of God is built. Indeed, they are the seeds and source of strength by which the missions of State and Church can be fulfilled. In the Church, we must always maintain Christian schools, so that through them God will sustain the Church's leadership. Schools preserve the Church. They are a necessity and the most useful agency for Church and State.⁴⁸ Parents, teachers and pastors, on the other hand, are the "gardeners" of youth. Toward the spiritual and material needs of children faithful care must be devoted.⁴⁹

One of Luther's innovations in education was to liberate children from the strait jacket instruction and discipline, which prevailed throughout the Middle Ages. He brought the air of freedom, cheerfulness, and respect for the child's growing personality, into the school. A right performance of domestic duties, particularly in rearing children, is better than fasting, pilgrimages, and all other good works.⁵⁰ It is the best and the highest work one can do as parents.⁵¹ Instructing

⁴⁶ W. 2, 170. Children are the chief part of the divine blessing: S. L. 4, 1999.

⁴⁷ W. TR. 2, 634, 40 f.; Cf. W. TR. 1, 521, 30 ff.

⁴⁸ Cf. Wal. 22, 2245; 15, 526.

⁴⁹ Cf. Wal. 3, 1816 f.

⁵⁰ Cf. W. 6, 253 ff.; Wal 13, 2859.

⁵¹ Cf. Wal. 13, 371.

or training children to the service of God, according to Luther, "ist auff erden das aller edlist, theurist werck weyl gott nicht liches geschehen mag, denn seelen erloesen."⁵² Parents are special stewards of God, whose mission is to care for both body and soul, giving children all that they need for growth in things material as well as spiritual.⁵³ From them the child gets his first experience and impressions in life.⁵⁴ Now, the parents have two alternatives, either to lead their children to eternal blessedness by rearing them well according to God's Word and pious admonition, or to lead them to hell by neglecting their education. Grave responsibility inheres in the parental duty.⁵⁵ It is the gravest of sins to neglect sending children to school and to neglect training them according to the will of God.⁵⁶ To the irresponsible and negligent parents, our Lord would undoubtedly say:

Masters and mistresses, kings and princes, you have had many souls under your control; it was your duty to train them up in the fear of God and diligently teach them the Word of God, but you have not done it; you have suffered them to grow up in wickedness and without the fear of God. Of whom shall I demand account for such an unspeakable loss? Of no one but you parents, husbands and wives, kings and princes, to whom I have committed such a trust; but you have neglected

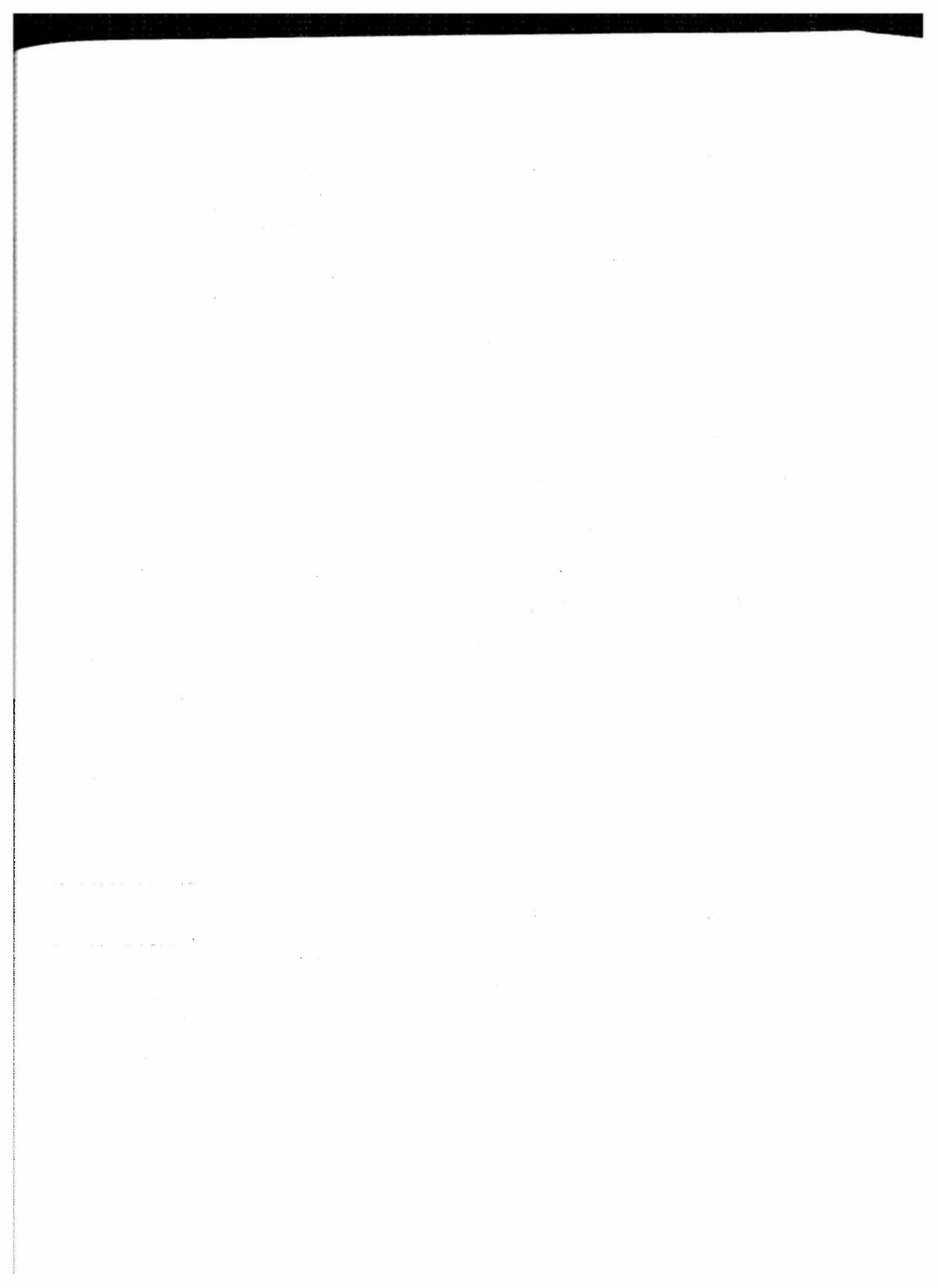
⁵²W. 10 11, 301.

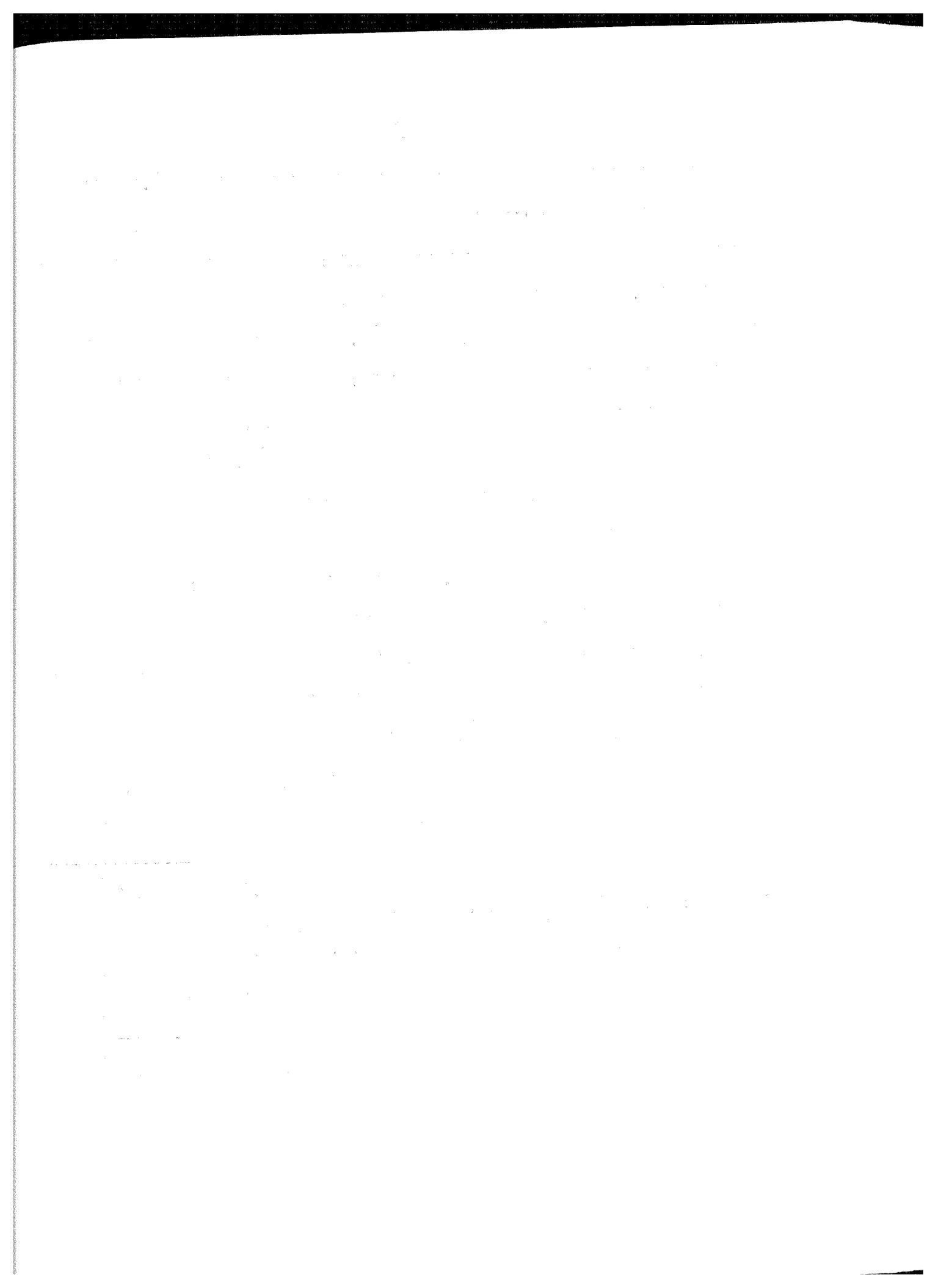
⁵³Cf. Russell A. Peterson, Lutheranism and the Educational Ethic (Boston: Meador Publishing Company, 1950), pp. 27 f.

⁵⁴Concerning the basic experiences of the child, Bohne made the following observation: "1) Die ersten Menschen, die dem Kinde begegnen, sind Vater und Mutter, also Menschen, die es liebhaben; 2) Die zweite Grunderfahrung ist die der Autoritaet--Elterns und Gebots; 3) Die dritte ist die Erfahrungen mit Menschen miteinander--Geschwestern, usw.; 4) Erfahrung der Schuld und Vergebung."

⁵⁵Cf. Wal. 10, 796, 1446; Wal. 3, 1658, 1817.

⁵⁶Cf. E. 22, 166; Wal. 3, 1824.





By being a Christian example, parents (and Luther would include also teachers, pastors and other people related to children) cause their children to follow them gladly and to learn willingly.⁶⁵ In this respect, Abraham won favor with God and became an example to the parents and teachers in every subsequent age. He governed his children and his household according to God's commandments, teaching them to keep the way of God and to do righteousness and justice.⁶⁶

Luther directs attention to the supreme example of Christ, who became man in order to save mankind. In like manner, parents and teachers must become children, said Luther, in order to train them.⁶⁷ No man can truly understand a child unless he lives in the world of the child. Luther exemplified this principle in his own family life. With much pleasure he used to play with his children. Such "heilige Naevetaet" and "religioesen Humor" are the human characteristic of Luther, as shown in his relationship with children.⁶⁸ One can clearly see the human, warm, fatherly nature of Luther in his beautiful letter to his son "Haenschen" in 1530.⁶⁹

⁶⁵Cf. Wal 13, 2859.

⁶⁶Cf. Wal. 22, 254.

⁶⁷Cf. Wal. 10, 52; Lichtenstein, op. cit., p. 400.

⁶⁸Meyer and Prinsborn, op. cit., p. 28. Cf. Wilhelm Walther, Luthers Charakter (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Werner Scholl, 1917), p. 6.

⁶⁹Luther's letter to his son "Haenschen" on June 19, 1530, recorded in W. BR. 5, 377 ff.

Still, discipline had its place. Luther regarded discipline in the home as the foundation for all institutional and social existence, and insisted upon its maintenance as a measure for insuring public safety and prosperity.⁷⁰ For the task of good discipline, parents and teachers are ordained. With this training children will learn to govern themselves in later life.⁷¹

Luther's home training was of the severest sort. While his parents loves their children very much, and in turn were loved by them, yet their idea of child training included a liberal application of the rod and the strictest kind of legalism. The least disobedience to either parental or divine law seems to have been immediately followed by very severe discipline.⁷²

Training must start in the home, and is based upon the obedience due parents. So highly obedience is valued, that in it all virtues and good works of men are included.⁷³ Where there is no obedience to parents, there can be neither genuine morality, nor good government. The family is the "government" in which all other government is rooted. And when the root is not good, there can naturally be neither a good trunk nor good fruits. Home is the source where the peace of a land originates, also where strife originates, and all things, both good and bad, come out of the home. There-

⁷⁰Cf. F. Eby and C. F. Arrowood, The Development of Modern Education (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934), p. 92; F. V. N. Painter, History of Education (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1896), p. 144.

⁷¹Cf. Wal. 2, 1267.

⁷²Julius Koestlin, Life of Luther, translated from the German (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), pp. 11-12.

⁷³Luther instructed, however, that when the parents neglect their duty and high calling and rear the children according to the worldly way, the children have no obligation to obey their parents.

fore, God directs us to make a well governed and carefully managed home.

Children must be reared in "severe kindness" and in "kind severity." Love in discipline, and discipline in love. ". . . man muss also strafen, dass der Apfel bei der Ruthe sei."⁷⁴ Discipline is a means to an end, not an end in itself. The immediate purpose of it is to achieve right order; its final goal is to accomplish the self-discipline that conforms with a higher will and cause. While the guilty child may have to experience the severity of the rod,⁷⁵ the penitent child should feel the sincerity of the love of his parents. Only love must wield the rod. By love children will do more than by fear and coercion. Love, not scolding, impetuosity, or severity, should be the atmosphere for instruction.⁷⁶

It is the worst thing imaginable that parents instill hatred in their children by striking or punishing them, or that the teacher, for his harshness, makes his pupil hostile. Naturally, parents and teacher must punish and whip child, when it is necessary, but, at the same time, they should also love the child being disciplined.⁷⁷ After admonishment, parents would

with something all are most valuable and desirable in life, especially for

⁷⁴Wal. 22, 1785; S.L. 22, 1194. . . drinking. Young people have much joy

⁷⁵S.L. 22, 1194: "Wenn Kinder boese sind, Schaden und Schalkheit anrichten, so soll man sie darum strafen, sonderlich wenn sie tauschen und stehlen lernen; jedoch muss man in der Strafe auch eine Masse und EPIEIKELIAN halten: denn was puerilia sind, als Kirschen, Aepfel, Birn, Nuesse, muss man nicht also strafen, als wenn sie Geld, Rock und Kasten wollten angreifen; da ist denn Zeit, ernstlich strafen. Mein Eltern haben mich gar hart gehalten, dass ich auch darueber gar schuechtern wurde. Die Mutter staeupfte mich einmal um einer geringen Nuss willen, dass das Blut hernach floss; und ihr Ernst und gestreng Leven, das sie mit mir fuehreten, das verursachte mich, dass ich darnach in ein Kloster lief und ein Moench wurde; aber sie meineten's herzlich gut. SED NON POTERANT DISCERNERE INGENIA, SECUNDUM QUAE ESSENT TEMPERANDAE CORRECTIONES."

⁷⁶Cf. Lindemann, op. cit., pp. 66 f.; Doerne, op. cit., pp. 56 f.

⁷⁷Cf. Wal. 22, 1785; Wal. 3, 1817 (Eph. 6:4); S.L. 12, 554 (I Pet. 2: 20-25).

do well to give their children a gift, thus children will realize that the hard words come from the pure love of the parents. Never should the children get an impression that their parents have no grace nor love for them.⁷⁸ After punishment parents should explain in a friendly manner what was wrong, thus preserving the children from animosity.⁷⁹

All Christian discipline must be based upon God's Word and His Commandments. Parents should make their children conscious that God watches their acts and words, either good or bad; they should be trained to receive admonition in the fear of God and in His presence.⁸⁰

In connection with discipline, children should not be left in an isolated world, but rather directed to the pleasures of others in the community.⁸¹ To be among people is good for youth. Through their acquaintances, they observe and learn social virtues, and, at the same time, have the opportunity to practice these amenities.⁸² It is indeed harmful to isolate them by coercion in a monastic or ascetic world. Youth is full of vitality. Being in public, getting acquainted with people, being active with something, all are most natural and desirable in life, especially for young people--as natural as eating and drinking. Young people have much joy

⁷⁸Cf. Wal. 1, 872; 9, 1106; 12, 334; 8, 2339.

⁷⁹Cf. Wal. 4, 2615.

⁸⁰Cf. Wal. 13, 2862.

⁸¹Cf. Wal. 5, 2349.

⁸²Cf. Wal. 5, 2348.

in their associations with others.⁸³ Above all men, a Christian is joyful.⁸⁴

The education of children, involving as much as it does, is not an easy matter.⁸⁵ Rather, it is one of the most difficult tasks, for there is much "Muhs" and "Arbeit" in educating children.⁸⁶ That is not the only reason, however. There also arises frequently an ungrateful reaction from the children who are trained, that is, not always are the efforts of parents or teachers appreciated and fruitful. Luther urged, therefore, that the parents should not be discouraged when their children do not develop in the way they had expected, and when their labor and instruction are not appreciated by their children.⁸⁷ "Die Eltern sollen nicht ablassen, der Kinder Bestes zu suchen, obschon die Kinder ungerathen und undankbar sein."⁸⁸ Although their efforts are often ill received, they should yet have courage, for this purpose Christ once gave us a good example in Luke 17:17: "Were there not ten cleansed? but where are the nine?" By this passage Luther illustrates the ingratitude that Christ, the divine Teacher, Himself experienced.⁸⁹

In conclusion, it should be noted that the success of education, accord-

⁸³Cf. Wal. 10, 2347; 557.

⁸⁴Cf. W. TR. 1, 243, 22.

⁸⁵Cf. W. 30 11, 517.

⁸⁶Cf. Wal. 8, 1312; 10, 1642. Also Cf. Doerne, op. cit., p. 37.

⁸⁷Cf. Wal. 10, 502; 5, 1163.

⁸⁸Wal. 13, 1662.

⁸⁹Cf. Wal. 7, 1474.

ing to Luther, is completely the gift of God. Parents and teachers, therefore, will always pray God that He bless their educational endeavors.⁹⁰ The success of education is in God's hand.⁹¹

⁹⁰ Cf. W. 38, 368 (1535).

⁹¹ Cf. Wal. 5, 1268; 3, 1657. Also Cf. Friedrich Spanuth, Erbsuende und Erziehung im Luthertum (Bad Salzdetfurth: Druck von Richard Giesecke, 1933), p. 52.

is not sufficient, for many parents are not entirely capable of carrying out the total program of their child's training.¹ They are often lacking in the knowledge of subject-matters, skills, the art of teaching, and the time, aside the urge to love the children in the fullest and most useful measure. Furthermore, the average home is handicapped with insufficient teaching facilities and systematic teaching program and proper techniques. Therefore, the domestic training must be complemented by schools and teachers. Such help is a necessary aid to parents.

The maintenance of schools for all citizens, regardless of sex and social and economic status, is the duty of the rulers. The government must assume the training program of children. No one should think that God rears and trains the children for His glory and the work of His Kingdom, without educational institutions, i.e., the schools.²

Luther regards the state or government as a divine institution. He expressly describes the correct attitude toward government or civil authority

¹ Cf. Wal. 10, 542.

² Cf. Wal. 10, 557.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES AND INSTRUCTIONAL MEANS AND METHOD

(Continued)

School-Maintenance as the Obligation of the Rulers

No matter how great the importance of the home and how significant its educational role may be, education within the family alone, though fundamental, is not sufficient, for many parents are not entirely capable of carrying out the total program of their child's training.¹ They are often lacking in the knowledge of subject-matters, skills, the art of teaching, and the time, also the means to lead the children in the fullest and most needed measure. Furthermore, the average home is handicapped with insufficient teaching facilities and systematic teaching program and proper techniques. Therefore, the domestic training must be complemented by schools and teachers. Such help is a necessary aid to parents.

The maintenance of schools for all citizens, regardless of sex and social and economic status, is the duty of the rulers. The government must assume the training program of children. No one should think that God rears and trains the children, for His glory and the work of His Kingdom, without educational institutions, i. e., the schools.²

Luther regards the state or government as a divine institution. He expressly describes the correct attitude toward government or civil authority:

¹ Cf. Wal. 10, 542.

² Cf. Wal. 10, 537.

in a religious term: religiose venerari. This is so because it is instituted by God.³

Staat ist fuer Luther keineswegs nur Buetteldienst, sondern der Garten, den Gott in der kargen und steinigen Welt wachsen leasst.
 Luthers Wertung des Staates als goettliche Schoepfung.⁴

Luther recognizes the distinction between state and church both in nature and function, and maintains that each has its separate sphere of authority and activity. He favored the entire separation of the two; however, he maintained that the school should be under the care of the state and rulers.

Luther regards the church and the state as inter-related institutions, working together for the best interest of man temporarily and spiritually and the promotion of the Kingdom of God and His glory. The state has the important task, which no other agent can fulfill, of protecting the good citizens and punishing the evil. Its precise function is to maintain order, to promote the good, and to protect law and spiritual freedom. The outward

³Cf. The Augsburg Confession. This subject, "The State" according to Luther, can be expanded to almost unlimited length. For a further study on this topic, the following sources are recommended: W. XI: "Von Weltlicher Obrigkeit," 1523. Luther's educational treatises in 1524 and 1530: Heinrich Bornkamm, Luthers Geistige Welt (Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1953), pp. 261-82. Werner Elert, Morphologie des Luthertums, (Muenchen: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1953), II, 291-395. Karl Holl, "Luther," Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte (Tuebingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr--Paul Siebeck, 1932), I, 326 ff. H. Keferstein, Dr. Martin Luthers pädagogische Schriften und Aeusserungen (Langensalza: Druck und Verlag von Hermann Beyer & Soenne, 1888), XXVII-XL. Franz Lau, Luthers Lehre von den Beiden Reichen (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1953). Eivind Berggrav, Man and State (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1951), pp. 300-319.

⁴Bornkamm, op. cit., p. 318.

conduct of man is under its jurisdiction.⁵ Christian education is the duty of the government and the church as well as of the parents. Each of them has its own peculiar task to perform in the education of children.⁶ Luther's invitation to the state calls for the responsibility of both religious and moral education. Rulers, schools, and church should organize the curriculum of the school in such a way that the pupils can learn the Word of God in fear and in prayers, hear the preaching of the same Word, and make the Christian principles active in their daily life.⁷ In a letter to Margrave George of Brandenburg, Luther develops a plan which combines public education with the task of national selection:

It is well that in all towns and villages good primary schools should be established out of which could be picked and chosen those who were fit for the universities, out of which the men can then be taken who are to serve your land and people. If the towns or their citizens cannot do this, then it would be well to establish new stipends for the support of a few bright fellows in the deserted monasteries, so that every town might have one or two students. In the course of time, when the common people see that their sons can become pastors and preachers, and get other offices, many of those who now think that a scholar cannot earn a living will again keep their sons in school.⁸

⁵W. 30 II, 114, 682; 54, 264, 397; II, 352: "Ein Land mit dem Evangelium regieren, das heisst Wolffe, Loewen und Schafe in einen Stall sperren, wobei Schafe friedlich bleiben, die andern aber die Schafe fressen worden."

⁶Cf. Horst Keferstein, Die Pädagogik der Kirche (Berlin SW.: Verlag von Carl Habel, 1880), pp. 21-22.

⁷Cf. Wal. 17, 909.

⁸Written on July 19, 1529. Preserved Smith, Luther's Correspondence and other Contemporary Letters (Philadelphia: The Lutheran Publication Society, 1918), II, 480-2. Luther's system of education comprised the primary and secondary schools, and universities. The graded instruction was also introduced. Cf. W. J. Fahn, "Luther's Influence on Popular Education," Four-hundredth Anniversary of the Reformation, edited by W. J. Fahn (St. Louis: The Lutheran Board of Christian Education, 1917), pp. 217-221.

Luther warned the magistrates and parents that to neglect the education of children is a "damnable sin";⁹ and, at the same time, urged them to keep their children faithfully at training.¹⁰ He is recognized as the first modern reformer to advocate compulsory school attendance.¹¹ As early as 1526, he reached this conclusion of compulsory education, as revealed in the following letter to the Elector John of Saxony:

If there is a town or a village which can do it, your Grace has the power to compel it to support schools, preaching places and parishes. If they are unwilling to do this or to consider it for their own salvation's sake, then your Grace is the supreme guardian of the youth and of all who need his guardianship, and ought to hold them to it by force, so that they must do it. It is just like compelling them by force to contribute to and to work for the building of bridges and roads, or any other of the country's needs.¹²

The Value of the School

"The school is the temple of education. Here the family, State, and

Concerning "Luther on studies and methods," Cf. F. V. N. Painter, Luther on Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928), pp. 150-63. Whatever means may be utilized, the lesson must be made so interesting that the pupil learns it with pleasure (lust) and love (Liebe), rather than by coercion. Cf. Wal. 8, 2339.

⁹Cf. The Preface to the Small Catechism. Concordia Triglotta, edited by F. Bente (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), p. 537.

¹⁰Cf. The Short Preface to the Large Catechism. Concordia Triglotta, op. cit., p. 575.

¹¹The following sources should be consulted: Luther's Sermon on the duty of sending children to school, in 1530. Cf. Appendix V. Pierre J. Marique, History of Christian Education (New York: Fordham University Press, 1926), II, 108. E. L. Kemp, History of Education (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1902), 168. Frederick Eby and Charles F. Arrowood, The Development of Modern Education (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1934), pp. 90 f. Painter, op. cit., pp. 269 f. Frederick Eby, Early Protestant Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1931), pp. 85, 149 f.

¹²Smith, II, 384. Cf. Eby, Early Protestant Education, op. cit., pp. 85, 149-50. Similarly, in the sermon (1530), Luther was even more emphatically in favor of compulsory education.

Church meet on common ground and confess a common creed."¹³ The school is a great light in the community without which man can do nothing. It must reign the world, declared Luther.¹⁴ In his sermon Luther once described "school" as church or synagogue.

Das Wort, "Schule", haette ich nicht, dass es zu verstehen sei von der Kinderschule, oder Hohenschule, sondern verstehe es von der Synagoge, das wir jetzt nennen einen Predigtstuhl oder Kirche, oder sonst einen Ort, das man die heilige Schrift oeffentlich predigt und liest vor der Gemeinde, wie in einer Kirche oder Capelle, da das Stadtvolk zusammen kommt, zu hoeren Gottes Wort.¹⁵

The importance of both church and school is paramount. Neither one should be eliminated or neglected.¹⁶ They are the source of life, strength, and energy for the saints.¹⁷ Without the church, it is impossible to feed the "Sheep" of Christ. The school, on the other hand, keeps and preserves the Church, particularly her leadership.

Lasst uns nur Doktor und Magister heissen; junge Schueler und Studenten sind der Kirche Samen und Quellen. . . . Um der Kirche willen muss man christliche Schulen haben und erhalten: denn Gott erhaelt die Kirche durch Schulen, Schulen erhalten die Kirche.¹⁸

¹³ Russell A. Peterson, Lutheranism and the Educational Ethic (Boston, Mass.: Meador Publishing Company, 1950), p. 31.

¹⁴ Cf. Wal. 7, 701. Cf. Painter, op. cit., pp. 128 f.

¹⁵ A sermon by Luther on John 6:59-60, in 1531. S.L. 7, 2367 f.; Erl. 48, 48, 43 f. Cf. Fritz Blaettner, Geschichte der Paedagogik (Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1953), pp. 16-7.

¹⁶ Cf. S.L. 22, 1540.

¹⁷ Cf. Wal. 17, 1394 ff.

¹⁸ S.L. 22, 1537.

The school supplies all personnel necessary in the state and the church.¹⁹ It is obvious that no man without schools can train his children; thus, no more pastors, counselors in the church, and qualified rulers in the state would be available.²⁰ When there are no schools, no school-masters and pastors, the outcome is clear: God's Word cannot be taught and proclaimed; God's work and love cannot be shown; worldly peace cannot be maintained.²¹ Therefore, the task of education is noble and precious and the school is indispensable.

The Significance of the Office of Teaching

Luther sets a high estimate upon the office of teaching. His conception on the dignity and importance of the work of teachers is clearly stated in his "Sermon on the duty of sending children to school," in 1530. He emphatically witnessed that if he had to give up preaching and other duties, there were no other offices he would rather have than that of schoolteacher. He said that next to the ministry, the teaching is the most useful, greatest and best profession. In fact, he hesitated to say which of the two, preaching or teaching, is the greater or better office.²² If a necessity arises, we can do without the mayors, city-counselmen, pastors

¹⁹ S.L. 16, 2300: ". . . wo man nicht Schueler zeucht, so werden wir nicht lange Pfarrherren und Prediger haben, wie wir wohl erfahren; denn die Schule muss der Kirche geben Personen, die man zu Aposteln, Evangelisten, Propheten, das ist, Prediger, Pfarrherren, Regierer, machen koenne. Also See S.L. 22, 1537, 1522, 1524.

²⁰ Wal. 20, 2667.

²¹ Cf. S.L. 16, 2258; 20, 2136.

²² Cf. W. 30 11, 580.

doctors, judges, teachers, and the like. If one hesitated to become a preacher, Luther was ready to recommend as his foremost choice, the office of teaching. It is a high calling which one can hardly fulfill completely.²³

The teacher is the key person in every teaching situation. For this responsibility he needs special gifts, insights and training for himself. He is a "Servus Dei" who undertakes the responsibility of nourishing and training the young souls.²⁴ He is as great a witness of the Word of God to his pupils, as the minister of the Gospel to his congregation.²⁵ The teacher is a "special" person,²⁶ so estimated Luther, with a "koestlich Amt und Werk"²⁷ and a "herrlich Amt,"²⁸ whose work and status must be respected and honored. "Einen fleiszigen frommen Schulmeister oder Magister, oder wer es ist, der Knaben treulich zeucht und lehrt, den kann man nimmermehr genug lohnen und mit keinem Gelde bezahlen"²⁹

²³Cf. Wal. 22, 1020, 1028.

²⁴In a letter of Luther to Joh. Agricola on Oct. 3, 1527: "Servus Dei in formandis animalus juventutis." On the position of educator, Cf. W. 30 111, 239 f.

²⁵Cf. Theodor Heckel, Zur Methodik des evangelischen Religionsunterrichtes (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1930), pp. 29, 59.

²⁶W. 15, 34.

²⁷Wal. 15, 2762.

²⁸Lindemann's observation. J. C. W. Lindemann, Dr. Martin Luther als Erzieher der Jugend (St. Louis: Verlag von F. Dette, 1881), p. 42.

²⁹Wal. 10, 526.

³⁰Wal. 7, 1013.

Generally speaking the parents alone are not capable of training their children properly. This is the primary reason why Luther insisted that they have professional teachers, with special qualifications, who can teach and train the youth appropriately and correctly.³⁰ ". . . denn wo ein Vater nicht allein vermag sein Kind aufzuziehen, nimt er einen Schulmeister dazu, der es lehre."³¹ For such a special high task of child-education, no man can fully show the teacher due respect and appreciation. Noble and high is the office of teacher and parent.³²

As important as is the office of the ministry, so is the task of teaching. Both offices are devoted toward the common goal of training and bringing up the youth according to the will of God. Pastors and teachers are co-workers in God's vineyard of youth. They must always care for the young "trees" in the garden, i. e., the youth.³³ To this end, not only pastors and teachers, but all Christians are responsible. All Christians are in a real sense "educators" and "deacons," training the youth. This idea originated from Luther's teaching of the universal priesthood of all believers. Not only

³⁰Cf. W. 15, 34. Mertz observes: "Die Reformation haben die Bedeutung des Lehrerstandes voll und ganz erkannt und ihn ueberaus hoch geschuetzt." Georg Mertz, Das Schulwesen der deutschen Reformation im 16. Jahrhundert (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitaetsbuchhandlung, 1902), p. 402.

³¹Wal. 10, 76.

³²Cf. W. 30 I, 147, 150. Oskar Hammelsbeck gives the following illustrative pattern:

Eltern	-----	Lehrer	-----	Refierende
Kirche	-----	Schule	-----	Staat
Unterweisung	-----	Erziehung	-----	Ertuechtigung
Glauben	-----	Kultur	-----	Politik

Oskar Hammelsbeck, Evangelische Lehre von der Erziehung (Essen: M. B. H., 1954), p. 57. Cf. Wal. 10, 752.

³³Wal. 7, 1019.

is every Christian his own priest, but he is also responsible for the education of himself and others. It is Luther's emphasis that each group in the community has its respective task for the education of the children.³⁴

Denn, soll man solchen entlauffen, so wird uns nichts ueberall helfen, denn dass wir Gottes Wort mit Ernst meynen, und dasselbe helfen mit allem Fleiss erhalten, fuer uns und unsere Nachkommen: sonderlich durch Erhaltung guter Schulen und Auferziehung der Jugend. Denn das sind sie Pflaenzlein, dadurch die Kirche Gottes, als ein schoener Garten, erbauet und fortgebraucht wird. Darum sind wir alle, so Christen seyn wollen, schuldig, mit, allen Treuen, mit dem, so wir vermoegen, dazu zu helfen und foerdern.³⁵

Educational efforts must be made as early as possible. The earlier the training, the better the results and the easier the task. Young trees, though some may be broken easily in the process, are more easily bent; the youngsters, likewise, are much more easily trained and guided than the grown people.³⁶

The Content of Instruction

Above all other motivations and purposes in education, religion occupies the first place in Luther's consideration of education. Religion must come first in every educational program. The Word of God--the written Scriptures--is, under Luther's educational program, the first instructional means or

³⁴ Cf. Oskar Hammelsbeck, Glaube Welt Erziehung (Essen: M. B. H., 1954), p. 57. Cf. Wal. 10, 752.

³⁵ Wal. 12, 1868.

³⁶ W. 30 11, 580.

educational material.³⁷ God's Word cannot be proclaimed without His people; God's people likewise cannot exist without His Word.³⁸ The school is the fruit of God's Word. "Das Wachstum der Schulen ist eine Frucht des Wortes und sie sind Lehranstalten der Kirchen."³⁹ Luther places education completely under the Word—under the Law and the Gospel. All is made by the Word; all educational achievements can be brought through the same Word.⁴⁰

Luther did not hesitate to urge the parents not to send their children to a school where God's Word is not taught or a false idea was being taught.⁴¹ Condemning the higher schools of his time where the holy Scriptures were neglected, Luther described them as "great gates of Hell."⁴² For him, education means the learning process where God's Word is intensively taught. To neglect or to eliminate the Word of God from the school curriculum, therefore, means to ignore the primary source of knowledge and instruction. The instruction of God's Word must stand in first place. All other instruction, whether theoretical or practical, whether natural or spiritual sciences, in Luther's educational plan comes after God's Word and His revelation.

³⁷Cf. Chapter V. Cf. Wal 10, 4, 384. Cf. Keferstein, Die Paedagogik der Kirche, op. cit., pp. 19 f. Cf. Hammelsbeck, Glaube Welt Erziehung, op. cit., p. 57. Cf. Hammelsbeck, Evangelische Lehre von der Erziehung, op. cit., p. 29.

³⁸Heckel, op. cit., p. 30.

³⁹S.L. 22, 209.

⁴⁰Cf. Theodor Pauls, Erziehung und Unterricht in Luthers Theologie (Berlin: Furche-Verlag G. M. B. H., 1935), pp. 11, 12, 38, 45, 83.

⁴¹W. 6, 462. Wal. 10, 384: "Wo aber die heilige Schrift nicht regieret, da rathe ich fuerwahr Niemand, dass er sein Kind hinthue." Cf. Wal. 12, 339; 13, 2119.

⁴²S.L. 10, 342.

So soll man an einem Menschen vornehmlich Fleiss haben, dass er Gott fuerchte und erkenne Gottes Wort, hoere und lerne, eines ehrbaren Gemuethe werde; wenn er im Herzen gottesfuerchtig und fromm ist, so ist der Leib bald darnach gezogen.⁴³

A kind of basic religious and theological training for all Christians was encouraged by Luther. He emphasized the use of catechisms, both Small and Large Catechisms, and the contents therein, that is, the Ten Commandments, Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. The Catechism is Luther's "Liebli-
werk"; it is the "Laien Biblia," said Luther.⁴⁴ His Small Catechism contains that minimum of Christian knowledge demanded from everybody, which is expressed in a way understandable to children and simple people. It contains a considerable amount of theology in untheological language. In it is contained a summary of the entire Scripture.⁴⁵ ". . . naemlich die drei Stueck; die Zehn Gebot, der Glaube und das Vaterunser. In diesen drei Stuecken steht es schlecht und kurz, fast alles, was einem Christen zu wissen not ist."⁴⁶ After completing instruction in the Small Catechism, one should proceed to the Large Catechism.⁴⁷

⁴³Wal. 5, 2348. Cf. Wal. 10, 384.

⁴⁴W. TR., 5, 581, 30. Cf. S. L. 14, 1771: Introduction to the Prophet Zechariah. Also See Heiland, "Martin Luther," Encyklopaedie des gesamten Erziehungs- und Unterrichtswesens, herausgegeben von K. A. Schmid, et al. (Gotha, Deutschland: Verlag von Rudolf Besser, 1865), IV, 468.

⁴⁵Cf. The Preface to the Small Catechism. W. 30 1, 2 ff. Cf. Chs. III and V of this Thesis, under "Catechism."

⁴⁶W. 19, 76.

⁴⁷W. 30 1, 348.

Luther's unrelenting stress on language instruction is observed in his "Letter to the councilmen of all cities of Germany," in 1524.⁴⁸ He was not merely the originator of modern high German, but also gave invaluable ideas as to the method of teaching languages. His was the direct method; his emphasis was on grammar.⁴⁹ He emphasized that man can learn a language better and faster through practice. Through conversations at home, in the market place, in the church, and in school, one can more easily and more pleasantly learn a language than in the classrooms and by means of books.⁵⁰ Learning takes place much more "aus Uebung und Gewohnheit, denn aus den Regeln."⁵¹

Language is a gift of God. "Die Sprache sind schoene, grosse, herrliche Gaben Gottes, die Leute aber achten ihr nicht."⁵² This gift can be utilized for the greater glory of God. Speaking on classical culture in general, Luther observes: "One knife cuts better than another; therefore, also, a man who knows the language, and has some attainments in the liberal arts, can speak and teach better and more distinctly."⁵³

⁴⁸W. 15, 9-53. Cf. Appendix IV, under the "Utility and Necessity of the languages." Since we have already treated the German language and Luther in an earlier chapter (III), we only add several points on languages which are related to the educational program of Luther.

⁴⁹Cf. P. E. Kretzmann, A Brief History of Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, n.d.), II, 59.

⁵⁰Wal. 3, 2867. Erl. 37, 67.

⁵¹Wal. 1, 683.

⁵²Wal. 22, 2255. Cf. W. 15, 36-7.

⁵³W. TE., NO. 439.

When Luther said, "languages," he meant especially Latin, Greek, Hebrew and German.

God gave men the Gospel through these languages. God's Word is written in these human languages, Greek and Hebrew.⁵⁴ These languages preserve the Gospel; they are the "Schreyen," "gefess," and "kennet" in which many good things are kept.⁵⁵ In them, furthermore, the divine revelation is recorded in the form of human writing.

Languages Greek and Hebrew in particular, are means through which man can secure the "whole loaf" of the Truth. They are the sunlight in the darkness of human ignorance.⁵⁶ They give strength, richness and life to Christians. Without them, no one is truly qualified to teach the Gospel and to keep the Truth pure and holy.⁵⁷

As for Luther, the purpose of teaching or studying Greek, Hebrew and other languages is clear: to teach or to learn the Word of God more clearly, correctly and easily, i. e., to study languages for the sake of the Gospel.⁵⁸

Next to language-study, no other subject in education received so great a stress in the Reformer's writings as music. "Die Musik sei die einzige Sache," said Luther, "welche naechst dem Worte Gottes billig solle geruehmt werden, als eine Geleiterin und Regiererin der menschlichen Affekten."⁵⁹

⁵⁴ W. 15, 38.

⁵⁵ Loc. cit.

⁵⁶ W. 15, 41.

⁵⁷ W. 15, 43.

⁵⁸ Cf. W. 15, 37.

⁵⁹ Wal. 14, 409. W. 50, 370 f.

Not only the casual references to music in his writings, but clearly also the production of hymns and other poetic writings of Luther, aptly manifest his distinct interest in music.⁶⁰ He is the father of German hymnology.

Music is an excellent and a noble gift from God.⁶¹ Through this divine instrument, man praises God for the joyful message of the Gospel and the victorious work of our Savior Christ.⁶² Music is the soul of joy. Christians are not sad people; they are happy children of God, for His Son has brought to them the joyful Gospel of salvation.⁶³ Luther was proud of his musical talent, as limited as it might have been.⁶⁴

Music is the "besten Kuenste . . . eine schoene herrliche Gabe Gottes und nahe der Theologie."⁶⁵ "Musikam habe ich alle Zeit lieb gehabt. Wer diese Kunst kann, der ist guter Art, zu allem geschickt. Mann muss Musikam von Noth wegen in Schulen behalten."⁶⁶

⁶⁰W. 35, 411-73 and 568-608. Walther made an observation on "Luther und Poesie." See Wilhelm Walther, Luthers Charakter (Leipzig: A. Deichert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Werner Scholl, 1917), pp. 192-93.

⁶¹W. TR. 3, 636, 5; 6, 348, 20; 1, 496, 26.

⁶²cf. W. 35, 474, 2.

⁶³cf. W. 35, 476, 18; 35, 477, 13; 35, 478, 31.

⁶⁴W. TR. 3, 636, 5.

⁶⁵Wal. 22, 2248. W. Briefe 5, 639, 9.

⁶⁶Wal. 22, 2250.

Music not only provides joy and peace in the hearts of men, but it can also bring consolation to distressed and saddened hearts.⁶⁷ It drives away anxiety, melancholy and loneliness.⁶⁸ It also promotes worship and preaching.⁶⁹

Music was originally adopted and used for holy and godly things. Only in the course of time, however, was it brought to the service of luxury and voluptuousness.⁷⁰ The "prophets" in the Old Testament used no other art more than music, for their theology was contained in music. Music and devotion to God belong together and stand side by side. This can be found in the Psalter and other Old Testament literatures.⁷¹ Various musical instruments in the Old Testament have some significant meanings.⁷²

All the spiritual songs, music, and musical instruments are pleasing to God. With them man praises God and witnesses his inner joy for the salvation in Christ. But that he might have joy in music, and gain a new stimulus to the Christian life, the youth must be trained.⁷³ Just as

⁶⁷Cf. W. Briefe 5, 639, 9; W. 7, 105, 26. Also See S.L. 4, 326 (Ps. 3:6); S.L. 21 1, 1575 (Letter to Ludwig Senfel, on Oct. 4, 1530); S.L. 22, 1538 ff. (Table Talk)

⁶⁸W. 20, 190; 15, 46.

⁶⁹W. TR. 4, 313, 23.

⁷⁰W. 5, 09, 38 (Exposition of Ps. 4:1).

⁷¹Wal. 14, 229; Cf. W. 50, 370, 36.

⁷²W. 4, 462, 7; 3, 181, 28; 54, 33, 35.

⁷³Wal. 14, 229 f. Cf. Ernst Lichtenstein, "Luther und die Humanitaet," Evangelische Theologie (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1950/51, Heft 9, 399.

necessary is the "delightfulness" of music for youth, as is his appetite for food and drink. Man must give them something to play with, to enjoy, to have fun and to delight in.⁷⁴ Especially group singing and musical plays are good practices to encourage in the group-training of children.

The incarnation of Christ serves as a fundamental clue to Luther's emphasis that education ought to start from the characteristics of the child's world. Luther's interest⁷⁵ centers in the world of child-like and youthful existence: the drive for play, interest in group participation and constant activity of children, spiritual spontaneity, ingenious cheerfulness and joy.

Luther accepts humanistic studies, often called "liberal arts," as not only desirable but also necessary for the training of Christian pastors, teachers, and civil leaders. His question was often: "From where should the preacher, teacher, lawyer and physician come if the liberal arts were not taught?" He urged the inclusion of certain subjects in the secondary school curriculum, not usually found in humanistic schools: history, music, mathematics, literature, natural science, medicine, and gymnastics.⁷⁶

⁷⁴W. 20, 191; 15, 46; W. Br. 7, NO. 2113. Ecc. 11:9. Cf. Hans-Bernhard Kaufmann, "Grundfragen der Erziehung bei Luther," Luther mitteilungen der Luthergesellschaft (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1954), 2, Heft, 71.

⁷⁵Cf. W. 19, 78. Also Cf. E. 57, 237, 252, 257 ff.; 235 f., 277, 269; E. 54, 156 f. Also Cf. Walther, op. cit., p. 6.

⁷⁶W. 15, 46. Cf. Pauls, op. cit., pp. 74, 82. Cf. Elmer Harrison Wilds, The Foundation of Modern Education (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1942), pp. 291-2. Barth observed: "Man kann Luthers Wissenschaft--unverbindlich aber gemeinverstaendlich--als eine besondere Wissenschaft vom Dasein des Menschen verstehen. Sie faengt grundlegend damit an, dass der Mensch einsieht." Karl Barth, "Lutherfeier 1933: Luther; Luthers

Luther, in speaking of a "liberal arts" education, affirms his conviction that a man should equip himself with the necessary skills for his own station in life, in such a way that he can utilize all his talents and interest for the service of church and state. More specifically, Luther meant by the "freie Kuenste," the TRIVIUM (Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic) and the QUADRIVIUM (Music, Arithmetic, Geometry, and Astronomy).⁷⁷

Luther once said in a letter:

I am persuaded that without knowledge of literature, pure theology cannot at all endure, just as theretofore, when letters have declined and lain prostrate, theology, too, has wretchedly fallen and lain prostrate.⁷⁸

On one occasion Luther regretted that he could not read more poetry and history.⁷⁹ These subjects enrich the knowledge of pastors and teachers.

Having a thorough acquaintance with other liberal subjects, one can serve God and men more effectively and sufficiently.⁸⁰

Luther was a lover of nature. His knowledge of nature was fitly employed to illustrate the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Almighty. He is an example of the Christian who saw nature as God's splendid gift to man. For Luther, nothing in nature was too insignificant to note, too shallow to contemplate, too small to admire; and, to him the heaven and the earth, the stars and the sea, the forests and the flowers of the field, and

Wissenschaft," Theologische Existenz Heute (Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1933), Heft 4, 13.

⁷⁷Cf. Ch. III under "Trivium" and "Quadrivium," Wal. 22, 2244, 2249.

⁷⁸In Luther's letter to Eoban Hess in Wittenberg, on March 29, 1523. Smith, op. cit., p. 176.

⁷⁹W. 15, 46. Cf. Wal. 14, 354.

⁸⁰In his Table Talks, Luther made many remarkable statements on the value of learning classics and other liberal subjects.

birds and the waving blades of grass alike sing the praise of God.⁸¹ The glory of God is preached everywhere. Luther once said:

One cannot grasp God, and yet one feels His presence, for everywhere He shows Himself and makes Himself known, and He proves Himself a benevolent Creator, who blesses us with all good gifts, to which sun and moon, heaven and earth, and all the fruits of the soil bear witness.⁸²

In three renowned letters of Luther, one of them written to Dr. Brueck, another to his family, while he watched the proceedings at Augsburg from his seclusion at the castle Coburg, and the third to his beloved son, Haenschen, he refers altogether to nature.

Luther was deeply interested in folklore: folk song and folk tales, proverbs and fables. All these were put to good use in his preaching, teaching, writings and private discourses. For him no images are too concrete, no grotesque illustrations of fables are too vivid. In the introduction to his translation of Aesop's Fables, Luther gives an example of how they should be used in the home.⁸³ Such illustrative stories and

⁸¹Cf. E. 55, 211; E. 57, 233; E. 57, 240, 232 f.; E. 57, 234, 134, 238, 148, 184, 243; E. 62, 12.

⁸²Cf. The respective letters in Weimar Edition, Briefe. E. 54, 156 f. Cf. Painter, op. cit., pp. 162 f. Cf. Dau, op. cit., pp. 233, 235, 240. On Ps. 19, Cf. S.L. 12, 1794 ff.

⁸³A part of the preface on Aesop's Fables, as cited in Albert T. W. Steinaeuser, Luther Primer (Columbia, S.C.: Survey Publishing Company, 1917), p. 134: "Hence, in the fables, one animal tells the truth to another animal, and it sometimes comes to pass that the fictitious wolf or lion in the book leads the actual, two-legged wolf or lion a wholesome lecture, such as neither pastor, friend nor foe would dare to do. Or, when the fables are being read out loud, the imaginary fox will sometimes administer to a human fox across the table such a lesson as will make him squirm in his seat and feel like stabbing or burning poor Aesop alive."

fables can be both entertaining and instructive. Luther greatly admired the parables of our Lord, and after them preferred Aesop's fables. Their homely, trenchant wisdom and irony thoroughly appealed to him.⁸⁴

Luther's Special Considerations on Certain Points

Education for girls as well as for boys: Luther pleaded for the education of all children of proper age, both boys and girls. Girls should go to school for an hour per day, and then attend to their work at home. Such a provision for "Maidenschule" enables an appropriate training for good housewives. For young women of special ability and talent, furthermore, teaching positions should be provided.⁸⁵ In this respect, we may aptly conclude that Luther is one of the pioneers in promoting the education of girls.

Gifted pupils: Special provision and care must be given for the gifted, bright, or promising pupils. With a view toward advanced study Luther encouraged that a special consideration and opportunity of learning should be provided for exceptional and gifted pupils, so that their native interests and talents can be developed to the maximum degree.⁸⁶ If necessity arises, the civil authorities should even compel people to send their children to

⁸⁴ Cf. W. TR. 3, 353 ff. Cf. G. M. Bruce, Luther as an Educator (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928), pp. 204-5.

⁸⁵ Cf. W. 15, 46 f.; Erl. 22, 192; also See W. 6, 461.

⁸⁶ Cf. W. 15, 47; also Erl. 22, 192.

school, especially such as are promising; for these gifted ones are the future teachers, preachers, rulers, lawyers, doctors and other civic leaders.⁸⁷

Scholarships: If the parents of such promising children are too poor to send them to school for a further education, the government and the church are obliged to provide appropriate scholarships for them. Such a program is one of the most effective ways of using money. Youth is the future hope and light for the nation. Out of them come the future leaders who can carry out the destiny of state and church.⁸⁸ "Dazu sollen helfen und geben willig und gern nicht allein Fuersten und Herrn, sondern auch Buerger und Bauer."⁸⁹

Study-Work Program: Luther recommends that every boy and girls should learn the practical arts of trade at home, even though he did not yet advocate these subjects as part of the school curriculum. Study and work go together. Children can do both. Boys should spend an hour or two a day in school, and the rest of the time work at home, learn some trade, and do whatever is desired. Girls should do likewise.⁹⁰

Library: Luther was fully modern in advocating libraries for the preservation of learning.⁹¹ The library is the "Schaetze" to preserve knowl-

⁸⁷W. 30 ii, 567, 587.

⁸⁸Cf. W. 30 ii, 587, 545. And also Cf. S.L. 16, 2299 f.; S.L. 17, 1112; S.L. 20, 2135.

⁸⁹Wal. 11, 1048.

⁹⁰Cf. W. 15, 46-7.

⁹¹Confer especially Luther's educational treatises in 1524; also See Appendix IV.

edge. In books, the knowledge of the Gospel, arts, languages, and every kind of learning, are embodied and preserved. Therefore, the injury from neglecting books is always great. ". . . every day men are seeking these literary remains, as people dig in the ashes of a ruined city after treasures and jewels."

Luther's interest in books was not limited to the Bible and its commentaries, but extended to general reference works of various kinds. His emphasis was constantly on quality rather than quantity.⁹²

Church and Education: With full right, the church takes up its educational duty. It has a definite responsibility to watch over every phase of the child's educational career. Alongside of family and school, the church is the first "educator" of mankind.⁹³ The church is interested in achieving a good, well-balanced society, and a state which is composed of able citizens. It stands back of any program of liberal studies, so long as it does not run contrary to the will and the purpose of God.⁹⁴

⁹²Books recommended by Luther: The Holy Scripture in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German and other languages; the best and most ancient commentaries in Greek, Hebrew and Latin; books acquiring languages, poets and orators; books which treat all the arts and sciences; and chronicles and histories.

⁹³Cf. Gal. 10, 2, 26.

⁹⁴The educational objectives of the Church are partly summarized by Dr. Repp, as follows: "The Church with the help of God must help its schools truly Christian. The Church must conduct an educational program on the highest standard possible to produce an intelligent laity and clergy. . . ." And by the same author, the value of a general and broad education, in the course of Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, is illustrated: ". . . one must always be mindful of the circumstances under which they [the outstanding developments of the educational program of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod] took place. For example, the broad scheme of 'general education' of the founding fathers [of the educational institutions] was the product of their university background in Germany. . . ." Arthur Repp, 100 Years of

The church is responsible for promoting the advancement of knowledge, for nourishing the faith and the life of its members, and for proclaiming the Gospel message to non-Christians. Education in the church, therefore, is always to strengthen, to share, and to extend the spiritual and temporal life of its members and prospective members. This is one way in which the church can be of great aid to the state and education at large.⁹⁵

Christian Education: 1947 Fourth Yearbook, edited by A. Repp and contributed by Paul M. Bretscher, et al. (River Forest, Illinois: Lutheran Education Association, 1947), pp. 219 and 222.

⁹⁵Peterson, op. cit., pp. 28-9. Cf. Robert V. Schnabel, "The Role of Education in the Growth of the Church," Lutheran Education, 92 (December, 1956), 168, 171. Cf. A. C. Stellhorn, "The Lutheran Philosophy of Education," addressed at a Seminar, sponsored by the Lutheran High School Association, Pittsburgh, Pa. (Mimeographed form) (Nov. 12, 1947).

CHAPTER X

THE TASK OF EDUCATION: DEO GLORIA IN CHRISTO

The Basic Purpose of Education

There is no higher and loftier aim in Luther's concept of education than to glorify God in Christ. To make this statement more concrete and relevant, the task of Luther's education can be summarized in these words: the realization of one's duty to God, to his fellowmen, and to the state.¹ It is nothing else than to fit the individual man for a life that loves and honors God and serves the neighbor, being restated, to the glory of God and to the love of men.

Luther's education is directed to the ultimate goal of making the Word of God function in all walks of life, and thus, making it meaningful to all situations in life, for all types of people in every profession. For Luther, as far as such an aim of education is concerned, it is everywhere the same for all men and for all times. It is absolute and universal.

On one hand, Luther has a glimmer of the modern broad social aim of education, but, on the other hand, he narrowed his aim of education by directing everything to the end of religion.² His educational views, to

¹Cf. Hans-Bernhard Kaufmann, "Grundfragen der Erziehung bei Luther," Luther Mitteilungen der Luther gesellschaft, herausgegeben von Theodor Knolle (Berlin: Lutherisches Verlagshaus, 1954), Zweites Heft, 67. Cf. E. 23, 65: Education for God's use and for the use of government. And also Wal. 13: 321: ". . . wer seine Steuer und Handrekhung dazu gibt, dass junge Leute zur Schule gehalten, in Gottes Wort und andern Kuensten auferzogen werden, dass sie mit der Zeit auch andern im Kirchendienst helfen und vorgehen koennen, der opfert und schenkt dem armen Kindlein Jesu,"

²Adolf Harnack, "Martin Luther in seiner Bedeutung fuer die Geschichte der Wissenschaft und der Bildung," Deutsche Akademierenden, herausgegeben von

be sure, stem from his theological views; and, consequently, his aim of education directs to God and to Christ. In a limited sense, Luther did formulate the task of education, which was also an admonition to the parents, to rear the children in God's Word with "Zucht, Ehr und Gottes Furcht."³

Luther looked upon the religion of Christ as the highest interest in life because it is the basis of all worthy living. Religion must be lived as well as believed. Luther placed both school and church under the guardianship of the state, and laid a foundation for the state to control the education throughout Germany at his time. In handing over the schools to the state, however, Luther never intended a "secularization" of education.⁴ On the contrary, he intended to make the Christian principle of life—crystalized in the Holy Scripture—living and active in the daily life of people. This is the source of peace, prosperity and order. Thus Luther taught in these words:

durch goettliche Huelfe ihm [the youth] rathen und helfen zu seligem und christlichem Regiment deutsches Lands, an Leib und Seel, mit allen

Fritz Strich (Muenchen: Meyer und Jessen, 1924), p. 259: Luther wollte die Welt nichts anders lehren, als was das Wesen der Religion sei;"
 Foster Watson, "Martin Luther," A Cyclopedia of Education, edited by Paul Monroe (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1925), IV, 95: "All Luther's education is subordinate to the religious motif, yet it includes the greatest questions, religious teaching, family education, the vernacular."

³W. 30 1, 134 (Katechismuspredigten, 1528). Eph. 6:4. Cf. W. 1, 449, 450. Cf. L.W. Spitz, "The Inclusive Aim of Christian Education," Lutheran Education, 83 (December, 1947), 198-207.

⁴Cf. Elmer Harrison Wilds, The Foundations of Modern Education (New and enlarged edition; New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1942), pp. 283, 293. Cf. P. F. Kretzmann, A Brief History of Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, n.d.), II, 57.

Quelle und Überfluss, zu Lob und Ehren Gott dem Vater durch Jesus Christum unserm Heiland.⁵

In Luther's educational concept, there are two distinct aspects: religious education on one side, and the moral education, on the other, i. e., rearing the children as Christian ladies and gentlemen.⁶ Instruction in God's Word, in such a religious education, enables men to reach the final destination of education, that is, to the fear and the knowledge of God. Thus God is honored, in loving and fearing Him.

The chief means of the religious instruction is the Catechism, the principal parts of which are the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. The head of the family should see to it that the children and servants thoroughly learn these leading articles of faith and duty. So also in the task of the school, three momenta are included, namely, instruction in the subject matters, character building, and education in faith.⁷ To sum up, these two religious and moral aspects of education are

⁵E. 22, 199.

⁶S.L. 12, 1225 f. (Sermon by Luther on Luke 2:22-32): The child "should study in liberal arts, learn decency, honesty, and good morals, that he may become a fine person, for to serve land and people." Theodor Pauls, Erziehung und Unterricht in Luthers Theologie (Berlin: Furche-Verlag B.M.B.H., 1935), p. 75: "Dabei ist fuer Luther eine deutsche 'nationale Gewissenserziehung' unerlaessliche Aufgabe der Schule. Luther stellt die Schule ganz in das buergerliche Leben des Tages hinein, in die Aufgaben fuer den geistlichen Stand wie fuer das weltliche Leben."

⁷Cf. W. 30 11, 520. Also Cf. W. 15, 32; 44. In general, Luther grasped the concept of "Zucht" in the sense of "christliche Charakterbildung." Cf. E. 64, 246, and W. 32, 52, 39 f. Luther established the task of his education on the "evangelischen Schoepfungsglauben." Cf. H. Werdermann, Luther als Erzieher und die Religionspaedagogik der Gegenwart (Guetersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann, 1938), p. 11. Hertha Israel, "Luther als Erzieher," (Machinenschrift; Phil. d. Dissertation; Thueringische Landesuniversitaet Jena, 1919), p. 14: ". . . eine rechte Christliche Erziehung vor allem die Erkenntnis des Glaubens in den Mittelpunkt stellen muss,"

included in the concept of the "christlichen Zucht," as Luther called it.⁸

Frequently Luther assigned the task of education to the service of God. "Gott gibt die Kinder und befiehlt sie auf zuziehen zu Gottes Dienst."⁹ "What is 'Gottes Dienst,?' is a question that naturally follows. Man cannot serve God directly, only through one's fellowmen in a social situation. Thus serving visible men means serving the invisible God. In a devoted life of service lies the true meaning and task of human existence. Man in a community and community among men; each is indispensable to the other. Education in a true sense ought to be a "Gemeinschaftserziehung," in which a concrete experience of mutual belongingness and service are basic motive powers. "Denn es ist ein jeder Mensch um des andern Willen geschaffen und gehoeren."¹⁰

Service to others is, therefore, the every standard (Massstabe) of the Christian man. Through this outer act, one can determine what the inner man is.¹¹ In this connection, we can direct further study to Luther's teach

⁸Cf. W. 26, 504; W. 50, 651; W. 15, 29, 48.

⁹W. 2, 169; W. 30 II, 531; W. 15, 44; W. 10 I 1, 413.

¹⁰W. 21, 346; Cf. W. 7, 21; W. 10 I 1, 377. Gerhard Bohne, Grundlagen der Erziehung (Hamburg: Im Furchen-Verlag, 1951), I, 156 f.: "Die Erziehung hat eine doppelte Ausrichtung: Sie soll den Menschen zu Gott und zum andern Menschen in das rechte Verhaeltnis bringen und ihm so zur rechten Erfuellung seines Lebens helfen. 1) Mensch in seinem inneren Leben in Ordnung. 2) Erziehung auf dem Grunde des Wortes Gottes. 3) Lehramt des Evangeliums. 4) Klare und goettliche Ordnung der Weltziel der Erziehung." Education is taken place in the "Gemeinschaftsgesinnung." Cf. Peter Peterson, Der Ursprung der Paedagogik (Berlin und Leipzig: Waltz de Gruyter und Co., 1931), II, 100. Education exists more for the service of others. Cf. W. 35, 475.

¹¹Cf. W. 52, 473, 36 f.; W. TR. 2, 33; E. 10, 25, 24.

ing on faith and good works, a subject which has been treated in an earlier chapter.¹²

All considerations of the educational aim finally direct interest to the promotion of a respect for man, the life of faith, the spiritual and moral life, the physical well-being and healthy development of man.¹³ Thus Kauffmann summarizes Luther's attitude: "Erziehung zu Gottes Dienst" umfasst das gesamte Werk der Erziehung und enthaelt in sich die Spannung von Erziehung und Erloesung, von goettlichem und menschlichem Wirken."¹⁴

Further, Prof. Gerhard Bohne has observed the following in regard to the task of education.¹⁵ First, education is God's doing. The educator is not the only determining agent in educational success, but God, with His love and mercy, is the One who makes education successful in youth. Secondly, education has a definite responsibility to fulfill in the world. It helps men who are in the lost condition of life. Thirdly, the mission of education consists in the fulfillment of the need for the present moment of life, i. e., what God has in His plan for mankind at this time. Fourthly,

¹² Cf. Chapter VII under "Faith."

¹³ Cf. Paul Martin Bretscher, "Toward a Lutheran Philosophy of Education," Concordia Theological Monthly, XIV (February, 1943), 91 ff.

¹⁴ Kaufmann, op. cit., p. 66.

¹⁵ Gerhard Bohne is a professor at the Paedagogischen Hochschule in Kiel, Germany. Cf. Bohne, op. cit., II, 73-82.

education prepares for the future. Finally, education has the grave responsibility of helping men to acquire the knowledge of salvation. It includes the whole realm of religious or Christian education.¹⁶

Improvement of Man through Education

Luther looked upon education as a vital source of wealth, power, and prosperity for the community and a nation. On this point, he is fully "modern". The prosperity of a community or a nation, explained Luther, does not consist solely in the accumulation of treasures, strong fortresses, beautiful and expensive residences, great weapons, and abundant material possessions; but its greatest wealth, power and well-being, consist in the fact that it has many learned, wise, honest, and well self-controlled citizens. These assets, knowledge, wisdom, honesty, and self-control, are the finest treasures for the individual and for groups of people. They make men ever stronger. In them the real value of education becomes apparent.

For Luther the program of training is not only desirable for the common ordinary citizens, but also for the rulers and kings as well. In a letter to King Gustavus, Luther said:

For it is necessary for kings to be either by nature more ingenious than others, or to attain to this by thorough training, so that they

¹⁶Ibid., p. 82: On the question of evangelical or Christian Education, ". . . es gibt heute einen Streit um die Frage, ob es eine evangelische Erziehung gaebe. Das ist ein Streit um Begriffe. Erziehung ist nichts anders als menschliche Hilfe. Ueberall, wo es menschliche Hilfe gibt, gibt es auch Erziehung. So wie Menschen den Glauben an Gott hindern koennen, koennen sie auch zum Glauben helfen. Also gibt es auch Erziehung zum Glauben. . . . Ebenso ist die Erziehung zum Reiche Gottes nur im Bereich Gottes moeglich. Wo die Erziehung in diesem Sinne verstanden wird, ist sie zutiefst immer auch Mithilfe zur Erloesung. Im Grunde fuehren nicht wir zum Reiche Gottes, sondern das Reich Gottes kommt zu uns."

may see with their own eyes instead of trusting to others opinion.¹⁷

A remarkable fact about Luther is, that as a religious reformer, he did not speak merely from the religious point of view. After having recommended schools as auxiliary institutions of the church, he offered a strong argument from the human point of view. He pointed out laudably that even if there were neither soul, heaven, nor hell, it would still be necessary to have schools for the sake of the affairs here on earth, as the history of the Greeks and Romans plainly teaches. The world has need of well-educated citizens ("feine gezogene Buerger"), both men and women, toward the end that man may govern his own household and the country properly; and that the woman may rear her children in a godly way, care for her domestics, and direct the affairs of her household.¹⁸

Luther's estimation of the value and mission of education can be summed up as follows: the training of well-disciplined men and women, the utilization of one's natural gifts, and the development of religious and Christian knowledge and character. In consideration of all these goals, education does not mean simply to teach or to help man to know things, but also to train him to do things. It means knowing and doing, both principle in action and action in principle. To this end, all sources of knowledge, both religious and secular, though there can be no such sharp division between the two, must be

¹⁷ Luther's letter to King Gustavus I of Sweden, on April 18, 1539.

¹⁸ Cf. Martin Luther, "Large Catechism," *Concordia Triglotta*, edited by F. Bente (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1921), pp. 610-31 (Exposition of the Fourth Commandment). Cf. E. 22, 192.

Utilized. Through accomplished and well-trained men and women, all materials and resources must be used for the service of God and men.¹⁹ God wants men to use all their abilities and talents, all the natural (cosmic) resources, and the inventions and discoveries of mankind to His glory and the welfare of His children on earth. All human talents are gifts of God which exist to strengthen and to spread the Kingdom of God on earth, and to promote the benefit and enjoyment of mankind. The power of intellect and scientific principles and discoveries, for example, are to be used for understanding the mysteries and marvels of nature, and uncovering and developing the potential uses of various resources for the common good of man. In such service of God and man, no intellect, reason or science, is essentially evil or harmful. To utilize such gifts of God effectively and adequately for the benefit and welfare of mankind, is precisely the work of the ideal "christian" man.

A great mission of education consists in the development of man. An important and relevant question is then: How can the child be so developed, as to utilize his God-given natural gifts and talents?

Education is a building agency for spiritual growth and the restoration, as far as possible, of the IMAGO DEI lost in the Fall. While it aims to develop man, the whole man, we may distinguish six general objectives: physical, social, intellectual, cultural, moral, and religious.

¹⁹ We train and educate children, so that they may "serve God and the world." Concordia Triglotta, op. cit., p. 629 (Exposition of the Fourth Commandment in the Large Catechism).

The first three phases are obvious enough and are already dealt with in earlier sections. The cultural purpose of the training, however, as indicated in Luther's emphasis on classical and liberal arts courses in school curriculum, is to widen man's vision, to improve his tastes, to develop skills and ability, and to create attitudes and habits. Moral training is to train man to observe the ethical rules and principles in life. Religious education is, on the other hand, to offer a positive effect on the individual in his personal relationship and reverential attitude to God in Christ.

The educational process is constantly moving, even as life itself. The life is always "im Werden," said Luther.²⁰ Like a constant development that exists in life and in education, it also exists in the Christian life and thus also in the process of Christian training. The Christian has not arrived, but is always becoming, as Luther aptly expressed: "Christianus enim non est in facto, sed in fieri. . . ." ²¹ "Christ werden in immer steigender Vollkommenheit, das ist Luthers Lebensziel in kurzen Worten."²²

By the educational process, an improvement is brought about in man. However, such an improvement occurs not in the essence of man, but rather in the fruits of man's work,—in the realm of good work, so to speak, such as the constant striving for growth in grace and in a sanctified life. Luther's stress on the total depravity of man does not give room for a fundamental qualitative improvement or betterment in man through education. Peterson

²⁰W. 7, 337, 30 ff. On the view that education is an "on-going process," Cf. Appendix II, under "Experimentalism."

²¹W. 38, 568, 37 (1538).

²²Israel, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

sums it up very adequately:

Es gibt keine sittliche Entwicklung der Gattung, sondern der Entfaltung der sittlichen Kraefte des Einzelnen in der Gemeinschaft und durch die Gemeinschaft, in welcher er lebt, und damit immer neue Entfaltungen des Sittlichen in den gegenwaertigen Gemeinschaften.²³

To train a child as a useful member of the family, for service to the community, as a loyal subject of the country, and for good citizenship, are some of the fundamental objectives in Luther's system of education.

A God-pleasing domestic life is the first goal, second to none other. The important role of the home and its mission we have studied in an earlier chapter.²⁴

The schools are to train for religious and ethically sound men. As Luther conceived it, education in school is a means of preparing children not only for scholarship—for that in itself was secondary with him—but also for life in the Christian community. The ultimate objective of such an education is to serve the Christian community, the Church. Luther's education is through and through an education "im Christentum" or "in dem geistgeschichtlichen Zusammenhang der christlichen Gemeinde."²⁵ Denn da wird die Jugend zur Gottseligkeit erzogen und zu allen Staenden geschickt. Aus ihnen werden Collaboratoren und Schillehrer zu Dienern der Kirche erwählt.²⁶

²³Peterson, op. cit., p. 107.

²⁴See Ch. VIII.

²⁵Friedrich Spanuth, Erbsuende und Erziehung im Luthertum (Bad Salzdetfurth, Deutschland: Druck von Richard Giesecke, 1933), p. 27.

²⁶S.L. 22, 1524.

The Christian man strives for love to all in all things, respect for God-given human rights and privileges, genuine concern for the need of others, practice of simple social amenities, in fulfilling the privileges and obligations of community life and good citizenship. These may sound too "modern" for Luther who lived in the sixteenth century. Despite his time, however, Luther encouraged all of these individual and social virtues of life. As religion became a personal matter between God and men through the Reformation, so the spiritual and temporal concern in Luther's educational program calls for a personal basis of responsibility. A sincere consideration on the part of the individual for social welfare reflects one's fellowship with God in his conduct.

Even as Luther holds that education should prepare for citizenship, he believes it should be state supported. This recommendation carried out in actual schools by his associates, such as Philip Melanchthon and Johann Bugenhagen. Furthermore, Luther stressed the duty of obeying the state and its authorities, as long as they conform with the mission given by God, as long as their demands are not contrary to God's Word and His Commandments, and as long as their execution of the law does not violate the law of faith.²⁷ Man is obliged to serve and to obey the state in a sanctified life.²⁸

Although the constant awareness and stress of Luther is on the instruction in the various liberal arts courses, and recognition of reason,²⁹ especial-

²⁷Cf. W. 30 11, 490; W. 11, 250-51. Also Cf. Eivind Berggrav, Man and State translated from the Norwegian by G. Aus (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1951). pp. 300-19: "When the Driver is out of His Mind: Luther on the Duty of Disobedience."

²⁸Cf. Theodor Pauls, Luthers Auffassung von Stadt und Volk (Bonn und Leipzig: Kurt Schroeder, 1925), pp. 24 f.

²⁹Luther meant, by saying "reason," the best thought of men, in those matters which God has left to the judgment of human intellect, such as, the mathematical and other scientific principles.

ly in the realm of natural sciences, his education purposes consistently reach toward a higher goal, a nobler aim, and a knowledge that no pure human reason or no science can adequately offer. Above and beyond human reason and science, there is, in Luther's education, the Divine Revelation.³⁰ This is a timeless and changeless principle. In this consists the basic knowledge of man.³¹ And Luther himself has been an example of one who applies such a Christian principle of education, the divine Revelation, to a practical situation, both individual and group or community.

Toward no higher objective does Luther's education aspire than to the "christliche Weltanschauung"³² which aims constantly at nothing but Deo Gloria in Christo.

³⁰Cf. Appendix II.

³¹Cf. Bretscher, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

³²Cf. Adolph Haentzschel, "A Philosophy of Christian Education," New Frontiers in Christian Education: 1944 First Yearbook, published under the auspices of the Lutheran Education Association (River Forest, Illinois: Lutheran Education Association, 1944), p. 10: "The Christian world view will be normative to all his thought and life. In its light he will see and judge all human activities and institutions—moral, social, economic, political, intellectual, and artistic. So it will also be in the matter of education. A Christian philosophy of education or a philosophy of Christian education will be a theory of education shaped by Christian principles and integrated into the Christian world view."

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

Luther's theology is the foundation of his education. Therefore, even as Christ is the starting point of Luther's theology, He is the starting point of Luther's education. Luther's education starts with the incarnate Lord, Jesus Christ, who lived among men, was crucified and rose again, and it can be said, too, that it centers in and ends here. Founded upon Christ, education builds then upon the Word of God. Still, it is remembered that MAN plays an important role in the education of Luther. Man is the instrument of God to educate men, and the object to be educated. Luther's approach to education, therefore, strongly emphasizes the divine side of the educational process without minimizing or ignoring the human aspects.

Luther did not give an answer to every specific problem in education, but the answers that he did give to the problems of his time may still be applicable in the modern situation. His approach may still be valid in principle, if not in actual practice for each individual case and situation.

Luther was in advancing the cause of a broad, general Christian education and establish it on such foundations that it would endure and continue to unfold and to develop under the influence of deepening insight, increasing knowledge, and ripening experience of the generation of educators that were to follow him.¹

¹G. M. Bruce, Luther as an Educator (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1928), p. 236.

An interesting observation regards the educational program of Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod which sets out to follow the view of Luther as closely as possible. Christian education has been one of the most powerful, significant and influential programs behind the body of the Synod. It has actually demonstrated what Christian education can do for people.

A history of the educational program of the Missouri Synod gives ample evidence of the fact that the Church did not merely theorize on the importance of Christian education, but that it was willing to exert itself to the utmost in realizing its goals.²

The Missouri Synod and its educators are putting forth further efforts to come by additional insights into a Lutheran philosophy of education that seeks to apply the Lutheran doctrine and an approach compatible with that doctrine to the problems of education, and seeks thereby to strengthen the educational program of the Church.³ In this connection, one may inquire

²Arthur C. Repp, editor, 100 Years of Christian Education: 1947 Fourth Yearbook (River Forest, Illinois: Lutheran Education Association, 1947), p. 219.

³Many articles and papers have been written and read on what is called the Lutheran philosophy of education. Most of those have appeared in such magazines as LUTHERAN EDUCATION, CONCORDIA THEOLOGICAL MONTHLY, PARISH EDUCATION; Yearbooks and monographs published by the Lutheran Education Association; the reports and bulletins of the Board for Parish Education of the Missouri Synod; educational essays presented to district and international conventions of the Synod; some pertinent pamphlets and books presenting Lutheran thinking on education. A number of such writings can be mentioned, notably those by Bretscher, Dau, Haentzschel, Kramer, Merkens, A. C. Miller, A. C. Mueller, Repp, Spitz, Stellhorn, Tingelstad, et al.

The Synod has appointed, since 1941, a Committee on the Lutheran Philosophy of Education, and has been putting further efforts to promote such a research study. A comprehensive study has recently been made by A. H. Jahsmann, that is: Allen Hart Jahsmann, "The Foundation of Lutheran Education" (Ph. D. Dissertation, St. Louis: St. Louis University, 1956), 550 pp. Cf. Especially the bibliography of Jahsmann's work, Ibid., pp. 520-48.

A further reference is directed to the comprehensive essay by Paul M. Bretscher, "Lutheran Education and Philosophy," Concordia Theological Monthly, XXVIII (April, 1957), pp. 250-74.

whether or not the principles, thought patterns, methods, practices, and goals of education of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod precisely reflect those of Martin Luther. If the answer be fully positive, what are the objective proofs? To what extent do they reflect them, if at all? A study of such question is impossible to undertake in this thesis.

In this presentation the author has deliberately risked the unpleasantness of repetition, for in Luther's pedagogical views as well as in his theology there are areas to which the researchers of Luther return again and again. But the author's intention is somewhat similar to the opinion of Gordon Rupp expressed in his book: "It is like the ascent of a spiral staircase, where the same point is reached but at a new level and with a wider perspective. It remains to offer some more general comment."⁴

This dissertation is by no means exhaustive. Much more could and ought to be said. It is the author's hope, however, that even such a meagre study as this may at least contribute something toward stimulating a serious study, by students of Luther, pastors and teachers, of the theological implications of Luther's education, or toward his philosophy of education.

The following suggestion can be made for a further research. In order to make a more comprehensive and exhaustive examination of this subject, four students, hypothetically speaking, could be assigned to research on Luther's anthropology, his Christology, his teaching on the

⁴Gordon Rupp, The Righteousness of God (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1953), p. 247.

Word of God, and his pedagogical works in conjunction with modern educational philosophies. All these men, with four different aspects of Luther study, should have the same one goal in mind, namely, to crystallize the educational view of Luther in the light of his theology. These cooperative studies would be compiled in one volume, thereby gathering the entire research material into one unit. Such an undertaking should be of great help in gaining a fuller view into Luther's philosophy of education.

May the Lord grant that the day come soon!

Soli Deo Gloria in Christo.

APPENDIX I

A Parallel Table of Educators, educational

GERMAN

ENGLISH

Luther, Martin (1483-1546)

Eugenhausen, Johann (1485-1558)

Melanchthon, Philip (1497-1560)

Ratichius, (1571-1635)
(Realist)

Comenius (or Komensky), John Amos
"Word of God" (1592-1670)

von Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm
(1646-1716)

Francke, August Hermann
(Naturalist; sense realist)
(1663-1727)

Basedow, Johann Bernhard
(Spiritual pupil of Rousseau)
(1723-1790)

Kant, Immanuel (1724-1804)

Salmann, (1744-1811)

Campe, Joachim Heinrich
(1746-1818)

Pestalozzi, Johann Heinrich
(1746-1827)
(Head of modern psychologists
or psychologizing methodizer
---great influence upon modern
vernacular elementary school)

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb
(1762-1814)

Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich
(1770-1831)

Herbart, Johann Friedrich
(1776-1841)

Froebel, Friedrich Wilhelm
August (1782-1852)
(Psychologizing methodizer)

Bacon, Francis (1561-1626)
(Natural historian)

Hobbes, Thomas (1588-1679)
(Naturalist)

Milton, John (1608-1674)

Locke, John (1632-1704)

Berkeley, George (1685-1753)

Raikes, Robert (1735-1811)
(Promoter of sec. schools)

Bell, Andrew, (founder of Madras
system of education)
(1753-1832)

Lancaster, Joseph (1778-1838)
(founder of Lancasterian system
of education)

Carlyle, Thomas (1795-1881)

Spencer, Herbert (1820-1903)
(Naturalist)

philosophers since the Reformation

FRENCH

AMERICAN

Ignatius (1491-1556)
Spanish: founder of Jesuit
(S)

Christ (1490-1553)
(Christ)

de, Michael de (Social
Contract; individualist)
(1533-1592)

Descartes, Rene (1596-1650)
(1651-1715)

de, Jean Jacques (Father
of Naturalism) (1712-1778)

Kant, Immanuel (1770-1840)
Author of the method of
"transcendental idealism"

Comte, Auguste (1798-1857)
(Philosopher; Sociologist)

Mann, Horace (1796-1859)

Emerson, Ralph Waldo (1803-1882)

Barnard, Frederick Augustus
(1809-1889)

Angell, James Burrill
(1829-1916)

Gilman, Daniel Coit (1831-1908)

Eliot, Charles William (Harvard
President) (1834-1926)

Harris, William Torrey
(1835-1909)

Peirce, Charles Sanders
(1839-1914)

James, William (1842-1910)

Dewey, John (1859-1952)

APPENDIX III

A COMPARISON BETWEEN MODERN EXPERIMENTALISM AND
LUTHER'S THOUGHT

EXPERIMENTALISM

LUTHER'S THOUGHT

Weltanschauung:

All things are in flow, in progress, and in change.

No transempirical reality.

Man is continuous with world.

The world is precarious.

No ultimate reality can be gained; hypotheses tested by experience are the only means to gain knowledge.

Philosophy of Life:

Man makes history, subject only to the order.

Man is progressing; makes his life and environments better.

Self-discipline is possible, and commendable.

Philosophy of "right now" or of the on-going present.

Emphasis on human quality and ability; humanistic and anthropocentric.

Man as self-sufficient being.

Experiences:

Experience is a moving force.

The basis of learning, the means and ends of education.

All experiences are meaningful.

Weltanschauung:

All is made by God; In Him are progress and change.

There is a a priori reality.

The world is continuous with man.

The world without God is precarious.

God is the ultimate reality; in Him is the true knowledge.

Philosophy of Life:

God makes history, man is subject only to Him.

Man is growing only in the Word of God and in His nurture.

Self-discipline is possible with the help of God.

Philosophy of past, present and future.

Emphasis of human corruption and inability; Theocentric and Christocentric.

homo peccator.

Word of God:

The WORD has the moving force.

Experience is a secular source of knowledge.

The basis of learning, the means and ends of education.

WORD is meaningful in all walks of life, since all is related to it, came out of it.

In this world of experience,
"life is a self-renewing
process"

Education:

Education is a growth; an ongoing
process.

Reconstruction or re-orienta-
tion of experiences which adds
to the meaning of experience.

A Process of interaction and
continuity

A social affair--creative social act
--directed to social life.

Education is problem-solving.

Aim of Education:

A continuous growth and develop-
ment of each pupil into the fullest,
finest and well-rounded person to
take his place and do his part in
individual, social and modern
democratic living.

Self-realization: Discover talents,
Rational thinking, Promoting
creativity, Independence and self-
expression, Character building.

Fit for useful and happy life in
community; socially cooperative na-
ture; Sensitive citizenship; har-
monious co-existence and good human
relationship.

To glorify man.

In the WORD, life is a self-re-
newing process, constantly growing.

Education:

Education, like Christian life, is
BECOMING, not HAVING BECOME.

Application of the Word of God in
all walks of life to be meaningful
and functional.

A process of relation between God-
man and man-man.

Education is directed to both
social and individual life.

A pilgrimage toward a destiny.

Aim of Education:

In brief, to rear and train each
pupil as a useful person to take
his place and to do his part at
home, in Church and State.

Toward character-building; utili-
zation of different talents for the
good of home, Church and State.

Development of "whole person"; make
fit for useful and happy member of
family, servant of Church, responsible
citizen of the State.

To glorify God.

Educative Procedure:

Mastery of fundamental principles; acquisition of certain techniques; skills and informations. These are to meet the common needs of life; attained through actual use of those.

Curriculum involves community, moral and religious; should be comprehensive; consists of experiences.

School and Teaching:

School should foster the democratic way of life; teaching is taken place.

Teaching is: skill in human relations, in group work, in evaluation, in individualizing instruction, in cooperation, in self-improvement.

Teacher: an understanding friend of pupil; love children; be loved by children; enjoy teaching; with fine personality, Cooperation with teachers and parents; with confidence in himself.

Summary:

Experienced-centered education.

Education for the welfare of man; creative, active, practical society.

Man-centered education; Man educates himself; Man saves himself.

Man is a self-sufficient being.

Educative Procedure:

Certain emphasis on vocational training.

Curricula: religion, classical languages, history, music, mathematics, and other natural science course should be taught.

School

Should foster the Christocentric way of life.

Teacher:

Be an example! Become child, like Christ became a man in order to save man.

Summary:

The WORD of God is the basis of education.

Education for the glory of God through Jesus Christ, and the welfare of man.

Christ-centered education. God makes education possible. Man is saved through Christ.

Man is sinful and unable being.

Least or no divine revelation,
but REASON.

Centered in Divine revelation.

*The following sources may serve as a brief and selected bibliography on the subject "Experimentalism" which the author studied and consulted: Theodore Brameld, Patterns of Educational Philosophy (New York: World Book Company, 1950). Donald E. Butler, Four Philosophies and their Practices in Education and Religion (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951). John L. Childs, Education and Morals (New York: Appleton-Century-Grofts, Inc., 1950). John L. Childs, Education and the Philosophy of Experimentalism (New York: The Century Co., 1931). John L. Childs, "Experimentalism and American Education," Teachers College RECORD, 44 (May, 1943). John Dewey, Democracy and Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1916). John Dewey, "New Introduction," Reconstruction in Philosophy (Enlarged edition; Boston: The Beacon Press, 1948). John Dewey, Experience and Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938). William H. Kilpatrick, Philosophy of Education (New York: MacMillan Company, c. 1951). Ward Madden, Religious Values in Education (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1951). Kimball Wiles, Teaching for Better Schools (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952).

APPENDIX III

Luther's Writings which Contain Considerable Pedagogical Materials.

- "The Ten Commandments preached to the People of Wittenberg," 1516-17. S.L. 3, 1132 ff.; 1028 ff.
- "The 95 Theses" of Luther, 1517. W. 1, 233-38.
- "The Ten Commandments of God, with a short Exposition of their Fulfillment and Transgression," 1518. W. 1, 247-56; S.L. 3, 1352.
- "Galaterkommentar," 1519 and 1531. W. 2, 436-618; W. 40 i, 1-688 and W. 40 ii, 1-184.
- "Auslegung deutsch der Vaterunsers fuer die einfaeltigen Laien," 1519. W. 2, 74-130.
- "Sermon von dem ehelichen Stande," 1519. W. 9, 213 ff.; S.L. 10, 630 ff. And Cf. S.L. 10, 598 and 704 ff.
- "An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation von des christlichen Standes Besserung," 1520. W. 6, 381 ff.; S.L. 10, 266 ff.
- "Sermon von Guten Werken," 1520. W. 6, 196-276; S.L. 10, 1298 ff.
- "Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen," 1520. W. 7, 12-38.
- "Eine kurse Form der 10 Gebote, des Glaubens, des Vaterunsers," 1520. W. 7, 194-229.
- "Das Meknifikat verdeutschet und ausgeleget," 1521. W. 7, 538-604.
- "Predigt vom ehelichen Leben," 1522. W. 8, 267 ff.; S.L. 10, 598 ff. Also Cf. S.L. 10, 704 f.
- "Betbuechlein," 1522. W. 1011, 331 ff.
- "Ordnung des gemeinen Kastens," 1523. W. 12, 1 ff.; S.L. 10, 954 ff.
- "Taufbuechlein," 1523. W. 12, 38 ff.; S.L. 10, 2136 ff.
- "Von weltlicher Obrigkeit, wie weit man ihr Gehorsam schuldig sei." W. 11, 229-81.
- "Formula Missae," 1523. W. 12, 197 ff.; S.L. 10, 2230 ff.
- "An die Buergermeister und Rats Herren aller Staedte Deutschlands, dass sie Schulen einrichten und erhalten (To the Mayors and Aldermen of all the Cities of Germany in behalf of Christian Schools)," 1524. W. 15, 9-53; S.L. 10, 458 ff.

- "Predigt von dem Ehestande," 1525. W. 17 ii, 60 ff.; S.L. 10, 644 ff.
- "De Servo Arbitrio," 1525. W. 18, 551-787; S.L. 18, 1668-1969.
- "Unterricht der Visitatoren," 1528 (1538). S.L. 10, 1628 ff.
- "Deutsche Messe und Ordnung des Gottesdienstes," 1529. W. 19, 44 ff.; S. L. 10, 226 ff.
- "The Large Catechism," 1529. W. 30 i, 123-238; Concordia Triglotta, pp. 566 ff.
- "The Small Catechism," 1529. W. 30 i, 239-425.
- "Vorrede auf Justus Menius Buechlein von christlicher Haushaltung," 1529. W. 30 ii, 49 ff.; S.L. 14, 288 ff.
- "A Sermon on the Duty of sending Children to School," 1530. W. 30 ii, 508 ff.; S.L. 10, 416 ff.
- "Von den Konziliis und Kirchen," 1539. W. 50, 488 ff.; S.L. 16, 2144 ff.
- "Genesis-Vorlesung," 1535-45. W. 42-44.
- Luther's TISCHREDE, documented in the Weimar Edition of Luther's Works. Also found in S.L. 22.
- Letters of Luther, found in various sources. Cf. Bibliography of this thesis.

APPENDIX IV

Luther's letter to the Councilmen of all cities of Germany appealing to them to support and maintain Christian schools. (1524) "An die Buergermeister und Ratsherren aller Staedte Deutschlands, dasz sie Schulen einrichten und erhalten."¹⁰.

I. Luther's claim to his right to make such an appeal to councilmen.

1. Luther felt that he could no longer keep silent.
2. His appeal was to follow the command of God.
3. His appeal was primarily for the education of the neglected youth.
4. His action was in the interest of all Germany.
5. On such assumptions, therefore, those who would not hear him were those who despise not him but Christ.

II. Description of the conditions in general.

1. Conditions of educational institutions.
 - a. Schools were deteriorating throughout Germany (Schulen zur gehen lesst).
 - b. Universities were becoming "schwach".
 - c. Monasteries were declining. (abnehmen)
 - d. Youth were corrupted by universities, convents and monasteries.
 - e. They were schools of Satan.
 - f. They were nothing but destroyers of children (kinder-fresser u. verderber).
2. The devil's work: to neglect the children and youth.
 - a. Monasteries and the priesthood (geistliche rotten): the devil's nurseries (nesten) of vice.
 - b. The devil's action in establishing such monasteries, schools and orders.
 - c. The seriousness of such dread works of the devil.
 - (1) No one can so easily realize this dreadful action of the devil.
 - (2) Without the miraculous intervention of God it is not possible to escape from such devices of the devil.
 - (3) So far the preventive outlook was with little hope.
 - d. Two enemies: Turks and Ignorance.

3. Parents: Causes of parental negligence of educating their children.
 - a. Lack of piety (frum) and uprightness (redlich); hardened themselves against their own offspring, and did nothing for them. p. 34**
 - b. The great majority of parents were unqualified (ungeschiekt) for educating their children. p. 34**
 - c. Parents had no time for educating their children.
 - d. Too expensive, to hire teachers, especially for the poor folks; many a bright boy (wanck feyn knabe) on account of poverty, would be neglected. p. 34**

4. Opportunities were neglected:

- a. The rulers and parents were still enveloped in the former condition of darkness.
- b. Useful reason had to pass without gratitude and improvement.

5. Appeal and admonition.

- a. Faithful parents should speak, for pleasing God and being themselves blessed. (freylich rechte christliche trewe eltern.)
- b. The grace and work of God must be used while they are near and available, for they would not always be present. "faule haende muessen eyn boesses jar haben." p. 32**

III. Luther's attitude toward the education of youth.

1. Negative approach: to neglect to educate youth.

- a. To neglect to educate youth is even contrary to nature itself, because nature itself moves men to educate youth. On the contrary, however, the people were ashamed to talk about education.
- b. Rational creatures should educate their youth.
- c. To neglect to educate youth is contrary to the state of perfect saints.
- d. Such negligence of educating children deserves heavy chastisement (grewliche straffe verdienet).
- e. To neglect to educate youth is to neglect and to dishonor immortal souls ("edlen seelen verlassen und geschendet werden.")

2. Positive approach: To educate youth.

- a. To educate youth is a serious and grave subject ("eyn ernste grosse sache.")—Christians must educate and bring up their children in a Christian way.
- b. Christian education is the subject with which Christ and the world are concerned. p. 30**
- c. Christian zeal and debotion ought to be devoted to overcoming the obstacles of educating and promoting it. p. 30**

- d. Appropriate amounts of money must be spent for education just as for roads, bridges, dams, etc. p. 30**
- e. The support for schools is a part of the gratitude to God.
- f. In the promotion of educational causes, we are fighting against the devil and the enemies of men. p. 30**
- g. The golden opportunity is here to train excellent and learned young men for the service of teaching. p. 31**
- h. To educate youth is God's command.
 - (1). Thus Moses urged: Deut. 21:18ff.: Fourth commandment; Deut. 32:7;
 - (2). Taught in Psalms: 78:5f. p. 32**

IV. Civil Government and education.

1. Civil Government.

- a. The civil government is a divine institution (goettlich ordnung). p. 44**
- b. In the government, skilled and well-trained rulers are necessary whol rule in a Christian way. p. 44**
- c. To train such rulers to maintain Government and to maintain universal educational programs are the duties of civil government. p. 44**
- d. Government must promote instruction by thoroughly qualified male and female teachers (gelerte und tuechtige meyster und meysterynn). p. 45**
- e. Government should promote the teaching of youth while they are young. Youth is by nature more active, full of vitality, and easily taught. p. 46**
- f. To educate the youth is to aid and benefit mankind; this means to train the accomplished citizens. p. 46**

2. Plea to rulers for education.

- a. Neither the world nor the Spirit can do without the office of the rulers. Rulers are indispensable.
- b. Through the learning-teaching process the world may be made better.
- c. The aim of Luther's plea for education was to attain a happy Christian social order in respect to both body and soul; His appeal was in the interest of all Germany and for Christianity.

3. Duty of the mayors and councilmen.

- a. The mayors and councilmen must exercise the greatest care over the young.
- b. To their hands, the welfare, happiness, honor and life of the city are committed. The highest welfare, safety and power of a city consists in able, learned, wise, upright, cultivated citizens, who can secure, preserve, and utilize every treasure

and advantage. ("...das ist einer stad bestes und aller reichest gedeyen, heyl u. krafft, das sei viel feyner gelerter, vernuenftiger erbar, wol gezeGENER burger hatt, die kuenden darnach wol schetze u. alles gut samlen, haliten u. recht brauche.") p. 34**

Ancient Romans became intelligent, wise and excellent men, skilled in every art and rich in experience ... their country prospered; persons were found capable and skilled in every pursuit.

- c. Since cities must have well-trained people, and since they do not grow up by themselves; therefore, such people should be educated and trained. p. 35**
- d. One of the duties of government and its rulers is to provide adequate training for able and learned and skilled rulers. p. 35**

V. Curriculum: Educational program.

1. Languages, history, singing, instrumental music, poetry, the whole course of mathematics, etc. p. 46**
2. Study-work program.
 - a. Study and work go together.
 - b. Children can attend both while they are young.
3. Education for girls: to go to school an hour per day; then attend to her work at home. (Painter 199.)
4. Special provision and care for the bright promising youth. p. 47**
5. Examples given by Solomon and Christ.

VI. Advantage (nutz) and necessity (not) of the languages.

1. Language is the gift of God.
2. The use of languages (Latin, Greek and Hebrew) and the other liberal arts.
 - a. For better understanding of the Scriptures.
 - b. For the better service of the civil government. p. 36**
3. Means of communication: The Gospel comes to men through the languages; languages must be studied for the sake of the Gospel; the Holy Spirit works through such means—languages; languages must be increased and preserved; the study of languages is to expose and destroy the reign of Antichrist. p. 37**
4. Languages (Greek and Hebrew) contain the Word of God. Cherish them zealously.

5. Languages preserve the Gospel: they are the casket (der Schreyen) in which this jewel is enshrined; the scabbard (die Scheyden) in which the Word is sheathed; the cask (gefess) in which this wine is kept; the chamber (die kemnet) in which this food is stored. p. 36**
6. By means of the languages, the divine revelation is recorded in writing. Prevent the evil toward God's Word and protect the simple-minded. Languages were lost under the pope. By the ignorance of languages many shocking abominations have arisen. Our evident duty to cultivate earnestly.... p. 38**
7. Counter-arguments:
 - Saints without a knowledge of languages?
 - Explain Scriptures without an acquaintance with the original languages?
 - To explain the Scripture, to deal with them independently, and oppose heretical interpreters, such a translation is too weak without a knowledge of the languages.
 - Therefore, the languages are absolutely necessary, especially for expositors and teachers. Efforts to study languages were made by St. Jerome and St. Augustine.
8. Languages are sunlight to darkness. p. 41** It is inadequate to study Scripture through the comments of the Fathers.
9. Through the languages we can secure the "whole loaf" of Truth. "With what pain and toil they scarcely obtain crumbs, while almost without effort we are able to obtain the whole loaf." p. 41**
10. Languages give strength and richness and life to Christians.
11. Without language people remain unqualified and unskilled in teaching the Gospel. Example: Waldenses. Without them, hard to keep the Truth pure.

VII. On Libraries.

1. Books.

- a. The necessity of good libraries and suitable buildings.
- b. In books the knowledge of the Gospel and of every kind of learning are embodied and preserved.
- c. Through books, arts and languages are preserved. St. Paul urged in I Tim. 4:13; II Tim. 4:13. Moses also urged: God directed the Levitical priesthood to preserve and attend to the books. Deut. 31:25f.; 17:13.
- d. Injury from the neglect and lack of good and good libraries which preserve knowledge. "... every day men are seeking these literary remains, as people dig in the ashes of a ruined

city after treasures and jewels."

2. In collecting the books.

- a. Books must be gathered with great care and discrimination.
- b. Not quantity, but quality.
- c. Books recommended:
 - (1) The Holy Scriptures in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German and other languages.
 - (2) The best and most ancient commentaries in Greek, Hebrew and Latin.
 - (3) Books containing languages, poets and orators.
 - (4) Books which treat all the arts and sciences.
 - (5) Chronicles and histories.
- d. Books rejected:
 - (1) Such harmful books of the monks as: CATHOLICON, FLORISTA, GRÆCISTA, LABYRINTHUS, DORMI, SECURE, etc.
 - (2) Writings of Aristotle.
 - (3) Commentaries of jurists.
 - (4) The sentences of all theologians.
 - (5) The questions of all philosophers.
 - (6) Sermons of monks.

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 1. W. 15, 9-53.
 2. E. 22, 168-199.
 3. Wal. 10, 534-567.
 4. S.L. 10, 458-485.
 5. Phil. Ed. IV, 101-32.
 6. F. V. N. Painter, Luther on Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928), pp. 169-209.

**All page references are to the Weimar text.

APPENDIX V

"Eine Predigt, dass man Kinder zur Schulen halten solle." (A Sermon on the Duty of Sending Children to School) (1530).*

Introductory words:

Purpose of the Sermon:

In order to instruct the preachers, scattered all over, in the duty of admonishing their people to send their children to school. This subject is a rich and appropriate theme. p. 517**

"so reich u. vol ist solch Thema."

The shining example of Nuremberg: p. 518**

It influenced powerfully the life of other communities. Such a city as Nuremberg is the ornament and honor of Germany and its other cities.

German books were utilized by the common people.

Crafty devices of Satan:

1. His ultimate purpose is to destroy the holy Gospel and the Kingdom of God.
2. He attempts to delude the common people into withholding their children from school and instruction. p. 520** Satan suggests such hurtful thoughts to the people as: "Since there is no hope for the cloisters and priesthood any more, we do not need learned men and study, but must consider how we can obtain food and wealth." This is a pasteur-piece of "Teuffel's macht." p. 520**
3. Results of the elimination of Scripture-study: lawlessness; multitude of wild beasts--"Solcher verzweivelt boeser Leute." p. 521**

The Sermon Text Itself:

1. The ministry is instituted by God (geistlich Ampt)
 - a. The ministerial office is instituted by God, not with gold and silver, but with the precious blood and bitter death of Christ. p. 526**
 - b. This office promotes eternal life and releases man from death and sin. p. 526**
 - c. Preaching and ministrations of the Word and Sacraments; imparting the Holy Spirit and salvation. p. 528, 529**
 - d. Not the monastic clergy, but the ministry of the Word. p. 528**

e. "Wo das Wort nicht gehet ... predigampt nichts ..." p. 528**

2. Maintenance of the office of the ministry.

- a. The ministerial office must be continually filled. p. 530**
- b. The decline of such "geistlich Ampt" is a neglect of God and His Word. p. 530**
- c. Opposition to the schools, therefore, is murderous injury to the ministry, for ministers are trained in schools. By such negligence, only Satan is served. p. 522**
- d. Concepts of the ministry: p. 528**
 - (1) By St. Paul: II Cor. 5:20.
 - (2) Joel calls ministers the Lord's messengers.
 - (3) David calls them kings and princes.
 - (4) Haggai calls them messengers.
 - (5) Malachi: 2:7.
 - (6) Christ says: Mt. 11:10.

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Part One

Spiritual benefits from the support of schools;
Spiritual injuries from the neglect of schools. p. 532 ff.**

A. Office of the ministry.

1. The "trews Pfarher" or "Rechte" or "Prediger" is the most precious and noblest treasure on earth. p. 533** He serves mankind in body and soul with splendid sacrifices; and thus serves God. p. 539**
2. The preacher is a "wergzeug" (instrument) of God who occupies the office of preaching and the care of souls. p. 534, 533**
3. Great works are done by the ministry in the soul of man. Jn. 14:12. p. 534**
4. The ministerial office alone deserves high praise and honor; all other temporal blessings are fruits of the ministerial office. p. 537**
5. As long as God is on the side of Luther!
"Were I a "prediger," what would it concern me that the world called me a devil, if I knew that God called me an angel? Let the world call me a "verfuerer" as long as it pleases--if God but call me his "trewen diener and hansknecht," the angels call me their "gesellen," the saints call me their "Bruder,"

the believers call me their "Father" distinguished souls call me their "Heiliger" the ignorant call me their "Gott" and God approves of it all, what harm can the world and the Devil do us with their calumny and abuses? p. 336**

5. The schools sustain such an important office as the ministry.

3. Child-training, negative and positive.

1. Neglect of child-education.

- a. The most impious (ungläubig) and most harmful (scheelichkeit) of men. p. 514**
- b. A great sin before God. It deserves God's rebuke in one's last hour of life. p. 515**

2. German vernacular books and sermons promoted the training of especially children and women. p. 516**

3. In the education of children, a certain vice is involved, for often "education means perversion." p. 517**

4. Sad pictures of the situation: parishes, schools, and other offices were daily becoming vacant; universities, such as Erfurt and Leipzig, and preparatory schools were gradually deserted. (Wittenberg alone was taking its last!) p. 518**

5. All perished, but "Christus n. sein Wort Heiligt ..." p. 519**
"Wort", however, has seldom been explained without being accompanied by words of caution or denunciation or explanation. p. 520**

Part III

Temporal benefits from the support of schools:

Temporal injuries from the neglect of schools:

1. Secular authority and the ministerial office.

1. "Ich, Ellen oder Elisabeth Schenk" belongs to secular and ministerial estates, such as serving for bride, wife, children, house, yard, etc. It is a large and costly of the authority of Christ. p. 522**

2. "Ich, Ellen oder Elisabeth Schenk" belongs to secular and ministerial estates, such as serving for bride, wife, children, house, yard, etc. It is a large and costly of the authority of Christ. p. 523**

B. Civil Government.

1. Wisdom is the foundation of the governmental formation.

- a. History shows that mere force, without reason and wisdom, accomplishes nothing constructive. Cf. Prov. 8:14, 15. p. 555**
- b. "Weisheit besser sey denn macht." p. 568**
- c. Government must be based on wisdom and reason (like the imperial law of Rome); It operates by means of knowledge and books; citizens must learn and understand the law and wisdom of such a government. p. 557**

2. Functions of civil government.

- a. To make men out of wild animals; to restrain them from degenerating into "brutes." p. 555**
- b. Government is indispensable: civil government is a corner stone and foundation of temporal peace on earth; this is well pleasing to God.

3. "Jurists": Luther means the whole body of civil offices.

- a. As well as medical doctors, chancellors, secretaries, judges, advocates, notaries and whatever else belongs to the civil administration.
- b. An unfaithful jurist in the government is a thief, a rogue, traitor, and devil; just as a hypocritical minister in the Church is a devil, thief, murderer, blasphemer.

4. Significance of training the child.

- a. Child-training is to maintain God's ordinance of civil government.
- b. Child-training is a divine calling; the best way to love one's children; best way not to be "unsinnig." p. 562**

C. The meaning of scholarship.

1. Scholars are valuable people for sustaining both secular and religious lives. p. 567** They have a divine office and function. By many ignoramuses, their significance is undermined. p. 570**
2. There is an ehrlieh gust (worldly honors) for chancellors, scribes, jurists, etc. p. 567**
3. The power of the PEN.
 - a. "Fedder sey das oberst" in the world with which to be equipped for combat, for parade in times of peace, for assembly in security. p. 570**

b. "Leicht ist die schreib-fedder," but the whole body and soul of man are mobilized to work with it. p. 573** (Painter, 258f)

4. The hardship of learning.

a. Luther contrasts scholars and soldiers. He says that knowledge is a light burden to carry, but a heavy one to acquire and difficult to employ. "Es ist wol was, kunst ist leicht zu tragen (sagt man) ... aber junst ist nicht bald gelernt, und nicht leicht zu uben zue brauchen." p. 575** But on the other hand, armor is heavy to carry, but it is easy to learn how to wear it.

b. Luther's own testimony to his study: Nothing can be exchanged for it. His educational training multiplied wealth, happiness and position in his life. p. 577**

5. Where theologians are absent there are also absent the instruction of the Word of God; nothing but heathens and devils are left. Where jurists or right rulers perish, there perish also law and peace. p. 578**

6. Preachers, theologians, jurists and physicians come from schools where the liberal arts are taught. p. 579**

7. The office of teaching is an exalted and honorable calling. "If I had to give up preaching and other duties, there is no office I would rather have than that of a school-teacher. ...For I know that next to the ministry it is the most useful, greatest and best; and I am not sure which of the two is to be preferred. p. 580**

D. Gifted Children. p. 545; 567; 587.

1. The government and its rulers should make special provision for the education of gifted and promising children.

2. For such promising youths from poor families, scholarships must be provided.

3. Compulsory education: Rulers and governments must encourage, and compel if necessary, the people to send their children to schools, especially such as are promising. Ignorance is the tool of the devil.

E. A few positive observations.

1. "Ein iglichs hat seine ehre von Gott so wol als seine ordnung und werck. p. 568**

2. In viewing the result of education: Think rather of the good than of the bad. Do not condemn the tree, because perchance some of its

fruits fall untimely or become preys to worms." p. 571 f.**

3. The children of common people will rule the world, both in spiritual and secular stations.
4. It is easier to train the young children. "... Young trees ... though some may break in the process, are more easily bent and trained." So also in the training of children. p. 580**
5. Medicine is a useful, comforting and salutary profession.
6. In God's mercy, all is done. "For God spares the whole human race for the sake of one man who is called Jesus Christ. If He were to look on mankind alone, there could be nothing but anger." (Painter, p. 257)

Postscript:

1. Thus, the words of "prophet" were spoken. (Luther)
2. Be not in ingratitude and forgetfulness of God's benefits!
3. Follow God's Word; praise and honor the Lord! Amen.

* 1. W. 30 ii, 508-588.
 2. E. 17, 377-421.
 3. Wal. 10, 478-533.
 4. S.L. 10, 416-59.
 5. Phil. Ed. IV, 133-80.
 6. F. V. N. Painter, Luther on Education (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1928), pp. 210-71.

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