



# Martin Luther's Reform of University & Church

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Exhibit Gallery, Pitts Theology Library

An exhibition curated by Dr. Armin Siedlecki



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## THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION AND CHURCH REFORM

Armin Siedlecki

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Origen (182–254): Against Celsus**

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

[528] leaves; 29 cm. (folio); a<sup>10</sup> b–o<sup>8</sup> p–s<sup>10</sup> t–z<sup>8</sup> A–H<sup>8</sup> I<sup>6</sup>; Goff O95, Hain-Copinger 12078\*; leaf [3a] Origenis proaemium contra Celsum et in fidei Christianae defensionem liber I; imprint from colophon: Origenis contra Celsum finis: quem Christophorus persona Romanus . . . cu[m] fide e graeco traduxit & emendauit. Magister uero Georgius Herolt de Bambergae Romae impressit. Anno incarnationis domini Millesimoquadringētesimo octogesimo primo: mense Ianuarii: regnante Sixto quarto pontifice maximo: anno eius decimo. Bound in eighteenth-century calf, outer border in double ruled gilt, with blind-stamped pattern inside; spine in seven bands with gilt device in each band; red leather label; marbled endpapers. From the collection of Charles Spenser, 3rd Earl of Sunderland (Puttick and Simpson, Sale IV, Nov. 9, 1882, lot 9043). 1481 ORIG

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

**Jerome (347–420): On Illustrious Men**

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

[37] leaves; 31 cm. (folio); a–c<sup>10</sup> d<sup>6+1</sup>; Goff H–192, Hain H8589; printed in a single column, 35 lines per page, 2 columns in the tables; spaces left for capitals. Bound in vellum with four other works. 1472 HONO:5

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

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

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

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

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

[142] leaves; 33 cm. (folio); a–f<sup>0</sup> g<sup>12</sup> h–o<sup>10</sup>; Hain 6699, Pellechet 4642, Goff E118; imprint from colophon: Hoc Ienson ueneta Nicolaus in urbe uolumen Prompsit: cui foelix gallica terra parens. Scire placet tempus. Mauro christophorus urbi Dux erat. Aequa animo musa relecta suo est. Quid magis artificem petere Dux: christus: et auctor. Tres facit aeternos ingeniosa manus. M.CCCC.LXX. Initial letter E illuminated in blue, green, gold, purple, and black; elaborately decorated at foot of page with coat of arms. Initials supplied in red. Frequent annotations, no longer legible because of washing. Bound in red morocco with elaborate gilt border, spine in seven bands with brown leather labels, titles in gilt; marbled endpapers. From the collection of Charles Spenser, 3rd Earl of Sunderland (Puttick and Simpson, Sale II, April 22, 1882, lot 4351). 1470 EUSE

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

### **Augustine (354–430): The City of God**

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

[302] leaves; 38 cm. (folio); a–z<sup>8</sup> A–O<sup>8</sup> P<sup>6</sup> (a4 marked a3; a1, P6 blank); Hain 2061, Copinger 759, Goff A1242; colophon printed in red: Diui Aurelij Augustini hyponensius [prae]sulis [prae]clarissimu[m] opus de ciuitate dei vna cu[m] [com]mento Thome Valois & Nicolai Triuech eximiorum sacre pagine, [pro]fessorum expletu[m] e[st]. Impressu[m] i[n] alma vniuersitate Louanie[n]si q[u]ae Braba[n]tiam haud pa[rum] p[rae] ceteris ornata[m] reddit. ingenio ac i[n]dustria Joa[n]nis Westfalensis. Anno domini M.CCCC.lxxxvii kalendas octobris. 59–60 lines; rubricated initials; 26 pages of hand-written index appended. Bound in seventeenth-century calf, spine in seven bands; spine elaborately gilt with leather title labels; marbled endpapers. From the collection of Charles Spenser, 3rd Earl of Sunderland (Puttick and Simpson, Sale I, Dec. 1, 1882, lot 736). 1488 AUGU:1

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

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

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

## 2. THE RENAISSANCE CONTEXT—REDISCOVERY OF THE CLASSICS

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

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

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

[260] pages; 21 cm. (4to); a–p<sup>8</sup> q<sup>10</sup>; Hain-Copinger 10283\*, Proctor 5271, Goff L–334; text incipit (leaf a2r): T. Lucreti Cari. poetae philosophici antiquissimi de rerum natura liber primus incipit foeliciter; imprint from colophon: Impressum Venetiis per theodorum de ragazonibus de asula dictum bresanu[m]. Anno domini. M.CCCC.LXXXXV. Die.iiii.septembris. Initial spaces. Annotation below printed title “Collatus cum vetasriore codice Venetiis edito, qui extat in Bibliotheca Greshamensis.” Annotated throughout with what appear to be corrections to text. Volume of corrections drops off significantly after signature k. Lengthy note on q9v, “Paulig hunc impressit Fridenperger in Verona. Qui geni[que] est in Padua [?] alae magnae. Ab incarnation e Christi Mccccclxxvi Die vigesimo octavo Septembris calen. Octobris.” Bound in old vellum. From the collection of Charles Spenser, 3rd Earl of Sunderland (Puttick and Simpson, Sale III, July 26, 1882, lot 7685). 1495 LUCR

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

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

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

[200] pages; 20 cm. (4to); a–l<sup>8</sup> m–n<sup>6</sup>; Goff F–160, GW 9885, Hain-Copinger 7063\*. Apologia dated xvi. Septe[m]bris. M.ccclxxxix. Contents on a3: Primus de vita sana—Secu[n]dus de vita longa—Tertius de vita coelitus comparanda. Guideletters, 35 lines to a page. Extensive marginal notes in more than one hand, underlining, pointing hands. Bound in speckled leather with gilt spine. From the collection of Charles Spenser, 3rd Earl of Sunderland (Puttick and Simpson, Sale IV, Nov. 6, 1882, lot 8412). 1481 HERM:2

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

### Ptolemy (ca. 90–168): Geography

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

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

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

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

#### **Isocrates (436–338 B.C.E.): Orations**

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

[56], 349, [3] unnumbered leaves; 17 cm. (8vo); α-γ<sup>8</sup> δ<sup>4</sup> A-2X<sup>8</sup>; VD16 I390; headpiece and initials; extensive old marginalia. Bound in blind-tooled, bordered and paneled alum-tawed pigskin over beveled boards, with leather and brass clasps, partially lacking; medallion portraits of Luther (upper) and Melanchthon (lower) featured prominently in panels and surrounded by smaller captioned portraits of saints, notably King David and St. Paul. Upper board features tooled date 1542 below panel, and initial letter E to the right of the Luther portrait. 1540 ISOC

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

#### **Isocrates (436–338 B.C.E.): Orations**

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

[12], 251, [13] pages, 226 columns, pages 227–281, [20] pages; 33 cm. (folio); α<sup>6</sup> A-2G<sup>4</sup> 2H-2I<sup>6</sup> 2a-2y<sup>4</sup> 2z<sup>6</sup>; VD16 I1411; printer's device on last page, historiated initials, includes index. Latin and Greek; includes Wolf's *Gnomologiae ex omnibus Isocratis operibus*; additional material by Michael Toxites and Juan Luis Vives. Bound in contemporary bordered and paneled blind-tooled calf (worn, lower rear corner damaged), panels alike, with inner rectangle of a grape vine roll, front panel with title/author statement in silver (oxidized). From the Fugger family library, with its shelf mark. 1548 ISOC

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



### 3. THE STUDY OF ANCIENT LANGUAGES IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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

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

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

[942] pages; 36 cm. (folio); †<sup>4</sup> (–†<sup>4</sup>) a–3u<sup>6</sup> 3x–3y<sup>8</sup> (–3y<sup>8</sup>) α–η<sup>6</sup> θ<sup>8</sup> (–θ<sup>8</sup>); VD16 G1751; title within illustrated border, designed by Hans Holbein the Younger; historiated initials. In double columns. Last leaf (with colophon) lacking. Bound in old gilt-tooled, mottled and polished calf, with panelled spine and edges sprinkled in red. 1545 GESN

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

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

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

292 [i.e. 291], [1] leaves; 32 cm. (folio); a–z<sup>6</sup> A–L<sup>6</sup> M<sup>8</sup> N–R<sup>6</sup> S<sup>4</sup> T–Z<sup>6</sup> &<sup>6</sup> [con]<sup>6</sup> [rum]<sup>4</sup>; Adams T939; printer's mark (Vaccaro 59) on title page. Bound in old vellum over pasteboards, with edges sprinkled in blue. 1510 CRAS

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

[208], 306, [16] pages; 18 cm. (8vo); A–N<sup>8</sup> a–u<sup>8</sup>; printer's device on the title page. 1537 MUNS

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

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

*Thesaurus linguae sanctae, siue Dictionarium Hebraeum* = ספר השרשים חברו .החכם הגדל רבי דוד קמחי [Venice: Marco Antonio Giustiniani, 1546]

548 columns; 33 cm. (folio); 1–16<sup>8</sup> 17<sup>10</sup>; Adams K46, Vinograd Venice 330; title in architectural woodcut border, initial words within woodcut designs. Hebrew and Latin inscriptions on title page. 1546 KIMH A

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

#### 4. PHILIPP MELANCHTHON—EDUCATOR OF GERMANY

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

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

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

[19] pages; 22 cm. (4to); A<sup>4</sup> B<sup>6</sup> (B6 verso blank); VD16 M2587; title within woodcut architectural border. 1517 MELA

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



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

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

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

[28] pages; 21 cm. (4to); A–B<sup>4</sup> C<sup>6</sup>; VD16 M4234; title within woodcut architectural border; initials, woodcut border (A3 recto), full page woodcut of printer's device (C6 verso). 1519  
 MELA B

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

**Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Five Orations**

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

[72] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); 2A–2D<sup>8</sup> 2E<sup>4</sup>; VD16 M3835; printer's device on 2E4 verso; 1525 MELA

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

2. *Oratio de legibus*: Oration on ancient Greek laws
3. *Oratio de gradibus*: Oration on the education of the young
4. *Praefatio in Aeschinis et Demothenis orationes*: Preface to the speeches of Aeschines and Demosthenes
5. *Oratio criticae contra Theramenem ex Xenophonte*: Oration of Critias against Theramenes from Xenophon, an excerpt of Xenophon's *Hellenica*, translated by Philipp Melanchthon.

**Melanchthon, Philipp, 1497–1560: Theological Commonplaces**

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

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

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

**Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Various Orations**

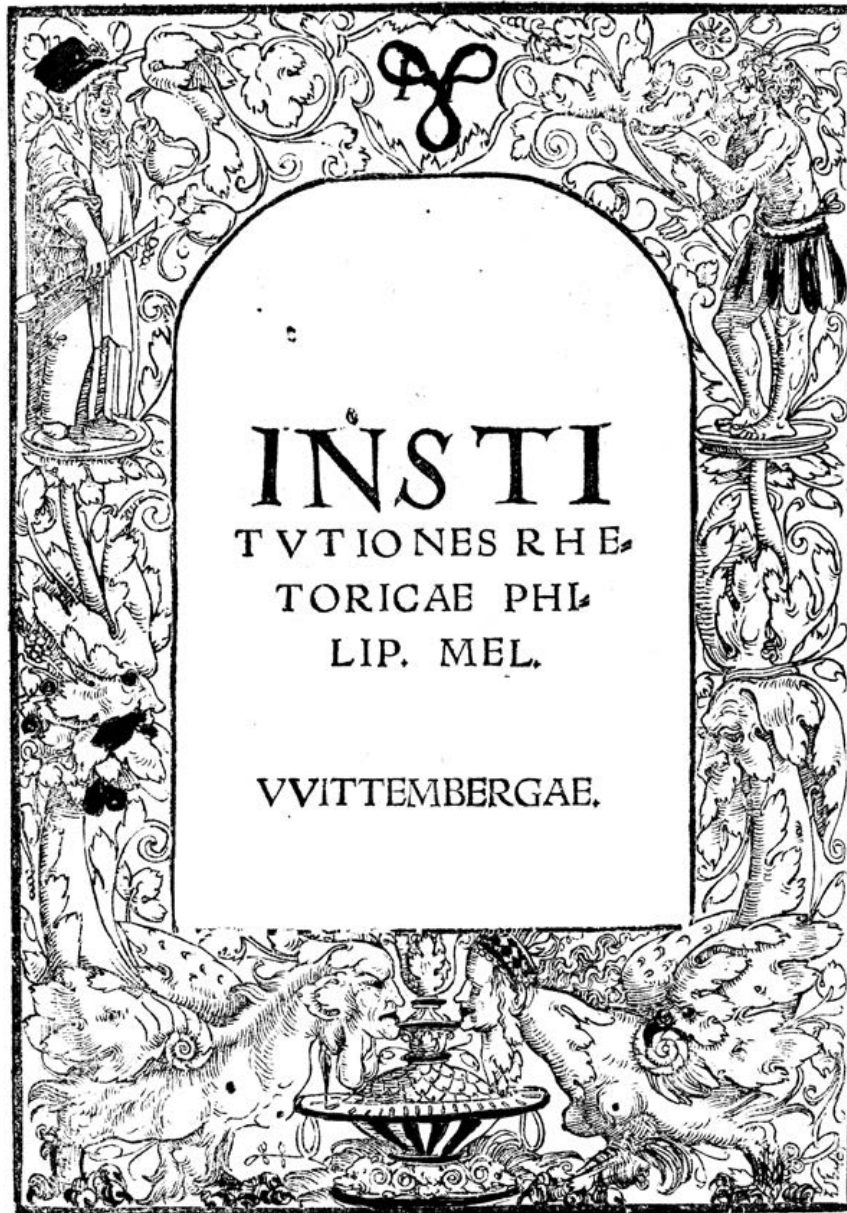
*Liber selectarum declamationum Philippi Melanthonis, quas conscripsit, & partim ipse in schola Vitebergensi recitavit, partim alijs recitandas ex hibuit. Adiectae sunt eiusdem praefationes in aliquot illustres autores.* Argentorati: Ex officina Cratonis Mylii, Mense Martio, anno M.D. XLI.

[8], 862, [2] pages; 21 cm. (4to); π<sup>4</sup> A–Z<sup>4</sup> a–z<sup>4</sup> Aa–Zz<sup>4</sup> AA–ZZ<sup>4</sup> aa–qq<sup>4</sup> (qq4 blank); VD16 M3554, Hartfelder 317; printer's device on title page and colophon, initials. Ownership inscriptions on title page and old marginalia throughout. Bound in blind-tooled, panelled pigskin over wooden boards, clasps and catches. 1541 MELA D

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

**5. TEXTBOOKS IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY**

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



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



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

**Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Dialectical investigations**

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

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

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

**Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Principles of Rhetoric**

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

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

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

**Peter Schade (1493–1524): Figures and Definitions**

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

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

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

## 6. DESIDERIUS ERASMUS—PRINCE OF THE HUMANISTS

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



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

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

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

408, [16] pages; 19 cm. (8vo); a–z<sup>8</sup> A–B<sup>8</sup> C<sup>4</sup> D<sup>8</sup>; VD16 E3193; title within ornamental borders, initials throughout. Printer's device above colophon. Old marginalia and drawings. Bound in calf over wooden boards. 1522 ERAS

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

**Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536): Adagia**

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

[52], 803, [5] pages; 34 cm. (folio); 2a–2c<sup>6</sup> 2d<sup>8</sup> a–z<sup>6</sup> A–2U<sup>6</sup> 2X<sup>8</sup>; VD16 E1937. Preface and text printed in pages of one column of Roman type with extensive Greek citations. Indexes printed in three or four columns per page. Title within elaborate wood-engraved historiated border, displaying portraits of philosophers, with a walled garden containing a central tree in the lower panel. List of philosophers on verso of title leaf, initial leaf of preface within wood-engraved border (putti playing); colophon and printer's device on last page surrounded by elaborate historiated border (female figures representing virtues and vices). Historiated initials and borders (a few decorated). Old marginalia; old provenance markings on title page. Half-bound in alum-tawed pigskin over wooden boards, blind-tooled, with brass and leather clasps (one lacking); title and author statement inscribed on upper board: *Chiliades Erasmi*. From the library of Victor Stedingk, with his armorial bookplate. 1523 ERAS A

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

**Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536): Ratio verae theologiae**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

#### 7. MARTIN LUTHER—EDUCATION AS A CIVIC RESPONSIBILITY

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

[68]; 21 cm. (4to); A–G<sup>4</sup> H<sup>2</sup> I<sup>4</sup>; Benzing 2821, VD16 L5689; imprint from colophon; dedicated to Lazarus Spengler. Rubricated title page, title within wood-engraved historiated architectural border (coats of arms of Luther and Melancthon, Nativity and printer's monogram below, Trinity and cherubs above, saints on left and right). Initials (decorated and historiated). 1530 LUTH II

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

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

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

[4] pages; 20 cm. (4to); π<sup>2</sup>; Benzing 3400, VD16 L6933; initials. 1542 LUTH B

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[72] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); A–D<sup>8</sup> E<sup>4</sup>; Benzing 3447, VD16 J819; head and tailpieces on title page; initials. 1543 JOHA.

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

**8. MARTIN LUTHER AND THE UNIVERSITIES OF PARIS AND LEUVEN**

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

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

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

[34] pages; 21 cm. (4to); a–c<sup>4</sup> d<sup>6</sup> (–d6); Benzing 629, VD16 L2335; title in ornamental woodcut border; some marginalia; bound in red morocco with marbled paperboard. 1520 UNIV

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

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

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

**Anonymous Pamphlet: A Letter Regarding our Teachers from Leuven**

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

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

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

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

*Wider die XXXII. Artikel der Theologen von Löwen. Mart. Luth. Wittemberg. M.D.XLV.* Gedruckt zu Wittemberg: durch Nickel Schirlentz, 1545.

[20] pages; 20 cm. (4to); A–B<sup>4</sup> C<sup>2</sup>; Benzing 3521, VD16 L4259; title within wood-engraved, historiated and architectural border. 1545 LUTH I

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

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

*Aduersus furiosum Parisiensem theologastrorum decretum Philippi Melanchthonis pro Luthero Apologia.* Basel: Adam Petri, 1521.

[28] pages; 21 cm. (4to); A–B<sup>4</sup> C<sup>6</sup>; VD16 M2432; initials. 1521 MELA D

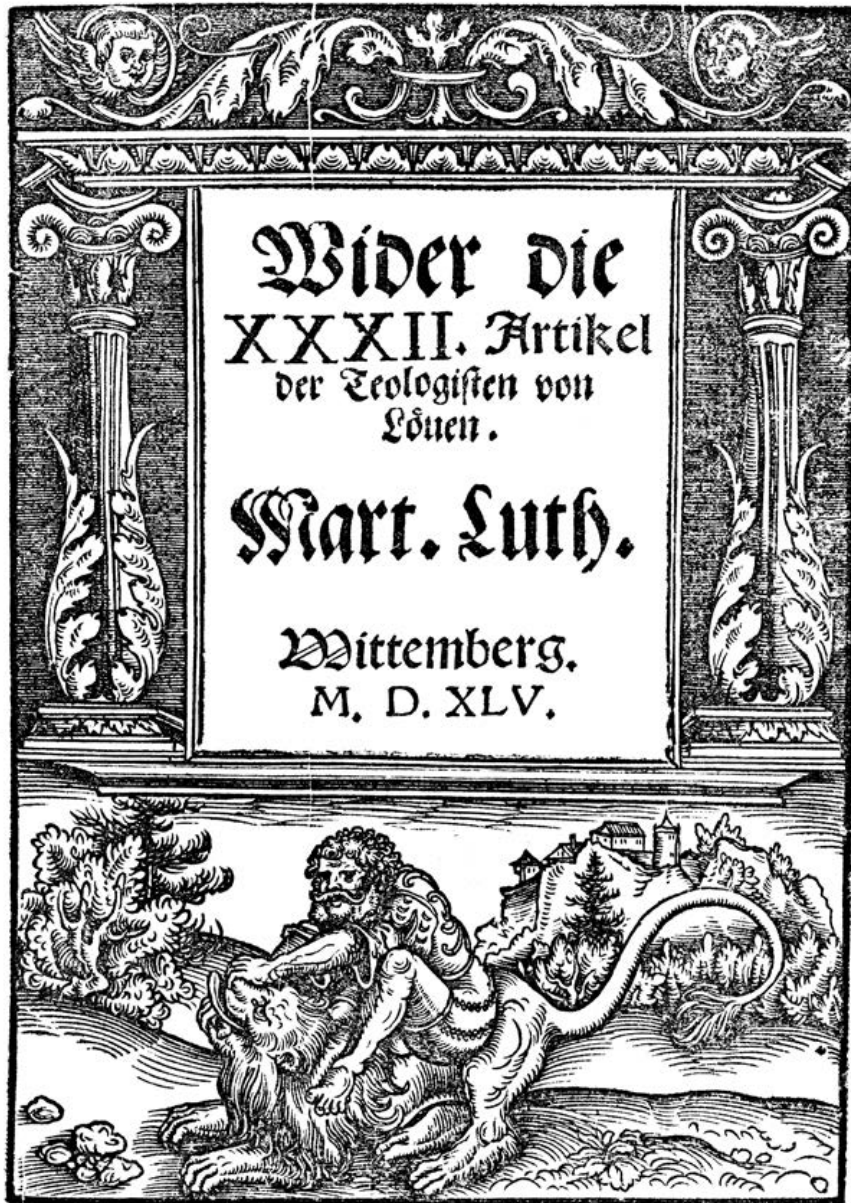
Philipp Melanchthon's response to the public condemnation of Luther's teachings by the theological faculty at the University of Paris earlier the same year.

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

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

[26] pages; 23 cm. (4to); A–B<sup>4</sup> C<sup>6</sup> (–C6); Adams P–326. There are manuscript ownership entries on the foot of the title page and first page of text. The inscriptions on the title page read, "Non Francisci Jastrzembski sed Mathia Gilewski Em[re]ens Craconiae in foro Cut vulgo vocati Vendeta. A.D. 1583" (underlined part in a second hand) and "Congregationis Augustissimae Virginis Annuntiatae in Collegio Posan." The ownership entry on the first page is only partly legible. Marginalia throughout. 1521 UNIV A

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



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



## 9. EARLY TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

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

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

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

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

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

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

**German Bible (1536, Zürich)**

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

2 volumes ([44], CCCXLI, CCCXVII leaves); 37 cm. (folio);  $\pi^6$  3a–3b<sup>6</sup> 3c<sup>4</sup> a–z<sup>8</sup> A–T<sup>8</sup> V<sup>6</sup> (–V6) 2a–2z<sup>8</sup> 2A–2Q<sup>8</sup> 2R<sup>6</sup> (–R6); VD16 B2701; title page in red and black; text in double columns and in fraktur typeface. Part 2 has a separate title page, "Das ander teyl dess Alten Testaments mit sampt dem Neüwen." On verso of leaf CCCXVII: Getruckt zu Zürich bey Christoffel Froschouer, vnd vollendet am sechszehenden Tag des Mertzens, Im Iar M.D.XXXVI. Old marginalia. Bound in old alum-tawed pigskin over wooden boards, tooled in blind. 1536 BIBL V.1–2

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

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

#### German New Testament (Luther, December 1522, Basel)

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

[4], CLXXXI, [1] leaves; 31 cm. (folio); A<sup>4</sup> B–2G<sup>6</sup> 2H<sup>8</sup>; VD16 B4317; woodcut title page border with the symbols of the four Evangelists, Peter and Paul, with date "1523" in Adam Petri's device, by Hans Lutzburger, after Hans Holbein the Younger. Cf. Pflugk-Harttung 81. Woodcuts with biblical scenes (repeated) at beginning of each book, by same artists. Cf. Hollstein XIVA, Hans Holbein, 48 a–i. Small initials attributed to Hans Holbein the Younger, a few larger ones to Urs Graf. Cf. E. Stickelberger, *Reformation*, 36. Printer's device on title page and verso of 2H8. Bound in brown, blind-stamped, panelled calf with the monograph "N.S." (Nicholas Spierinck, a sixteenth-century bookbinder in Cambridge). 1522 BIBL C

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

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

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

6 parts in 1; 37 cm. (folio); \*<sup>6</sup> A–P<sup>6</sup> (P6 verso blank) a–d<sup>6</sup> e<sup>4</sup> f–x<sup>6</sup> y<sup>4</sup> Aa–Cc<sup>6</sup> Dd–Ee<sup>4</sup> Ff–Gg<sup>6</sup> Hh<sup>4</sup> Ji–Mm<sup>6</sup> Nn<sup>4</sup> Oo<sup>6</sup> (Oo6 blank) aa<sup>4</sup> bb–tt<sup>6</sup> vv<sup>4</sup> aaa–lll<sup>6</sup> mmm<sup>4</sup> (mmm4 verso blank) AA–XX<sup>6</sup> YY–ZZ<sup>4</sup> †<sup>6</sup>; VD16 B2840; colophon dated 1534. Old Testament in five parts, 2–5 with half-titles; "Dat Nye Testament . . ." is dated 1533 and has its own title page within woodcut border. 1533 BIBL A

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

### 10. HEBREW BIBLES

#### Rabbinic Bible (First Edition)

מקראות גדולות [Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1517].

[1,354] pages; 36 cm. (folio); 1–16<sup>8</sup> 17<sup>6</sup> 21–15<sup>8</sup> 31–22<sup>8</sup> 23<sup>4</sup> 41–8<sup>8</sup> 49<sup>4</sup> χ<sup>1</sup> 51–2<sup>8</sup> 53<sup>10</sup> 54–8<sup>8</sup> 61–2<sup>8</sup> 63<sup>6</sup> 64<sup>4</sup> 71–6<sup>8</sup> 81<sup>8</sup> 82<sup>6</sup> 91<sup>6</sup> 92<sup>4</sup> (gatherings signed in Hebrew characters); Habermann, A.M., ha-Madpis Daniyel Bombirgi, 28,8; initial words. Bound in old blind-tooled, bordered and panelled leather over wooden boards. From the library of Mordekhai Shemu'el Gerondi mi-Padova 5471 [1810 or 1811], with his signature; from the library of Binyamin Yitshak ben Binyamin mi-Lit[as?], with his signature. Old marginalia. 1517 BIBL

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



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

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

### **Rabbinic Bible (Second Edition)**

מקראות גדולות [Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1524]

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

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

## **11. THE GLOSSA ORDINARIA**

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

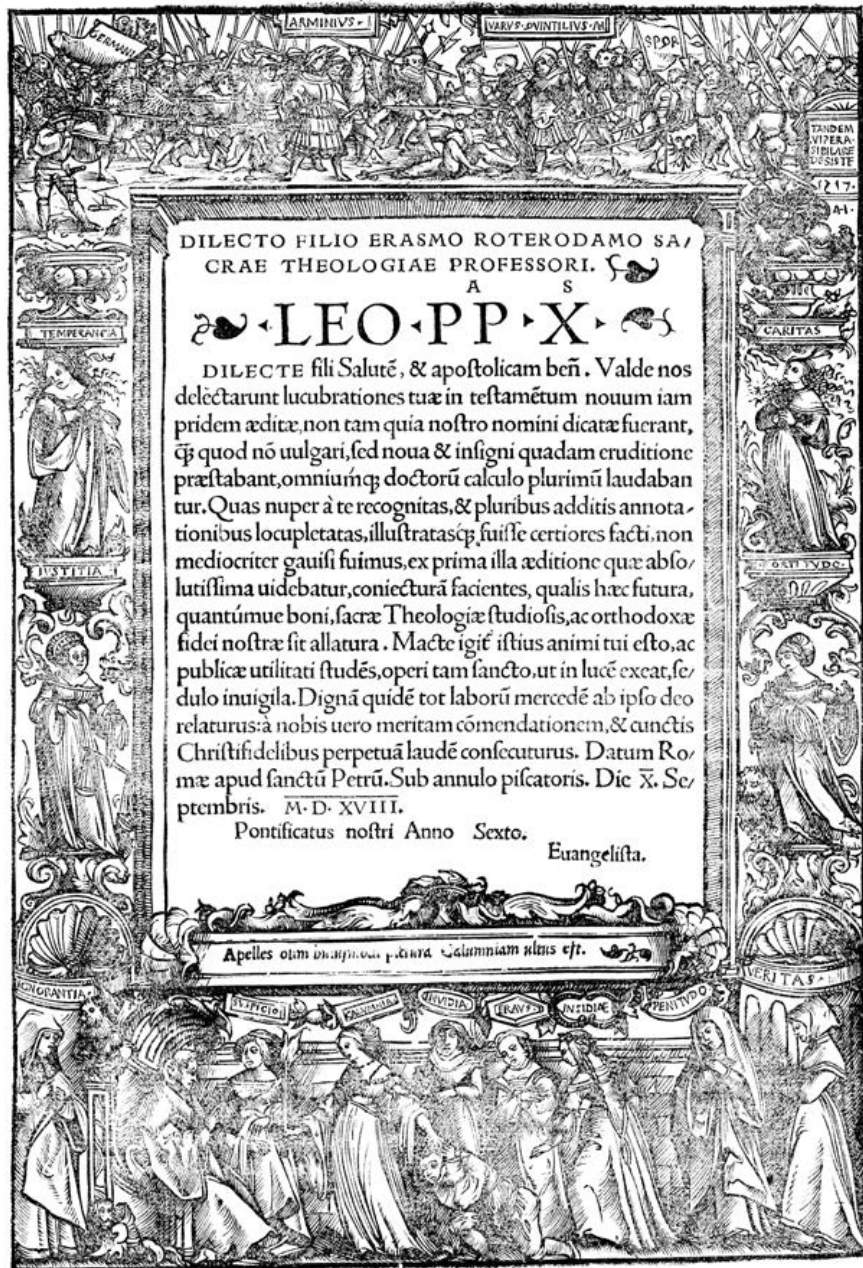
### **Glossed Vulgate Bible: Gospels (1498)**

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

244 leaves; 30 cm. (folio); a–y<sup>8-6</sup> z<sup>8</sup> A<sup>6</sup> B–L<sup>8-6</sup> M<sup>6</sup>; Hain 3172, Goff B609, GW 4284; woodcuts. Initials rubricated in red and blue. Initial letter of each Gospel elaborately illuminated in gold. Old calf binding rebaked. 1498 BIBL V.5

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





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

## 12. THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT OF ERASMUS

**Greek New Testament (Erasmus, 1516)**

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

[28], 324, 672 [i.e. 636], [3] pages; 32 cm. (folio in 6's and 8's); 3a<sup>6</sup> 3b<sup>8</sup> A–2D<sup>6</sup> a–h<sup>6</sup> i<sup>8</sup> k–t<sup>6</sup> x<sup>1</sup> u–z<sup>6</sup> 2a–2m<sup>6</sup> 2n<sup>8</sup> 2q–2z<sup>6</sup> Aa–Ee<sup>6</sup> Ff<sup>8</sup>; VD16 B4196, Adams B1679. At the head of the title page in ink is an old ownership mark: “Ex Bibliotheca Sci[en]tiae SS. Joan. Bapt. & Jan. E. in Haugis. Herbipoluis.” Old marginalia, fore-edge shelf mark and spine label. Bound in blind-stamped, polished calf over wooden boards, clasps missing. 1516 BIBL B

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

**Greek New Testament (Erasmus, 1519)**

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

2 volumes (565, 579 pages); 31 cm. (folio); V.1: Aa–Kk<sup>6</sup> a–z<sup>6</sup> A–Z<sup>6</sup> &<sup>8</sup>, V.2: aa<sup>4</sup> a–z<sup>6</sup> A–Y<sup>6</sup> Z<sup>4</sup> aA–bB<sup>8</sup> (–bB8); VD16 B4197, Adams B1680. Bound in blind-stamped calf over paper boards. 1519 BIBL V.1–2

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

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

## 13. POLYGLOTS

**The Complutensian Polyglot**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[680] pages; 31 cm. (folio); a–2d<sup>6</sup> 2e<sup>8</sup> A–2D<sup>6</sup> 2E<sup>8</sup>; VD16 ZV25154; illustrated title page; title in red and black; initials. Contemporary alum-tawed, panel stamped and hand-tooled pig-skin binding with sewn-in headbands, beveled boards and brass clasps, and binder's initial H in center of panel on lower board; late nineteenth-century manuscript notes on front and back fly leaves. 1548 DIET A

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

**The Slüter Hymnal: A Low-German Hymnal from 1560**

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

[504] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); A–Z<sup>8</sup> a–h<sup>8</sup> i<sup>4</sup>; VD16 G946; 39 woodcut images of scenes from the Old and New Testament, each page has an engraved ornamental border. Annotations in an old hand on end papers. 1560 GEIS

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

**Church Order Kurhessen-Waldeck**

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

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

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

**Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560): Theological Commonplaces**

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

949, [102] pages; 18 cm. (8vo); A–Z<sup>s</sup> a–z<sup>s</sup> 2A–2G<sup>s</sup>; VD16 M3661; includes index. From the library of Casparus Megandrus, with his signature. Extensive old inscriptions and marginalia. 1558 MELA C

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

87 [i.e. 85] leaves; 20 cm. (4to); A–V<sup>4</sup> X<sup>6</sup> (X6 blank); VD16 S1692; some rubrication. 1539 SARC A

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

**Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560): Saxon Visitation Articles**

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

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

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

## 16. CATECHISMS

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

**Martin Luther (1483–1546): Small Catechism**

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

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

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

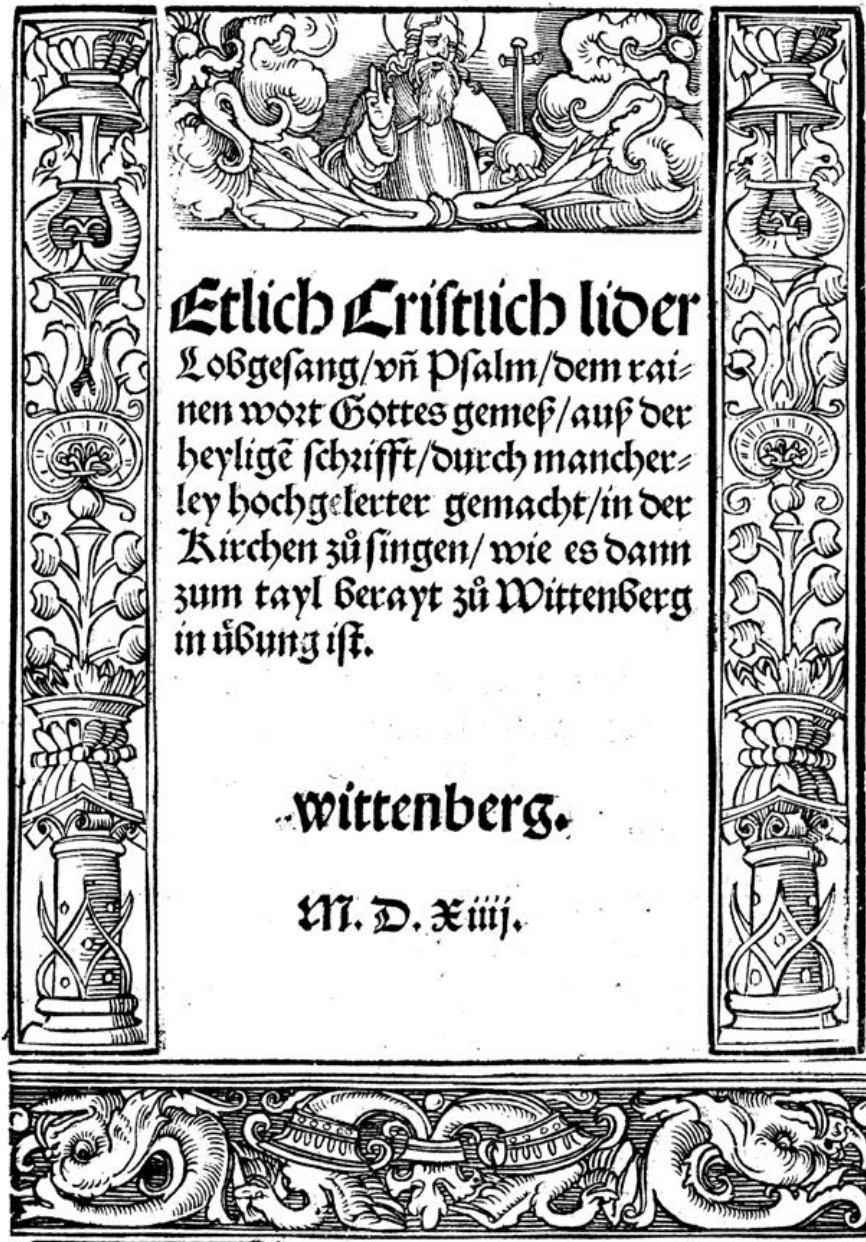
1. *Seelen Ertzney für die Gesunden und Krancken*, a devotional work by the Augsburg reformer Urbanus Regius (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1545)
2. *Ein einfeltige Weise zu beten*, a short work on prayer by Martin Luther (Leipzig: Valentin Babst, 1545)
3. *Ein Betbuchlein*, an anonymous Lutheran prayer book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

**Joachim Camerarius (1500–1574)**

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

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

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



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

## 17. MARTIN LUTHER'S LARGE CATECHISM

**Martin Luther (1483–1546): Large Catechism**

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

[1], xcii leaves; 19 cm. (4to); A–Y<sup>4</sup> Z<sup>6</sup> (–Z6); Benzing 2548, VD16 L4339; title within engraved, historiated, architectural, woodcut border (Luther's coat of arms and Lamb of God above, Crucifixion below); initials throughout. On the verso of the last leaf are signatures in sixteenth- to seventeenth-century hand of Johann Ernst von Schawn and Georg Erasmus von Haritzsch. 1529 LUTH B

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

**Martin Luther (1483–1546): Large Catechism**

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

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

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

**Martin Luther (1483–1546): Large Catechism**

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

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

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

**Martin Luther (1483–1546): Large Catechism**

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

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

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

## 18. LITURGICAL REFORM

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

**Collection of Hymns from Wittenberg and from other Hymnals**

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

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

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

**Lucas Lossius (1508–1582): Psalmodia.**

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

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

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

**Martin Luther (1483–1546): German Litany**

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

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

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

**Achtliederbuch: The First Wittenberg Hymnal**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Martin Luther (1483–1546): German Mass**

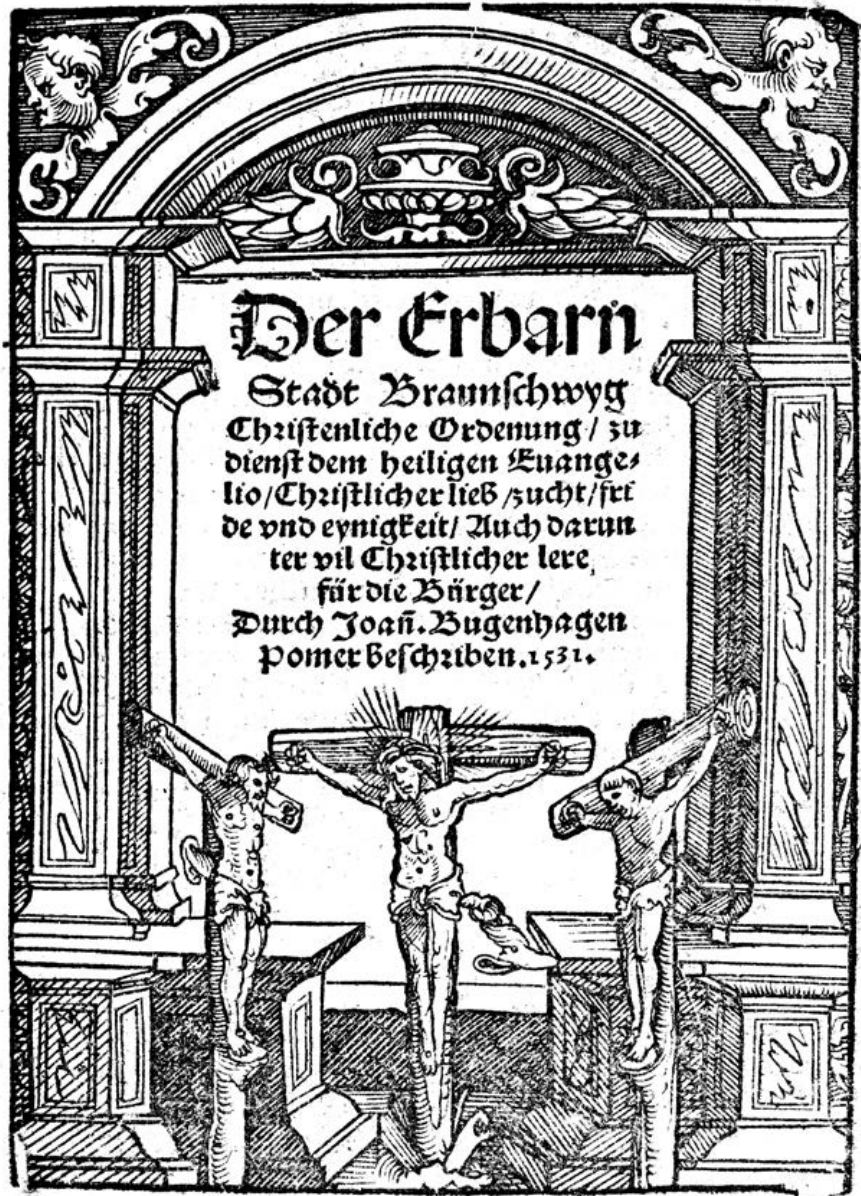
*Deutsche Messe vnd Ordnun[g] Gotes diensts, zuo Wittemberg, fürgenom[m]en.* M.D.XXVI. [Augsburg: Heinrich Steiner], 1526.

[50] pages; 21 cm. (4to); A–E<sup>4</sup> F<sup>2</sup> G<sup>4</sup> (–G4); Benzing 2246, VD16 M4912; title within engraved, historiated, woodcut border, after Hans Springinklee; music. 1526 LUTH R

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

## 19. WITTENBERG EXAMINATION FOR ORDINATION OF THEOLOGY STUDENTS

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



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



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

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

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

[12], 424, [6] pages; 15 cm. (8vo); A<sup>10</sup> B–Z<sup>8</sup> a–d<sup>8</sup> e<sup>4</sup> (–e4); VD16 C6249; title in architectural woodcut border, initials; printer's device in colophon, index. Inscription on title page and inside cover, as well as on two final blank pages. Bound in blind-tooled paneled alum-tawed pigskin over paper boards, with the initials A[?]H on the front cover. 1551 CULM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. CHURCH GOVERNMENT AND THE RELATIONSHIP  
OF CHURCH AND STATE**Church Order of Brandenburg-Nuremberg**

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

[2], lvii, [1] leaves (final leaf blank); 31 cm. (folio); A–H<sup>6</sup> G–I<sup>4</sup> K<sup>6</sup> L<sup>4</sup> (L4 blank); VD16 B6966; title page and some portions of text printed in red and black; bound in paneled, blind-stamped vellum over beveled wooden boards; inscribed on inside cover: Hanns Gübler, 1567; 1564 EVAN:1

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

**Church Order of the Palatinate**

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

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

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

**Veit Dietrich (1506–1549): Agendbüchlein**

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

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

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

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

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

[260] pages; 16 cm. (8vo); A–P<sup>8</sup> Q<sup>6</sup> R<sup>4</sup> (R4 verso blank); VD16 B7236; imprint from colophon; printer's device below colophon; title within historiated architectural border (crucifixion in lower panel), initials (decorated and historiated), includes music. Marginalia inscribed in an old hand. 1531 BUGEN

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

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

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

[2], XCI [i.e. 92] leaves; 16 cm. (8vo); A–L<sup>8</sup> M<sup>6</sup>; VD16 W4492; title in red and black; crest of Württemberg on title page, printer's device on last page. Bound in blind-tooled panelled calf over wooden boards. 1553 CONF

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

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

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

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

[10] leaves; (4to); A<sup>4</sup> B<sup>6</sup>; VD16 M4843; imprint from colophon; decorated initials, last page blank. Bound in modern blue decorated paper. 1546 GEOR

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

**Community order for the City of Wittenberg**

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

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

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



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