INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700  800/521-0600
Copyright by
Joon-Chul Park
1995
To My Father
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation is the harvest of my study for nine years as a graduate student. I have been greatly indebted to many professors of the Department of History of the Ohio State University. Through the individual study with Dr. Nathan Rosenstein, I learned much about the history of Imperial Rome and early Christianity. Dr. Joseph Lynch not only taught me the life of medieval monks, friars, and heretics, but also provided scrupulous and precious criticisms for my dissertation. I could broaden my insight into early modern European history from the attractive classes of Dr. John Rule, who also read the draft and offered valuable suggestions. When I turn to my mentor Dr. James Kittelson, I am at a loss how to express the sense of gratitude. Without his patience, encouragement, and guidance with profound knowledge on the educational operation of the Reformation, this work would have never been possible. I am also sincerely grateful to my wife, Hynu-Mi. She offered consistent inspiration, endured the ever-coming nostalgia, and solely took care of our two children. Finally, I appreciate the sacrifice, love, and prayer of my aged parents for a son studying in a foreign country for a long time. Thank all of you.
VITA

November 18, 1960 .................. Born - Seoul, Korea

1986 ............................. B.A., Hanyang University, Seoul, Korea

1989 ............................. M.A., Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

1991-1994 ......................... Teaching Associate, Department of History, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

FIELD OF STUDY

Major Field: History

Studies in Early Modern Europe ... Dr. James Kittelson
                   Dr. John Rule

Studies in Medieval Europe ........ Dr. Joseph Lynch

Studies in Ancient Europe ........ Dr. Nathan Rosenstein
# Table of Contents

DEDICATION ......................................................... ii

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ............................................... iii

VITA ........................................................... iv

ABBREVIATIONS .................................................. vi

## Chapter

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Perspectives and Historiography</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Clergy and University Study in Late Medieval Germany</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Melanchthon on Clerical Education</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Reform of Wittenberg and Leipzig</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Reform of Tübingen and Heidelberg</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Lutheran Clergy in the Late Reformation</td>
<td>191</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................... 213
ABBREVIATIONS

CR

LW

MWA

SBUL
Die Statutenbücher der Universität Leipzig aus den ersten 150 Jahren ihres Bestehens, ed. by Friedrich Zarncke (Leipzig, 1861).

SRUH

UBUH
Urkundenbuch der Universität Heidelberg, ed. by Eduard Winkelmann, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1886).

UBUW
Urkundenbuch der Universität Wittenberg, ed. by Walter Friedensburg, 2 vols. (Magdeburg, 1926).

UGUT
Urkunden zur Geschichte der Universität Tübingen aus den Jahren 1476-1550, ed. by Rudolph von Roth (Tübingen, 1877).

WA

WA Br

WA Tr

vi
CHAPTER I
PERSPECTIVES AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

The purpose of this study is to investigate the relationship between Renaissance humanism and the Reformation. Ever since the early twentieth century the subject has drawn considerable attention from Reformation scholars. Replete with various perspectives and growing interest, it has occupied a central position in Reformation studies. In spite of massive scholarly enthusiasm and elaboration, however, the nature of the association between the two colossal movements has remained elusive and indeterminable; historians have passed different judgments on it. As James Tracy stated in his research-guiding work, the subject under inquiry has been a 'conundrum' to its students.

It should be noted that nothing is more illustrative of the nature of the 'conundrum' than the different attitudes of two contemporary luminaries of the sixteenth century, Luther and Erasmus, representing the Reformation and humanism respectively. From the outset the Wittenberg Reformer cherished humanism, albeit not for its own sake, and looked upon it as an indispensable ally to the movement he launched. It has been well-known that Luther was proficient in Biblical
humanism fostered by such notables as Erasmus and Reuchlin, which helped to pave the way to his 'Reformation breakthrough.' As Philip Schwartzerd changed his name to Melanchnthon, Luther accepted a classical name, Eleutherius ("Free Man"), and regarded himself as a second Reuchlin. He played a crucial role in the humanistic curricular reform of the University of Wittenberg in 1518. In his Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation (1520), Luther lamented conditions he found in the contemporary schools and advocated Bible- and humanism-oriented curricular reform at all Germany universities. And throughout his career, Luther vigorously and consistently endorsed the necessity of the studia humanitatis for his educational reform, without which he thought the implementation of his new message would be impossible.

On the other hand, Erasmus, the "Prince of Humanism," realized, soon after his initial support for the reform camp, that the nature of what Luther was attempting to achieve was quite alien to his religious assumptions. He and his adherents recognized that Luther challenged the Catholic Church not as a humanist; neither his disparagement of the barbarous style of scholasticism nor his attack on the immorality of the Roman Church was his ultimate goal, and his slogan of sola Scriptura was not purely to exalt the humanistic ideal of ad fontes. Luther's aspiration was far beyond their aim of ameliorating the church and enlightening
society within the established order; he was rejecting the fundamental Catholic dogma of what he called at Heidelberg, "the theology of glory," together with its concomitant institutions and practices. On the other hand, Erasmus's innermost conviction was ultimately Catholic. As the reform movement progressed in a radical pattern, Erasmus forsook his typical peace-loving attitude and outspokenly considered Luther an enemy of the \textit{bonae literae}. The turmoil of the 1520s, whose violence and obscurantism severely damaged many schools and universities, finally forced Erasmus to declare the famous words: "Where Lutheranism reigns, knowledge perishes."\textsuperscript{7}

The discrepancy between Luther's predilection for humanism, albeit from religious motives, and Erasmus's repudiation of the religious extremism denying the traditional system all by themselves render any univocal evaluation of the nature of the relationship between humanism and the Reformation hardly tenable. Modern scholars' interpretations of the subject have scarcely unraveled the thread and indeed, in some respects, have entangled the matter with more intricacies. The spark that rekindled interest in the subject among modern historians derived from the classic exchange between the two great German scholars Wilhelm Dilthey and Ernst Troeltsch.\textsuperscript{8} Dilthey, an intellectual historian, identified the Renaissance and the Reformation as twin pivotal sources for the progress of modern Western civilization; the
former saw its religious expression in the latter. He stated:

Among the Germanic peoples in the north of Europe the reformatory movement now came forward, slowly, tenaciously, laying hold of the nations in their ultimate depth, a movement which by bringing freedom from the Roman hierarchy created the external conditions for an independent scientific movement. ... And in its course it was to make the moral and religious autonomy of the person the basis of spiritual life in our land... Thus it happened that in the German-speaking lands the spiritual movement [the Renaissance] which in Europe transplanted itself from country to country received a religious expression.9

Troeltsch, a sociologist of religion, agreed that "both movements taken together could be viewed as the genitor of the modern spirit."10 However, he found a fundamental difference between them:

If one understands both movements the way they worked out in their historical development, then they appear very clearly as the schism of European culture into its main components, the separation of the Christian-supernatural-ascetic element from the antique, inner-worldly human element.11

Among the diverse modern attempts to resolve the 'conundrum,' nothing seems to have drawn more attention than the interpretation of Bernd Moeller. In his seminal essay on the subject, Moeller proclaimed that "no humanism, no Reformation."12 He fully acknowledged that humanism nurtured by the generation of Erasmus, Reuchlin, and Pirckheimer greatly helped the advent of the Reformation. But his positive evaluation of the relationship between humanism and the Reformation was based on a new important observation.
Moeller detected a generation gap between old and young German humanists; whereas the old conservative humanists immediately turned their backs on the reform movement when it appeared to them an open rebellion against the established Church, many young humanists found in Luther's message a much more "constructive renewal" of Christendom than in the ideas cultivated by their humanist seniors. It was these young humanists, Moeller perspicaciously pointed out, who spearheaded the reform movement in its early stages; "Around 1530 the ten or twenty most important intellectual leaders of the movement all had their origins in humanism."

In spite of their ovation for Moeller's fresh interpretation, a majority of historians have still remained reluctant to regard the relationship between the two movements as amicable. The principal reason for this tendency seems to rest upon the rising consensus that the subject contains and is intertwined with so many complicated ramifications that it should be illuminated in terms of specifics and through examination of the precise circumstances in which the two movements reacted with each other. In other words, any simple, overarching generalization hardly does justice to the complex issue. Besides this shrewd insight, however, there are two other tenacious perspectives which have also led scholars to hesitate to draw a positive verdict on the relationship between humanism and the Reformation. These perspectives, manifested in the explanatory framework of
Dilthey and Troeltsch, have long dominated the scholarship and historiography on the subject in question.

On the one hand, just as Dilthey and Troeltsch did, their successors have approached the subject in terms of Ideengeschichte or Geistesgeschichte. Conceiving Renaissance humanism with the Burckhardtian formulae and bearing the assumption which has long relegated the Reformation to a mere theological movement, they have posited an abiding incompatibility between the two. They shared the conviction that underneath the surface of the short-lived initial alliance of the humanists with the reform party, lay a lasting, fundamental, and irrevocable discord between humanists' rational and anthropocentric assumptions and Luther's uncompromising theocentric inclination. For instance, Steven Ozment portrayed the relationship between humanism and the Reformation by focusing on the bitter controversy between Luther and Erasmus over free will.

This trend of analyzing the subject in intellectual or theological terms has exerted its influence even over those scholars who pioneered in diverting scholarly concerns to the momentous role of the young generation or the "third generation" of German humanists. No matter how efficient the works of humanists-turned-reformers were in implementing the evangelical theology, they observed, there was an undeniable dissonance between humanism and the Reformation. According to them, the spiritualist view of the Lord's Supper and synergism
held by some reformers who had once been humanists bear witness to their viewpoint. That is, Luther's doctrine of the real presence and deterministic idea on man's destiny seemed to the humanists-turned-reformers irrational and hostile to human freedom and dignity.

Another widely-accepted stance is associated with the problem regarding the life-span of the Reformation. The scholarly obsession with the era which ushered in the Reformation and with its formative stages has been so prevailing that the period beyond the Augsburg Peace (1555) has not received the attention it deserves. This current has entailed the same result. Since Luther's theology dominated the historical scene of the early years of the Reformation, those concerned with the subject in question have interpreted it largely in theological terms and consequently detected a cardinal discord between the two movements.

Amid the preponderance of the aforementioned traditional perspectives and historiography, a new pattern of inquiries has recently begun to gain impetus. Instead of the passionate commitment to *Ideen*geschichte and to the early years of the Reformation, some scholars have chosen new interpretive stances. For instance, how did humanism and the Reformation react to each other in the second half of the sixteenth century? Did humanism help to realize the reformers' aspiration to embody the new evangelical message in the daily life of the common people? How did the Reformation affect the
course and destiny of humanism in contemporary German society? With the emergence of these new questions, the conventional approaches have been gradually losing their momentum.

There are two significant developments which preceded and guided this transition of scholarly interest. First, Paul Oskar Kristeller's magisterial definition of humanism has had an enormous impact on the whole scholarship concerned with the relationship between humanism and the Reformation. Kristeller defied the time-honored presumption that humanism conveyed a distinctive philosophical or theological ideology. He especially criticized the concept of humanism which is associated with such Burckhardtian manifestations as individualism, secularism, and moral freedom. Humanism was in essence, Kristeller stated, a literary and educational movement devoted to the classics and a set of specific academic subjects, the so-called *studia humanitatis* - rhetoric, languages, grammar, poetry, history, and moral philosophy. He admitted that some humanists explicitly espoused certain philosophical and theological ideas. However, such ideas can not be regarded as the entity of humanism, he pointed out, since there were too many different and even opposite ideas expressed by other humanists. What united all the humanists as a single homogeneous group was nothing but their devotion to the *studia humanitatis*. Kristeller wrote:

Thus I should like to understand Renaissance human-
Kristeller's technical definition of humanism has become the "emergent consensus." One significant consequence is that the traditional trend to illuminate the relationship between humanism and the Reformation in philosophical and theological terms has gradually declined.

Another important development consists in the growing appreciation that the historical importance of the Reformation lies not so much in the mere changes of theology but in the cultural change which the new doctrines brought. This appreciation is a rebuff of the conventional scholarly preoccupation with Luther's theology and the formative stages of the Reformation. James Kittelson caustically remarked that "fascination with origins and beginnings... rules scholarly interests in this field with an iron fist" and that "it is as if other forms of historical investigation [i.e., non-theological investigations] will be tolerated but only if they know their place." This perspective bears noteworthy prudence when one realizes that the evangelical doctrines
could not have survived without the actual reforms by which they were implemented, consolidated, and finally institutionalized in contemporary society.

The actual Protestant reforms consisted of many stages, which started with the abolition of the mass in Electoral Saxony in 1525. But the reformers soon recognized that the elimination of Catholic practices was not sufficient to fulfill their goals. Protestant principles had to be implanted into every facet of daily life. The best means to achieve this aspiration was to create an effective educational system. Consequently, the Reformation from the late 1520s became an educational process.\textsuperscript{22} The new definition of humanism as a literary and educational movement and the new appreciation of the importance of education in the course of the Reformation combined to bring about another new perspective. That is, the relationship between humanism and Reformation could be best understood by examining how the two movements interacted in the process of education in Reformation Germany.\textsuperscript{23}

Recent studies on learning and education during the Reformation have been proceeding in two interrelated directions. The first approach concerns the impact of the Reformation on humanistic learning, especially at the university level. With regard to this subject, scholars are divided in general into three groups with different conclusions. Scholars like Erwin Iserloh and Enno van Gelder
maintained that the fire of theological controversies and confessional strife suffocated free learning in the universities. The religious radicalism in the 1520s, manifested in the Peasants' War and the rampancy of obscurantists, and the violence of Schmalkald War in the mid-1540s not only hindered the process which the universities were experiencing with the growing influence of humanism, but also drove away many students from their schools. Klaus Conermann argued that "the outbreak of the cultural revolution [i.e., the Reformation] had not only weakened the position of the proponents of medieval scholasticism, but also that of their humanistic counterparts." A similar, but more extreme, view comes from Jürgen Bücking. According to him, both the Reformation and humanism aggravated the crisis of the late medieval universities which had been caused by the so-called Wegestreit, the conflict between the via antiqua and via moderna. Although humanism and the Reformation challenged and abandoned the mechanical scholastic system, they could not offer a genuine alternative to it; the result was a "spiritual vacuum."

On the contrary, some recent works showed a view exactly opposite to the concept that the Reformation had a negative impact on humanism and the university. In their general synopses of the history of the German universities, Gustav Benrath and Lewis Spitz enunciated that in the course of the Reformation humanism saw a great progress and became a driving
intellectual force at the German universities.\textsuperscript{28} James Kittelson confirmed this opinion through an interesting examination of the library of the Strasbourg reformer Johannes Pappus, which contained many humanistic books.\textsuperscript{29} In a scrupulous analysis of the attack of the Gnesio-Lutherans against the Philippists, Robert Kolb discovered that the leading Gnesio-Lutheran theologians like Tilemann Hesshus, Johannes Wigand, Matthias-Flacius Illyricus, and Michael Neander all were trained in the studia humanitatis. Although they criticized Melanchthon's theology, they employed in their Biblical interpretation the analytical methods which he bequeathed to them; they were "Philipp's foes, but followers nonetheless."\textsuperscript{30}

A third argument occupies a middle point between these two interpretations. Heiko Oberman explained that although the Reformation proved conducive to the progress of humanism at German universities, humanism still remained at a peripheral position. In a survey of the history of the universities in the late medieval and early modern Europe, he pointed out that in many universities "the traditional curriculum allowed the new humanists at best only a place in undergraduate teaching, closer to our modern junior high school than to what we would call a university."\textsuperscript{31} Humanistic subjects and humanists had insecure and precarious positions in the arts faculty, not to mention the three higher faculties.
The subject matter of learning and education during the Reformation witnessed another important inquiry paradigm, which is the very reverse of the question raised and answered by the above-mentioned three interpretations; that is, what was the impact of humanism and education on the Reformation? Two historians have dominated the scene with conflicting conclusions. In 1978, the whole of Reformation scholarship saw from the pen of Gerald Strauss one of the most ambitious and provocative theses of this century. Its conclusion might relegate the Reformation to an episode in the history of Western civilization. By investigating the reformers' educational idea and its concomitant apparatus and through his massive research of visitation reports of German parishes, Strauss proclaimed:

But if it was its [Protestantism's] central purpose to make people - all people - think, feel, and act as Christians, to imbue them with a Christian mindset, motivational drive, and way of life, it failed. ... My study of the sources has convinced me...that the burden of proof ought now at last to be placed where it belongs: upon those who claim, or imply, or tacitly assume that the Reformation in Germany aroused a widespread, meaningful, and lasting response to its message.

Although Strauss did not explain the effect of humanism on the reformers' educational system, he focused on the catechetical instruction, which obviously bore the educational ideal of the humanists. The educational edifice of the Reformation including its pedagogical methods, Strauss noted, failed to help and even obstructed the realization of the reformers'
ardent expectation to reinvigorate Christendom with Protestant messages.\textsuperscript{34}

The most direct criticism against Strauss’s thesis came from James Kittelson.\textsuperscript{35} His conclusion, based on the same visitation protocols used by Strauss for the rural parishes of the imperial city of Strasbourg, completely contradicts Strauss’s findings. Kittelson fully agreed with Strauss that the Reformation quickly became an educational process. But he accepted neither the idea of the sterility of the pedagogical methods employed by the reformers and pastors nor the ‘failure’ of the Reformation. Lutheran educational apparatus was very productive in implanting the gist of evangelical theology into the people’s way of routine behaviors; “it was not the pastors who failed but Strauss.”\textsuperscript{36}

In spite of their varying perspectives and assumptions and different conclusions, all the works discussed hitherto dealt with a common factor: the relationship between humanism and the Reformation. This study purports to clarify the subject by shedding light on Philip Melanchthon’s curricular reform of German universities. Three considerations make that topic a yardstick to measure the issue.

In the first place, the historiography on Melanchthon has portrayed him as a telling microcosm of the relationship between humanism and the Reformation. Indeed, many features of the two movements converged in him. On the one hand, Melanchthon as a Protestant reformer deserves to stand next to
Luther. Although he was a layman and he always thought his calling a teacher in the arts faculty, he was one of the most conspicuous theologians of his times. He composed the Augsburg Confession which can be regarded as the Protestant canon. He also wrote the first systematic Protestant theological work, the *Loci Communes*, which was used as a principal theological textbook in the Lutheran universities throughout the sixteenth century. Its fame within the Protestant circle can be noticed in Luther's admiration of it: "Whoever wants to become a theologian has a great advantage to begin with: he has the Bible. The Bible is now so clear that he can read it without any difficulty. Afterward he should additionally read Philip's *Loci Communes*; he should read it assiduously and well, so that he has its entire content in his head. If he has these two, he is a theologian whom neither the devil nor a heretic can shake." Furthermore, Melanchthon's erudition in theology and his acquaintance with many eminent scholars made him the main spokesman of the Lutheran party in numerous conferences and colloquys. When the outlawed Luther could not show himself on the public scene, Melanchthon was the actual leader of Protestantism. It is not too much to say that Melanchthon was "one of the greatest religious geniuses in the history of the Christian Church since the days of St. Augustine." Furthermore, Melanchthon's career as a humanist and educator is hardly less than his eminence as a theologian and reformer. During
his own lifetime and afterwards he was called as Praeceptor Germaniae. Certainly, he was not an original humanist thinker and his humanism did not surpass that of Erasmus and Reuchlin. But Melanchthon excelled them in one crucial aspect; it was he who applied the humanist educational theory and ideal in practice. He was indeed the architect of the German school system. The first German public schools were his creation and almost all the Protestant Latin schools and gymnasia were founded and reorganized under his direction and aegis. Through his own drawing of school charters and curricula, his textbooks, and the teachers whom he had educated, he stamped the features of humanism on numerous Protestant educational institutions.

Many scholars saw a positive relationship between humanism and the Reformation in Melanchthon's accomplishment for the primary and secondary schools of Lutheran Germany, in which humanistic studies and the evangelical doctrines were taught harmoniously. Melanchthon firmly believed that humanistic studies were the best means for true education. He was also convinced that the ultimate purpose of education was to serve God and the Church. For Melanchthon, as Manschreck remarked, "education was... the silver bowl carrying the golden fruit of the gospel." One historian went so far as to say that "had Luther stood alone, his movement might have degenerated into a cult of unlettered bibliolatry."

There is however another story. The 'conundrum'
obsessing students of the relationship between humanism and the Reformation also prevails in the understanding of Melanchthon. He has been conceived as the symbol of the rupture between the two movements. To illustrate, some scholars have noted that Melanchthon's theological viewpoints underwent transitions at several stages and these transitions betrayed the fundamental cleavage between humanism and the Reformation. It is indisputable that Melanchthon was a mere humanist educator when he came for the first time to Wittenberg in 1518 as the occupant of the newly-established professorship on Greek. His inaugural address to Wittenberg personnel attests to this point; he fervently advocated the elimination of barbarous scholastic studies and urged the university to replace them with the *studia humanitatis*. His emphasis on the humanistic subjects was not yet of religious motivation. Melanchthon was at that time a genuine humanist pedagogue. However, Wilhelm Maurer, Adolf Sperl, and many others argued that soon after his encounter with Luther, Melanchthon abandoned the humanistic spirit which he had long espoused. The most patent sign for the conflict between humanism and the Reformation within Melanchthon, according to them, occurred around 1519 when he accepted Luther's theology of saving grace; it became manifest in his *Loci Communes* of 1521 where he firmly repudiated free will.

Similar interpretations also prevail with regard to Melanchthon's later years. It is well-known that Melanchthon's
staunch Lutheran theological standpoints began to change from about 1540 and after Luther's death in 1546 he took a fairly liberal theological stance over the Lord's Supper and saving grace. His allegedly spiritualist view of the Eucharist, his synergism, and the controversy over the so-called adiaphora elicited such derogatory terms as 'Philippist' and 'Crypto-Calvinist.' In his study on the theological difference between Luther and Melanchthon, Franz Hildebrandt ascribed the origin of Melanchthon's later theology to humanism: "the riddle of Melanchthon lies in the disharmony between the concessions and confessions... and [between] Reformation and Humanism." 48

This is not the place to discuss the shortcomings of the above interpretations; but two points need to be indicated briefly to make things clear. First, the tendency to identify the term 'humanism' with 'Erasmianism' or 'Philipism' resulted from the absurd assumption that humanism had a distinctive theological ideology. Secondly, as will be discussed in the following chapters, the form and pedagogical intention of the Loci Communes of 1521 can help to clarify the nature of the relationship between humanism on the Reformation. It will suffice to note here that the loci method, a legacy of humanism, was the reformers' most valuable educational instrument to imbue the pastors and parishioners with their evangelical teachings.

At any rate, traditional scholarly understanding of
Melanchthon reflects the same perspectives discussed in previous pages with regard to the general subject of the relationship between humanism and the Reformation. Historians have perceived that the Lutheran primary and secondary schools founded and reorganized by Melanchthon symbolize the harmony of the two movements; "in the person of Melanchthon those inner principles of the movement [Reformation] combined with the educational attainments of the Renaissance to inaugurate a new era in German education." At the same time, they have understood Melanchthon, in terms of Ideengeschichte, as a man oscillating between two opposing forces; "one of the sharpest differences between the Humanists and the Reformation grew out of their basically contradictory views of man. The clash between these two outlooks is one of the dominant features in Melanchthon's early works." This very fact that scholars have found in Melanchthon's career both the reconciling and discordant nature of the two movements has encouraged me to select him as my central source.

A second motive derives from the conviction that the university was a very important factor for the Reformation. James Richard once observed that "without universities... Protestantism never could have passed safely through its many conflicts with sect and doubt and armed foe." Indeed the university paved the way for the coming of the Reformation and had enormous importance for its progress and consolidation. Whereas the rising humanism at the universities of Erfurt and
Wittenberg on the eve of the Reformation inspired Luther with Biblical humanism, the dominance of scholasticism in the studia generalia, especially at Paris, Cologne, and Louvain, drove him to believe in the necessity of his reform. The nailing of the Ninety-Five Theses was an academic affair within the university. The University of Wittenberg was the cradle of the Reformation and remained long as its headquarters. Furthermore, Luther, Melanchthon, and all other reformers recognized the crucial importance of universities for the progress of the reform movement. They thought that the prosperity of Christendom would depend on university education because without adequate training of future pastors and teachers, all their endeavors and goals would fall into futility. Three years after his 'Reformation breakthrough,' Luther addressed the German nobility with the proposal, among others, that: "The universities need a sound and thorough reformation. I must say so no matter who takes offence... For Christian youth, and those of our upper classes, with whom abides the future of Christianity, will be taught and trained in the universities. In my view, no work more worthy of the pope and the emperor could be carried out than a true reformation of the universities. On the other hand, nothing could be more wicked, or serve the devil better, than unreformed universities."\(^{52}\)

Luther's judgment was correct. Throughout the course of the Reformation, the pastors functioned as intermediaries of
the reform; they learned the tenets of Luther's theology at the universities and had to impart them correctly and effectively to their parishioners. In short, the university was one of the most significant factors which determined the path of the Reformation; "The magisterial Reformation was born in the university, was opposed by the universities, [and] triumphed with the help of the universities." In view of the overriding importance of the universities, an examination of how much humanism penetrated into them, how it functioned for the education of the future clergymen, and what abiding impact it had on the Reformation would be helpful to understand the nature of the relationship between the two movements.

Finally, no one had more influence on the Lutheran universities during the sixteenth century than Melanchthon. Unfortunately, however, his importance for the history of German universities has received comparatively little attention. This situation is understandable; scholarly concerns were commanded by his magnificent achievements for the Latin schools and gymnasia. Information on his reformation of the German universities is scarce, sparse, and fragmentary.54

When Melanchthon died in 1560, Germany had sixteen universities.55 Out of the thirteen universities established before 1517, Melanchthon reformed, directly or indirectly, the curriculum of seven universities: Wittenberg, Leipzig, Tübingen, Heidelberg, Rostock, Frankfurt-an-der-Oder, and
All the three new universities - Marburg, Königsberg, Jena - were established under his direction. Melanchthon’s importance for the German universities did not end with his curricular reforms. He trained and influenced numerous university teachers and organizers with his humanistic educational ideas and methods, including Joachim Camerarius, Johannes Sturm at Strasbourg, Arnold Brenius at Rostock, Georg Sabinus (his son-in-law) at Frankfurt-an-der-Oder and Königsberg, Adam Crato at Marburg, and Kaspar Cruciger at Jena. "Whenever a prince needed a professor for his university, whenever a city sought a rector or a teacher for its school," Friedrich Paulsen wrote, "their first idea was to ask for Melanchthon’s advice." Furthermore, Melanchthon’s textbooks, whose range extended from theology and rhetoric over Greek and Latin grammars and dialectic to physics, psychology, history, and ethics, were used in the German universities until the eighteenth century. Indeed Melanchthon’s influence on the German university was omnipresent. More than a century ago, Richard Rothe, in an address commemorating the three hundredth anniversary of Melanchthon’s death, summed up the point: "It is not too much to say that the university in all its departments, throughout Protestant Germany, is his creation."

It has been observed so far that different perspectives on the nature of humanism and the Reformation resulted in different historiography on their relationship in general and
on Melanchthon as its microcosm. Even within the newly-accepted perspectives, conclusions are divided; some found that humanism became a new dynamic in the German universities by virtue of the Reformation, or that humanism considerably contributed to the realization of the reformers' aspiration to implant the evangelical message in an orderly fashion among the people; others stated that the fire of confessional strife extinguished the spirit of learning, or that humanism owned at best a precarious and peripheral position at the German universities, or that the reformers' employment of the humanistic pedagogical methods brought about barren results. Two considerations have also been indicated. First, the universities played a vital role in the course of the Reformation, mainly because they taught the ministers upon whom the dissemination of the evangelical messages in contemporary society depended. Secondly, Melanchthon was the most influential figure for clerical education in sixteenth-century German universities. These diverse perspectives call for a re-evaluation of the relationship between the two movements through an investigation of Melanchthon's curricular reform of the German universities and its significance for Lutheran pastors.

The present study concentrates on the curricula of four German institutions in the late medieval and Reformation period: Heidelberg, Leipzig, Tübingen, and Wittenberg. This is not a random choice. The Universities of Marburg,
Königsberg, and Jena are excluded from discussion because they were established under the Lutheran auspices after the outbreak of the Reformation and therefore they provide no clue to the long-term pattern of curricular changes. On the other hand, a great portion of the early records for the universities of Rostock, Greifswald, and Frankfurt-an-der-Oder have been lost, so it is hard to reassemble any meaningful structure of their curricula on the eve of the Reformation. For the four chosen universities, we are better informed; especially, several types of Urkunden are available which contain the reform statutes written by Melanchthon as well as his opinions and advice.

The following chapter discusses anticlericalism in relation to clerical education and university studies in Germany during the late medieval ages. Chapter 3 deals with Melanchthon's ideas on clerical education. Chapter 4 and 5 examine in detail his reform of the four universities and its influence on humanism. The final chapter explores the impact of his reform of university educational program on the Reformation, as represented in the Lutheran pastors of the Late Reformation.
NOTES


2. Ibid., p. 33.


11. Ibid., p. 40.


13. Ibid., p. 35-36.


16. Certainly indebted to Moeller's ideas regarding the young generation of German humanists, Lewis Spitz extended the importance of humanism in the evolution of the Reformation by investigating the role of the "third generation" humanists; see "The Third Generation of German Renaissance Humanists," Aspects of the Renaissance, ed. by Archibald Lewis (Austin, Texas, 1967), p. 105-121.


20. Charles Nauert, op. cit. Critics of Kristeller's thesis did not refute the correctness of his definition. Rather they blamed Kristeller for depriving Renaissance humanism of its historical significance; see, for example, George M. Logan, "Substance and Form in Renaissance Humanism," The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 7 (1977), p. 1-34, in which
he questioned that if humanism was nothing more than a literary and educational movement which lacked certain consistent philosophical ideas and values, why should it be considered an epoch-making landmark in the history of Western civilization? This assertion disregards the significant impact of humanism on education in general during the late Reformation, a topic which will be discussed in this study.


27. Ibid., p. 357: "Humanistik und Reformation haben die Krise der spätmittelalterlichen Universität erheblich beschleunigt. Indem sie grelle Schlaglichter auf die desolate geistiggeistliche Verfassung der Universität warfen und den mechanisierten scholastischen Lehrbetrieb der Lächerlichkeit preisgaben, ohne mit einem Gegenkonzept aufwarten zu können, schufen sie ein geistiges Vakuum..."


33. Ibid., p. 307-308.

34. Strauss's methodology, his assumptions concerning the reformers' selection of the catechism as their pedagogical tool for the Lutheran laity, and its effect will be further mentioned in Chapter 6 of this study.


37. Although Melanchthon had taught theology in the University of Wittenberg throughout his life, he had no intention to join the theological faculty and even refused Luther's advice to take a doctorate in theology. Siegfried Wiedenhofer, *Formalstrukturen humanistischer und reformatorischer Theologie bei Philip Melanchthon* (Frankfort, 1976), vol. 1, p. 109, 343. For his so-called 'Berufskrise,' see Wilhelm Maurer, *Der Junge

38. D. Martin Luther's Werke. Tischreden (Weimar, 1912-1921), thereafter WA Tr 5, 204, no. 5511: "Wer ein theologus will werden, der hatt erstlich ein grossen vortheil: Er hatt did bibel. Die ist nun so klar, das ers kann lesen an [ohne] omni impedimento. Darnach lese er darzu locos communes Philippi; die lese er vleissig und wol, also das ers gar im kopff habe. Wenn er die zwei hat, so ist er ein theologus, dem wider der Teuffel noch kein ketzer abbrechen kan."


40. The classic work by Karl Hartfelder, Philip Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae (Berlin, 1889) still remains as the most authentic work on Melanchthon’s activities as a humanist educator.


42. Clyde Manschreck, op. cit., p. 131.


44. Melanchthon had attended some theological lectures during his years at Tübingen, but his theological knowledge was superficial and he had no coherent theological ideas before he went under Luther’s influence; see Timothy J. Wengert, Philip Melanchthon’s Annotationes in Johannem in Relation to its Predecessors and Commentaries (Geneva, 1987), p. 95-119. In contrast, Siegfried Wiedenhofer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 99-102 asserts that Melanchthon had been well immersed with scholastic theology at Tübingen.


47. See also Maurer, "Melanchthons Anteil am Streit zwischen Luther und Erasmus," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, 49 (1958), p. 89-115.


49. Clyde Manschreck, op. cit., p. 132.


52. Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings, op. cit., p. 470-471.


54. As far as I know, only two works, both published in the late nineteenth century, dealt with Melanchthon’s reform of German universities generally and coherently. But even they lacked many important stages in which significant curricular changes took place; see, Karl Hartfelder, op. cit., p. 436-488, 506-538; Friedrich Paulsen, Geschichte des gelehrtten Unterrichts aus den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten (Leipzig, 1896), vol. 1, p. 211-242. See also the brief description by Hans Engelland, "Melanchthons Bedeutung für Schule und Universität," op. cit., p. 27-32.


56. See note 54 above.

57. See note 54 above.

59. Ibid. and Engelland, op. cit., p. 31.


61. For the history of these individual universities, see Max Steinmetz, Geschichte der Universität Jena 1548/1558 (Jena, 1958); B. Hildebrandt, Urkundensammlung über die Verfassung und Verwaltung des Universität Marburg unter Philipp dem Großmütigen (Marburg, 1848); Max Töppen, Die Gründung der Universität Königsberg und das Leben ihres ersten Rectores Georg Sabinus (Königsberg, 1844).


63. For a few available works on these institutions, see Otto Krabbe, Die Universität Rostock im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert (Rostock, 1854); Johann Kosegarten, Geschichte der Universität Greifswald mit urkundlichen Beilagen (Greifswald, 1857); Gustav Bauch, Die Anfänge der Universität Frankfurt a. O. (Berlin, 1900).
CHAPTER II
CLERGY AND UNIVERSITY STUDY IN LATE MEDIEVAL GERMANY

It has been taken for granted that the Reformation was closely related to anticlericalism. The deep-seated popular resentment against the clergy in the late medieval period decisively contributed to the mobilization of the energy of the reform movement in its early stages. On the other hand, many laymen found in Luther's attack on sacerdotalism a theological expression and justification of their opposition to clerical abuses. Thus, although a priest himself, Luther's initial success was greatly indebted to anticlericalism.

The participants in the International Colloquium held in 1990 under the title of "Anticlericalism" provided their "common sense" definition of anticlericalism in late medieval and early modern Europe: "Properly understood, it describes attitudes and forms of behavior which in late medieval and early modern Europe engendered literary, political or physical action against what were perceived as unjust privileges constituting the legal, political, economic, sexual, sacred or social power of the clergy. Significantly different according to place, time and social background, anticlericalism could focus on papal, episcopal, sacerdotal, monastic, ministerial
or intellectual power-structure."² This definition, however, lacks one important aspect of contemporary anticlericalism. By focusing only on the opposition to the "unjust privileges" or "clerics who claimed this-worldly privileges by way of an other-worldly office,"³ it overlooks the widespread frustration, discontent, resentment, and resistance toward the clergy's perceived negligence of the duties and responsibilities that they were expected to carry out. Many learned and unlettered criticized impudent clerical claims for undeserved privileges of one kind or another; but they also denounced clerical shortcomings in pursuing their due functions. First and foremost, late medieval people lamented the low educational attainments of their priests.

Late medieval German clergymen had ample educational opportunities. The number of local schools managed by ecclesiastical institutions in cities and towns grew rapidly.⁴ The advent of the printing press lowered the cost of books. The rise of territorial princes accompanied the founding of many educational institutions for training future personnel to serve the state as well as the church. Due to the rising wave of university establishment from the second half of the fourteenth century, prospective youngsters did not have to travel to Paris, Bologna, and Prague for their further study. The foundation of the University of Frankfurt-an-der-Oder in 1506 by Elector Joachim I, Duke of Brandenburg, increased the number of German universities to thirteen.⁵
In spite of these opportunities, a relatively large portion of clergymen in late medieval Germany remained educationally immature and unprepared. There are abundant individual examples which show the widespread complaint against clerical ignorance and obscurity. The Reformation of the Emperor Sigismund written in the late 1430s by an anonymous author who was probably a secular cleric in southwestern Germany, a work well-known among the circle of reformers in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, contains bitter resentment toward clerical educational deficiencies and offers a remedy for them. "No bishop should assign a priest to a parish church," the author stresses, "unless the priest has brought him a diploma from a university testifying to his learning." He continues: "We all know what pain and harm have been occasioned by the practice of benefiting unlearned, unqualified priests. Such men cannot preach the Gospel, nor can they administer the sacraments. We call such men 'blind guides.' Follow them and you fall into a ditch."

At the Imperial Diet of Worms of 1521 where Emperor Charles V summoned secular and religious dignitaries to solve the recent religious problems caused by Luther, a committee consisting of highest princes drew a list of grievances in their territories to inform the emperor of the reasons for the popular support given to the Reformer. One of the common complaints was against the low educational standard of the
clergy; in a nationalistic tone, the princes reported that "Rome awards German benefices to unqualified, unlearned, and unfit persons.... Thus the German laity receives neither spiritual care nor worldly counsel from the Church." It is lamentable, they reiterated, that "Archbishops and bishops have been ordaining base and uneducated persons whose only claim to the priesthood is that they are needy"; such priests are "bringing the whole spiritual estate into disrepute and setting the common folk a bad example."

A similar voice can be heard from Johann Hoffmeister, the Colmar Augustinian prior, who complained in the late 1530s that bishops had long neglected their duty of ordaining academically qualified priests. He related an interesting story: when teachers found an inferior student, they said, "He will make a fine priest." The Alsatian humanist Jacob Wimpheling once told that among Strasbourg priests in the last decade of the fifteenth century there were only one bachelor of theology and three bachelors of arts. We even have the obviously exaggerating statement of Felix Faber, the Dominican chronicler, that in 1490 not one priest in the whole diocese of Ulm had a university degree. Likewise, one of the main criticism of Reformation Flugschriften was against educational deficiencies of the clergy; for example, the term Lügenprediger ("preacher of lies") frequently appeared on the contemporary pamphlets.

James Overfield perspicaciously warned us that although
individual statements are important gauges of public opinions, there is a danger in employing them as final and unerring yardstick. Indeed, such pronouncements as cited above are usually fragmentary, exaggerated, and prejudiced; and the Flugschriften of the Reformation period are frequently propagandistic and always partisan.

However, many studies on the general patterns of clerical education in late medieval Germany confirm by and large the impression represented in those individual descriptions. The one exception is Martin Brecht, who presented a substantially high rate of university enrollment among the late medieval German clergymen. In his work on the social and educational backgrounds of Protestant pastors in the Duchy of Württemberg, he found, on the basis of the Pfarrerbuch, that of the 200 ministers who had once been Catholic priests 121 (about 60%) studied at a university, about 80 per cent of them at the territorial university of Tübingen. This educational standard of those pastors who had converted to Protestantism was "above the average" and therefore "it is hard to differentiate the educational level between the reformatory clergymen and the former Catholic priests." However, Brecht's interpretation of his data seems to go astray. From the onset the reformers attempted to recruit an educated clergy; therefore, the educational level of the Catholic priests who worked later as Lutheran pastors was certainly higher than that of their former colleagues. Moreover,
Brecht’s findings do not correspond to the conditions of other German regions. Bernhard Klaus drew a different picture for Electoral Saxony, the Imperial city of Nürnberg, and the Margraviate of Brandenburg. Concerned with the backgrounds of the Lutheran pastors of these territories, he observed that in the early decades of the Reformation, the educational achievement of the majority of the former Catholic priests who became later Lutheran pastors was minimal. Such later endeavors of the reformers as visitations, ordination exams, and emphasis on university education as a normal prerequisite, were all partly stimulated, Klaus noted, by their detection of the educational shortcomings of these former Catholic priests. Another scholar, Friedrich Oediger, found that only one out of every five clergymen in the archdiocese of Xanten at the turn of the century was university educated. Data for many other German territories suggest that approximately 40 percent of late medieval German clergymen received training at the university. It is safe therefore to say that more than a half of all German clergymen of the late medieval age did not take advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the universities. By the end of the sixteenth century the situation radically changed: almost 90% of the clergy in the Rheinland was university educated.

In view of the comparatively low rate of university-educated ministers among the late medieval clergy, the insistence of the anonymous author of The Reformation of the
Emperor Sigismund that "the parish priest must be, at the very least, a 'baccalarius'" well reveals the general circumstances. But it should be noted that the medieval Church did not overlook the importance of education for the spiritual office. The Council of Basel (1436) stipulated that the candidate for the cardinalate have, in addition to the minimum age of thirty and moral qualification, a degree in theology or canon law. The canons of Breslau chapter were required in 1411 to have a three-year university study, and the cathedral chapter of Constance decreed in 1432 that in the future only doctors or licentiates in theology or canon law would be appointed to the canonate. Furthermore, as the Reformation approached, the number of the regular clergy who matriculated in the German universities after their tonsure increased.

However, these medieval efforts to enhance the educational standard of the clergy had little to do with the lower rank of secular priests. Seeing the aristocratic monopoly of the prestigious and lucrative high ecclesiastical posts, lower clergymen and prospective youngsters had little incentive for university study, which was often demanding both physically and financially. But the most fundamental reason lies in the fact that the medieval priests did not have to have high educational attainment to pursue their duties. Their main task was the administration of the sacraments, not preaching and teaching. The idea of Ulrich Engelberti, a
Dominican monk in the mid-thirteenth century, about the duties of lower priests vividly reveals the matter:

As far as the priest is bound to the celebration of the mass, he must know sufficient grammar so that he can pronounce correctly and understand at least the literal meaning of what he reads... As teacher he must know at least the basic doctrines of faith... As judge of matters of conscience he must be able to distinguish between what is sin and what is not... and discern at least the sins known to all. Therefore he, who is ordained... to read the mass, needs to know only the first of what we mentioned above, and it also applies to the ordinations of lower orders of clergy.\textsuperscript{30}

In a treatise written in 1523 on proper ministry, Luther blamed the negligence of preaching and teaching on the Catholic priests.\textsuperscript{31} It was, Luther pointed out, due to the customary Catholic conception of ministry. He stated that ordination was instituted, according to the examples and commands of the Apostle, "in order to provide the people with ministers of the Word." The ministry of teaching the Word should be established as "the highest and greatest of the functions of the church, on which the whole power of the church depends, since the church is nothing without the Word alone." But the "papists" arbitrarily distorted the apostolic tradition; "In the place of ministers of Word they only ordain priestly functionaries who offer up masses and hear confession.\textsuperscript{32} Medieval concepts of priestly functions hardly necessitated a high level of education. It is significant to recognize that the Reformation changed the ideal of proper ministry with its stress on preaching and teaching. To
achieve this ideal the reformers endeavored most enthusiastically to create a cadre of educated pastors.

In short, the rising wave of the German universities had relatively little impact on the educational level of the ministers in the late medieval period. The lower clergymen serving in parishes had scant reasons to receive advanced education at the university. University training was surely recommended, but it had no guarantee for ecclesiastical advancement. The emphasis on the administration of the sacraments as the chief priestly duty led the church authorities to require of the candidate for the pastorate only basic, marginal theological knowledge, which could be easily attained without entering into the university. The lower priests were neither willing nor encouraged to take advantage of the opportunity provided by the universities, one of the most ingenious creations of the medieval world.

The Protestant reformers' attack on the educational deficiencies of the lower clergy was not limited to their inferior educational attainments. They also realized that the curricula of the late medieval universities afforded considerable hindrance to preparing adequately those who were destined to the ministerial vocation. Even if one attended a university, they believed, the training he received under the dominance of scholasticism would hardly be serviceable to proper performance of his daily duties. Quantity of learning was important; but what seemed more important to the reformers
was the quality of the studies which the ministers pursued at the university. As well expressed in Luther’s *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, the reformers believed that without the elimination of scholasticism from the curriculum, a promising future of Christendom would be unattainable.¹³

Since the early decades of the thirteenth century, scholasticism had taken a conspicuous place in the whole intellectual milieu of the medieval world. German universities, all of whose organizations, practices, and study programs were based on the model of the resplendent University of Paris, also rigorously cultivated scholasticism. The distinctive features of scholasticism can be identified with the authority of Aristotle, elaborate techniques to define and infer concepts, and the employment of formal logic in search of propositional knowledge. Behind the development of these external characteristics of scholasticism lies a profound assumption. James Overfield offered a historical definition of scholasticism. Evolved in the streets of the ‘Latin quarter’ of Paris during the late twelfth century, he wrote:

This new method of thought, known to historians as scholasticism, held out the intoxicating possibility that, through reason and the powerful tool of Aristotelian logic, men could resolve the seeming contradictions between faith and reason, Christian truth and Greek science, and attain insights into the nature of the world, of man, of God. In these same years, as the teaching masters of Paris gained a corporate identity as the University of Paris, they formally adopted this new intellectual program as the basis of learning and instruction.
Subsequently, these Parisian methods... became synonymous with northern European academic life for the remainder of the medieval era.  

No other individual received higher veneration than Aristotle in the scholastic medieval universities. Since the fall of the Roman Empire in the fifth century, most of Aristotle’s works had not been available to medieval scholars. The only Aristotelian works that had continued to be known in western Europe before the early twelfth century were Boethius's translations of some elementary logical treatises of Aristotle and Porphyry's *Isagoge*, a third-century commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*. But from the mid-twelfth century the whole range of Aristotle’s logical and scientific works began to be introduced to western Europe through the contact with Arabic Spain and the Crusades to the eastern Byzantine world. By the mid-thirteenth century, with the influx of Latin translations from original Greek or Arabic, the corpus of Aristotle’s works was known to the medieval men and soon became the mainstream of the entire academic world. The later reputation and popularity of Aristotle in the universities was anticipated in the admiration of Aristotle by Averroes (1126-1198), the most genuine and uncompromising Aristotelian scholar: "Aristotle was the wisest of the Greeks and constituted and completed logic, physics, and metaphysics. I say that he constituted these sciences... because none of those who have succeeded him up to our time during nearly fifteen hundred years, have been
able to add anything to his writings or to find in them any error of any importance. Now that all this should be found in one man is a strange and miraculous thing, this privileged being deserves to be called divine rather than human."

But Averroes' judgment on Aristotle was not echoed in the response of the ecclesiastical authorities. Aristotle's works on metaphysics and natural philosophy, which contain ideas contradicting such theological formulae as the Creation and the immortality of soul, invited great indignation and opposition. The church council of Paris decreed in 1210 that "...nor shall the books of Aristotle on natural philosophy, and the commentaries (of Averroes on Aristotle) be read in Paris in public or in secret; and this we enjoin under the pain of excommunication." But Aristotle's logical works received less resistance. Five years later the papal legate for the University of Paris issued a statute which prescribed that "the treatises of Aristotle on logic, both the Old and New, are to be read... in the regular courses, [but] the books of Aristotle on metaphysics or natural philosophy, or the abridgements of these works, are not to be read." The papal statutes of 1231 confirmed the previous two decrees. In spite of the early opposition, however, Aristotle gradually penetrated into the university world; the curriculum of the arts faculty of Paris in 1254 includes as required texts all of Aristotle's logical works, metaphysics, and most of his treatises on natural philosophy. The Great Condemnation of
1277 just reflected the growing acceptance of Aristotle among the Parisian masters; it was "a sufficient proof of the fact that pure rationalism was steadily gaining ground around the end of the thirteenth century." Thenceforth, Aristotle's works remained the heart of medieval university education and his logic became the cornerstone of medieval scholasticism. Melanchthon wrote, in his *Loci Communes* of 1521, that "we in these latter times of the Church have embraced Aristotle instead of Christ."

At the universities in Germany and elsewhere scholasticism pervaded the arts faculty as the main form and content of studies and the three high faculties as the chief instructional method. The subjects studied in the arts faculty comprised the two traditional categories: the trivium (grammar, logic, rhetoric) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, music). Of the seven liberal arts, logic dominated. Logical works used in the arts faculty are divided into three groups. The first group, traditionally called *Ars vetus*, consists of Aristotle's *Categories*, *On Interpretation* (*De Interpretatione*), Porphyry's *Isagoge*, and a set of Boethius's commentaries on Aristotle's logic. Aristotle's four other logical works - *Prior Analytics*, *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, and *Sophistical Refutations* (*Elencorum*) - constitutes the so-called *Ars nova*. In addition to the Old Logic and New Logic, the medieval students studied logic with various commentaries, manuals, and compendia. The
most widely used of them was the *Summulae Logicales*, written probably sometime in the 1240s by Peter of Spain, who later in 1276 rose to the pontificate as John XXI and next year issued the bull that led to the Great Condemnation.⁴⁷

It has been recognized that medieval students studied logic mainly with the handbooks or manuals rather than with the original texts of Aristotle. One distinctive feature of those aids was that their authors added digressions in which they expressed their own observations and speculations to help the teachers explain Aristotle's logic. The typical *summulae* first described the main principles of Aristotle's logic and then proceeded to touch upon various complex logical problems. The explanation of such matters as properties of terms, *insolubilia, impossibilita*, and the theory of *suppositio* was a common factor in the late medieval manuals for teaching logic.⁴⁸ For example, the seventh tract of the *Summulae Logicales*, called *Parva Logicalia*, forms a separate section, in which Peter of Spain classified with high technicality several categories of terms including *suppositio* (supposition), *amplicatio* (amplification), *restrictio* (restriction), *distributio* (distribution), *relata* (relative terms), and *appellatio* (appellation).⁴⁹ This quest of medieval logicians for exactness and certitude, which accompanied sophistication, highly technical vocabulary, and complex abstractions, shows indeed their creativity. But this distinctive nature of scholastic logic became later the major
target of the derision and censure of the humanists who saw in
the study of scholastic logic nothing to apply to practical
life. The celebrated charge of Peter Ramus, the noted
humanist and Paris arts professor in the mid-sixteenth
century, well reveals the matter: "ordinary people don't talk
like that."  

Scholasticism also wielded its power in the study of
grammar. Students at late medieval German universities
studied grammar with three standard texts: Donatus's Ars
grammatica, the oldest grammar text used at that time;
Priscian's Institutionum grammaticarum libri XVIII, composed
around 500; and the Doctrinale of Alexander of Villedieu
written in 1199. Of these the Doctrinale was the most popular
grammar textbook. Almost all German university required it
for the beginning students who did not have sufficient
knowledge in Latin. But just like the case for the study of
logic, the teachers generally lectured on grammar with the
commentaries and manuals that explained the works of Danatus,
Priscian, and Alexander. Such one was the Glosa notabilis of
Gerhard von Zütphen, who taught at the University of Cologne
at the end of the fifteenth century. Printed first in 1488 at
Cologne, the Glosa notabilis saw sixty editions from presses
throughout almost all German academic cities and towns in the
late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.  

Whether studied with original texts or with commentaries,
grammar was no more than a handmaid of logic and philosophy.
In the early Middle Ages, grammar had been studied to provide the means to understand literary texts. With the introduction of Aristotle's logical works in the second half of the twelfth century and the ensuing addiction to logic, study of grammar began to be approached in logical and philosophical terms. This change was articulated in the rise of the so-called modistae or speculative grammarians, who, from the thirteenth century, relegated grammar to a servant of logic. In his *Glosa notabilis* Gerhard von Zütphen wrote: "The first inventor of positive grammar was a metaphysician and a natural philosopher, because he, considering the various qualities, the nature, and modes of being of things, imposed various names on things." Rather than teaching the norm for good Latin, the instructors of grammar in late medieval Germany focused on philosophical implication and definition of a term. As a result, "grammar came to be associated with the formulation of concepts of reality."  

Rhetoric, another component of the trivium, was virtually ignored in the study program of the German universities. Although, as will be seen, some German universities occasionally prescribed study of rhetoric, it remained at peripheral status until the early decades of the sixteenth century when the German universities witnessed the humanism-oriented curricular reforms. All the other subjects taught in the universities of pre-Reformation Germany were dominated by Aristotle, except for mathematics and geometry. In
particular, his works on natural science enjoyed unsurpassed authority. Edward Grant wrote that "the primary purpose of a medieval university arts education was to enable students to comprehend and interpret the structure and operation of that sublime cosmos."

On the other hand, it was not natural philosophy as such but logic that was the supreme force at the university curricula. There are two fundamental reasons for this assertion. First, most of non-logical works of Aristotle were studied in the master's program. In the late medieval German universities, only about a quarter of all matriculants received the degree of bachelor and among them only a quarter took the master's degree. Therefore, except for Aristotle's Physics and De Anima, which were normally required for the bachelor's degree, most students left their universities without having attended the courses on natural science. Secondly, although regular study of logic generally ended with bachelor's degree, it was also used as an instructional method in all disciplines, regardless of their contents and of study level. In lectures, disputations, and exercises (exercitia), all subjects were dealt with in the same dialectical manner. August Thorbecke described the lecture method at Heidelberg: "The [lecture] method which they adopted was a purely analytical one, and this analysis proceeded in strictly syllogistic argumentation. The concepts were exactly seized and carefully defined, the content of the material was
discussed in detail and then combined again in its essential parts. Controversial questions and controversies were raised before all students, and the pros and cons were discussed in detail by having recourse to the crucial authorities. Teachers and students of the late medieval universities in Germany and elsewhere were convinced that logic, properly applied, was the key to the solution of problems in all fields, including theology, law, and medicine. Peter of Spain's opening words in his *Summulae Logicales* symbolize the shared idea on logic: "Dialectic is the art of arts and the science of sciences, possessing the way to the principles of all curriculum subjects. For dialectic alone disputes with probability concerning the principles of all other arts, and thus dialectic must be the first science to be acquired."

The curricula of the four universities - Heidelberg, Leipzig, Tübingen, and Wittenberg - correspond to what has been discussed above. The oldest statutes of the arts faculty of Heidelberg prescribed an intensive and extensive study of logic. There were nine texts required for the bachelor's degree. Except for three texts - Aristotle's *De Anima* and *Physics* and the *Doctrinale* of Alexander - all others were logical works: *Prior Analytics, Posterior Analytics, Topics, Sophistical Refutation, Porphyry's Isagoge,* and the *Summulae Logicales* of Peter of Spain. The statutes of 1444 confirmed this original pattern. The candidate for the bachelor's degree was mandated to take lectures on all the four treatises
of the Old Logic as well as Topics, Prior Analytics, Summulae Logicales, and Aristotle's Physics and De Anima. More emphasis was laid on logic eight years later. While each of the previous statutes prescribed six works of the Old and New Logic as required texts, from the year of 1452 the 'scholar' should attend lectures on all the eight treatises of Aristotelian logic. The Summulae Logicales was excluded from the 'ordinary' lecture, but it continued to be studied as a mandatory text in the bursa of the via antiqua. Tractus Dialectices, another logical compendium composed by Marsilius von Inghen (1340-1394), the first rector of the university, took the position of the Summulae Logicales as 'ordinary' lecture. And Aristotle's De Anima was to be studied in the master's program. Rhetoric was totally ignored in all the three statutes. The dominance of logic in the art faculty at Heidelberg remained intact until the early sixteenth century.

The curriculum of the arts faculty at the University of Leipzig during the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries shows a pattern similar to that of Heidelberg. The statutes composed in 1410, a year after the founding of the university, required for the bachelor's degree all the four works on the Old Logic, three works on the New Logic (except Topics), and the Summulae Logicales. As common to most German universities, the 'scholar' was also to attend lectures on Aristotle's Physics and De Anima. Priscian's work was required for grammar study. One peculiar aspect of the
statutes of 1410 was that the candidate for the bachelor's degree had to attend a lecture on a mathematical work called *Spera materialis.* Logic was also to be studied in the master's program; Aristotle's *Topics* and a text referred to as *Logica Hesbri* were required. Other works mandated for the master's degree consisted of Aristotle's works on natural philosophy, ethics, politics, economics, and metaphysics, Euclid's geometry, John of Pisa's work on optics called *Common Perspective,* John de Muris's work on music, Gerard of Cremona's *Theory of the Planets,* and, finally, an arithmetical work. As at Heidelberg, the students of the University of Leipzig in its early years had no opportunity to study rhetoric at all.

The subsequent statutes of the arts faculty in the fifteenth century required almost all the texts that the students in 1410 had to study. In 1436 texts on three subjects were added for the bachelor's degree. In addition to Priscian's work on grammar, the 'scholar' should attend a lecture on either Donatus or the second part of Alexander's *Doctrinale* or *Florista.* *Florista* is the shortened title of *Flores grammaticae propono scribere,* a work on syntax written in 1317 by the Hildesheimer Ludolfus de Luchoe. Arithmetic also gained more attention with additional texts and, more importantly, "some book on rhetoric" was required. It seems that "some book on rhetoric" referred to Aristotle's *Rhetorica.* The texts required for the master's degree were
exactly same as those in 1410.\textsuperscript{73} No change whatever occurred for the bachelor's program in the statutes of 1471.\textsuperscript{74} All the texts mandated in 1410 and the lectures added in 1436 were preserved. Only one minor change took place for the master's program. Aristotle's \textit{Rhetoric} became an optional requirement; the student had to take either it or Hesbri's logic which had been a regular requirement since 1410.\textsuperscript{75} Although the entrance of rhetoric into the master's program, an exceptional case for German universities, reveals a growing appreciation of its importance, it is likely that students generally preferred Hesbri's logic to Aristotle's \textit{Rhetoric}, which they took during their undergraduate study.\textsuperscript{76}

In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, the University of Leipzig witnessed a series of curricular reforms, which reflected the rising force of humanism. Nonetheless they were modest and conservative and by and large confirmed the essential characteristics of the three early statutes. Logic still remained the leading force in the arts faculty. Although Hesbri's logic was eliminated from the master's program through the 1496 reform of Bishop Tilo von Merseburg, all students should study Aristotle's logical works and the \textit{Summulae Logicales} of Peter of Spain, the latter of which did not disappear in the arts curriculum of Leipzig until 1524.\textsuperscript{77} The old speculative grammar continued to enjoy its previous prestige until the middle of the 1510s. The 1496 statutes stipulated that the arts faculty order a master to
lecture "in grammatica Donatum vel partes Allexandri." As Herbert Helbig remarked, the reform of 1496 was "essentially directed to restore the old order." The statutes of 1507 reaffirmed the traditional status of Donatus, Alexander, and the Florista by keeping them in the "libri audiendi pro gradu baccalariatus." The arts faculty decided next year to eliminate the Florista: "In grammar, Donatus minor and parts of Alexander are obliged to be lectured and no other." Nonetheless some signs favorable to the humanists occurred. A lecture on rhetoric continued to be mandatory for the bachelor's degree in this period. And Aristotle's Rhetoric became an obligatory requirement for the master's degree in the reform of 1496. More importantly, the arts faculty decided in the winter term of 1515/1516 to eliminate Alexander's Doctrinale from the curriculum on the ground that "scholars had entirely abandoned [the lecture on Alexander] and it was utilized neither in other adjacent gymnasia nor even in trivial schools."

The arts curriculum of the University of Leipzig in the pre-Reformation period was less scholastic than that of Heidelberg where rhetoric was totally neglected. But the general situation was not different. The authority of Aristotle's logic and the Summulae Logicales remained intact. And, from the founding of the university to the mid-1510, all students learned the speculative grammar. Although rhetoric belonged to the required subjects, Aristotle's Rhetoric was
not preferred by humanists as a rhetorical text. As will be presented in Chapter 4, the humanistic reform of 1519 replaced it with the works of Quintilian and Cicero.

The University of Tübingen was indistinguishable in its curriculum from other German universities. According to the first statutes of the arts faculty (1477), the lectures and exercises required for the bachelor's degree were all on logic. One single exception was Albertus Magnus's work on Aristotelian natural philosophy. Rhetoric and grammar did not appear on the regular lecture list. While rhetoric did not receive recognition at all, grammar was studied in a preliminary school called pedagogium which was existed at Tübingen from the beginning "for the unskilled and young beginners" ("pro rudibus et minus fundatis"). Although the absence of records for the pedagogium renders it hard to draw the exact circumstances, grammar seems to have been taught there with the texts of Alexander and Donatus. Just as the cases for other German universities, the students in the master's program were to study for their degrees Aristotle's works on natural philosophy, ethics, economics, and metaphysics.

The initial curriculum was maintained in the statutes of 1505. The candidate for the bachelor's degree should study first and foremost Aristotle's Old and New Logic and the Summulae Logicales. Aristotle's natural philosophy prevailed in the master's program. Two changes occurred, which notably
fortified the scholastic nature of the arts curriculum. First, grammar, which had been assigned only in the pedagogium, was now to be studied also in the bursa. The grammar texts were specified in the statutes for the bursa: "We want that in both bursae [the bursae of the via antiqua and via moderna] and in the pedagogium the youngsters be instructed in grammatical exercise, in Donatus and parts of Alexander and that this be done under oath." Secondly, students in the master's program should extend "diligently" their knowledge on Aristotelian logic by attending the review courses. As at the universities of Heidelberg and Leipzig, scholasticism dictated the arts curriculum at Tübingen in the pre-Reformation period. With regard to the early years of the university, Heiko Oberman's judgement that "the 'new learning' is not at all conspicuous" is true.

It has been a commonplace that the University of Wittenberg fostered humanism from its beginning. Indeed there were many signs for the rise of the new humanistic spirit in this Saxon university. The letter of invitation to the opening ceremony of the university, issued by Frederick the Wise, announced that "poetry and other arts" would be cultivated there. This open declaration was confirmed with the appointment of Hermann von dem Busche as the first salaried lecturer on poetry. According to the Rotulus doctorum Vittemberge profitentium, a list of all Wittenberg professors and the subjects they taught, published in May 1507
by Christoph Scheurl, the first rector of the university, several doctors and masters lectured on classical authors and humanities. Greek was also taught from the early years, albeit privately. In this atmosphere, "Luther found the necessary tools for his study and interpretation of the Scriptures."

However, the formal requirements for degrees in the Wittenberg arts curriculum did not embrace the spirit of humanism. The curriculum was patterned after the traditional lines of other German universities, in which scholasticism was the determining force. The statutes of 1508 prepared by Scheurl at the request of the elector officially announced the university's adherence to scholastic traditions; "the teaching method of scholastic doctors should be encouraged without difference." The arts curriculum corresponded to this conservative idea. The candidate for the bachelor's degree was supposed to attend lectures on all Aristotle's logical works, the *Summulae Logicales* of Peter of Spain, and grammar. To receive the master's degree one had to further his knowledge of logic and study mathematics and the remaining Aristotelian writings, such as *Physics*, *De anima*, *De celo et mundo*, *De generatione et corruptione*, *Meteorica*, *Parva Naturalia*, *Ethics*, and *Metaphysics*. There may have been one positive sign for the humanists. Although the statutes of 1508 did not specify the title of the grammar text, it might be the humanistic grammar of the Italian humanist Johannes
Sulpitius Verlanus, which had replaced the Doctrinale of Alexander by the time when the Rotulus was drawn up. But except for the introduction of new grammar, the arts curriculum of the University of Wittenberg was fundamentally scholastic. Logic dominated it and rhetoric was entirely abandoned. Regarding the official requirements for degrees, Gustav Bauch's judgment that "in spite of all the fine words in its opening, the University [of Wittenberg] was just medieval and the humanistic studies were only arabesque," remains true.

In reviewing the arts curricula of the four universities, it is apparent that the ideal of learning and education of the late medieval Germany inclined towards logic. Logic was not only the preponderant subject of the bachelor's program but also permeated all disciplines of the arts curriculum as the supreme instructional method; "To be a 'scholastic' was first and foremost to be a logician." Before the unquestioned authority of logic, literature, languages, and rhetoric were disregarded to a considerable extent. The intellectuals of the period firmly believed that logic was the best means to solve delicate problems and contradictions of all fields. However, the scholastic quest for details and precise definitions often dug its own grave by demanding abstruse speculation and a high level of technicalities, which even able students hardly managed to acquire. The vocabulary, concepts, and inference employed in scholastic teaching
methods must be frequently elusive and even oppressive to the students, most of whom were at their mid-teens. "Even the simplest facts were," as Johannes Nabholz described the situation at the medieval German universities, "surrounded by so many clouds of pedantic methodology that it was extremely difficult for the students to penetrate the academic fog and to arrive at the nucleus of the problems."  

The experiences of two contemporaries clearly buttress Nabholz's opinion. The Strasbourg humanist and Ammeister Jacob Sturm recollected in 1522 his days at Heidelberg: "The teaching method which was prevailing in the arts faculty when I was a student [at Heidelberg] was the worst which one could conceive. One might believe that it was devised for the particular purpose of spoiling the minds and wasting time. Aristotle was read in a Latin translation done by a man who scarcely understood Latin as well as Greek, and neither the professor who was giving the lecture nor his audience understood anything of it." He ascribed the reason for his gloomy days at Heidelberg to scholastic logic, speculative grammar, and immature age: "I was instructed in grammar and logic eighteen years ago at the age of twelve." Melanchthon, another alumnus of the University of Heidelberg, echoed Sturm's memory; he deplored, "nothing was publicly taught there to the youth other than that garrulous dialectic and parts of physics." He also described in a similar manner his experience at the University of Tübingen. The
circumstances at the university and its study course was "not only extraordinarily stupid but also untrustworthy." Many students at Melanchthon's alma matres shared his bitter experience; he wrote, "As a boy I did some damage to my mind in preoccupation with the literature of the philosophers." They tortmented the students "by means of their summas... [and] with their frivolous and trifling disputations." He continued: "How many chapters, how many laws, how many titles they smeared compactly on their papers... they play the rhetorician ineptly... just to impede the minds of the studious with certain hair splittings." To the eyes of Sturm and Melanchthon, the scholastic arts curriculum and its pedagogical methods of the German universities lacked practical values and formative consequences.

The students of Renaissance humanism and the Reformation have tended to think that theological study at the late medieval German universities neglected the Bible. There is a symbolic episode; Luther told that he could not see a Bible until he became twenty years old when he, by accident, found one in the library of the University of Erfurt. But it is difficult to accept the wide-spread opinion without qualifications. The Bible rather assumed an important position in the curriculum of the theological faculty. To be a bachelor of theology or Biblicus, the student should study
the Bible, between one and five years, by hearing lectures and attending disputations.\textsuperscript{114} The term \textit{Biblicus} designates one who had knowledge in the Old and New Testaments sufficient enough to teach the beginning students.\textsuperscript{115} In case of Heidelberg, furthermore, all the three ordinary professors of the theological faculty were enjoined in 1469 to teach in their lectures only the books of the Bible; the first on the Gospels, the second on the Pauline and other canonical Epistles, and the third on the books of Moses or the Prophets.\textsuperscript{116}

Nevertheless, the general situation of the late medieval period justifies the conventional judgment. In the theological faculty the Bible was overshadowed by the \textit{Sentences} of Peter of Lombard. The \textit{Sentences}, written around 1150, were a collection of theological opinions of various authorities. Its content is divided into four main categories devoted respectively to: the nature of God, Creation and sin, Incarnation and Redemption, and Sacraments. It served as the standard theological textbook at all European universities for about four hundred years. The typical study course of the theological faculty of the German universities laid an emphasis on the \textit{Sentences}. After fulfilling the course requirements, which consisted of lectures and disputations on the Bible and the \textit{Sentences}, the \textit{Biblicus} then solely devoted himself to the study of the latter to be a \textit{Sententiarius}, an official title meaning that he was now qualified to teach the
As Lowell Green once remarked, "the degree of 'Baccalaureus Biblicus' was only preliminary to the goal of becoming a lecturer in the Sentences."\textsuperscript{117}

Indeed the remaining two degrees of the theological faculty, the Licentiatus and Doctor of Theology, could be achieved with no other subject matters; candidates for those degrees just had to attend advanced lectures on the same subjects as they had learned during previous years and demonstrate their knowledge on them during the disputations.\textsuperscript{118} Therefore it is understandable that no other medieval textbook elicited more derision and criticism from the humanists and reformers than the Sentences, which directly contravened their catchwords of \textit{ad fontes} and \textit{sola Scriptura}.

It was not just the central position of the Sentences in the curriculum and that shows the scholastic nature of the theological faculty. The scholastic teaching method also prevailed in the faculty. It was a general rule that the master's degree was a prerequisite for admission to the theological faculty, although not observed rigidly. For instance, to be a Biblicus at Leipzig, one was required, in addition to a five-year study in theology, to have a master's degree of arts.\textsuperscript{119} To put the matter differently, in the theological faculty the professors and students alike had thorough grounding in logic and scholastic instructional method. Just as in the arts faculty, the lectures, disputations, and exercises were commonly treated in the same
dialectical manner.

One outcome was that the professors frequently took long digressions with superfluous and irrelevant matters. There are many examples showing the defects of the instructional methods practiced in the theology faculty of the German universities. At Heidelberg, the lecture of Heinrich von Homberg, who became rector of the university in 1438, on the Gospel of Luke dealt with many questions which had nothing to do with the texts. At Vienna, Heinrich von Langenstein, a leading theologian of the university in its early years, devoted his lecture on Genesis to an exposition of astronomical and cosmological phenomena; this excursion led him to finish only a couple of chapters of Genesis in thirteen years of teaching. Thomas of Hasselbach, another Viennese theologian, taught Isaiah for twenty-one years without completing its first chapter.

The reformers vehemently attacked the preponderant status of the commentaries and the scholastic instructional practices in the study of theology. In his Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, Luther stated that "Our worthy theologians have ceased from worrying and working; and so they leave the Bible alone and read the Sentences." In the same year Melanchthon lamented that "no faithful man has ever satisfied his mind with scholastic theology which has become polluted by so many human arguments, nonsense, tricks, and trifling traditions."
Why did the medieval theologians extensively rely on commentaries and dialectic in acquiring and imparting Biblical knowledge? They simply thought that Biblical passages are unclear and therefore should be explained and interpreted with the help of commentaries. They also saw in scholastic philosophy and dialectical method the best tool for the clarification of the message of the Scriptures. When Melanchthon in 1520 attacked the "Parisian theologasters" for their sophistries, they responded, "Because Scriptures are obscure, they must be interpreted by Masters." Here one can find a remarkable contrast to the idea of Luther on the Bible. In his reply to Latomus, the Louvain theologian who had bitterly condemned the evangelical theology, Luther wrote:

The Gospels aren't so difficult that children are not ready to hear them. How was Christianity taught in the times of the martyrs when this philosophy and theology did not exist? How did Christ himself teach? In all these hundreds of years up to the present, the courses at the universities have not produced, out of so many students, a single martyr or saint to prove that their instruction is right and pleasing to God while the ancients from their private schools have sent out swarms of saints.

Some historians have rejected the stereotyped view that the theological training of the late medieval period had no practical value for the ministry. By investigating the career of Gabriel Biel, Heiko Oberman stated that the theological study in the late medieval universities was "not the barren wastelands of sterile debates, but a richness of deep pastoral and searching theological concern." Jane Douglass drew a
similar conclusion from her study on Geiler von Keisersberg, who received the degree of doctor of theology in 1475 at the University of Basel and served as a cathedral preacher in Strasbourg until his death in 1510. She wrote: "in his sermons we have striking evidence of a pastoral nominalism which stands in the sharpest possible contrast with the traditional view that nominalism produced skeptical theology."

But it is doubtful that there were many Biels and Geilers at that time. Geiler was not a typical preacher of his days; his preaching methods were exceptional. He warned other preachers to avoid in their preaching technical terms used in schools and difficult theological questions, and he personally embodied this idea in his homiletic practices; his major concern was "for simplicity and comprehensibility." But he was "under criticism for his style of preaching." The fashionable style of preaching at that time was not different from the practices of theological teaching in the university. It is hard to see that the common people understood the difficult theological questions airing from the pulpit.

In short, it is hard to imagine that university study in late medieval Germany produced much practical fruits. The scholastic teaching apparatus and methods both in the arts and theological faculties would have been very effective for raising competent scholars. But from the extensive use of
speculative logic, the majority of medieval students must have drawn little benefit for their routine life. The "arch-humanist" Conrad Celtis identified contemporary university study with "incorporeal concepts, monstrous abstractions, and inane Chimeras." As Johannes Haller stated, the students of medieval German universities "suffered under the pressing education which fettered and consumed their energy." Melanchthon left Tübingen for Wittenberg in 1518 with the bitter impression that at Tübingen "the true wisdom that came from the heaven to guide the minds of men is abandoned."

Many historians have observed that from the middle years of the fifteenth century humanism began to penetrate into the German universities and its status, although feeble, grew as the Reformation approached. This is absolutely true; in the 'extraordinary' or private lectures and through various humanistic books read and taught in extra-curricular academic activities students were introduced, to a certain degree, to humanism. And indeed in the early years of the sixteenth century, humanism at such universities as Wittenberg and Erfurt generated a new spirit strong enough to provide men like Luther with Biblical humanism which decisively helped pave the road to the Reformation. In this respect, no one would disagree with Moeller's proclamation of "no humanism, no Reformation."

Nevertheless it is hard to deny that humanism held at
best a peripheral and precarious position in the pre-Reformation German universities. As discussed earlier in this chapter, humanistic subjects were banished altogether in the curricula required for the degrees. At that time university students in Germany and elsewhere had to pay their tuition according to the amount of the lectures, disputation, and exercises they attended. Wealthy noblemen could afford extra expenditure for the non-required courses to satisfy their intellectual appetite; but there were many poor students who suffered from the lack of financial means. One of the main administrative concerns of the German universities of the period was to resolve the financial problems of poor students; for example, the University of Tübingen decided that poor students could attend the exercises required for the master's degree with half payment of the fee or smaller amount in case of extremely poor students. Thus poor students simply could not but remain aloof from the non-required lectures, to which most of the studia humanitatis pertained. It was hard even for the wealthy students to afford additional time and energy to cover the courses beyond the multiple required lectures, disputation, and exercises. Melanchthon recalled his burdensome days at Tübingen: "In the guild-like school operation I was almost pulverized for six years." Therefore it is safe to conclude that humanism, in spite of its gradual growth, was negligible and foreign to most students of the pre-Reformation German universities.
The emphasis of the reformers on university education as a prerequisite for ministry and the vigorous curricular reforms in the Reformation period were, taken together, intended to remedy the low educational background of the priests of late medieval Germany. A large portion of them simply did not receive university education; they were neither willing nor motivated to do so. Even those who took advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the wave of university foundation in German territories were also not well prepared for their pastoral occupations. The curricula at the four universities discussed above were in general not helpful for the practical execution of their daily duties. Logic and speculative grammar were certainly effective in raising pure academics, and the study of sophisticated and speculative theology played a significant role in rearing professional theologians. But it is hard to imagine how the complicated and highly technical theories and arguments which the priests imbibed at the universities assisted them to preach and teach their parishioners, most of whom were ignorant and illiterate. They were probably well versed in propositional knowledge, but largely lacked the skills necessary in pursuing their duties under concrete and specific circumstances. With minor exceptions, all the four German universities entirely excluded rhetoric, literature, and languages. The efforts of early humanists could not influence the core of the university studies. Therefore, it is not unlikely that the priests of
the late medieval Germany, regardless of the extent of their educational achievement, were by and large unsuccessful in teaching doctrine properly to their parishioners. No one recognized these formidable problems more accurately and exerted more efforts to solve them than Philip Melanchthon.
NOTES


2. Heiko Oberman's introduction to *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Peter Dykema and Heiko Oberman (Leiden, 1993), p. x. This volume contains forty articles which cover diverse aspects of anticlericalism of the period. The beginning article by Kaspar Elm, "Antiklerikalismus im Deutschen Mittelalter," *ibid.*, p. 3-18, offers a good presentation of the situation in late medieval Germany.


5. See note 55 in Chapter 1.

6. For a recent general survey on clerical education in late medieval Germany, see the excellent article by James Overfield, "University Studies and the Clergy in Pre-Reformation Germany," *Rebirth, Reform, and Resilience: Universities in Transition, 1300-1700*, ed. by James Kittelson and Pamela J. Transue (Columbus, Ohio, 1984), p. 254-292. This chapter owes much to the insights offered in it.


23. See the works cited in Overfield, op. cit., note 18, p. 41-42.


26. Laetitia Boehm, "Humanistische Bildungsbewegung und Mittelalterliche Universitätsverfassung: Aspekte zur frühneuzeitlichen Reformgeschichte der deutschen
Universitäten." The Universities in the Late Middle Ages, ed. by Jozef Ijsewijn and Jacques Paquet (Louvain, 1978), p. 327.

27. Ibid., note 24: "vel in theologie aut in jure doctor vel licentiatius."

28. Overfield, op. cit., p. 266-267; see also the tables on p. 277-292.

29. Ibid., p. 267.

30. Cited in Klaus, op. cit., p. 28: "Sowie der Priester zur Feier des Gottesdienstes verpflichtet ist, muß er soviel Grammatik kennen, daß er die Worte richtig aussprechen und betonen kann und daß er wenigstens den wörtlichen richtig Sinn von dem versteht, was er liest... Als Lehrer muß er wenigstens die Grundlehren des... Glaubens kennen. Als Richter in Gewissenfragen muß er zwischen Sünde und Nicht-Sünde... unterscheiden können, wenigstens bei den Sünden, die allen bekannt sind. Daraus ergibt sich, daß derjenige, der... geweiht ist, um Messen zu lesen, nur das erste von dem zu wissen braucht, was wir vorhin genannt haben, und ähnlich verhält es sich auch bei den niederen Weihen."

31. "Concerning the Ministry," LW, 40, 7-44.

32. Ibid., 11-12.


35. For the history of the introduction of the corpus of Aristotle's works and western Europe's response to it in the Middle Ages, see Fernand Van Steenberghen, Aristotle in the West, trans. by Leonard Johnson (Louvain, 1955).

36. Ibid., p. 44. Ellwood P. Cubberley, ed. Readings in the History of Education (Cambridge, Mass., 1920), no. 87, provides a list of Aristotle's works known by 1300.

37. Ibid., no. 88. For Averroes's philosophical and theological ideas, see Steenberghen, op. cit., p. 18-19; Etienne Gilson, Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages (New York, 1966), p. 37-56.

38. These ideas were developed in Averroes's commentaries on Aristotle's works. Gilson, op. cit., p. 45-46, 55-56.
39. Cubberley, op. cit., no. 90, section (a); see also Steenberghen, p. 67-72.

40. Cubberley, no. 90, section (b)

41. Ibid., section (c); and "The Books on Nature to be Expurgated, 1231," University Records and Life in the Middle Ages ed. by Lynn Thorndike (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1944), no. 20.


43. Gilson, Reason and Revelation, p. 64. The Great Condemnation of 1277 was in essence not against Aristotle but against Averroistic propositions; ibid., p. 64 provides a list of some representative Averroistic ideas which belong to the condemned 219 propositions.


46. For a brief description of the contents of Aristotle's logical works and various medieval compendia, see Overfield, Humanism and Scholasticism, p. 28-35.


48. Overfield, Humanism and Scholasticism, p. 30-34; Ong, Ramus, p. 53-54.

49. Heath, "Logical Grammar," p. 43-44; Ong, Ramus, p. 56-57;

50. cited in Ong, Ramus, p. 56.


57. Ibid., p. 79.


59. For disputations and exercises, see Johannes Nabholz, The History of the Faculty of Arts in German Universities (New York, 1936), p. 76-86; Kaufmann, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 365-400; Paulsen, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 35ff.

60. August Thorbecke, Geschichte der Universitat Heidelberg (Heidelberg, 1886), vol. 1, p. 70: "Der Weg, den sie einschlug, war der rein analytische, und in streng syllogistischer Beweisfahrung ging diese Zergliederung vorwärts. Da wurden die Begriffe genau gefaßt und vorsichtig begrenzt, der Inhalt der Materie im einzelnen erörtert und dann wieder in seine wesentlichen Stücke zusammengefaßt, da wurden vor allem streitige Fragen und Kontroversen aufgeworfen und das für und Gegen mit Hereinziehung der entscheidenden Autoritäten umständlich erörtert."


62. "Alteste statuten der artisten," UBUH, vol. 1, no. 23, p. 34: "Item statuit dicta facultas, quod scolares ad gradum baccallariatus in artibus promovendi iurent infrascripta. Primo... doctrinale Allexandri... Item... summulas Petri Hispani... Item... veterem artem, scilicet Porphirium predicamenta Aristotelis... et librum priorum... Item... duo libros posteriorum... duo libros elencorum, quatuor libros thopicorum... Item... octo libros phisicorum... Item... librum de anima Aristotelis..." The oldest statutes of the arts faculty, although registered in the university record in 1402, were a collection of the faculty's various previous decisions
at different times which had been practiced by that year probably since the very beginning of the university; see the editor's notes on p. 33 and 35.


64. "Lektionsplan des ganzen Jahres nach der Statutenredaktion von 1452/1502 pro via antiqua" in Gerhard Ritter, *Die Heidelberger Universität* (Heidelberg, 1936), vol. 1, appendix 1, p. 495. This lecture plan was composed in 1452 but recorded in the university register in 1502; see, *ibid.*, note 2 on p. 166-167.

65. The *bursa* was the lodgings of students, where they continued their studies under the direction of a master.


71. *SBUL*, p. 326, no. 20: "...algorismus et computus et aliquis liber in rethorica."


no. X. 4: "loyca Heissbri autt liber rethoricorum Aristotelis..."

76. For example, a certain Virgilius Wellendorfer who was promoted to the master in the winter semester of 1487/1488 reported to the dean a list of the lectures and exercises he attended for the master's degree; he met all the lectures required in the statutes of 1471, but took Hesbri instead of Aristotle's Rhetoric. See Helssig, op. cit., p. 16-19.

77. "Des Bischofs Tilo Reformation..." SBUL, p. 16-27, no. 5. See p. 22, section 17 for the removal of Hesbri's logic: "Quia talis lectio loicae Hesbri parum fructus in se habeat, ideo volumus, quod loco eiusdem lectionis pro magisterio legatur cetero liber rhetoricorum Aristotelis."

78. Ibid., p. 24, no 5, section 23.


82. See note 77 above.

83. Ibid., p. 511: "...scholastici prorsus abiicerent neque in aliis circümicientibus gymnasiiis nec in scholis quidem trivialibus profiterentur."

84. Overfield, Humanism and Scholasticism, op. cit., p. 119-120.

85. UGUT, p. 335-336, no. 22-23. The required texts are: Predicamenta et peri arminias [de interpretatione] Aristotelis; Priorum analiticorum; Posteriorum analiticorum; Quatuor libri Topicorum; Elencorum; Tres primi tractatus Summe Naturalium Alberti; Primus quartus et quintus tractatus Petri Hyspani.


88. UGUT, p. 336, no. 24-25. Required texts are: Phisicorum,
De celo et mundo. De generatione et corruptione. De anima, Metaphisica, Metheororum, Ethicorum et economicorum, Paruorum naturalium.

89. Ibid., p. 331-333.

90. Ibid., p. 332.

91. Ibid., p. 416: "Item volumus, quod in ambabus bursis et pedagogio iuuenes imbuantur in exercicio grammatical! in Donatu et partibus Alexandri per iuramentum..."

92. Ibid., p. 333.


94. For a good summary of the early progress of humanism at Wittenberg, see Max Steinmetz, "Die Universitat Wittenberg und der Humanismus (1502-1521)," 450 Jahre Martin-Luther-Universitat Halle-Wittenberg, ed. by Leo Stern (Halle, 1952), 1, p. 103-140, esp. 116-118.

95. UBUW, vol. 1, no. 2, p. 4.


100. UBUW, vol. 1, p. 20: "vias scholasticorum doctorum absque differencia erigimus."

101. Ibid., p. 54: "preterea suorum preceptorum litteris fidem faciant baccalaureandi, se audivisse Petrum Hispanum, novam et veteren logicam Aristotelis, priorum, posteriorum analyticorum, topicorum quator, elencorum, necnon grammaticam."

102. Ibid.: "...magistrandi vero novam et veterem logicam, libros phisicorum, de anima, de celo et mundo, de generacione et corrupcione, metheororum, parva naturalia, ethicorum,
methaphisicam, necnon mathematicam."


104. Bauch, op. cit., p. 299: "...die Universität war eben trotz aller schönen Worte in ihren Einrichtungen mittelalterlich und die humanistischen Studien nur Arabesken."

105. Overfield, Humanism and Scholasticism, op. cit., p. 43.

106. Johannes Nabholz, op. cit., p. 75.


108. UBUH, vol. 1, p. 214: "ante annos xviii, aetatis annum agens xii, illic in grammaticis et logicis institutus sim."


110. Ibid., 2, 162, no. 757: "non solum insignem esse stoliditatem, sed etiam perfidiam."

111. Ibid., 1, 680, no. 292: "[schola, ubi] capitale erat attingere meliores literas."


114. The minimum period of study required to obtain the bachelor’s degree in theology differed; from one year, as at Wittenberg in 1508, to five years at Leipzig. The usual practice was three to five years; see notes 115 and 120 below.
115. For the typical course of promotion at the theological faculty of the German universities, see Overfield, Humanism and Scholasticism, op. cit., p. 44-45; Ernst G. Schwiebert, "New Groups and Ideas at the University of Wittenberg," Archiv für Reformations-geschichte, 49 (1958), p. 66-67.


117. See note 115 above.


119. see note 115 above.

120. Nabholz, op. cit., p. 23.


122. Ibid.

123. Overfield, Humanism and Scholasticism, op. cit., p. 49.

124. Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings, p. 473.


130. Citations are in Ibid., p. 34; for his preaching style, see, p. 30-37.

131. Ibid., p. 84: "We know, however, that the sermons of Oliver Maillard and Michael Menot were being heard with enthusiasm in Paris in Geiler's day." For the preaching manner of Oliver Maillard and Michael Menot, see p. 33, which reads: "Michael Menot and Oliver Maillard in France regularly
introduced a 'theological question' into the structure of the sermon. Here a problem was intentionally discussed much as in the Sentences commentaries with citation of differing authorities, concluded by the preacher's resolution of the problem. Maillard, in raising the question as to whether the flesh of the Virgin Mary could be sanctified before the incarnation, admits that this is problematic material, and that some people come to listen and some find fault. Menot raises such questions as whether a good God wills evil in the world..."


136. The term 'libri ordinarii' denotes books, and often lectures, that were required for degrees, while 'libri extraordinarii' meant books and lectures that were officially taught but not required for degrees; the private lectures, normally practiced in the bursa, were not included in the official curriculum.

137. Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1936), vol. 3, p. 408 explains that the vast majority of the students were from middle social group between the upper and lower classes.


On August 25, 1518, Philip Melanchthon, twenty-one years old, rode into Wittenberg without knowing his destiny. On the next day, the rector of the university officially entered his name on the university register as the first professor of Greek language, which had recently been established in the curriculum of the arts faculty. At first the professors at Wittenberg received the unfledged scholar lukewarmly since they had preferred Peter Mosellanus, a renowned Greek teacher at Leipzig. In spite of his age and relatively little experience of teaching, however, Melanchthon was already an eminent humanist scholar, whose expertise in Greek was unsurpassed. Not only was he deeply versed in the studia humanitatis, but also his humanistic spirit and ethos reached maturity. His inaugural speech, delivered four days after his arrival at Wittenberg, changed the initial coolness of the professors into cordial hospitality.

From his childhood Melanchthon received a solid training in humanistic subjects. After the death of his father in 1504 when Melanchthon was seven, his mother took her children to Pforzheim. There he received private tutoring in
rudimentary Latin and Greek from his great-uncle, the celebrated humanist Johannes Reuchlin. At the Pforzheim Latin school his knowledge of languages and ancient literature made rapid strides. And probably at Reuchlin's suggestion he changed his family name of Schwartzerd to its Greek equivalent, Melanchthon, a sign showing his desire to be a humanist scholar. By 1509 when Melanchthon matriculated into the University of Heidelberg, he could write Latin and Greek with proficiency and had a thorough acquaintance with the classical authors.

Melanchthon's knowledge on the humanoria improved during his days at Heidelberg. But the progress of his humanism was not occasioned by his study of the subjects offered in the curriculum of the university. As indicated in the previous chapter, the academic program of the arts faculty of Heidelberg was heavily weighted toward logic. "Nothing was taught publicly there to the youth," Melanchthon recalled, "than that garrulous dialectic and parts of physics." Although Dr. Pallas Spangel, the professor of theology with whom Melanchthon boarded, and Jacob Wimpfelning inspired Melanchthon with the humanistic spirit, their humanism was limited and conservative. Mentorless and disappointed with the disciplines taught in the arts faculty, Melanchthon enriched his humanism through his personal, extracurricular reading of various ancient authors.

After receiving the bachelor's degree in arts,
Melanchthon entered the University of Tübingen in 1512 to further his study. The circumstances at Tübingen were marginally better. The presence of Reuchlin and Heinrich Bebel at the university certainly stimulated Melanchthon's interest in the studia humanitatis, but he could hardly benefit from the scholastic curriculum of the arts faculty. As at Heidelberg, he pursued independent study with indefatigable energy to gratify his insatiable thirst for the humanistic learning. He indulged himself in reading a variety of the classics and new humanistic works. What was most influential to Melanchthon at this time was probably the newly-published *De Inventione Dialectica* or *Dialectical Invention* of Rudolph Agricola, a copy of which he received from his friend Oecolampadius. Argicola's advocacy of the *loqui* method as the best means of speaking and writing had enormous impact on Melanchthon's later idea on theological education, which was well expressed in the *Locii Communici* of 1521. During the four years he spent at Tübingen after receiving his master's degree in 1514, he taught in the arts faculty and published many works that reflected his mature humanism, including a Latin grammar textbook, an edition of Terence's comedies, and the celebrated *Institutiones Graecae Grammaticae*, which came out three months before his arrival at Wittenberg.

By the time he published his Greek grammar book, Melanchthon had acquired a mastery of the humanistic learning,
and he therefore found no reason to remain at the place where scholasticism was wielding its strong arms. Melanchthon's remark in the preface to the Institutiones foreshadowed his departure from Tübingen: "The studies that should shape one's intellect and behavior are neglected, universal knowledge is nowhere apparent; what passes for philosophy is empty and fruitless deception which produces only contention." When Frederick the Wise consulted Reuchlin for a proper person for the newly-established chair for Greek at his university, the latter recommended his grandnephew. In his letter to the elector, Reuchlin wrote: "I want to send Master Philip Schwartzerd of Tübingen... who will serve the university. Of this I have no doubt, since I know no one among the Germans who excels him, except Erasmus of Rotterdam, who is a Hollander." Melanchthon entered Wittenberg as a prominent humanist scholar, where he met for the first time a man named Martin Luther, with whom he was destined to make a landmark in the history of western civilization.

Melanchthon's inaugural speech at Wittenberg, titled "On Improving the Studies of Youth," testifies to his ripe humanistic ideas. He called for the elimination of scholastic studies and a reform of university education in favor of the studia humanitatis. He urged the university authorities and professors to establish a balanced study of the trivium, and stressed history and the indispensability of Greek and Hebrew for theology. He began his address with a
critique against those "who have everywhere arrogated to themselves the titles and rewards of teachers in schools by force and fraud." These "barbarians with barbarous methods" still restrain the people "with crafty inventions" and made genuine letters perish.¹⁴

After having traced the decline of learning in Germany, Melanchthon proceeded to stress the importance of the trivium. In addition to Latin, Greek should be encouraged, so that students may "gain the very substance, not the shadow" of philosophy, theology, history, rhetoric, and poetry.¹⁵ If one cultivates these languages, "they will nourish the talent for the use of all letters more gently and will make it more elegant whatever its origin."¹⁶ Melanchthon did not repudiate the utility of dialectic. But his dialectic was not what had been "practiced by the ignorant masters" ("inscitae magistri profitentur"), such as the Peter Tartaretus, Thomas Bricot, John Versor, and John Eck, the later foe of Luther.¹⁷ His dialectic was rather a sort of rhetorical dialectic by which one could sharpen his thought and its expression; "These are the functions of what is called dialectic by us, rhetoric by others, because authors vary in naming it, while the art is the same."¹⁸

History is indispensable, Melanchthon stated, for civil life. It teaches us "what is noble, what ugly, what useful, what not."¹⁹ Because it contains so many important principles that "no part of life, neither public nor private, can remain
History is also the cornerstone of other arts: "the Muses originated from memory," and "every kind of art flows from history." Melanchthon also laid an emphasis on the utility of the liberal arts for sacred studies. He proposed that Hebrew and Greek be studied since theology depends on these languages. If one masters those languages, "then the splendor and propriety of words reveal themselves, and the true and genuine sense of the letter becomes evident." "As soon as we perceive the letter," he continues, "we follow the essence of matters." Direct approach to the Bible without relying on glosses brings an important reward: "And when we direct our soul to the [Biblical] source, we begin to know Christ, His command becomes clear to us, and we are drenched with that fertile nectar of divine wisdom." Therefore, he concluded, "whoever wants to undertake anything distinguished, either in the sacred matters or in the public affairs, will accomplish little, unless he has previously exercised his mind prudently and sufficiently with humane disciplines."

Although Melanchthon touched upon theological study, the address was scarcely motivated by religious interests. At that time, Melanchthon was neither a Protestant reformer nor aware of the evangelical theology. His advocacy of the study of Greek and Hebrew was intended not so much to support the biblicism based on Luther's theology as to invigorate the humanistic tenet of ad fontes. The guiding spirit of his
oration was well expressed in his remark that "my entire address has the purpose of building your hope for elegant literature."²⁷

Melanchthon's inaugural speech greatly impressed the Wittenberg professors and students. No similar program had ever been proposed for the university, where the spirit of humanism had recently begun to blossom forth. The young scholar cried for regeneration of society and a better theology through a cordial union of university education with classical culture. This idea corresponded to the desire of those Wittenberg professors who were interested in bonae litterae. Two days later Luther, who was not impressed initially, wrote to Spalatin, the secretary and adviser of Frederick the Wise, in praise of the new Greek professor:

As regards our Philip Melanchthon everything shall be done as you suggest. On the fourth day after his arrival he delivered a most learned and chaste oration to the delight and admiration of all. It is now not necessary for you to commend him. We quickly retracted the opinion which we had formed when we first saw him. Now we laud and admire the reality in him... I desire no other Greek teacher so long as we have him.²⁸

Luther's firm trust in Melanchthon and the latter's ensuing embrace of the evangelical theology was soon to propel the career of the tranquil humanist into boisterous storms of public life.

Melanchthon's affection towards the studia humanitatis continued after he became a leading spokesman of the reform
movement. Indeed his humanistic treatises written in the 1520s and afterwards are copious. In these works Melanchthon elucidated more concretely his ideas on the utility of humanistic subjects, which he articulated in his inaugural address at Wittenberg. He attacked speculative logic and irrelevant grammar teaching and encouraged study of rhetoric, languages, history, poetry, and moral philosophy. It is unnecessary to expound his thoughts about the humanoria subject by subject. However, his idea on rhetoric, the favorite discipline of the humanists, needs to be described here briefly, for Melanchthon paid comparatively little attention to it in his inaugural address.

In the manner of other humanists, Melanchthon put a great stress on eloquentia. His love of eloquence was vividly expressed in his declamation of 1523, titled Encomion eloquentiae, one of the best among his treatises on rhetoric. He stated that one must have a clear, flawless style of speech to convey his opinions on public and private matters; "how can the audience understand your oration, if you do not pay attention to the meaning and importance of the words?" Certainty and simplicity are the essence of an adequate speech; "How often absurd and inept metaphors obscure the conversation?" He continued: "Elegance is precisely the purity and natural form of the speech"; anyone who overlooks them "speaks not only unlovely or sloppily but also improperly, obscurely, and ineptly." Any speech without
proper rhetoric, he concluded, is therefore nothing but "uncertain barbarities" ("barbara incerta").

Melanchthon never slackened his passionate love of rhetoric throughout his entire life. Two years before his death he wrote a treatise in which he defended more resolutely the virtue of rhetoric. The purpose of this work was to rebuff the idea of Pico della Mirandola (1463-1497), the Italian humanist and Platonist philosopher, that a philosopher does not need rhetoric in pursuing and fulfilling his vocation. Melanchthon found in Pico's idea a downgrade of rhetoric. In his response, he praised rhetoric as the supreme among all disciplines one should pursue to cultivate his mind. "What subject can possibly be richer," Melanchthon argued, "than that of the dignity and utility of eloquence?" The barbarians have neglected the training in "the art of speaking"; it resulted in "many errors in religions and the other arts." He attacked Pico's idea that eloquence is not required for philosophers. Wisdom is conveyable and attainable only with the "divinely bestowed" power of rhetoric; "there is no use for wisdom unless we can communicate to others the things we have with wisdom deliberated and thought upon." The virtue of the writings of the ancient philosophers resides in the fact that they were written with preeminent eloquence. Even such "nearly speechless" arts as arithmetic and geometry must be taught by proper use of words, and "without eloquence... it is in no
wise possible to search out and illustrate the other disciplines, the subject matter of physics, ethics, and theology." Rhetoric is a "gold-bearing river" and "full of lights," and "no harmony is sweeter and more agreeable to the nature of man than discourse full of good things and elegantly put together." Therefore, Melanchthon concluded, "I do not hesitate to accuse everyone of ingratitude and impiety who does not acknowledge the benefits of eloquence." 37

As will be seen in the following two chapters, Melanchthon's curricular reform of the German universities was an implementation of his opinions on the humanistic subjects, as represented in his inaugural address and other treatises. But it should be emphasized that his curricular reform was not just to enhance the position of humanism in the operation of university education. There was a more important aim. After Melanchthon became a Protestant reformer, doctrine rather than wisdom commanded his interest. In particular, when he found the devastated conditions of the rural parishes, his major concern turned to education of ministers. After his visitation of Electoral Saxony in 1528, Melanchthon described the deplorable situation: "How can we account for the fact that we have left the people until now in so great ignorance and stupidity! My heart bleeds when I see this misery. When we are finished with the investigation of a region, I often go aside and relieve my pain by weeping." 38 In the visitation Melanchthon found that the pastors themselves were hardly
better than their parishioners; they were poorly trained and
taught ineptly, and some of them did not even know such
fundamentals as the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer.\textsuperscript{39}
The ultimate aim of Melanchthon's university reform was thus
to cure this widespread plague by creating a cadre of better-
educated pastors.

One illustration bears witness to this point. After the
defeat at the Schmalkald War, Wittenberg and its university
went under the control of Maurice, the duke of Albertine
Saxony. Although Maurice carried out pro-Protestant policy,
he was regarded as a traitor. Melanchthon, in exile, wanted,
in spite of much opposition from the Lutheran camp, to return
to Wittenberg to preserve the imperiled university. He had at
this point a telling motivation; he wrote to a friend, "From
where can we have ministers of the Gospel, if schools are
completely destroyed?"\textsuperscript{40} To put the matter differently, since
he became a religious reformer, humanism was not the goal but
the means to create educationally competent pastors. Indeed
it is not an exaggeration that "Melanchthon... was a religious
man who would not have hesitated to abandon learning if he had
been unable to perceive a religious ground for it."\textsuperscript{41}

Melanchthon's choice of humanistic subjects and teaching
methods for clerical education had its origin in a new concept
of proper ministry, which the Reformation brought about. The
doctrine of \textit{sola fides} or salvation through inward trust in
God destroyed the time-honored prestige of rituals. The Mass
was abolished and the number of the sacraments was curtailed to two. Likewise, the traditional pastoral function of administering the sacraments gave way to preaching and teaching. Luther described the Protestant ideal of ministry: "Mostly the functions of a priest are these: to teach, to preach and proclaim the Word of God, to baptize, to consecrate or administer the Eucharist, to bind and loose sins, to pray for others, to sacrifice, and to judge of all doctrine and spirits. Certainly these are splendid and royal duties. But the first and foremost of all on which everything else depends, is the teaching of the Word of God."**

If preaching and teaching were the kernel of the sacred office, Luther believed, the traditional curriculum of the university should be drastically changed, for it had hardly been serviceable to these pastoral duties. He had consistently held this idea from the very beginning of the movement he ignited.** In May 1518, on his way back to Wittenberg from the Heidelberg Disputation, he wrote to Jodocus Trutfetter in Erfurt: "I simply believe that it is impossible for the church to be reformed, unless the canon law, decretals, and scholastic theology and philosophy, and logic, as they now exist, are completely eradicated and other studies instituted."**

Melanchthon earnestly endorsed Luther's idea on proper ministry. The Ordinanden Examen of 1558, written by him for the church of Wittenberg, well attests to the matter.** The
duty of the pastor consists, Melanchthon wrote, "first in the plantation and understanding of the united, true, and eternally right doctrine of the Gospel, which God from the beginning has mercifully commanded and revealed with certain testimonies for his church." Melanchthon enumerated what the pastors had to know to fulfill this utmost task: they included the books of prophets and apostles, the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, Luther's catechisms, and the Augsburg Confession of 1530. Not only should they "know and learn the principal points and all necessary parts of these teachings," he stipulated, but also they had to "deliver them to the people in an orderly and understandable fashion."

In what way could the studia humanitatis assist the future pastors to prepare themselves for their main duty, the acquisition and impartation of the evangelical theology? There are abundant sources that show Melanchthon's answer to this question. It is needless to say that, as shown in his inaugural speech, he regarded knowledge of Greek and Hebrew as the most basic tool for understanding the undiluted message of the Bible. Melanchthon always thought that since the divine mysteries are in the Bible, one should grasp the meaning of its words and its grammatical structure. Therefore, as he wrote in the Encomion eloquentiae, it is indispensable to study the Bible through the original languages, "without which theological truth can not stand." He expressed in his grammar textbook the purpose of linguistic studies as
following: "How important it is to the Church of Christ that boys are correctly built in grammars! Since the purity of the divine teaching can not be conserved without letters, what will a teacher in the church be, if he does not understand grammar, other than a most impudent bawler? And those who do not understand the mode of speech can not even love the sacred letters." To Melanchthon, education of future pastors, teachers, and theologians was altogether meaningless unless a sufficient study of the ancient languages preceded it.

Melanchthon's ideal pastor was not just a grammarian; he was also a rhetorician. Melanchthon frequently deplored the deficiency of clergymen in rhetoric. In 1519, Melanchthon participated as an 'idle spectator' in the Leipzig Debate between Andreas Carlstadt and John Eck of Ingolstadt. After witnessing what was going on there, he wrote on July 21 a letter to Oecolampadius. Although he belonged to the Wittenberg party, he nonetheless censured the way in which both debaters dealt with theological issues: "We wasted, I believe, a full good week in these matters... I first learned with these men as teachers what is the meaning of that which the ancients called 'arguing like a Sophist.' It is astonishing with what an uproar and how sadly all of these things have been treated and just as astonishing how little has been accomplished."

Next year Melanchthon expressed a similar impression in his address delivered in Wittenberg on the annual celebration
of the Day of Paul's Conversion. In the oration Melanchthon lauded not only Paul's theology but also the way in which he delivered his messages. He thought that the falsehood of scholastic theology derived from its irrelevant methods: "the reason why Pauline matters are less understood is due to those excellent masters of ours who... in the first place by their new interpunctuations have cut to pieces the divine language of Paul, which is both tied together by rhetorical members and compact with its own connectives. And after cutting it to pieces, they proceeded to interpret it... in such a way that not even one verse anywhere agreed with any other." This lamentable blemish came from the "impure and sordid" manner of teaching and conversing in the schools. Thus one should approach the Bible with "something that was both sure and very simple according to the figures of grammarians and rhetoricians." The model is Paul; one can understand his main points with less trouble, because his writings employs an excellent rhetoric; "With what rhetorical figures, what flowers and ornaments of speech he captivates the reader in his works I can by no means express in words."

When Melanchthon criticized Pico for depreciating rhetoric, he also presented its central role in learning and teaching theology. Different vocations require different technical expressions appropriate to their nature. The theologians and teachers ought to follow in conveying their ideas the customary usage of terms commonly known to ordinary
people. However, those "barbarians" not only "commit grammatical blunders, but they do not even finish their sentences," since they use "monstrous terminology" and "inexplicable fancies"; as a result, the art of good and careful speaking has "slipped away" and the church has suffered "impious and pernicious opinions." The study of eloquence was formerly cultivated in the church; "the apostles use good words," and it is hard to imagine why the "gift of tongues [was] added to the Gospel if eloquence is unusable for expounding sacred and great subjects." Therefore, those who devote their life to the divine Word should learn rhetoric; "How can one imagine anything more stupid than for those men to present themselves as teachers of churches and guides of life without eloquence." 58

In short, Melanchthon regarded languages, grammar, and rhetoric as prerequisites for the future pastors. To preach and teach the Bible well, one ought to learn it in right and correct fashion. This in turn demanded a thorough grounding in ancient languages and rhetoric. In his lecture on Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, Melanchthon summarized the importance of these subjects for Biblical studies. He wrote: "In no way can the sacred letters be understood without these [grammar, rhetoric, dialectic]. Namely, how can one judge the narration, who has not learned from grammar the construction of oration or the connections of speech form, and who has not learned from dialectic and rhetoric what parts of speech
should be a little longer, what sequence the propositions and arguments have, what [arguments] harmonize or clash among one another... Whoever does not see this in the Bible... must simply admit that he understands nothing."59

One might wonder at Melanchthon’s inclusion of dialectic as an indispensable tool for Biblical study. It should be noted again that Melanchthon’s dialectic was not the speculative one in which scholastic logicians had been addicted and taken so much delight; rather, it was a kind of rhetoric.60 We have earlier observed that in his inaugural speech at Wittenberg Melanchthon regarded dialectic and rhetoric as a same one. In a later work on rhetoric, he expressed a similar idea: "the affinity between dialectic and rhetoric is so great that it is hard to make a distinction between them."61 Therefore it is safe to say that Melanchthon gave no importance to metaphysical dialectic in educating the future pastors.

In his inaugural speech Melanchthon had advocated study of history for civil life and for learning other disciplines. But Melanchthon also found in history a great value for piety and Biblical studies. When Caspar Heido, the cathedral preacher of Strasbourg, published in 1539 his translation of Caesares, a historical work written by Johannes Cuspinian, Melanchthon provided a preface to it.62 There he explicated diverse benefits of history, in both secular and religious realms. He illustrated the spiritual profit of history by the
example of Shem, the oldest son of Noah:

For example, Shem saw both worlds, the first before the Deluge and that which followed after. He heard Noah, his father, and other ancestors who lived with Adam and saw all the wondrous works of God, which happened before, and learned the lofty wisdom of the ancients. Thereafter he saw the sins because of which the Deluge came, and observed how after this punishment whole nature was changed and became weak. He saw how soon the world again forgot God, how Sodom sank... These various examples without doubt caused him as a God-fearing and prudent man to think of how the future mode of existence in the world would be, and quite highly strengthened his faith in God.63

Melanchthon regarded the Bible itself as a history and thought that history reveals God's providence and therefore one can harvest from it the divine lessons. "There is no doubt that," he stated, "histories were first written by the holy writers such as Moses and before... for the sake of religion."64 They teach one how the world departed from the right religion; "Therefore we Christians especially should seek this benefit first in histories, so that they lead us to the beginning of religion and of the right church to confirm our belief."65

Melanchthon also pointed out that history helps to distinguish true doctrines from the false. One can find in history much guidance and useful instruction in refuting heresies and resolving controversial theological matters. For example, history teaches us the falsehood of Anabaptism, the Mass, and the papal power; if one reads Origen's writings, he clearly knows that the apostles commanded the baptism of children; if one reads Dionysius, "he finds also that several
hundred years before Gregory there was no private mass, but
the church had a common communion"; if one reads history, he
immediately catches the fabricated notion of the 'Apostolic
Succession'; and if one reads the story regarding the papal-
imperial relationship in the previous centuries, he easily
grasps "how the papal power rose and how it spread much abuse
in the church." In short, because of the neglect of history,
"the churches were split by heresies and the people were
confused and impertinent and despise God's word." "For the
reasons mentioned it is clear that," Melanchthon concluded,
"it is now useful and necessary for Christians to know
histories, so that... they can judge many controversial
matters and can also understand Holy Scripture better." In
view of the dimensions given to history by Melanchthon for
theological study, it is understandable that he put history,
in addition to languages and rhetoric, in the curricula of
German universities he reformed. It is also not surprising
that during the years of 1549-1555 Melanchthon tested the
candidates for Wittenberg pastorates on their knowledge of
history.

It has been indicated until now that Melanchthon
considered humanistic subjects, taken together, an
indispensable instrument for preparing the future pastors and
teachers in the church. As will be seen, Melanchthon thus
reformed the arts curricula of the German universities by
placing in them the *studia humanitatis* as the driving force.
But it should be emphasized that the first and foremost matter to be studied by the future Lutheran pastors was not the humanistic subjects but the doctrines of evangelical theology. Training in humanism was no more than a preparatory step towards the sacred studies. No matter how well versed in languages, rhetoric, history, and other humanistic disciplines, one was still unqualified for the spiritual office unless he had sufficient theological knowledge. Luther, Melanchthon, and all other reformers equated true religion with true doctrine. Then the essential question would be something like, "How was Melanchthon's ideal pastor to study theology?"

It seems unnecessary to point out here the obvious fact that Melanchthon, just as other reformers, placed a stress on Bible-oriented theological study. He never lost this standpoint throughout his entire life, both as a Protestant reformer and as a humanist scholar loving the spirit of ad fontes. But there was another important thing that Melanchthon's pastors were expected to learn to pursue their theological studies effectively; that is, the so-called loci or topoi method. This pedagogical method, by which the pastors were to acquire and impart evangelical doctrines, was one of the most significant contributions Melanchthon made to the educational operation of the Reformation.

Melanchthon's loci method owed much to humanistic traditions. Its essential feature can be regarded as its
emphasis on accuracy and simplicity and practical values.'\textsuperscript{71} Its basic assumption is that every author, when dealing with his subject, writes certain [loci] or [topoi] to transmit his principal points to the reader. Therefore the best way to comprehend the author's intention or main ideas is to focus on, and not to digress from, the loci. Summaries with simple comment on key words and concepts rather than extensive, wide-ranging discussions lead one to shortcut the theme of the text.

Melanchthon inherited this method of explaining the texts from Aristotle, Cicero, Erasmus, and Rudolph Agricola.\textsuperscript{72} In particular, Agricola's [De Inventione Dialectica], which was written in 1476 but published first in 1515, inspired Melanchthon's interest in the loci method.\textsuperscript{73} Melanchthon received a copy of it from Oecolampadius when he was at Tübingen and had possibly read it in manuscript already at Heidelberg.\textsuperscript{74} Agricola intended his [De Inventione Dialectica] to be used for practical life and student-oriented teaching. He thought that the utmost purpose of dialectic was not to determine the scientific soundness of an argument but to convey to the audience its principal theme in a simple and understandable way. As Walter Ong observed, Agricola accommodated dialectic "to the real pedagogical situation"; his dialectic was "concerned more with how to deal with an audience than with strict logical structure."\textsuperscript{75} Now it is clear why Melanchthon equated dialectic with rhetoric.
Melanchthon adopted this humanistic legacy for the purpose of interpreting the Bible. He was certainly indebted to Erasmus in doing so. Erasmus described in his treatise on Biblical exegesis the utility of the loci method; he wrote: "Organize for yourself collections of 'loci theologici.' You can find in the Bible two hundred and even three hundred concepts. Each one of these must be supported by Biblical passages. 'Loci' are little nests in which you place the fruit of your reading." In a same spirit, Melanchthon advised his students to approach the biblical texts by inquiring what their main loci were and why the authors of the Scriptures chose those loci. Because the first and foremost locus of the Bible is salvation through Christ, he believed, one should focus on those texts that contain the doctrines regarding salvation and find out their contents, intentions, and significance. So, all textbooks, commentaries, and lectures on the Bible should not deviate from its loci, which are simple and clear and, thus, do not require difficult dialectical speculations. By doing so, one can convey the divine message to the students most easily, clearly, persuasively, and effectively.

Melanchthon employed the loci method in his own theological works. Among others, the Loci Communes of 1521 shows most vividly his loci method and his idea on it. This work is a collection of his previous lectures on the Epistle to the Romans and divided into several loci all of which
finally converged on the doctrine of saving grace of God. In several places, Melanchthon clarified the purposes of his work. It had two goals: to tell the reader "the principal topics of Christian teaching" and to show "how corrupt are all the theological hallucinations of those who have offered us the subtleties of Aristotle instead of the teaching of Christ." Melanchthon wished to differentiate his work from those he was attacking, in terms of method. He states: "I am discussing everything sparingly and briefly because the book is to function more as an index than a commentary. I am therefore merely stating a list of topics to which a person roaming through Scripture should be directed. Further, I am setting forth in only a few words the elements on which the main points of Christian doctrine are based. I do this not to call students away from the Scriptures to obscure and complicated arguments but, rather, to summon them to the Scripture if I can. For on the whole I do not look very favorably on commentaries, not even those of the ancients." Melanchthon then describes the basic assumption of the loci method. Every individual subject contains "certain fundamentals in which the main substance is comprised and which are considered to be the scope toward which we direct all studies." The Bible was also written in this manner. So the best way to know God is to turn our minds to the fundamental points. But the scholastic theologians have ignored this principle and "Lombard prefers to pile up the
opinions of men rather than to set forth the meaning of Scripture"; as a result, "Christian doctrine has degenerated into scholastic trifling." Melanchthon summarized his methodological standpoint with the famous remark: "We do better to adore the mysteries of Deity than to investigate them."\textsuperscript{80} In short, Melanchthon believed that Biblical studies should be carried out by shedding a light on the principal topics and by banishing complicated commentaries or the "forest of philosophical jargon." And he identified this approach as the best means to comprehend the substance of the Biblical texts. He expressed this conviction by saying that "If my little book does not seem to accomplish this, by all means let it perish."\textsuperscript{81}

In showing the goal of his work, Melanchthon used several times such terms as an "index," "outline of topics," and "compendium of Christian doctrine." These terms symbolize Melanchthon's ideal methodology for Biblical studies. Luther held a same opinion. In his Christmas postil of 1522 he wrote: "0 that God would allow my exposition and that of all teachers to perish, so that each individual Christian may take the plain Scriptures and pure Word of God!... Therefore, get in, get in[to the Word], dear Christian, and let my exegesis and that of all teachers be merely the scaffolding for the true building, so that we may cling to, taste, and remain in the pure and simple word of God itself."\textsuperscript{82} Here we find a cordial harmony of Renaissance humanism and the Reformation.
Both Melanchthon and Luther severed theological study from scholastic dialectic and metaphysical speculation. Instead they adopted the humanistic pedagogical method and took advantage of it in their quest for true cognitio Dei.

Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* drew praise from many Protestant sectors and witnessed a wide popularity in the German universities. Luther ardently praised it: "If one has [read] the two [the Bible and the *Loci Communes*], he is a theologian whom neither the devil nor a heretic can shake."83 One historian applauded it as "the Magna Charta of the evangelical system."84 First published in April, 1521, it saw several editions and numerous printings either in Latin or German until the end of the sixteenth century.85 Appreciation of its excellence went beyond the German territories; it was one of the required texts in the University of Cambridge, and Queen Elizabeth even memorized large parts of it.86 It was one of the most influential theological works of the Reformation period.

One point concerning Melanchthon's *Loci Communes* needs an emphasis for the purpose of the present study. Although the reputation and popularity of the *Loci Communes* and the praise given to it were mainly in virtue of its orthodox Protestant content, the manner in which Melanchthon explained Pauline doctrines was not less important in the course of the Reformation. It had an enormous impact on the later educational endeavors of the Lutheran reformers.
Melanchthon's explanatory method became the model for almost all theological textbooks, catechisms, and other doctrinal guides that were used by the Lutheran reformers in educating pastors, teachers, and even the common people. That is, the reformers used the loci method to accomplish their most urgent task, the creation of doctrinally-learned ministers and laymen.

In the 1555 edition Melanchthon clarified that his Loci Communues was designed for teachers and pastors. In the foreword he explained the loci method for general purposes; "Whoever wishes profitably to teach himself or intelligently to instruct others must first comprehend from beginning to end the principal pieces in a thing." But in the dedicatory words to Anna, the wife of Joachim Camerarius, he specified the purpose of his work. Here he applied the general principles of the loci method to pastors' learning and teaching of doctrines: "Rightly oriented teachers are needed... to clarify and preserve the proper meaning of the words of the prophets and apostles. And such true teachers do not invent new or peculiar doctrines about God; instead, they stay close to the unadulterated meaning, which God himself has revealed through the words which are found in the writings of the prophets and apostles and in the creeds. The entire office of preaching, which God had ordained for public assemblies, is to present to the people these and no other writings, except the writings of the prophets and apostles,
and the creeds." Then Melanchthon described the reward of the loci method. When the people learn from their pastors the Biblical loci or "the true meaning of these terms," he wrote, they will "recognize sublime wisdom and divine light." To conclude the matter, Melanchthon's ideal pastors were expected to acquire and dispense the evangelical theology through its loci, which he regarded as "the source, the wellspring, and ground of our faith."

Some scholars absurdly assumed that Melanchthon's Loci Communes of 1521 represented an enduring discord between humanism and the Reformation. Preoccupied with Ideengeschichte, they illuminated its historical importance only in terms of its content. They found in it an uncompromising Biblicism and a complete rejection of the worth of free will for salvation, and identified these theological ideas as a symbol of what they regarded as Melanchthon's defection from humanism. Wilhelm Maurer, the eminent German scholar on Melanchthon, stated that Melanchthon's theology expressed in the Loci Communes entirely contradicted Erasmus's idea on free will and his emphasis on improvement of morality; thus, his Loci Communes broke open ("aufbrach") "the latent strain between Luther and Erasmus, between humanism and the Reformation." In a similar vein, Ekkehard Mühlenberg argued that the 1521 Loci Communes was symbolic of "the change which led him from humanism to reformatory teaching, from Erasmus to Luther." Mühlenberg found in the Loci three points that
signaled Melanchthon's disavowal of humanism. First, Melanchthon repudiated the formative effect of Law in molding human virtue, which he had enthusiastically espoused earlier. Secondly, Melanchthon negated the assisting role of philosophy in understanding God. Thirdly, he even rejected the classical traditions, including the Church Fathers, for the sake of the Bible. In view of these three changes in Melanchthon's mind, Mühlenberg concluded, "the humanistic educational program and reformatory teaching mutually exclude each other in the young Melanchthon."

To put the matter simply, Maurer and Mühlenberg totally overlooked the method of the Loci Communes in their evaluation of its historical significance. By doing so, they made a grave mistake. As shown in the first chapter of this study, the humanists shared no distinct philosophical or theological ideas. Therefore, whatever theological standpoints Melanchthon took in his Loci, they had nothing to do with humanism. On the contrary, if one accepts Timothy Wengert's shrewd observation that "humanism and humanists per se are united by their concern for method and style," there arises an entirely different picture. Melanchthon employed the pedagogical method of Renaissance humanism and blended it with Luther's theology. He adopted the loci method to transmit to the pastors and, in turn, to laymen the evangelical doctrines as clearly as possible, as accurately as possible, and as effectively as possible. Thus it is irrefutable that his Loci
was not a product of a man wavering between two irreconcilable forces, but a symbol of genuine consonance between humanism and the Reformation.

Through his own experience, Melanchthon believed that education of the previous times was misleading. The curricula of the German universities based on scholastic traditions had little meaning for practical life. Already thoroughly grounded in the *studia humanitatis*, largely through his independent studies, Melanchthon advocated in his inaugural speech at Wittenberg a study program based on the humanistic subjects. He proclaimed that languages, grammar, rhetoric, and history would enlighten the minds of the youth and cultivate their skill in pursuing their studies and future vocations. At this time his primary concern was neither religious nor doctrinal. However, when he embraced Luther's theology, he added another goal to his educational reform, that is, planting evangelical theology into a broad spectrum of society. He realized that this goal would be unattainable without educationally competent and qualified ministers, whose chief duties was now teaching and preaching of the gospel. His findings in his visitations in the late 1520s confirmed this conviction.

Melanchthon saw the best instrument to accomplish this urgent task in the same Renaissance humanism. Training in humanistic disciplines seemed to him indispensable for
preparing his pastors for their duties. Ancient languages and grammar were prerequisite for the philological approach to the Bible. Rhetoric was to provide them with the skills necessary for preaching and teaching. Melanchthon regarded the Bible as a history, through which the candidates for the sacred office could learn divine lessons; by reading other histories they were to draw valuable assistance in resolving controversial theological and ecclesiastical matters. Melanchthon's trust in humanism for clerical education was not limited to its subjects; it also included its method. He desired his pastors to learn and teach the evangelical doctrines through the loci method, and believed that it, rather than scholastic commentaries, would reveal the divine mystery most certainly and most efficaciously.

In conclusion, humanism occupied a central position in Melanchthon's ideal clerical education. He once remarked that the *studia humanitatis* are the "admirable gifts of God"; "in this world nothing, except for the Gospel of Christ, is more splendid than the *studia humanitatis*." Then the next question ought to be, "how did Melanchthon attempt to provide the future pastors with humanistic education?" The answer is simple: he reformed the curriculum of the university.
NOTES

1. Although the language of Greek had been taught at Wittenberg from its early years, the official curriculum had not included it. Its chair was first established by the curricular reform of 1518 carried out under Luther's influence. Chapter 4 will discuss the reform of 1518 in detail.


3. Ibid., p. 27-42.


5. CR, vol. 4, p. 715; see note 109 in Chapter 2.

6. Manschreck, op. cit., p. 34 describes Spangel as a scholar "between medieval scholasticism and renaissance humanism." Maurer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 25 judges that "Wimpheling by no means wished that the scholastic philosophy be opposed; instead he attributed to it a certain value for cultivating the mind and for fighting against heresy."

7. Melanchthon's study, teaching, and publications at Tübingen are well presented in Maurer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 45-83.

8. Heinrich Bebel taught rhetoric and poetry at Tübingen from 1497 until his death in 1517; see Johannes Haller, Die Anfänge der Universität Tübingen (Stuttgart, 1927), vol. 1, p. 210-211.


10. For an analysis of these works, see, in addition to Maurer, vol. 1, p. 45-83, John R. Schneider, Philip Melanchthon's Rhetorical Construal of Biblical Authority: Oratio Sacra (Lewiston, New York; Edwin Mellen Press, 1990), p. 36-43.


12. CR, 1, 34, no. 17: "...will ich Meister Philippesen Schwarzerd gen Tübingen zushicken, der... wird der hohen Schul dienen.... Daran sollt ihr keinen Zweifel haben. Denn ich
weiß unter den Deutschen keinen, der über ihn sey, ausgenommen Herr Erasmus Roterodamus, der ist ein Holländer."


14. MWA, 3, 30: "...qui vulgo sibi in scholis doctorum titulos ac praemia, barbari barbaris artibus... vi et fraude arrogarunt, et hactenus fere malitiosis ingeniis homines retinent."

15. Ibid., 38: "Iungendae Graecae litteras Latinis, ut philosophos, theologos, historicos, oratores, poetas lecturus, quaqua te vortas, rem ipsam assequare, non umbram rerum."

16. Ibid., 42: "Ea pro omnium litterarum usu, ingenium alent mitius, ac elegantius undequaque reddent."

17. Ibid., 34-35. For the scholastic theologians whom Melanchthon called "ignorant masters," see the editor's note on p. 34.

18. Ibid., 34: "Hae partes illius sunt, quam nos dialecticam, alii rheticam vocant: Nominibus enim variant auctores, cum ars eadem sit."

19. Ibid., 39: "Haec quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non... dicit."

20. Ibid.: "Hac nulla vitae pars, neque publica, neque privata vacare potest."

21. Ibid.: "Musas ex memoria natas esse. Eo, ni fallor, significatum ex historia omne artium genus manare."

22. Ibid., 40: "...cum theologia partim Hebraica, partim Graeca sit... linguae externae discendae sunt."

23. Ibid.: "Ibi se splendor verborum ac proprietas aperiet et patescet verus ille ac genuinus litterae sensus."

24. Ibid.: "Proxime cum litteram percepimus, sequemur elenchum rerum."

25. Ibid.: "Atque cum animos ad fontes contulerimus, Christum sapere incipiemos, mandatum eius lucidum nobis fiet, et nectare illo beato divinae sapientiae perfundemur."
26. Ibid., 38-39: "qui velit insigne aliquid, vel in sacris, vel foro conari, parum effecturum, ni animum antea humanis disciplinis prudenter et quantum satis est, exercuerit."

27. Ibid., 31: "id haec omnis oratio mea incumbet, uti spem vobis elegantis litteraturae faciam."


30. A collection of some of his representative humanistic works is in MWA, 3, titled Humanistische Schriften.

31. Ibid., 44-62; for its background, see the editor's introduction on p. 43.

32. Ibid., 45: "nisi vim pondusque verborum dicendo tueare, orationem tuam qui assequetur auditor?"

33. Ibid.: "Quotiens absurdis atque ineptis metaphoris sermone obscurant?"

34. Ibid., p. 46: "Ipsa orationis puritas nativaque facies elegantia est; quam nisi tueare, non modo non venuste aut inquinate, sed improprie, obscure atque inepte dixeris."

35. Ibid., p. 48.


37. The citations are from "Reply to Pico," p. 414-420.

38. "Wie kann man es verantworten, daß man die Leute bisher in so großer Unwissenheit und Dummheit gelassen hat! Mein Herz


40. CR, 6, 812, no. 4152: "Unde enim sumerentur ministri Evangelii, si scholae prorsus delerentur?"


42. LW, 40, 21.


44. WA Br, 1, 170, no. 74: "ego simpliciter credo, quod impossibile sit ecclesiam reformari, nisi funditus canones, decretales, scholastica theologia, philosophia, logica, ut nunc habentur, eradicentur et alia studia instituantur."


46. Ibid., xxxv: "steht... in pflanzung und erkentnis der einigen, warhaftigen, ewigen rechten lere des Euangelii, Die Gott gnediglich von anfauig, für vnd für seiner Kirchen, mit gewissen Zeugnissen geoffenbaret vnd befohlen hat."

47. Ibid., p. xxxviii.

48. Ibid.: "Dieser Lere summa, vnd alle nötige stück, sollen die Pastores selb wissen vnd lernen, vnd dem Volck... ordentlich vnd verstandlich furtragen."

49. MWA, 3, 58-60. The citation is on p. 59: "sine quibus stare res theologica non potest."

50. CR, 3, 1119: "Quantum enim refert Ecclesiae Christi, recte instituti pueros in Grammaticis! Cum doctrinae coelestis puritas conservari sine literis non possit... quid erit in Ecclesia Doctor sine Grammatica alium... aut impudentissimus rabula? Ac ne amare quidem sacras literas possunt, qui genus sermonis non intelligunt."

51. In many occasions Melanchthon expressed this idea. See,


53. Ibid., p. 24.

54. "Paul and Scholastics," in Ibid., p. 31-56.

55. Ibid., p. 45.

56. Ibid., p. 42, 45.

57. Ibid., p. 38.


59. "Scholia in Epistulam Pauli ad Colossenses," MWA, 4, Frühe Exegetische Schriften, ed. by Peter F. Baron (Gütersloh, 1963), p. 237: "Quid quod ne quidem intelligi sine his sacrae litterae possunt, quomodo enim iudicare potest de sermone is, qui nullam orationis construendae aut figurarum rationem ex grammatica didicit, qui non ex dialectica et rhetorica didicit, quae sint orationis paulo longiores partes, quae series sit propositionum, argumentorum, quae inter se consentiant quae pugment... Haec qui non videt in sacris libris... is simpliticr fateratur se nihil intelligere."

60. For Melanchthon’s idea on dialectic, see John R. Schneider, Philip Melanchthon’s Rhetorical Construal of Biblical Authority: Oratio Sacra, op. cit., p. 38-41; Wilhelm Maurer, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 193 ff.


63. Ibid., p. 184-185: "Als da Sem beide welt gesehen, die erst vor der Sündflut und die volgend hernach, und hatt Noe seinen vatter und andere vorältern gehoert, welche mit Adam..."
gelebt haben, hat alle wunderwerck Gottis, die zuvor geschehen, und der alten hohe weißeyt gelernt, hatt darnach gesehen die sünden, darumb die Sündflut komen, hat auch gemerckt, wie sich nach diser straff die gantz natur verändert und schwach worden its, wie bald widerumb die welt Gottis vergessen, wie Sodoma undergangen.... Dis mancherley exemplen haben jm als eynym Gottsfôrchtigen und bedâchtigen on zweiffel viel gedancken gemacht, wie das wesen hernach inn der welt werden wolt, unnd haben seinen glauben gegen Gott gar hoch geübet."

64. Ibid., p. 185: "Und ist nit zweifel, Historien seind erstlich bei den Heyligen als Moysi und zuvor... geschrieben... wegen der Religion."

65. Ibid.: "Darumb sollen besonder wir Christen desen nutz erstlich in den Historien suchen, das sie und leyten zu dem anfang der Religion und rechten kirchen ze bestätigung unsers glaubens..."

66. Ibid., p. 187: "...findet man auch, das etlich hundert jar vor Gregorio keyne privat Messen gewesen, sonder die kirch hatt eyn gemeyne Communio gehalten..."

67. Ibid., p. 188: "...wie die Bäystlich gewalt gestigen und wie in der kirchen viel mißbreuch eingerissen." 

68. Ibid., p. 187: "...die kirchen waren durch ketzereien zerrissen und war das volck jrr und fürwitzig und verachtet Gottis wort."

69. Ibid., p. 188-189: "Das nun den Christen nutzlich und not sey, Historien zu wissen, ist auß gemelten ursachen clar, das sie... mögen viel streitige sachen zu richten, Item zu besserm verstand der heyligen geschrifft."


73. For its content, see Ong, op. cit., p. 92-130.

74. Robert Stupperich, Melanchthon, p. 29-30; Manschreck, op. cit., p. 34.

75. Ong, op. cit., p. 97.


77. Ibid., p. 18-152; for a summary of its content, see Pauck's introduction on p. 3-17.

78. Ibid., p. 18-19.

79. Ibid., p. 19.

80. Ibid., p. 20-21.

81. Ibid., p. 20.

82. WA, 10/1, 728: "O das gott wollt, meyn und aller lerer ausslegung untergiengen, unnd eyn iglicher Christenn selbs die blosse schrifft und lautter gottis wortt fur sich nehme! ... Darumb hyney, hyney, lieben Christen, und last meyn und aller lerer ausslegen nur eyn gerust seyn zum rechten baw, das wyr das blosse, lautter gottis wort selbs fassen, schmecken unnd da bleyben." The translation is by Wengert, Philip Melanchthon's Annotationes in Johanniem, op. cit., p. 30.

83. WA Tr. 5, 204, no. 5511: "Wenn er die zwei hat, so ist er ein theologus, dem wider der Teuffel noch kein ketzer abbrechen kan."


87. Robert Kolb, "Teaching the Text, the Commonplace Method in Sixteenth Century Lutheran Biblical Commentary," Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 49 (1987), p. 571-585; James Kittelson, "Learning and Education: Phase Two of
the Reformation," Die dänische Reformation vor ihrem internationalen Hintergrund, ed. by Leif Grane and Kai Horby (Göttingen, 1990), p. 149-163. For Melanchthon's use of the loci method in his exegeses, see Wengert, op. cit. p. 182-191, 212; Uwe Schnell, Die Homiletische Theorie Philip Melanchthons (Berlin, 1968).


89. Ibid., p. xliii.

90. Ibid.

91. Ibid.


95. Ibid., p. 431.

96. Wengert, op. cit., p. 123.

97. CR, 11, 398: "...haec admiranda dona Dei... humanitatis studia quibus post Christi Evangelium hic orbis nihil praecelarius habet."
CHAPTER IV

REFORM OF WITTEMBERG AND LEIPZIG

One aspect that has long been overlooked among the students of German humanism is its later course. They have been so interested in its beginning and early phases that its destination is now largely unknown. With a few exceptions referred to in Chapter 1, scholars has paid their attention to its origin in the Italian city-states and its adoption with a more religious tint in the transalpine regions. Or they have illuminated it predominantly in terms of its conflict with late medieval scholasticism or of the early humanists’ influence on the coming of the Reformation. As a result, the course of German humanism beyond the period of Luther’s Reformation breakthrough has by and large fallen into oblivion. The following two chapters purport to show how Melanchthon’s curricular reform of the German universities determined the later process of German humanism. As observed earlier, he clearly recognized that unless the scholastic disciplines and teaching methods in the university study program were replaced by humanistic subjects, the task of creating competent pastors and disseminating through them the evangelical messages among the common people would be
impossible. With a firm conviction and indefatigable energy, he executed his ambitious plan over three decades. As at least one consequence, he left an indelible mark on the history of German humanism. Ancient languages, rhetoric, and classical culture found a permanent home in the German universities.¹

Melanchthon's curricular reform began with the University of Wittenberg, the command post of the Reformation. From 1520 to 1545 he rooted out many scholastic vestiges from the curriculum of the university and transformed it with the best features of humanism. However, there was an earlier significant curricular renovation at Wittenberg before Melanchthon launched his reformatory career. In the spring of 1518, approximately a middle point between Luther's nailing of his Ninety-Five Thesis and Melanchthon's arrival at Wittenberg, humanism made unprecedented strides at the university through a reform, which Frederick the Wise had considered since the spring of 1516 and completed two years later.² Led by Luther, it played a great role in shaping Melanchthon's destiny. It not only brought him to Wittenberg and occasioned his encounter with Luther, but also provided him with a guideline for his later educational reforms.

The 1518 reform was indebted to a certain extent to the gradual development of humanism at the university. Since its founding, the university had fostered humanism through such individuals as Hermann von dem Busche, Nikolaus Marschalk, and
Petrus of Ravenna. But early humanism at Wittenberg was no more than what Max Steinmetz termed *scholastisch-akademische Humanismus*. It proposed a different educational ideal but by no means rejected scholastic traditions in totality. The early harbingers of Wittenberg humanism still considered Aristotle and logic valuable, if used moderately. Humanistic subjects were tolerated, but they were not so much an alternative as a complement of scholasticism. The statutes of 1508 confirmed scholastic traditions: "the teaching methods of scholastic doctors should be encouraged without deviance." Likewise, the arts curriculum was still dominated by Aristotelian logic. The early endeavors of classical humanists could not storm the citadel of scholasticism at Wittenberg.

A real impetus to the 1518 reform came from a different sector. It was Luther's Biblical humanism and his "Tower Experience." Although Luther's major concern and spiritual inclination was far distant from the humanists' enthusiasm for the antiquity and eloquence, he found in humanism a valuable vehicle in pursuing true theology. Linguistic studies seemed to him indispensable for critical handling of the Bible and correct understanding of its messages. For religious or theological purposes, Luther urged his fellow faculty members to cultivate the humanistic subjects. By early 1517 he succeeded in winning over the atmosphere at Wittenberg. Scholastic theology began to fade away. On May 18 in the same
year, he jubilantly wrote to Johannes Lang, an Augustinian brother and fellow humanist at Erfurt: "At our university our theology and St. Augustine continue to prosper and reign through God's labor. Aristotle is declining gradually and is inclining to everlasting ruin in the near future. It is amazing how lectures on the Sentences are disdained. No one can hope for an audience unless he proposes to lecture on this theology, that is, the Bible or St. Augustine, or another doctor of ecclesiastical authority." Within a year Luther finished his reform proposal for the arts faculty. On March 11, 1518 he sent the draft to Spalatin asking for his opinion on it. In an accompanying letter Luther stated that if his reform plan could be instituted, it would not only be a great honor to them, God, the elector, and learning, but also be a true opportunity to reform all universities. Although Luther's draft has been lost, his letter of March 21 to Johannes Lang indicates some important changes he proposed: "Our school is making progress, so that in the near future we can expect to have lectures on two or three languages, Pliny, mathematics, Quintilian and some other good subjects, and to reject those inept lectures on Peter of Spain, Tartaretus, and Aristotle."

After long deliberation, the elector responded favorably to Luther's scheme. A new lecture plan for the arts faculty was finally adopted in Spring 1518. It does not specify what courses were to be studied at what level, but it reflects a
remarkable progress of humanism at Wittenberg. Although Aristotle's logical works, Physics, and Metaphysics continued to be taught, the lecturers on them should use new translations. The Summulae Logicales of Peter of Spain and the Doctrinale of Alexander, the emblems of scholasticism, were eliminated. Two "learned masters" were to teach the grammar of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew at the pedagogium. Through the establishment of lectures on Quintilian and Cicero, rhetoric entered into the regular study program for the first time in the history of the University of Wittenberg. Most importantly, the lecture plan stipulated that the university soon employ professors of Greek and Hebrew. The project to procure a professor of Greek was soon realized when Melanchthon came to the university in August.

The 1518 reform of Wittenberg signaled what was to happen there for the next three decades, that is, the striking growth of humanism's position in the curriculum. It also exemplifies the process by which humanism was institutionalized at the German universities. The Reformation proved to be the determining force. Whereas the efforts of some humanism-minded individuals over a decade produced no meaningful structural change in the curriculum, Luther's resolute religious conviction struck a lethal blow against scholasticism. It is true that without humanism, the Wittenberg Reformation could not have succeeded. But the reverse is equally true. Without the Reformation, the course
of humanism at Wittenberg would have proceeded in a quite different direction.

Two years later a more detailed reform plan was drafted for the arts faculty, this time by Melanchthon. Humanistic subjects were now to dominate its curriculum. He proposed ten professors for the faculty: one each for Latin grammar, Greek, Hebrew, Aristotle's logic, Aristotle's natural philosophy, mathematics, Cicero's *Rhetoric*, Virgil and Quintilian together, Roman history, and Pliny. This draft reveals Melanchthon's affection for the humanistic subjects. Of the ten professors, seven were to teach the *studia humanitatis*. Aristotle's *Metaphysics* was removed. Rhetoric was given more emphasis; Cicero was added to Quintilian. Furthermore, history and poetry (Virgil) appeared for the first time in the Wittenberg curriculum. Although Melanchthon did not stipulate the required courses, it is unlikely that only three professors would cover them while seven others were to teach non-required subjects. Indeed the 1520 reform proposal could have brought a major victory for humanism. However, it was not fully realized due to the limited financial means of the university; the arts curriculum remained basically same as that of 1518. But the 1520 draft reflects the educational ideal of Melanchthon, and it became the model for all his later reform of Wittenberg and other German universities.

During the 1520s Wittenberg witnessed no major reform with regard to its curriculum. Although Melanchthon's reform
of 1523 removed the disputation from the study program and instituted in its stead the declamation to enhance students' skill in speaking, it added no new subjects in the curriculum. The temporary stagnation of the curricular reform movement in the university seems to have resulted from the boisterous religious upheavals during the mid-1520s. The Anabaptist movement and the Peasants' War rendered the period hardly propitious for any innovation. In addition to the chronic financial difficulties, these religious uproars led to the departure of students and capable teachers from the university. Furthermore, the elector, on whom the whole university affairs depended, was reluctant to give active assistance to anything that took place in Wittenberg since the Imperial Diet of Worms.

It was not until the 1530s that Melanchthon could resume his reform activity. The critical stages of the confessional strife had passed. But there was now a more overriding reason to reform the university. The lamentable consequences of the visitations of Electoral Saxony and Thuringia during the late 1520s had awakened the reformers to the necessity to educate pastors. From then on, they took diverse steps to elevate the educational level of the pastors, thereby launching what James Kittelson termed "phase two of the Reformation." It was evident for the reformers that they had to accelerate the reform of the universities. Sharing this idea with other reformers, Melanchthon enforced during the 1530s and 1540s
three fundamental and drastic revisions of the curriculum of Wittenberg. The first of them occurred in 1533, by which Melanchthon, under the auspices of John Frederick, thoroughly reorganized the theological faculty.\(^{21}\) The 1533 reform statutes are very important for understanding the transition of its study program. After the outbreak of the Reformation, theological study at Wittenberg must have been carried out under the spirit of *sola scriptura* and, therefore, philologically rather than philosophically. Lectures focused on the Bible also gained wide popularity. In December 1520, more than five hundred students were attending Melanchthon's theological lectures and some four hundred were in Luther's classes.\(^ {22}\) However, the extant university records for the 1520s contain no reference to the curriculum of the theological faculty. Therefore the 1533 statutes can be regarded as the first official source for measuring the nature of theological studies at Wittenberg.

The statutes prescribed that the purpose of the university was to promote the Church by upholding its true doctrines. The main task of the theological faculty was therefore to provide Christian instruction in agreement with the Augsburg Confession. The first sentence of the statutes reads: "As in the churches and boy's schools of our regions, so in the university, which is always bound to be the principal guide and censor of doctrine, we want pure doctrine of the Gospel in accordance with the Confession which we
presented to Emperor Charles in August 1530; we certainly
state that its doctrine is the true and eternal consensus of
the universal church of God and should be piously and
faithfully offered, maintained, and propagated."21 In
addition, the theological faculty was enjoined "very
seriously" not to spread or defend the errors condemned at the
ancient synods at Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus, and
Chalcedon.24 The commitment to pure doctrine was the guiding
spirit of the statutes.

The theological faculty was to consist of four members.
They were subject to the rector and should have the degree of
doctor either from Wittenberg or other universities.25
However, Melanchthon expressed misgivings about the nature of
theological study at other institutions. If a candidate for
the professorship in the faculty received his doctorate from
other than Wittenberg, his knowledge and opinion must first be
tested in a public disputation.26 The Bible was the sole text
of the theological lectures.27 Some books in the Old and New
Testaments received special attention, such as Paul's Epistle
to the Romans, the Gospel of John, the Psalms, Genesis, and
Isaiah, "for these books can best teach the studies on the
principal topics of Christian doctrine."28 One single non-
Biblical text was Augustine's On the Spirit and Letter; one of
the professors was to teach it, but "now and then."29 The
statutes also stipulated that in their lectures the professors
explain "the simple truth clearly and correctly."30
Then the statutes prescribed the several steps toward the doctorate. Although there was no mention about what specific courses were required for each degree, some general guidelines were provided. Students at each level were required to pursue intensive Biblical studies. The candidate for the bachelor's degree or the Biblicus was to devote himself to the study on the Romans and the Gospel of John; to be a Sententiarius, one was obliged to know all principal doctrines of Paul and to explain the Psalms and the Prophets in the presence of the dean and senior members of the faculty. The Licentiatus, a middle degree between the Sententiarius and the doctorate, was not mentioned at all. Also the requirements for the doctoral degree were not concrete. But the statutes provided that "no one can receive the doctorate unless he attended for six years the lectures on the books of prophets and apostles".

The 1533 statutes eliminated many vestiges of scholastic theology. Both in content and form, the theological instruction at the university corresponds to Melanchthon's ideal. The Sentences of Lombard disappeared from the curriculum. All lectures were to be based on the Bible. The students were to learn doctrines in agreement with the Augsburg Confession. Although the disputation was reestablished, the recommended teaching method reflects his humanistic spirit; the professors were expected to teach the Bible "simply and correctly" and with "principal topics of Christian doctrine." Therefore it is safe to say that in the
1533 statutes, the ideals of Renaissance pedagogy and the Reformation were assimilated together.

A more comprehensive reform took place three years later. All the faculties of arts, theology, law, and medicine saw a revision of their curricula. The title of the reform order, Fundationsurkunde, reveals the intention of Elector John Frederick, who attempted to reconstruct the entire organization of the university with drastic measures. The Fundationsurkunde was issued on May 5, 1536.³³ There has been a controversy over who was/were responsible for its content. Karl Hartfelder identified it as an "authentic document of Melanchthon's opinions."³⁴ Friedrich Paulsen implicitly assented to Hartfelder's view when he drew a comparison between the Fundationsurkunde and the first lecture schedule of the University of Marburg, which was promulgated on August 31, 1529. Since they resembled each other in all essential matters, he stated, "there is probably no doubt that it [the 1529 Marburg lecture order] was composed under Melanchthon's direct or indirect influence."³⁵ On the other hand, Hermann-Adolf Stempel maintained that Melanchthon played at best only a minor role in shaping the content of the Fundationsurkunde; it was a joint work of several individuals including Melanchthon and Luther, and they composed it according to the elector's wishes.³⁶ Stempel's assumption is hardly tenable for several grounds. First, the section in the Fundationsurkunde concerning the theological faculty is almost identical with
Melanchthon's 1533 statutes, and the part regarding the arts curriculum is very similar to his 1520 reform proposal. Secondly, as will be seen below, the content of the 1545 reform statutes, which were also composed by Melanchthon\textsuperscript{37}, is essentially the same as that of the Fundationsurkunde. Thirdly, it is also quite improbable that the elector alone determined its content without consulting the opinions of the actual leaders of the university. Furthermore, from the 1520s onwards all major curricular revisions of Wittenberg were entrusted to Melanchthon. Therefore, it is difficult to deny that the Fundationsurkunde bears a substantial Melanchthonian stamp.

The statutes insist the importance of the arts faculty. It is not only the largest faculty in size but also the "origin," "stem," and "beginning" of the three higher faculties.\textsuperscript{38} As in the 1520 reform draft, the arts faculty consisted of ten professors, who were to lecture four days a week - Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday - and for an hour each day. One professor was assigned for each of Hebrew, Greek, poetry, Terence and Latin grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, physics, moral philosophy, and two for mathematics. In addition to the ten professors who were in charge of the regular lectures, there was one master who was to teach basic Latin grammar in the pedagogium. The professors on dialectic and rhetoric were required to lead two weekly declamations.\textsuperscript{39}

The 1536 arts curriculum solidly fulfilled the incomplete
1520 reform. There is virtually no difference between them. Only two minor changes took place: ethics replaced history, and one additional mathematician entered into the faculty while the lecture on Pliny was abolished. Humanistic subjects took a central position. Six professors and the master of the *pedagogium* were assigned for the *studia humanitatis*. Some aspects show further progress of humanism. The obligatory declamations, which Melanchthon had introduced in 1523, were intended to enhance the students' ability to express their ideas rhetorically. Six months after the pronouncement of the *Fundationsurkunde*, Melanchthon wrote to the dean of the arts faculty stressing the worth of the declamation: "That much is well known; the purity of Latin speech can not be preserved without practice in style." In addition to the students, the professors on rhetoric, Greek, and Terence should have their own declamations once a year. By doing so, they were to enhance their technique necessary to convey their ideas more effectively to the students. Also their training in the declamation would improve their ability to examine and correct the declamations of the students. Thus, mastery of practical skill in speaking was one of the main objects that the Wittenberg students were expected to achieve. The regulations regarding the salary of the professors reveal the emphasis given to the languages essential for theological study. The professors for Hebrew and Greek respectively received one hundred guldens, while each of those on other subjects eighty
The statutes for the theological faculty confirmed the dominant position of the Bible with even more concrete regulations. The faculty comprised three full-time professors and a pastor from Wittenberg. As before, the professors had to have the doctoral degree; this time, however, from no other than the University of Wittenberg. The first among them was bound to cover the New Testament: the Epistle to the Romans, the Epistle to the Galatians, and the Gospel of John. The second was responsible for the Old Testament: Genesis, the Psalms, Isaiah, and "sometimes" Augustine's *On the Spirit and Letter* "in order to preserve the correct understanding of the grace in Paul." Just like the professors of the arts faculty, these first two were to lecture four times a week, for an hour each day. The third professor was required to lecture on all other epistles of Paul and those of Peter and John. While he had to teach on only two days a week, he was supposed to preach two times in the university chapel, on Wednesdays and Sunday. The town pastor, who must have at least the degree of the *Licentiatu* should lecture two times each week, on Tuesday and Thursday, on the Gospel of Matthew, Deuteronomy, and sometimes one of the Minor Prophets.

The 1536 curriculum of the theological faculty absolutely embodied the watchword of *sola scriptura*. It included all the lectures prescribed in the 1533 statutes and added several others on the Bible. Augustine's *On the Spirit and Letter* was
intended only to complement the understanding of Paul's theology on grace. The future pastors, who studied according to the rules of Fundationsurkunde, were to be trained in accordance with Melanchthon's ideas. In the arts faculty, they were thoroughly grounded in the studia humanitatis and then proceeded to the theological faculty, where they learned the Bible without recourse to the scholastic commentaries.

Melanchthon put a final touch to his curricular reform of the University of Wittenberg with the Leges Academiae Witenbergensis de studiis et moribus auditorum, which was drafted by him in late 1545 and issued in 1546. The Leges Academiae was indeed the culmination and summary of his reform activities, for it not only incorporated all the essential features of his previous reforms, but also contained much information that shows, explicitly and implicitly, the underlying purpose of his humanism- and Bible-oriented curricular reform.

The number of the arts professors decreased to nine. But the courses they taught remained almost the same as before. All the subjects prescribed in the Fundationsurkunde were preserved. The only difference was that one professor was now to cover rhetoric and dialectic together, each of which had been taught by a professor independently. The main task of the master in the pedagogium remained intact; he was to teach Latin grammar for the beginning students. The importance of the declamation was also preserved. Those who were in charge
of grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, and Latin and Greek authors should lead their students to the composition and recitation of the declamation.\textsuperscript{50}

However, the content of lectures on some subjects underwent important changes, which show the growing religious orientation of the arts faculty. The professor of Hebrew ought to teach, in addition to Hebrew grammar, such books of the Old Testament as Genesis, the Psalms, the Proverbs of Solomon, Isaiah, Jonah, and Daniel.\textsuperscript{51} Although he was not to touch upon theology, his treatment of those texts must uplift students' acquaintance with the Old Testament. Melanchthon clarified his intention when he stipulated the duty of the professor on Greek. He was required to lecture on Greek grammar and many ancient writers, including Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, Sophocles, Theocritus, Demosthenes, and one Greek historian; in addition, he sometimes had to deal with an Epistle of Paul, "in which he presents correctly and dexterously the meaning of the word and the sequence of speech, in order to make the youngsters know that knowledge of language and arts is useful for the understanding of the Apostle's narrative."\textsuperscript{52} Therefore it is apparent that his establishment of Greek and Hebrew in the arts faculty was substantially motivated by his concern for better theological studies.

Melanchthon gave an astonishingly strong dogmatic character to the arts faculty. He thought that its chief
function was to serve the church and raise better Christians. Therefore, both the professors and students had to be doctrinally orthodox. "Since this philosophical faculty is also a part of God's church," he wrote, "we wish that all who are admitted to this faculty embrace the pure teaching of the gospel, which our church declares in one spirit and with one voice." Melanchthon warned the arts professors not to deviate from the true doctrines; they should "not corrupt the doctrine of the gospel and not contrive, approve, and defend profane and contumacious opinions against God through curiosity or frivolity." If anyone displayed false opinions, the dean should bring him to the rector, who, after investigation, should punish him. The arts students were also subject to strict doctrinal education. The master in the pedagogium should teach, in addition to Latin grammar, the principal points of Christian doctrines through the catechism and examine whether the students understood them and whether they could distinguish between the law and gospel.

The regulations of the theological faculty resemble those of the 1533 statutes and the Fundationsurkunde. The main task of the theological faculty was to instruct and protect the pure doctrine of the gospel which was transmitted in the books of the prophets and apostles. And its professors had to teach it in accordance with the Augsburg Confession; therefore it was severely prohibited to spread and defend any opinion that contradicted the Confession. With regard to regulations
concerning the lectures, there was no difference between the former statutes and the *Leges Academiae*; all the lectures were based on the Bible and had to focus on "the principal articles of the teaching of the church."\(^5\)

But there are some stipulations that are indicative of Melanchthon's belief that the humanistic subjects and teaching methods had utility in and of themselves for theological studies. One matter is of particular importance. For the first time in the history of the University of Wittenberg, all the three ancient languages were to be taught in the theological faculties; needless to say, this emphasis was to help the students to approach the Biblical passages linguistically and philologically.\(^5\) Melanchthon held the conviction that by learning the Bible with the help of the languages, the future pastors would teach its messages correctly. They were indispensable for the ministry: "God granted the gift of languages to the Church for the sake of the ministry of the Gospel."\(^6\) Melanchthon also touched upon, albeit implicitly, the teaching method of the faculty. He enjoined the professors not to addict themselves to ambiguous ideas and not to be contentious in their lectures and disputations.\(^6\) This warning reflects his consistent opposition to the scholastic pedagogical method.

Through his reform of the University of Wittenberg, Melanchthon implemented his aspiration to create a harmonious marriage between Renaissance humanism and the Reformation.
Before the advent of the Reformation, the University of Wittenberg was a typical medieval institution. Speculative logic commanded all the faculties either as a main study subject or as a teaching method. The endeavors of the early humanists brought about a new atmosphere, but failed to shake the fortress of scholasticism. It was not until the development of Luther's Biblical humanism and his epoch-making discovery of the gratuitous gift of salvation that the traditional curriculum of the university began to lose its strength. The initial reform of 1518 suggested the direction to which the future study program of the university was to proceed. From the 1520s onwards, Melanchthon, under the aegis of the electors, energetically executed a series of curricular reforms and, by the year of 1546, he eradicated most vestiges of scholasticism. Having found the necessity of the *studia humanitatis* for doctrinal and pastoral purposes, he transformed them into a new dynamic of the arts faculty. The theological faculty also experienced decisive changes. The *Sentences*, the stronghold of scholastic theology, were ousted from the curriculum, which became then heavily loaded with scriptural and philological studies. Melanchthon's reform of Wittenberg had diverse effects on the course of the Reformation. One of them was the fact that the future pastors, who studied under its reformed curriculum, were to enter their sacred office with thorough grounding in humanistic disciplines and evangelical doctrines. Indeed, as
Robert Kolb observed, "Melanchthon turned the University of Wittenberg into a boot camp for the Reformation's occupation forces." 62

When Luther sent Spalatin his draft of the 1518 reform, he wrote that if his reform could be instituted, other German universities would follow Wittenberg. 61 His prediction was correct. Many German universities trod a similar path. One of those institutions was the University of Leipzig, the academic center of Albertine Saxony. Compared to other universities, it had been less antagonistic to humanism during the pre-Reformation period. From 1436 rhetoric had been taught as a subject required for the bachelor's degree. In 1471 it also entered the master's program as an optional requirement, and from 1496 onwards all candidates for the master's degree had to attend the lecture on Aristotle's Rhetoric. Furthermore, in the winter term of 1515/1516 the arts faculty eliminated Alexander's Doctrinale from its curriculum. However, in spite of the early development of humanism, the general situation at the University of Leipzig was not different from that of other institutions; the traditional authority of speculative logic and scholastic theology had overshadowed any other intellectual edifice. 64 But from the late 1510s humanism began to gradually penetrate into the university with more strength. And when Albertine Saxony received Protestantism, the nature of its university radically changed. Melanchthon here again played a decisive
Within a year after the Wittenberg reform of 1518, the neighboring rival University of Leipzig also adopted new statutes. The government of Duke George issued a new lecture plan in the summer of 1519. Humanism met with further recognition. The beginning section of the regulations for the arts faculty attests to the changed attitude of the university. It explicitly expressed that Aristotle was still the leading authority in the arts faculty. But it also warned the professors that when interpreting Aristotle, they should avoid "indolent or intricate questions, since the talents would be impoverished, as Seneca said, to taste so much from the commentaries." So the professors were ordered to use original texts or new translations in their classes. The new lecture plan also included some humanistic courses. In particular, rhetoric had a prominent place. Two lectures with new texts replaced Aristotle's Rhetoric. Cicero's De Oratore was to be taught at eleven a.m. and Quintilian's Institutiones at one p.m. Lectures on classical poets and historians were also established; Virgil, Theocritus, and Herodotus were to be at four p.m.

But the 1519 reform was not a decisive victory of humanism. Although Aristotle's logic was to be taught with new Latin translations or original texts, it still occupied a supreme position. The lecture schedule was filled with his analytical logic and natural philosophy. Moreover, all the
seven tracts of the Summulae Logicales continued to be taught. The most obvious indication of the modest nature of the 1519 reform was its neglect of languages. Latin was taught with the grammar of Priscian, but the lecture program offered not a single course on Greek and Hebrew. Then follows a significant corollary; it is hard to imagine that the prescription that the instructors on Aristotle's logic and natural philosophy rely on original texts was well observed. Furthermore, under the condition in which the Thomist philosophy, via antiqua, dominated the intellectual milieu of the university, the actual progress of humanism would be hardly promising.

The 1519 statutes provided only a little information about the actual practices in the theological faculty. There were five daily lectures. The first lecture was on the Old Testament and began at seven a.m. It was expressed that "in this summer" this lecture should start with Genesis. The next lecture was at eight and treated Augustine and Hieronymus (St. Jerome); the professor should start "in this summer" with Augustine's work on the Trinity. The third lecture (1 p.m.) was to cover the first book of the Sentences. The fourth lecture (2 p.m.) was allotted for a scholastic theologian, preferably Thomas Aquinas. The last lecture was to deal with the New Testament. This lecture schedule confirmed the pattern of theological study at the late medieval German universities. The students were to learn the conventional
subjects: the Bible, the Church Fathers, the *Sentences*, and other works of scholastic theologians. It is quite understandable that the theological curriculum of Leipzig underwent no noteworthy transformation. There was no motivational force to alter the traditional pattern of theological study. Albertine Saxony was hostile to the new religious movement and the duke was a personal enemy of Luther. The *via antiqua* was enshrined as a guiding spirit both in the arts and theological faculties. Likewise, in view of the fact that Greek and Hebrew were entirely ignored in the arts faculty, nothing like Luther's Biblical humanism existed at Leipzig.

It was not until the inception of Protestantism at Albertine Saxony in 1539 that its university experienced a fundamental structural change. After Duke George died on April 17, his brother and successor Henry opened his territories to the Reformation. The new prince immediately sought for a reform of his university and asked for advice from Wittenberg. Melanchthon belonged to the committee, which was entrusted with that task, and on May 28 in the same year formulated his ideas on the matter. To Melanchthon the task of reforming Leipzig appeared quite different from the case of Wittenberg. Whereas he carried out his reform of Wittenberg under the circumstances in which Luther's Biblical humanism had already weakened scholastic theology and its practitioners, at Leipzig he had to remove first the existing
strong party of Catholic theologians before he proceeded to reorganize the arts faculty. Therefore he did not touch upon the arts faculty in this first reform proposal.

Melanchthon urged Duke Henry to expel all the abuses coming from the old practices of the theological faculty. He thought that the secular authorities were a Notbischof and therefore bound to uphold the true church and defend the people from false teaching. He wrote: "All authorities are responsible to God for removing and forbidding incorrect teaching and false divine service. Because monks and sophists at the University of Leipzig still pursue and do not want to slacken their blasphemies, so it is entirely necessary to prohibit those monks from all preaching, disputation, teaching, administration of sacraments, and all their ceremonies. Then this is quite obvious that the Christian potentates are not responsible for defending and supporting the blasphemers. Certainly they are responsible for preventing other people from being misled and contaminated. Likewise, they are further responsible for punishing such people seriously."  

To replace the "monks and sophists" and to establish "Christian teaching both in the school and church," Melanchthon recommended three new professors. The first was Nicholas Amsdorf, who had been a professor at Wittenberg from 1511 on and was to serve from 1542 to 1547 as evangelical bishop in Naumburg. Melanchthon regarded him as "an erudite,
experienced, and intelligent man, who can teach and dispute in the school and govern the church." The second was Doctor John Hess of Breslau, "who can also teach, dispute, and preach." The third selection was Bernhard Ziegler; he was "to teach both theology and Hebrew." Melanchthon thought that these three professors of evangelical disposition were enough for the new theological faculty. Although he proposed no concrete lecture schedule, there is no doubt that he envisioned a curriculum based on the Bible. He also recommended the duke to secure stipends for poor students. His intention was to raise as many doctrinally-qualified ministers as possible. Since "the wealthy people now do not want to become pastors and preachers, and unfortunately were ashamed of this high divine service," it is necessary "to give stipends to the poor students of theology." He suggested an annual amount of six hundred florins, twenty each for thirty students.

The next year Melanchthon provided another proposal for the reform of Leipzig, this time in Latin. His first proposal was already partly implemented. Two professors were appointed, Ziegler and Schubelius. He was pleased with the fact that Ziegler was earnestly teaching Hebrew, "which is particularly beneficial to the understanding of the writings of the Prophets." As in the first proposal, he suggested one additional theologian and stipends for poor students. Then he touched upon the arts faculty with his recommendation of
some humanist teachers and of a study program. First of all, he designated Joachim Camerarius, his student and close friend. He stated that Camerarius's erudition, modest manner, and peace-loving character would bring a fame to the university. Melanchthon's recommendation of Camerarius, which was soon accepted by Duke Maurice, Henry's successor, bore a great significance in the history of the University of Leipzig. As will be seen, Melanchthon's opinion on the reorganization of the university was embodied in the 1543 reform which was carried out by Camerarius. He recommended three other humanists: Micullus, Johannes Sturm of Strasbourg, and Bornerus, the last of which was to fill the mathematical professorship. The curriculum was to comprise eight 'ordinary' lectures: one each on Aristotle's Physics, Aristotle's dialectic, elementary dialectic and rhetoric, poetry, orations of Quintilian and Cicero together with ethics, Greek, and two on mathematics. Hebrew was to be taught temporarily by a professor from the theological faculty.

After providing these two proposals to Duke Henry, Melanchthon again recommended Camerarius as the best person to change the conditions of Leipzig. His trust in Camerarius was adamant. In his letter to the duke, dated August 4, 1541, Melanchthon wrote, "I have no doubt that he is peaceful, calm, sincere, and erudite in philosophy and eloquence, so few are to be preferred to him in foreign and German lands." Two
weeks later Maurice became the ruler of Ducal Saxony. He kept up the plan to reform the university. On October 16 in the same year, Camerarius, who since 1535 had been teaching at Tübingen, was appointed to the professorship on Greek and Latin. From that moment he became a confidential agent of Melanchthon and repeatedly asked for his help and advice for the university's affairs. Melanchthon went to Leipzig several times to participate at doctoral promotions, examine the candidates for stipends, give advice on dogmatic strife, and recommend suitable persons for the professorships. He was indeed the soul of the university of Leipzig since it had turned to Protestantism.

Melanchthon's enthusiastic efforts to reform the university were finally realized in the 1543 statutes. The regulations of the theological faculty make one wonder whether they were written by Camerarius or Melanchthon; they were astonishingly similar to Melanchthon's 1533 reform statutes of Wittenberg. Camerarius copied not just the content of the latter but also its sentence structure and vocabulary. In case of some paragraphs, not a single word is different! The courses and texts, teaching method, and requirements for the degrees are all the same. The only difference is that the candidates for the doctoral degree at Leipzig had to attend the lectures on the books of the Prophets and Apostles at least for five years, while their counterparts at Wittenberg, six years. The students of the theological faculty at both
universities were therefore to learn exactly the same subjects by the same pedagogical method.

Unfortunately, the extant university records do not include the statutes of the arts faculty. Paulsen supposed that they are probably the statutes which Camerarius edited in 1558. Whether Paulsen's assumption is right or not, it is evident that the 1558 statutes were in accordance with the ideas of Melanchthon, who continuously provided his advice to Leipzig. Moreover, their content was quite similar to his second proposal of 1540. The daily lecture schedule contained seven of the eight subjects proposed by him: physics at six, dialectics at eight, mathematics at nine, poetic at twelve, rhetoric at one, elementary mathematics at two, ancient authors at three, and explanation of Aristotle and Greek and Latin grammar at four. Ethics, which Melanchthon added to the lectures on Cicero and Quintilian in his proposal, was absent in the lecture schedule. However, it was included in the subjects required for the master's degree. The requirement for the bachelor's degree indicates the dominant nature of humanism in the arts curriculum. In the first term, the 'scholar' should attend lectures on Latin and Greek grammar, dialectic, and poetry; elementary rhetoric and further study of both languages and dialectic was required in the second term; in the third (last) term, he had to attend additional lectures on rhetoric and poetry, in addition to those on physics and elementary mathematics. The predominance
of humanism appears more manifest when one sees the fact that even the non-humanistic subjects were to be taught in humanistic manner and with humanistic textbooks. Aristotle was to be learned with Greek texts. For elementary dialectic and physics, Melanchthon's textbooks were used. In short, the 1558 statutes rooted out every trace of scholasticism. Having made a gradual progress since the early years of the sixteenth century, humanism now won a decisive victory and became an enduring feature of the University of Leipzig.

The ultimate goal of Melanchthon's vigorous reform was to serve the church and the Gospel by raising capable spiritual leaders. In particular, he expected that his curricular reform would make the future pastors and teachers perform their vocational duties with better knowledge of the Bible and better practical means than before. He must have been satisfied with the changes that he brought to Wittenberg and Leipzig. Through his direct reform and crucial support, the curriculum of the two neighboring universities was thoroughly transformed. The Bible and the *studia humanitatis* rose to the throne which had long been held by scholastic commentaries and speculative logic. But his reformatory career was not limited to the Saxon universities. With same enthusiasm and energy he reformed his two almae matres, the Universities of Tübingen and Heidelberg.
NOTES

1. For a general survey of the reform of the German universities from 1520 to 1600, see Friedrich Paulsen, Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten (Leipzig, 1896), vol. 1, p. 209-248.


3. For early humanism at Wittenberg before Luther's arrival there, see Maria Grossmann, Humanism in Wittenberg 1485-1517 (Nieuwkoop, 1975), p. 42-75.


5. UBUW, vol. 1, p. 20: "vias scholasticorum doctorum absque differentia erigimus."


10. Ibid., 153, no. 63: "mitto his schedulam.... Quanquam si ita posset institui studium, Deum immortalem, quanta esset haec gloria nostri et Principis et studii, ac vera occasio omnium universitatum reformandarum..."

11. Ibid., no. 64, p. 155: "studium nostrum ea proficit, ut
futurum esse propediem expectemus, nos habere lectiones utriusque, imo triplicis linguae, Plinii, mathematicarum, Quintiliani, et nonnullas alias optimas, reiectis ineptis illis Petei Hispani, Tartareti, Aristotelis lectionibus."


15. Hartfelder, p. 509. Melanchthon even enumerated the names of the professors proper for the ten courses; see Ibid., p. 509-510.

16. Ibid., p. 510-511.

17. UBUW, vol. 1, no. 131, p. 128-129.

18. Contrary to its gradual elevation during the 1510s, the number of Wittenberg students rapidly declined in the mid-1520s; 579 students in 1520; 245 in 1521; 285 in 1522; 198 in 1523; 170 in 1524; 201 in 1525; 76 in 1526; and 73 in 1527. From the founding of the university until to the end of the sixteenth century, the number of its students never went below one hundred except those two years of 1526 and 1527. See Paulsen, op. cit., vol. 2, appendix II, p. 692-693.


(Göttingen, 1990), p. 149-163.


22. Schwiebert, Luther and His Times, op. cit., p. 300.

23. UBUW, vol. 1, p. 154: "Ut in ecclesiis totius ditionis nostrae et in puerilibus scholis, ita in academia, penes quam semper debet esse praecipua gubernatio et censura doctrinae, volumus puram evangelii doctrinam, consentaneam confessioni, quam Augustae anno 1530 imperatori Carolo exhibuimus, quam doctrinam certo statuimus esse verum et perpetum consensum catholicae ecclesiae dei, pie et fideliter proponi, conservari et propagari."

24. Ibid.: "Severissime etiam prohibemus, spargi ac defendi haereses veteres damnatas in synodis Nicena, Constantino-politana, Ephesina et Chalcedonensi...."

25. Ibid.: "Sint praelectores certi et perpetui quatuor, qui sint subjecti rectori academiae... et habeant testimonium publicum gradus doctoratus vel ab hac academia vel ab alia collatum."

26. Ibid., p. 154-155: "Siquis autem in alia academia fuerit ornatus gradu doctoratus, non recipiatur in hoc collegium nisi prius explorata sit ejus eruditio et sententia in publica disputatione." The disputation eliminated in 1523 was reestablished by these statutes of 1533. For disputations and declamations at Wittenberg, see Hartfelder, op. cit., p. 449-454.

27. Ibid., p. 155: "Semper enarretur ab uno ex his liber aliquis Veteris Testamenti, ab altero vero liber aliquis Novi Testamenti."

28. Ibid.: "Ac saepissime repetantur enarratio epistolae Pauli ad Romanos, evangelii Johannis, psalmorum, genesis, Esaiae. nam hi libri maxime erudire studiosos de praecipuis locis doctrinae christianae possunt."

29. Ibid.: "interdum etiam unus ex professoribus enarret librum Augustini de spiritu et litera."

30. Ibid.: "Et in enarrationibus simplex veritas candide et recte... explicetur."

31. Ibid., p. 156.

32. Ibid.: "Nemo admissatur ad gradum doctoratus nisi sexennio
audierit enarrationes scripturae propheticae et apostolicae a doctoribus ordinariis."


34. Hartfelder, op. cit., note 4, p. 436-437: "Daß wir diese Urkunde des sächsischen Kurfürsten als authentisches Dokument der Ansichten Melanchthons auffassen dürfen, ergibt sich unter anderem auch daraus, daß Melanchthon neben Luther der einzige in der Urkunde gennante Lehrer der Universität ist."


37. Stempel himself might have found the inadequacy of his assumption, if had compared the Fundationsurkunde to the 1545 statutes, which he regarded as "die zuverlässigste Quelle für die Beurteilung von Melanchthons Verdiensten um die Hochschulorganisation." Stempel, op. cit., p. 137.

38. *UBUW*, vol. 1, p. 177: "die facultet der artisten der ursprung und stam ist und den euifeuig gibt zu alien obgemelten faculteten und kunsten, denen auch der grösser hauf der studenten anhangt und volgt...."

39. *Ibid.*: "so wollen und ordenen wir, das wochentlich vier tag, als monntags, dinstags, dornstags und freitags, und ides tags ein stunde, nachbestimpte lectiones mit vleis und ungesumt gelesen und gehalten sollen werden, nemlich: aine in hebraischer und die andere in krigischer sprachen, die dritte in poetica, die virde in Therencio und gramatica, wie bis anher. auch sollen zur lection teglich gelesen werden durch zwene legenten in matematica. so sollen zwene lectores sein: der aine sol teglich lesen in dialectica, der ander in retorica.... uber das solln auch dieselben zwene wochentlich declamacion halten. die neunde lection soil teglich sein in phisica, die zehende in morali philosophie, zum eilften soil umb der jugent willen nach ain geschickter magister vorordent werden das pedagogium zu halten."

40. *CR*, vol. 3, p. 190: "Illud constat puritatem latini sermonis sine styli exercitio non posse conservari."
41. UBUW, vol. 1, p. 178: "die rhetores, der grecus lector und lector Therencii sollen vorpflcht sein die declamationes zu bestellen und nach ainander sol einer im jar aninal declamiren."

42. Ibid., p. 177: "Und sollen in dieser facultet der artisten ausserhalben derer, so in hebraischer und greckischer sprachen lesen, welchem iden hundert gulden volgen sollen, ainem jeden lectori von vorbestimpten lection achtzig gulden zu solde... aber der zu dem pedagogio vorordonnt soll jerlich virzig gulden haben."

43. Ibid., p. 174.: "...in der hailigen schrift und theologia drei legenten, in derselben facultet promovierte doctores, sein sollen."

44. Ibid.: "der erste sol in Neuen Testament nach einander lesen die epistel sancti Pauli zu den Romern, die epistel zu den Galatern und das ewangeliun Johannis Ewangeliste. der andere soll lesen Genesim, Psalterium, Esaiam und je zu zeiten Augustinum de spiritu et littera, dem rechten vorstand de gracia in Paulo zu erhalten."

45. Ibid.: "...sollen die ersten zwene wochentlich vir tag, als auf den montag, dinstag, dornstag and freitag, und ides tags ein stund zu lesen schuldig sein."

46. Ibid., p. 174-175: "der dritte soll in der wochen zwene tag, als auf den montag und dornstag, nach ainander alle andere episteln samt Paulus, auch die episteln Petri und Johannes zu lesen und wochentlich zwir in unser schloskirchen, als einmal auf den sonntag und das andere malh auf die mitwoch, zu predigen vorpflcht sein."

47. Ibid., p. 175: "neben denen sol ain pfarner zu Wittenberg, der ain doctor oder zum wenigsten ein licentiat der hailigen geschrit sein sol, wochentlich auch zwir, als dinstags und dornstags, den ewangelisten Matheum, auch Deutronomium und jhe zu zeiten ainen kleinen propheten lesen."


49. CR, 1010-1011; UBUW, p. 267-268.

50. CR, 994; UBUW, p. 257: "et magistri, qui grammaticen, dialecticen aut rhetoricon tradunt, item qui lationis aut graecos scriptores interpretantur, mandent auditoribus, ut scribant et recitent declamationes."

51. CR, 1010; UBUW, p. 267: "Nonus lector ebraicae linguae, qui grammaticen ebraicam subinde repeat et adjungat hos libros Veteris Testamenti: genesin, psalmos, proverbia Salomonis,
Esaiam, Jonam, Danielelem."

52. *Ibid.*: "Decimus lector graecae linguæ, qui subinde repetat grammaticen graecam et hos scriptores: Homerum, Hesiodum, Euripidem, Sophoclem, Theocritum, aliquas Demosthenis orationes, aliquem ex graecis historicis. interdum vero miscet aliquam Pauli epistolam, in qua recte et dextre ostendat vim verborum et seriem membrorum orationis, ut videant adolescentes ad intelligendum sermonem apostolorum prodesse linguæ et artium cognitionem."

53. *CR*, 1011; *UBUW*, p. 268: "Cum hic philosophicus coetus etiam pars esse debeat ecclesiae dei, volumus omnes, qui recipiuntur in hoc collegium, amplecti puram evangelii doctrinam, quam ecclesia nostra uno spiritu et uno voce... profitetur."

54. *Ibid.*: "...non corrumpant doctrinam evangelii nec aut curiositate aut petulantia serant aut probent aut defendant prophanas opiniones contumeliosas adversus deum."

55. *CR*, 1012; *UBUW*, p. 269: "... hunc decanus rectori academiae indicet et rector re inquisita punire curet."

56. *CR*, 1018; *UBUW*, p. 273: "Privatim vero diebus festis post publicas conciones domestici praeeptores catechisin doctrinae christianae recitare discipulos cogant et interrogent eos ordine de articulis fidei et doctrinae locis praecipuis, quod sit discrimen legis et evangelii."

57. *CR*, 1002-1003; *UBUW*, p. 262: "Praecipua autem cura sit hujus collegii docere et tueri puram evangelii doctrinam traditam in libris propheticis et apostolicis.... hoc autem genus doctrinae verum et immotum... doceri et defendi volumus, quod et ecclesiae nostrae in confessione exhibita imperatori Augusto Carlo V in conventu Augustano anno M. D. XXX. complexae sunt. quare severissime prohibemus spargi et defendi uosas opiniones pugnantes cum illo consensu et confessione nostrarum ecclesiarum Augustae exhibita."

58. *CR*, 1003; *UBUW*, p. 262-263: "Cum praecipue hi doctores et custodes propheticorum et apostolicorum voluminum et interpretus esse debeant, semper a duobus aliqui libri Novi Testamenti et ab aliis duobus aliqui libri Veteris Testamenti enarrentur. ac saepissime repetatur enarratio epistolae Pauli ad Romanos, evangelii Joannis, psalmorum, genesis, Esaiam; nam in his libris praecipui articuli doctrinae ecclesiasticae proponuntur."

59. *CR*, 1007; *UBUW*, p. 264: "Semper etiam aliqui doctores in hoc collegio et in hoc numero quatuor lectorum ad latinam linguam adjungant ebraicae et graecae linguae studia, ut
adjuvare alios et totam ecclesiam possint in retinenda et explicanda proprietate et phrasi sermonis ecclesiastic et, quantum fieri potest, ostendere quid in fontibus legatur et quae sit in fontibus vera et geniuna verborum significatio."  

60. Ibid.: "Dedit enim Deus donum linguarum Ecclesiae propter ministerium Evangelii."  

61. CR, p. 1004; UBUW, p. 263: "Nec ludant Professores ambiguis involucris, nec collegas vel criminentur, vel sugillent in ullis publicis praelectionibus aut disputationibus."  


63. See note 10 above.  

64. For the rise of humanism at the University of Leipzig in the pre-Reformation period, see Gustav Bauch, Geschichte des Leipziger Frühhumanismus (Leipzig, 1899); Herbert Helbig, Die Reformation der Universität Leipzig im 16. Jahrhundert (Gütersloh, 1953), p. 7-28.  

65. "Lehr- und Studentenplan für alle Facultäten, basiert auf Herzog Georgs Reformation," SBUL, no. 8, p. 34-42.  

66. Ibid., p. 39: "Aristotelem ducem selegimus, quem scintia rerum, scriptorum copia, eloquenti facultate et inventionum acumine facimus commendatum. Non illius interpretum somnia aut intricatas quaestiones interpretabimur, cum miserrimi sit ingenii, ut Seneca ait, ex commentariis tantum sapere."  

67. Ibid., p. 39-42 provides a very detailed daily lecture schedule. It started at six o’clock in the morning with the lecture on Aristotle’s Metaphysics and ended at four with the lecture on Virgil, Theocritus, and Herodotus. Two hours, each from seven to eight and from twelve to one were assigned for meals.  

68. Ibid., p. 40.  

69. See the eight a.m. schedule in Ibid.  

70. Helbig, op. cit., p. 32.  

71. SBUL, p. 36: "Ne hanc ignoremus, illustressimus dux Georgius effect et ordinavit, ut in veteri et novo testamento, item autoribus ecclesiasticis ac scholasticis ordine subscripto singulis annis legeretura, primum Hora VII

72. Some humanistic progress took place in the arts faculty during the 1520s and 1530s. The Summulae Logicales was expelled in 1524; see James Overfield, Humanism and Scholasticism in Late Medieval Germany (Princeton, 1984), p. 307. Also lectures on Greek seem to have been intermittently offered since the early 1520s. The first lecturer on Greek was Peter Mosellanus, an expert in classical studies, who taught it until 1524; see Helbig, op. cit., p. 32-34. But the extant university records for the period do not include Greek in the official curriculum.


74. Ibid., 712-713: "...alle Oberkeit vor Gott schuldig die unrechte Lahr und falsche Gottesdienst weg zu thun und zu verbieten. Dieweil denn die Mönche und Sophisten in der Universität zu Leipzig noch ihre Lästerungen treiben und nicht nachlassen wollen... so ist in all weg vonnöthen, denselben Mönchen alles Predigen, Disputiren, Lesen, Sacrament reichen, und alle ihre Ceremonien zu verbieten.... Denn dieses ist ganz öffentlich, daß die christliche Potestat nicht schuldig sind, die Lästerer zu schützen und zu ernähren. Ja sie sind schuldig zu verhüten, daß nicht andere verführt und vergiftet werden. Item, sind weiter schuldig, solche mit Ernst zu strafen."

75. Ibid., 713: "Dagegen aber ist hoch vonnöthen, christliche Lahr zugleich in der Schul und Kirchen anzurichten. Und dazu dienet vornehmlich der Licentiat Amsdorff, der als ein gelahrter, erfahrer und verständiger Mann, zugleich in der Schul lesen und disputiren, und die Kirchen regieren könnte."

76. Ibid.: "Die andre Person wäre Doctor Hess zu Breslaw, der auch lesen, disputiren und predigen ko'nnte.... Die dritte Person der Zieglerus, hebraisch und in Theologia zu lesen."

77. Ibid.: "Also wären zum Anfang drei Legenten genug."

78. Ibid., 714: "Nun wollen die Reichen nicht Pfarrer und Prediger werden, schämen sich leider dieses hohen Gottesdienst. Darum muß man den Armen Stipendia zur Theologia machen..."
79. Ibid.


81. Ibid., 1134: "In Theologia Lectoribus tribus opus est, ac nunc habent Ziglerium et Schubelium: et in his initis placet mihi alterum Theologum sustinere munus docendi linguam Ebraeam, qua certe opus est ad intelligendum sermonem in scriptis Propheticos."

82. Ibid., p. 1134-1135.

83. Ibid., p. 1136: "Talem iudico esse Ioachimum Camerarium, qui Tubingae docet, qui propter eruditionem magno usui esset futurus scholae, et mores eius sunt modestissimi, et natura abhorrens a factionibus et discordiis."

84. Ibid.: "Iudico etiam Micyllum ac Sturmium idoneos esse. Opus est etiam vobis Mathematico Professore, de quo in consilium adhibendus erit Bornerus."


89. "Die von Herzog Moritz Bestatigten Statuten." The general regulations are printed in SBUL, p. 76-96; those for the theological faculty, p. 568-577.

90. For example, compare the second paragraph in UBUL, vol. 1, p. 155 with the fourth paragraph in SBUL, p 569: "Semper enarretur ab uno ex his liber aliquid Veteris Testamenti, ab altero vero liber aliquid Novi Testamenti, ac saepissime repetantur enarratio epistolae Pauli ad Romanos, evangelli
Johannis, psalmorum, genesis, Esaiae. Nam hi libri maxime erudire studiosos de praecipuis locis doctrinae christiane possunt."

91. Ibid., p. 571: "Nemo admittatur ad gradum doctoratus, nisi quinquennio audierit enarrationes scripturae propheticae et apostolicae a doctoribus"; cf. UBUW, vol. 1, p. 156.

92. Paulsen, op. cit., p. 233. The 1558 statutes are printed in SBUL, p. 517-544.

93. SBUL, p. 521-522: "Horae autem ita distribuentur hoc modo: mane VI hora physicae, VIII dialecticae, IX mathematicae; post meridiem XII poeticae, I rhetoricae, II elementorum mathematicorum, III interpretationis autorum utriusque linguae, IIII Aristotelicae explicationis et grammaticae graecae et latinae."

94. Ibid., p. 534.

95. Ibid., p. 533-534: "Primo semestri frequentaretur doctrina publica grammaticae graecae et latinae, dialecticae et poeticae, secundo semestri rursum grammaticae utriusque, dialecticae et simul rhetoricae praecupta, terto rursum poeticae et rhetoricae, et praeterea physicae et mathematicum elementa audirentur."


97. Ibid.: "Doctrina de causis et natura, quae est physicae, habebit peculiarem et ipsa professorem, tam elementorum secundum Philippi Melanchthonis demonstrationem"; "Dialecticae elementa similiter tradet unus pueris secundum libellum Philippi Melanchthonis."
In his survey of the history of the University of Tübingen from the late medieval to the Reformation period, Heiko Oberman argued that humanists and humanistic disciplines at the university obtained at best a peripheral status. Scholasticism that rested upon the time-honored traditions never allowed any structural changes in the study program. For the masters of arts the humanistic movement meant a direct challenge to their well-established jurisdiction over the basic subjects; it also proved to be a considerable threat to the scholastic theologians whose intellectual basis was closely connected with metaphysical philosophy and speculative logic. Although the humanistic current at Tübingen managed sometimes to achieve partial realization of its goal, Oberman stated, in the long run it failed to create any meaningful change in the general framework of academic life. He summarized his argument: "At the outset and for a long time to follow we can detect no rebirth of the 'humanoria,' the classical languages or the 'finer arts.' It is rather a coalition between late medieval devotion and scholastic investigation in the service of territorial unity that greets
us as we survey the Tübingen university landscape.\textsuperscript{1} When applied to the pre-Reformation years of the university, Oberman's argument is true. As observed in Chapter 2, the curriculum of Tübingen was filled with scholastic studies. Aristotle's logic and the \textit{Summulae Logicales} were the first and foremost subjects that the students were required to learn for their degrees. Study of Latin was synonymous with speculative grammar founded upon the authority of the \textit{Doctrinale} of Alexander. Rhetoric, Greek, Hebrew, and other humanistic disciplines were ignored. Melanchthon's gloomy recollection that it was regarded as a "capital mistake" to pursue the \textit{studia humanitatis}, bears witness to the vulnerable position of early humanism at Tübingen.\textsuperscript{2} But Oberman's view falls into abeyance when one sees what happened in the 1520s, and developments the 1530s completely contradict his conclusion. For Tübingen, the 1520s were a transitional period in which humanism made progress and coexisted with scholasticism in the arts curriculum on an equal footing. In the next decade the temporary equilibrium turned into a landslide for humanism. Here again, the Lutheran Reformation and Melanchthon, the chief agent of its educational policy, played an unsurpassed role. The curriculum of the university underwent a fundamental transformation; the \textit{studia humanitatis} and Biblical studies gained an overwhelming superiority and became a new dynamic of the academic center of Württemberg.
The first noteworthy sign of the change came after the end of the political unrest and social instability which Württemberg underwent during the late 1510s. In that period Duke Ulrich, the patron of the university, quarreled with the Swabian League. After his defeat in a bitter war, he was ousted from his territories in 1519, and they were put under the guardianship of Ferdinand, the brother of the newly-elected Emperor Charles V. The new government earnestly took care of its new academic inheritance with diverse measures. In the year of 1521, new chairs of Greek and Hebrew were established. Although Greek had been long taught at Tübingen, it did not belong to the regular curriculum; only some students with sufficient financial means or extraordinary intellectual curiosity learned it from private lecturers at the bursa. Hebrew had been entirely neglected. In 1512, Mattäus Adrian, a converted Spanish Jew, was invited to Tübingen as a private lecturer on Hebrew. But his tenuous status and unstable personality made him leave the university the next January. No successor was appointed for almost nine years. Thereupon the decision of the new government proved to be good tidings to those who yearned for an opportunity to study the classics and the Bible in original languages. The renowned Johannes Reuchlin, who was then teaching at Ingolstadt, was appointed as the professor on both languages. Although he died the next summer, he was immediately succeeded by Robert Wakefield from England, and thenceforth Greek and
Hebrew were taught at Tübingen without interruption until the early 1560s.\(^5\)

The scholarly reputation of Reuchlin brought about an abrupt upsurge of enrollments at Tübingen. In 1522 the number of students reached the second highest point in the first half of the sixteenth century. But matriculations rapidly declined along with his death in 1522.\(^4\) Alarmed by this crisis of the university, the government carried out a reform of its curriculum and administration in 1525.\(^7\) Ferdinand entrusted the task to a committee of five men: the university chancellor Ambrose Wildmann; Martin Plantsch, a professor of theology; Paul Ricci, the prince's personal physician; Jacob Spiegel, the former student of Wimpfeling and now an imperial adviser; and Jacob Fauth.\(^8\) It is probably the humanist Spiegel who was mainly responsible for the content of the reform statutes; he had much experience in organizing university curricula.\(^9\)

The preamble of the statutes evinced the purpose of the reform. It was prompted by the undesirable situation in which "fragile and wavering subtlety took the place of solid and sound teaching of truth and the intricate philosophies usurped the place of the heavenly mysteries of eloquence."\(^10\) The regulations of the arts faculty prescribed some innovation in favor of humanism. Grammar was given a special emphasis. The students in the pedagogium could not proceed to hear the public lectures, unless they achieved sufficient knowledge of Latin.\(^11\) Although the statutes did not specify the grammar
texts, it seems that they were not the works of the speculative grammarians; according to a visitation report of 1531, the new students learned Latin with new humanistic grammar textbooks.\textsuperscript{12} For Aristotelian logic and physics, the professors were to use the paraphrases of Jacob Faber Stapulensis (Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples), the famous Parisian humanist.\textsuperscript{13} But the statutes show the tenacity of traditionalism. It was prescribed that the professors on Aristotle could also use the works of such scholastic luminaries as Averroes, Avicenna, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Scotus, and Ocham.\textsuperscript{14} In the \textit{bursae}, the texts recommended for the lectures on logic were Lefèvre's \textit{Parva Logicalia} and the \textit{Summulae Logicales}, but "if the students despise these books," the instructor could replace them with works of Rudolph Agricola or Trapezuntius.\textsuperscript{15} This provision was actually observed. A visitation report of August 16, 1531 indicates that while the \textit{Summulae Logicales} was used in the \textit{bursa} of the \textit{via antiqua}, the students in the \textit{bursa} of the \textit{via moderna} learned Agricola's \textit{De Inventione Dialectica}.\textsuperscript{16}

In short, during the 1520s the arts faculty of Tübingen opened its door to humanism. Aristotle was taught either with new humanist texts or with old scholastic works. Agricola had an equal status with Peter of Spain. Lectures on Greek and Hebrew were regularly offered. Students studied Latin grammar for literary understanding of the text. To be sure, the prestige of scholasticism was still retained. But it was not
the sole ruler of the arts curriculum any more.

Whereas the arts curriculum underwent a gradual transformation, that of the theological faculty remained virtually the same as before. Traditionalism was well enshrined in the 1525 statutes. The faculty consisted of four professors, who had at least the degree of the Licentiatus or an academic standing equal to it.\textsuperscript{17} All of them had to teach both the Bible and the \textit{Sentences}. The first professor was to cover the Pentateuch, all the Epistles of Paul except for the Hebrews, and a book of the \textit{Sentences}; the second, the Gospels of Matthew and John, the Psalms, Job, and also a book of the \textit{Sentences}; the third, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, the Gospels of Mark and Luke, the Acts, canonical epistles, and likewise a book of the \textit{Sentences}; the fourth, Ezekiel, the Minor Prophets, the Sapiential Books, the Hebrews, and again a book of the \textit{Sentences}.\textsuperscript{18} To put it simply, the theological faculty showed little enthusiasm for innovation; it clung to the long-familiar curriculum by preserving the authority of Peter of Lombard. Tübingen was no exception to the rule that at the German universities scholastic commentaries remained the kernel of theological studies until the adoption of Protestantism by their patrons.

The year 1534 inaugurated a new era in the history of the university. In May of that year Duke Ulrich returned to his land after he had won a decisive victory at Lauffen with the military support of his cousin Landgrave Philip of Hesse. The
recovery of his land was followed by his conversion to Protestantism. The duke immediately set in motion the reformation of his territories and university. Within three years the curriculum of Tübingen was thoroughly reformed under the influence of Melanchthon.

The history of the reform of Tübingen after Ulrich's conversion was intertwined with the complexities of Württemberg's religio-political interests. From the outset, the reform of Württemberg was carried out under the auspices of three Protestant pillars: the Lutherans, the Reformed church of Swiss inclining to Zwingli, and the south German cities, especially Strasbourg. The converging support from these Protestant sectors greatly helped Ulrich to expel the strong Catholic party from his land. But at the same time the theological division among these allies rendered it hard for him to introduce a uniform reform in his land. The duke took a practical solution by entrusting the reform of northern part of Württemberg to the Lutheran theologian Erhard Schnepff and its southern half, including the university, to Ambrosius Blarer and Simon Grynaeus who had intimate ties with both Strasbourg and Zurich.

While Blarer and Grynaeus took initial steps to reorganize the university, Duke Ulrich requested Melanchthon to reform and to teach at his alma mater. In spite of the several invitations, Elector John Frederick did not permit Melanchthon to leave Wittenberg. Unsuccessful in drawing
Melanchthon, Duke Ulrich issued a reform ordinance in January 1535, which was prepared by Blarer and Grynaeus. This new order, however, was not well observed because of the strong opposition of the professors of the theological faculty and the tension between the Lutheran and Reformed factions. After the refusal of the recurring urgent invitations, Melanchthon finally accepted the duke’s request. As soon as he arrived at Tübingen in September 1536, he discussed with the duke the problems of the university, of which he had already been well informed through Camerarius who had been hired in 1535 as professor of Greek, and provided a guideline for a comprehensive reorganization. Upon Melanchthon’s advice, the duke promulgated a new reform ordinance on 3 November 1536.

The statutes are divided into twelve sections, which deal with diverse administrative and curricular regulations. The first section stipulates the composition of each faculty. "At least three professors" were to constitute the theological faculty; seven for law; two for medicine; and ten for the arts. The arts professors were assigned respectively to dialectic, rhetoric, physics, ethics, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, mathematics, Aristotle (subjects were not specified), and elementary arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy together. Rhetoric and dialectic were the main subjects required for the bachelor’s degree; ethics and physics for the master’s degree. But all the students at both levels also had to
attend lectures on the three languages.  Latin grammar was to be taught for an hour on the basis of the "distinguished books, especially of the poets." The purpose of the lecture on Greek, although not clarified, must be to acquaint the students with Aristotle's works in the original language. The inclusion of Hebrew in the required subjects derived from theological concerns; it was "highly necessary to all those who intend to study profitably the Holy Scriptures." The professor of Hebrew should not only be well versed in theology, but also have a theological degree or be in the process of attaining such a degree, "since this language is particularly serviceable to the theological profession." The professors of Latin, Greek, and rhetoric ought to lead declamations several times a week.

Learning the humanistic disciplines was not the only task of the students of the arts faculty. They were also to receive theological education. It was stipulated that the arts faculty had to establish a lecture on the New Testament "in order to raise the youth in correct understanding of the Christian truth," a provision unprecedented in the history of the University of Tübingen. A similar regulation was applied to the pedagogium. In addition to Latin grammar, Terence, Virgil, Cicero, and music, the beginning students were to learn the catechism for "right and pure Christian mind and discipline." This emphasis on theological education in the arts faculty corresponds well to Melanchthon's consistent
conviction that the ultimate purpose of university study was to teach and cultivate true doctrine.

The statutes of the theological faculty do not contain concrete information on the individual subjects to be taught by the three professors. But there is no doubt that the Bible was the core of the theological studies. The first ducal ordinance issued in 1535 provides a clue. According to it, the faculty had two professors, one for the New Testament and the other for the Old Testament. Now the faculty was increased to three, all of whom should have two daily lectures, one each in the morning and in the afternoon. The philological approach to the Bible was stressed. The professors were urged to resort to Greek and Hebrew whenever possible in their lectures on the New and Old Testaments to give the students "true understanding." Melanchthon's confidence in the loci method was also reflected; the professor of the New Testament was bound to "handle and clarify once in every one or two years the entire sum of Christian teaching and all articles of faith in orderly manner." Lombard's Sentences and other medieval sources were completely abandoned.

It is now clear that by the late 1530s humanism became the foundation of the arts and theological faculties at Tübingen. Although Aristotle's logic and natural philosophy still remained in the curriculum, the professors on those subjects were to use new humanist translations or original
texts. The *Summulae Logicales* was eliminated. Study of Latin was no more based on speculative grammar. Ancient authors and rhetoric received considerable recognition. Scholastic commentaries were entirely abandoned, and the professors were to teach the Bible by having recourse to the *loci* method. Above all, Greek and Hebrew made immense progress. Having been taught privately in the early years of the university and then entered into the regular curriculum in 1525, these languages were required since 1536 for all arts students and at the same time took a central position in the theological faculty as an indispensable instrument for sacred study. Melanchthon made humanism the determining force in the curriculum of his alma mater. Therefore, Oberman's argument that during the Reformation period humanism at Tübingen was nothing but an ornament of scholasticism needs to be seriously amended.

A similar pattern of curricular change can be observed for the University of Heidelberg (f. 1385), the second oldest of the German universities. It was an institution where humanism had received little recognition for a long time. Until the late 1510s the study program of the arts faculty remained virtually the same as that prescribed by the original statutes, in which only the names of Aristotle, Peter of Spain, and Alexander of Villedieu appeared. Strong conservatism from the intransigent university senate and chronic governmental indifference obstructed the penetration
of humanism into the university. In 1541 Melanchthon recollected his experience at Heidelberg where he received his bachelor's degree in 1511: "nothing was publicly taught there to the youth other than that of garrulous dialectic and parts of physics." In September 1513 the arts faculty petitioned the university to employ a professor "who would teach more polite letters regularly and officially, as that gives fame and advantage to other universities." But the senate evinced no enthusiasm. For seven decades after humanism first appeared in German universities around 1450, Heidelberg was the only institution where not a single regular lecture on the studia humanitatis was offered. However, it was also destined to undergo a transformation. As the case of the University of Tübingen, humanism germinated at Heidelberg in the 1520s and then came into full bloom when the Palatinate converted to Lutheranism. Melanchthon again played a decisive role.

In the early 1520s the professors of the arts faculty resumed their efforts to introduce humanistic disciplines into the curriculum. The decline of enrollment and the further progress of humanism at other universities provided the incentive. Prompted by the university's "impending downfall and the prosperity of other universities," especially the recent employment of Reuchlin at Tübingen as the professor on Greek and Hebrew, the arts faculty entreated the university senate on August 13, 1521 to hire Erasmus in order that "the old luster of the studies here would be built again; the
suggested step was to send a letter from Elector Ludwig V (r. 1508-1544) to Emperor Charles V.\textsuperscript{43} Having failed to get a positive response from the senate, the arts professors asked four months later the elector to appoint Johannes Böschenstein of Esslingen, who was recommended by Reuchlin and Oecolampadius, to the professorship of Hebrew.\textsuperscript{44} This petition was partly approved; Böschenstein made a contract of a temporary employment until next June.\textsuperscript{45} The effort of the arts faculty continued. In September 1522 it managed to bring Oecolampadius to Heidelberg with the expectation that he would be given the chair for Greek; however, the plan was not realized when he left Heidelberg after he spent several days waiting for return of the electoral chancellor, Florentius of Venningen, who was then perhaps traveling.\textsuperscript{46}

Although the continuous endeavor of the arts faculty brought about no direct outcome, it finally succeeded in convincing Ludwig V of the necessity to reform the university. In late 1522 the elector entrusted the task to Venningen.\textsuperscript{47} The chancellor, in turn, called for advice from three Heidelberg alumni, Jacob Wimpfeling, Jacob Sturm of Strasbourg\textsuperscript{48}, and Jacob Spiegel. But he did not consult the university senate at all, thereby inviting its opposition to the planned reform.\textsuperscript{49} That the three reform committee members were all outsiders provoked the senate which considered it, as indeed it was, an outright offense against the corporate independence of the university. Its resentment forced the
committee to renounce much of the planned renovations. At any rate, the elector promulgated a reform ordinance on December 22, 1522.

Unfortunately, the statutes were lost in the seventeenth century. But it is possible to trace some changes produced by the reform. Among other things, the long aspiration of the arts faculty to establish regular lectureships on Greek and Hebrew was fulfilled. In 1524 Simon Grynaeus, who was later to play a significant role in the reform of Tübingen, was employed as the first professor of Greek, and Sebastian Münster for Hebrew, which had not been taught since Böschenstein resigned in August 1522. Thenceforth the two languages were taught continuously as an integral part of the arts curriculum.

No information is available about the program of study in theology. But it is not unlikely that the traditional curriculum was carried on. Three weeks before the promulgation of the new ordinance, Pope Adrian VI expressed his opinion on the university. He praised Heidelberg for its opposition to Luther's teaching from the beginning of the Reformation and then urged it to keep on confronting the spread of the foreign doctrines. Furthermore, in view of the fact that Ludwig V was a staunch Catholic, it is quite improbable that the theological faculty of Heidelberg adopted a curriculum similar to that of the Lutheran universities.

The remaining period of Ludwig's rule witnessed no
curricular renovation. But the reform movement resumed when his brother Frederick II (r. 1544-1556) became the new ruler of the Palatinate. He took a series of steps to improve the administration and organization of the university. The two bursae of the via antiqua and via moderna, which had long split and disrupted the university, were drawn together in 1546 into a single unit called contubernium. In the same year a three-class pedagogium was established, which became an independent institution in 1556. Also a minor seminary (collegium sapientiae) was founded in 1555 in the Augustinian monastery for the arts faculty, which was later used for the training of beginning students of the theological faculty. However, the reform wave during Frederick's rule did not go so far as to change the formal study program. The three higher faculties vigorously opposed any attempt to reorganize their curriculum. Only a provisional revision of the arts curriculum occurred in 1551.

The new ordinance of 1551, drafted by Jacob Micyllus who had been appointed in 1532 to the professorship on Greek by Melanchthon's recommendation, provides only fragmentary information on the operation of the arts faculty. Nevertheless it shows further advance of humanism at Heidelberg. The candidates for the bachelor's degree (at least 15 years old) were required to have "sufficient knowledge in grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric and practice in Latin and Greek languages." Those for the master's degree
(at least 18 years old) should have "intimate acquaintance" with Latin and Greek authors and adequate knowledge in physics and ethics. Although the other subjects and teaching methods are indiscernible, the regulations regarding the degree requirements apparently indicate the exalted status of the **studia humanitatis** in the arts study program.

A comprehensive reform of the university took place seven years later. After ascending to the electoral throne in February 1556, Otto Heinrich, Frederick's nephew, immediately introduced the Reformation into his land. On April 4 he issued the evangelical church order for the Palatinate. The next step was to reform the university. The elector thought that the best person for this task was Melanchthon, who was not only a native of the Palatinate but also an alumnus of the university. Just as Duke Ulrich of Württemberg did for the reform of the University of Tübingen, Heinrich attempted to obtain Melanchthon through diverse channels. Melanchthon, who became the leader of Wittenberg after Luther's death in 1546, had to refuse the cordial request of the elector. But he finally accepted the invitation when he met the elector at the Imperial Diet of Worms held in August 1557. He arrived at Heidelberg in October 22 and stayed there for ten days, during which he and Micyllus provided their opinion "with handwritten remarks" on the reform draft. A new ordinance was promulgated on December 19, 1558.

The statutes laid a great emphasis on the arts faculty.
It was "the first and most necessary" faculty, since it was the basis of all other faculties. Among the many subjects, the languages received special recognition; they must be taught in the arts faculty, because without them philosophy and even the studies of the other faculties "can not be correctly understood, explained or interpreted." The faculty consisted of five professors, one each on Greek, ethics, physics, mathematics, and poetry and oration. The professor of Greek was to lecture, from 2 to 3 p.m. in summer and from 7 to 8 in the morning in winter, on grammar and "the best authors," such as Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Apollonius, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, Pindar, Aratus, Demosthenes, Plato, Thucydides, Herodotus, Xenophon, and the like. The textbook for the lecture on physics (8-9 a.m. in summer, 9-10 a.m. in winter) was Aristotle's *Physics* or Melanchthon's commentary on *De Anima* or Pliny's work on meteorology. The lecture on ethics (1-2 p.m. all year) was to be based on the works of Aristotle and Cicero. The professor of mathematics (3-4 p.m. all year) had to cover arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. Finally, the professor on poetry and history (7-8 a.m. in summer) had to deal with "the best and the most distinguished poets" and such historians as Livy and Caesar.

In addition to the five "publici professores," there were three or four masters ("regenten") in the *contubernium*. One each was assigned to Latin grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, and
Greek. The master on dialectic was warned to "avoid all unnecessary expressions and explanations," so that the students could preserve their interest in the subject, proceed to the public lectures and exercises with more skill, and learn the given material "in better and shorter time." The master on rhetoric was to focus on the works of Cicero, Melanchthon, Aphthonios, Hermogenes, Erasmus, and Livy. The third master had to cover Latin and Greek alternatively; for the lecture and exercise on Latin grammar, he ought to use a work of Melanchthon, possibly the Grammatica Latina published in 1525. If there was another master "as now," the teaching duty of the third master was to be divided between them; the fourth was assigned to Latin, while the third to Greek. In this case the latter was to cover the works of Aesop, Isocrates, Homer, and Lucian.

The requirements for both degrees consisted of three categories: lectures, disputations and declamations, and a special examination. The candidates for the bachelor's degree were required to attend the public lectures on poetry and Greek and those in the contubernium on rhetoric, dialectic, and grammar. To receive the master's degree, one ought to attend for two years both the public lectures on mathematics, ethics, and physics and the lectures and exercises on the three subjects taught in the contubernium. Public disputations and declamations held on Saturdays were also mandatory at both levels. After finishing these, the
candidates were bound to pass an examination. The examination for the bachelor’s degree was divided into two sections. In the first section, the candidate was tested orally for two hours on his knowledge of Latin, Greek, dialectic, and rhetoric. In the second section, he should respond to a given argument or proposition "in rhetorical manner." The exam for the master’s degree lasted three hours: one each on dialectic and rhetoric, physics and ethics, and mathematics.

The regulations clearly indicate the dominance of the studia humanitatis in the arts curriculum. The students in the bachelor’s program were to be thoroughly grounded in Latin, Greek, rhetoric, poetry, and history. Lectures on dialectic were to be carried out in humanistic method without recourse to "unnecessary expressions and explanations." Even the students of the master’s program could not receive their degree unless they were well versed in rhetoric, Latin, and Greek. Also, humanistic works were adopted for the lectures on physics and ethics. The special test for the bachelor’s degree shows the unequivocal humanistic orientation of the undergraduate program. Although Hebrew was no longer taught in the arts faculty, a lecture on it was offered in the theological faculty. The students were to be immersed in ancient authors. By contrast, almost all the texts that were symbolic of scholasticism disappeared from the curriculum. In short, the 1558 reform fully realized Melanchthon’s ardent wish; it changed the arts faculty from a hotbed of "garrulous
dialectic" to a nest of humanism.

The theological faculty also experienced a fundamental revision. Of the three professors, the first two were assigned to the New and Old Testaments. The duty of the third professor well testified to Melanchthon's trust in the *loci* method; he was to teach "the method of this profession or faculty, that is, what one calls the principal topics or fundamental theology." It was stipulated that "for a better unity," all the professors had to have a doctorate from a "general university" ("allgemeine Universität"), either Heidelberg or somewhere else. They should not teach, spread, and consent any doctrine contradicting the books of the prophets and apostles and the Augsburg Confession.

The statutes described the duty of each professor in more details. The first professor was to lecture on the New Testament and sometimes on "the most distinguished prophets" four times a week - Monday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday - from 8 to 9 a.m. in the summer and from 9 to 10 a.m. in the winter. He should possess sufficient knowledge of Greek for the very reason that the New Testament was written in it. The second professor was required to teach some books of the Old Testament and Hebrew: "Although at this university there has been until now the custom that Hebrew is cultivated in the arts faculty... however, in view of the fact that it is taught and studied mainly for the Bible, for which it is particularly useful and necessary, and, for that reason, at many German
universities it is established in the theological faculty, so we want that this language be established and cultivated in this faculty and that the second professor of the theological faculty henceforth have five lectures a week, that is, two on Hebrew grammar, which he should repeat, and three on the grammar and theology of the Psalms or Genesis or Deuteronomy or Isaiah or the Proverbs of Solomon or the Minor Prophets."®® The third professor was supposed to "explicate and construe the methods or fundamentals, that is, the first and the most common articles and points of theology or Christian teaching"; he was to focus on the theological loci presented in the books of the apostles.®® The statutes strictly warned him to use proper teaching methods and texts: "he should interpret and explain his text and given materials with the best of his ability and knowledge, in no way with unnecessary and useless questions, ambiguous opinions, complicated sophistries, lengthy explanations, and superfluous glossarial troubles; but, as indicated, he should expound and interpret his text earnestly and understandably with appropriate works, where necessary and short summaries are explained..."®®

An additional provision for the theological faculty vividly reflects Melanchthon's overriding concern for preaching and teaching. Both the professors and students were to present Latin sermons in holiday evenings "for more practice and skill."®® The statutes included the Latin sermon in the degree requirements since it was very important for the
future pastors: "each one who is looking for the bachelor's degree should have done at least two Latin sermons, or four, if he does not have the master's degree [in arts], in the holiday evenings or vigils at the behest of the dean, since such are particularly useful and serviceable to the practice and exercise for the future pastoral office."* 

It is now apparent that humanism also penetrated into the theological faculty. Hebrew and Greek became the most basic disciplines that the students of theology had to learn. Direct approach to the Bible was the underlying spirit. One professor was allotted solely to the cultivation of the loci method. Above all, one overriding purpose of the theological faculty was to provide the future ministers with practical skills necessary for preaching and teaching. Taken together, the content and method of theological studies affirmed and implemented what Melanchthon envisioned as the ideal education for the agents of the preservation and dissemination of the Lutheran message. It is not too much to say that the 1558 reform closed the scholastic age at the University of Heidelberg.

The pattern of Melanchthon's reform of the four German universities offers an important insight into the relationship between humanism and the Reformation. Although there was an intrinsic difference between the humanists' pursuit of wisdom and the reformers' commitment to pure doctrine, humanism and
the Reformation exchanged considerable support. Early humanism at Wittenberg provided Luther with a valuable instrument for his Reformation breakthrough. But the humanists there and elsewhere were incapable of realizing their genuine goal; in spite of their aspirations and efforts, the basic structure of the university curriculum remained intact. The theological faculty allowed no challenge against its traditional approach to sacred studies. Although the arts faculty accepted certain segments of the studia humanitatis, the changes were modest, limited, and frequently short-lived. Scholasticism controlled the curriculum, textbooks, and teaching method as a single, unifying philosophy.

The course of humanism in Germany turned into a different direction during the Reformation. As observed earlier, humanism at the four universities made remarkable strides after their patrons received the Reformation. The principle of sola scriptura proposed a new theological study program, with direct Biblical studies and without scholastic commentaries. The emphasis on direct approach to the Scriptures in turn necessitated the cultivation of ancient languages. The transition of the chief ministerial duty from administration of the sacraments to preaching and teaching led to the encouragement of rhetoric, literary grammar, and the loci method. In short, the reformers' drive to the promotion and propagation of pure doctrine remarkably elevated the status of the studia humanitatis in the university curriculum.
The overall result was that humanism, both as content and form, became the mainstream of German academic life. Therefore, it is not an exaggeration that without the Reformation, the institutionalization of humanism in the German universities would have been impossible or at least considerably retarded.

2. See Chapter 2, note 111.


4. Ibid., p. 311.

5. For the lineage of the professors on Greek and Hebrew at Tübingen, see Ibid., p. 311-314.

6. 66 students in 1519; 80 in 1520; 131 in 1521; 159 in 1522; 123 in 1523; 86 in 1524; 52 in 1525. See Friedrich Paulsen, Geschichte des gelehrt Unterrichts auf den deutschen Schulen und Universitäten (Leipzig, 1897), vol. 2, appendix II, p. 692-693.


10. UGUT, p. 141: "Quod quia... pro solida et luculenta ueritatis Doctrina fragiles nutantesque Argutias, pro caelestis eloquii mysteriis perplexa philosophorum."

11. Ibid., p. 147: "ad Philosophiam siue rationalem siue naturalem siue moralem non admittant Auditores nisi sint Grammatici."


14. *Ibid.*: "...interpretaturi et declaraturi eandem Paraphrasim ex veteribus Autoribus.... Ex quibus eligere possunt inter Arabes Auerroym, Philosophiam Auicennae... Albertum Magnum et Thomam, Scotum, Ocham...."

15. *Ibid.*, p. 147-148: "alterum Aquile, alterum Pauonis nomine de caetero appelletur, legant et doceant... parva Logicalia Fabri uel Petri Hispani Textum, aut si hunc quoque fastidiant Auditores, Rudolphum Agricolam uel Trapezuntium." The terms of "Aquile" (eagles) and "Pauonis" (peacocks) denote respectively the bursa of the *via antiqua* and that of the *via moderna*; see the editor's note on p. 147.


17. UGUT, p. 143: "Legentes sint Theologiae Magistri, Licentiatius uel ad Licentiae gradum idoneus."


19. For the background of the reform of Tübingen, see the excellent article by Richard L. Harrison Jr., "Melanchthon’s Role in the Reformation of the University of Tübingen." *Church History,* 47 (1978), p. 270-278; see also Oberman, op. cit., p. 253-255; Haller, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 331-334.

20. The controversy between Luther and Zwingli over the Lord’s Supper, which publicly started in 1525 and reached its zenith in the Marburg Colloquy of 1529, had long alienated Wittenberg from the Reformed Church. The southern German cities in general took a middle stance between the two until the Strasbourg reformers Martin Bucer and Wolfgang Capito finally agreed with Luther in the Wittenberg Concord of May 1536, which left the Reformed Church completely isolated. For a succinct summary of the sacramentarian controversy, see James Kittelson, *Luther the Reformer* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1986), p. 195-201, 265-268.

183

517; Friedrich Paulsen, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 229-231.


25. Ibid., p. 187: "Zum ersten sollen hinfürter zu Tüwingen ordenlich lesen vnd leeren uff der hohen Schull zum wenigsten drey Theologi Sechs Jurisconsulti zwen Medici vffs wenigst, Auch vier Lectiones in artibus gehalten werden, vnd dann aine besundere Aristotelis Auch aine Elementorum Arithmeticae vnd Geometriae vnd Sphaerae, ainer der Mathematicam lese, Ainer authores praecipuous vnd fürnemliche buecher in der Lateinischen, einer dessgleichen in der Griechischen Sprache, Ain Hebraeus." The "vier Lections" must be on dialectic, rhetoric, ethics, and physics; see note 26 below.

26. Ibid., p. 189-190: "In artibus zulesen, für die so Baccalarij zuweden begem, Dialectica vffs verstendigst vnd geschicktest derglichen auch Rethorica... Für die so Magistri wollen werden zulesen Physica vnd Ethica."

27. Ibid., p. 190.

28. Ibid.: "auch ein stund zulesen in der Lateinischen sprach die fürnemlichen Biecher, sonderlich Poetarum."

29. Ibid.: "Item ein Lection in der hebraischen sprach hoch vonnöten allen denen, so in der heiligen schrift fruchtbarch zustudieren fürhaben."

30. Ibid., p. 192: "Aber der Lector hebraicae linguae, dieweil diese sprach zu der theologischen Profession fürnemlich dienet, solle auch zu der Theologia getzogen werden vnd in Theologia ainen gradum haben, oder ia dartzu complirn."

31. Ibid., p. 191: "sollen... zu merern mal die lectores der lateinischen sprach facultati Artium... und fürnemlich mit sampt dem lectori Retorices die Declamation vnd Exercitia Retorica in rechtem gang vnd übung erhalten."

32. Ibid.: "Damit in rechtem verstand der kristenlichen warheit die Jugent vffertzogen, die Studiosos Artium zu einer Lection in Theologia Nemlich Noui Testamenti zuhalten."

33. Ibid., p. 191: "Vnd ime ordnung gegeben, dardurch yederzeit nötige vnd nützliche kinder lere daselbs gefieret vnd die knaben fürnemlich in rechtem reinem cristenen..."
verstand vnd zucht ertzogen, also das die stuck Cristenlichen Catechismi vnd dann Grammatica auch zugehörigen Biechlein Terentij, virgilij, Ciceronis disen knaben vßgelegt, vnd sie in der Musica geübt."

34. *Ibid.*, p. 183-184: "Die Personen in der hailigen schrifft lesend, wollen wir vß vrsachen zu diser Zeit blyben lassen, doch also das zwen Doctores syen der ain das alt Testament... der ander das New lese."


40. *UBUH*, vol. 2, no. 653, p. 70-71: "Artisten fak. legt der univ. die notwendigkeit dar, einen professor anzustellen, der die politiores litteras ordinarie et publice lese, wie das anderen akademien zu ruhm und vortheil gereiche."


42. *UBUH*, p. 77: "Die zahl der immatrikulirten sank seit ende 1523 auf ein minimum" (editor’s remark).

43. *Ibid.*, no. 705, p. 76: "Artistenfak. bittet de univ. unter hinweis auf ihren drohenden verfall und die blüthe anderer universitäten, welche das studium der sprachen fördern - namentlich auf Tübingen, das, wie die einlage bezeuge, den Ioh. Reuchlin als professor der Griechischen und Hebraeischen sprache angestellt habe -, sich vom kurf. einen befürwortenden brief an kaiser Karl zu erwirken, damit dieser des Erasmus von
Rotterdam der Heid. univ. zuschicke und so der alte glanz der hiesigen studien wieder hergestellt werde."


45. Ibid.; see the editor's remark.

46. Ibid., no 716, p. 78: "Artistenfak. lässt dem eben angekommenen Joh. Oecolampadius eine verehrung in wein reichen und ihn bitten, die rückkehr der kurf. kanzlers zu erwarten, da sie hoffe, er werde auf einige monate oder iahre für den lehrstuhl der Griechischen sprache zu gewinnen. Iener lehnt nicht ab, wartet auch einige Tage, reist aber, als die rückkehr des kanzlers sich verzögert, ab und die häupter der univ. lassen dann die sache einschlafen."

47. For the background of the 1522 reform, see Johannes F. Hautz, Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg (Mannheim, 1862), p. 365-372; SRUH, p. ii-iii; James Overfield, op. cit., p. 313-316.

48. James Overfield, op. cit., p. 316, mistakenly confused the Ammeister Jacob Sturm with Johness Sturm, the rector of the Strasbourg Academy; see UBUH, vol. 1, no. 162, p. 214: "Jakob Sturm äussert sich auf wunsch des Pfälzischen kanzlers Florentius von Venningen über die reform des Heidelberger studiums...."


50. SRUH, p. ii.

51. UBUH, vol. 2, no. 720, p. 78.

52. SRUH, p. ii.

53. Hautz, op. cit., p. 372-379 recounts the professors who were in charge of the three languages from 1523 to 1546. Latin: Herman von dem Busche (1523-1526), Simon Grynaeus (1526-1527, dual professorship on Latin and Greek), Sebastian Hügel (1527-1531), Thomas Rhinerus (1531-1546). Greek: Simon Grynaeus (1524-1529), Johann Sinapus (1529-1531), Johannes Werher (1531-1532), Jacob Micyllus (1532-1537), Johann Hartburg (?-1546). Hebrew: Sebastian Münster (1524-1527), Georg von Kettershausen (1529-1531), Valentin Cleymann (1531-1538), Valentin Micramder (1538), Johann Koller (1538-?).
54. *UBUH*, vol. 2, no. 718, p. 78: "Hadrian VI. belobt die univ., dass sie von anfang an die lehre Luthers veraschent habe, und fordert sie auf, der verbreitung derselben entgegenzutreten."

55. For the professors of the theological faculty in the 1520s and 1530s, see Hautz, op. cit., p. 378-379.


57. *UBUH* does not contain the 1551 ordinance. What is printed in Hautz, op. cit., p. 425-426 seems a small portion of it.


60. The new church order was composed by three men: Michael Diller, a court preacher, Heinrich Stoll, a Heidelberg professor of theology, and Johannes Marbach, the President of the Pastors’ Company of Strasbourg; see, Hautz, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 5.

61. Hartfelder, op. cit, p. 527-528.


66. *Ibid.*, p. 96: "die sprachen, ohne welche die philosophi, noch das mehrer und höher theil der obern faculteten nicht recht verstanden, explicitz oder ausgelegt werden können, in obgemelter faculteten furgetragen und gelehr... werden müssen"
und sollen."

67. *Ibid.*: "setzen wir und wollen mit sondern ernst, das hinfurter zu allen zeiten in diser faculteten fünf publici professores seien, als nemlich einer, welcher linguam graecam, wie bis anhero auch gewesen, öffentlich profitir und lehre, der ander aber soll ethicam, der dritt mathematicam und der funft poeticam und oratoriam publice lesen und dociren."


70. *Ibid.*: "Die dritt lectio publica ist ethica, deren professor zu sommers und winters zeiten von ein uhrn biß zu zwein lesen soll und hirin deren autorum sich gebrachen, welche die furnembste seint, als Aristotles ad Nicomachum, Cicero de finibus bonorum et malorum und dergleichen..."

71. *Ibid.*: "Die vierte lection under den funf gemeinen lectionen soll nachmittag von drei uhrn biß uff vier in der artisten schulen öffentlich in mathematicis gehalten werden, und soll diser lector die arithmetic, geometri und astronomi... lesen."

72. *Ibid.*, p. 100: "Der funft professor, dem poesis und historiae insonderheit befohlen, soll seine lection von sieben uhrn vor mittag biß uff acht ieder zeit halten und alletzeit die pesten und furnemisten poeten. Es mag aber diser professor zun zeiten auch ex historia vera, als aus dem Livio etliche bucher und Caesarem fur die hamd nemen..." The preamble on page 96 stated that the fifth professor was to teach, in addition to poetry, oration rather than history; see note 67 above.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 97: "...diese abgemelte drei künste [grammatic, dialectic, rhetoric] doheime in der bursen von derselben regenten hernach geordnet, gelehrt und exercirt sollen werden." For the master on Greek, see notes 76 and 77 below.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 101: "derselbig lector soll... alleB unnötzig dictiren und glossiren underlassen, damit die iugent zum fleiß
und ernst angehalten und demnach zu dem publicis lectionibus und exercitiis dester geschickter und vehiger gemacht, auch die künst und derselben authores oder scribenten bei pesser und kurtzer zeit absolviirt und zu end mögen gebracht werden.

75. Ibid., p. 102: "Und die praecepta ex partitionibus Ciceronis, ex secundo Melanchthonis de figuris et imitatione, ex Aphonio de expositione chriae, gnomes, ethologiae, loci communes etc., ex Hermogene de ergasia epicherematis, de compositione periodorum et de idaeis und ex Erasmo de copia rerum, die exemplar aber ex orationibus Ciceronis und Livii furnemblichen zu zihen..." Both Aphthonios and Hermogenes were ancient rhetoricians; see editor's notes 3-4.

76. Ibid., p. 102: "Die grammatickh... soll exercirt und gelsen werden... mit anforderung der exempel und mitlaufender exercitation der declination und conjugation, wie sie von dem Melanthone verfasst, iederzeit furgegeben und gelert, auch die griechische etymologi, sovil muglich, zu bestimpten tagen mit eingefurt und exercirt oder mit der lateinishcen ein tag umb den andern abgewechß werden." Editor’s note 8 shows that the Latin text was Grammatica Latina.

77. Ibid., p. 102-103: "Im fall aber, das der regenten, wie zu diser zeit, vier gehalten wurden, so soll dise lection getheilt werden und der vierte oder letzte regent die Lateinische grammatic..., der dritt regent aber der griechischen praecepta sampt den fabulis Aesopi insönderheit furlesen und repetiren, zu zeiten auch paraeneses Isocratis, batrachomyomachiam Homeri, dialogos Luciani minores und dergleichen..."

78. Ibid., p. 114: "dieselbigen pro gradu compliren wollen, sollen sie in dem contubernio die drei lectiones grammaticae, dialecticae und rhetoricae, ausserhalb aber, und von den publicis professoribus diser faculteten, den poeten und graecum lectorem..." 

79. Ibid., p. 115: "Dergleichen, so einer nach empfangenem baculariat zu dem magisterio gedecht furter zu schreiten, soll derselbig zwei iar lang innerhalb sein contubernio die drei lectiones der legenten umb mehrer übung willen derselben, ausserhalb aber von dem publicis professoribus über die vorgenante lectiones den philosophum und mathematicum mit fleis und teglichen visitirt und gehört haben."


81. Ibid., p. 118: "...zwo stund lang, die eine in beiden grammaticken, so sie bis anher compliirt haben, die ander in der dialectic und rhetoric..."


84. See note 90 below.


87. *Ibid.*: "quod denique doctrines, a scriptis prophetis et apostolicis sine corrupptelis iuxta consensus ecclesiarum Augustanae confessionis intellectis alienas, neque ipse docere aut sparagere, neque, aliis docentibus, consentire aut easdem provehere tuerique velit."

88. *Ibid.*, p. 41: "Ferner, nachdem diese facultet mit dreien lectoribus, wie obgemelt, bestellt und versehen soll werden, ist derhalben unser meinung und orden, das hinfuro allwegen der primarius professor die erste lection aus dem newen testament, beiweilen aber auß etlichen der funembsten propheten, sommerszeiten deß morgens frue von acht uhren an bis auf neun, deß winterß aber von neun uhren bis auf zehen und durch die wochen vier tage, das ist montags, dienstags, donnerstags und freitags von dem ersten und primario doctore oder ordinario gelesen..."


90. *Ibid.*, p. 41: "wiewol biß daher bei diser universitet der prauch gewesen, das die hebraische sprach zu der artisten facultet gezogen..., jedoch auf erinnerung, das dishebraische sprach mehrern theilß umb der heiligen geschrift willen gelehrt und studirit wirdet, dorzu si auch sonderlich nutzlich und nottwendig, und darumb bei vilen universiteten teutschen landß zu der theologischen facultet verordnet ist,
so haben wir diese Sprache zu derselben Facultät ziehen und anstellen wollen..., das nun hinfürter der Secundarius Lector in Facultate theologica zu einer jeden Woche fünf Lectiones versehen, und nemlich: Zwo in grammatica hebraea, die er für und für repetirn soll, und drei in expositione grammatica und theologica psalmorum oder geneseos oder deuteronomii oder Esaiae oder proverbiorum Salomonis oder mirorum prophetarum.

91. Ibid.: "Der dritte Professor oder lector, welchem die methodica oder principia, das ist die besten und gemeinsten artickel und puncten der theologi oder christenlicher lehr zu expliciren und außzulegen uffgerlegt und befohlen ist, soll iederzeit der iars nachmittag von einer uhr bis uff zwo seine lection ausrichten und vollbringen und sich hienieben befeissen, solche obgemelte principia und gemeine locos der theologi allwegen aus der apostolischen schrift."

92. Ibid., p. 40: "soll er... sein text und furgenomen materien bestes seines vermögens und verstands auslegen und ercleren, sich in kein wege mit unnötigen, unnützen fragen, getreumlben opinionen, verwirten sophismaten, noch weitleufigen außfurungen und uberentzigen glossematen behhümern, sonder, wie obgesagt, sein text fleissiglich und verstandiglich exponiren und außlegen mit approbirter schriften, wo vonnôten, und kurtzen außzügen verklernen..."

93. Ibid., p. 45: "...die discipell oder auch die professores theologiae um mehrer übung und geschichlhhghkheit willen auf ettlicher festabend ihre latheinischen sermones gepflogen zu halten... sollen."

94. Ibid., p. 49: "...soll auch ein ieder, so das baculariat begert, zum wenigstent zweimahl, oder so er nit magister were, viermahle ein lateinische sermon uff der festabend oder virgilien... auf befelch und ordnung des decani gethan haben, diewei solchs zum prauch und übung des kunftigen predigampts sonderlichen nutzlich und dienstlich."
CHAPTER VI

LUTHERAN CLERGY IN THE LATE REFORMATION

It has been shown in the previous two chapters that Melanchthon's curricular reform made humanism an integral part of the German universities. But he executed his reform not as a pure humanist. Rather, his reform was motivated first and foremost by religious concerns. For Melanchthon, the institutionalization of humanism in the Lutheran universities was meaningless if it failed to produce qualified pastors, whom he regarded as an indispensable instrument for the implementation of the evangelical messages among the broad masses of people. Here arises one crucial question; that is, how many Lutheran pastors studied under the reformed curriculum? It is needless to say that the Bible- and humanism-oriented curriculum would have had little to do with the course of the Lutheran Reformation if the majority of the evangelical pastors had not received university education. A precise answer to the question remains unobtainable because of the lack of records. Yet there is enough information to warrant some generalizations. The available sources suggest two points. On the one hand, in the first half of the sixteenth century the university reform had relatively little
influence on the educational level of the Lutheran pastors. The majority had not received university education or had studied under the traditional study program. On the other hand, the general situation changed in the second half of the century. The Lutheran parishes were dominated by those who were trained under the new curriculum. In the Late Reformation Melanchthon's ardent aspiration was manifestly realized.

In her study of Lutheran pastors who served in Ernestine Saxony in the period between 1521 to the mid-century, Susan Karant-Nunn offered some valuable statistics on their educational background. Of the 361 pastors whom she found in the records of the districts of Thuringia, Altenburg, Weida, Saalfeld, Gotha, and Electoral Saxony, 96 (26.6%) were university graduates. Of these 96 pastors, 76 had received university education before 1517, all from one of the three Universities of Wittenberg, Leipzig, and Erfurt. All the remaining 20 pastors graduated from Wittenberg in post-1517 period. These figures therefore show that in the early decades of the Reformation the educational level of the pastors in Ernestine Saxony was quite meager. Only one of every four received university education. Furthermore, the curricular reform of Wittenberg had virtually no influence; merely 20 out of 361 pastors (5.6%) benefitted from the reformed curriculum. Brandenburg had similar conditions. In the year of 1540, only 28% of the evangelical pastors had been
university-educated; and most of them had their posts in the urban areas. The inferior educational background of the Lutheran pastors in the first half of the century is understandable when one sees the fact that after the Peasants’ War many rural pastorates became vacant and then filled by the former Catholic priests and monks who converted to Protestantism. It took time to substitute young and well-trained pastors for the old generation.

On the other hand, the second half of the sixteenth century saw a great influx of highly-educated pastors. The situation in Württemberg provides a telling example. Of the total 2700 pastors in the sixteenth century, 1779 (65.9%) were university-educated. Of these 1779, 1067 (60.0%) studied at the University of Tübingen sometime between 1536 (the year of Melanchthon’s curricular reform) and the end of the century. If one figures out the number who served in the post-Reformation period (i.e. after 1534) approximately as 1800 (two-thirds of 2700), three out of every five pastors (59.3% or 1067 out of 1800) in the same period were the beneficiaries of the reformed curriculum of Tübingen. The ratio ascended to 75% in the second half of the century. In view of the fact that there were those who studied at other Lutheran universities, it is not an exaggeration that a great majority of Württemberg pastors were thoroughly grounded in the studia humanitatis and the evangelical doctrines. The situation in many other regions resembled that of Württemberg. At the end
of the century, more than 70% of those nominated for pastorates in Strasbourg and its environs held the master’s degree. In the same period, as much as 90% of the clergy in the whole Rheinland was university educated. In consideration of the reformers’ strong and incessant concern for clerical education, there is no reason to deny that the conditions of these regions might well apply to all other Lutheran territories. In short, the Lutheran clergy in the Late Reformation became a highly-educated class. They were well versed in the legacy of Melanchthon’s curricular reform of the German universities.

The reformers did not restrict their endeavors to create competent pastors to the university reform. Although they regarded the curricular reform as the cornerstone of their long-term educational policy, they could not reap immediate fruits from the mere change in the subjects studied. A large portion of those who studied under the reformed curriculum chose professions other than the spiritual office. It was also hard to expect that the influx of a new cadre of pastors would shift the general situation within a short time. Furthermore, there were those pastors who did not receive university education at all. The reformers could not be satisfied with the reform of the classroom subjects. In this respect, the late 1520s was a turning point. Many events in that period awakened the reformers to the necessity of more direct and more drastic measures for the training of their
pastors.

Up to the late 1520s, the operation of the Reformation had largely consisted of attacks against the Catholic Church. The Ninety-Five Thesis, the Heidelberg and Leipzig Disputations, and numerous treatises of the reformers in the early 1520s were mainly to expose the falsity of the tenets of the old church and the abuses of its practices and institutions. To the Lutheran leaders the initial tide seemed to foreshadow a promising future for the reform movement. In either political or religious interests, some secular princes turned their back to the papacy and introduced the new faith in their lands. A general dissolution of the old ecclesiastical system followed. But there was also an ominous sign. The Anabaptists, obscurantists, and radical peasants saw in the evangelical messages a theological justification of their actions. They contended that if the current doctrines and practices were erroneous and detrimental to salvation, there was no reason to follow the established order which was founded on them. Education, discipline, public worship sharply declined, and the reform movement fell into a deep abyss of disruption and violence. The Reformation was a curse rather than a blessing.

Luther and his colleagues soon realized that they had to offer a creative alternative to what they attacked. The first step to reorganize the church on an evangelical basis was to inquire into the conditions of individual parishes. For this
purpose, Luther exhorted in 1526 the new elector John Frederick to institute a formal visitation of his land. A massive visitation was carried out in the summer of next year. Luther, Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, Spalatin, and other Wittenberg faculty and civil representatives were dispatched to the four territorial divisions of Ernestine Saxony. They investigated the actual accomplishment of the reform in the life of pastors, schoolmasters, and parishioners. The outcome was frustrating and lamentable. Melanchthon and Luther well expressed their impressions of the general conditions. During his visitation of a local parish of Thuringia the former wrote to Camerarius on August 8, 1527: "I am now engaged in a most molesting business and indeed, so far as I see, with no fruit. Indeed everything is in confusion partly through ignorance and partly through immorality." Two days later he wrote to Bugenhagen in a similar tone: "I would not send anybody to any place unless he has previously been examined by me. Indeed you will not believe how ineptly many people teach, how badly the best writings of Luther and other good men are imitated." There is an episode symbolizing the devastated circumstances of the local parishes. When Melanchthon questioned a pastor whether he was teaching the Ten Commandments to his parishioners, the latter simply replied, "I still don’t have the book." In his preface to the Small Catechism, which appeared in May 1529, Luther bitterly wrote what he had discovered in his initial visitations: "The deplorable
conditions which I recently encountered when I was a visitor constrained me to prepare this brief and simple catechism or statement of Christian teaching. Good God, what wretchedness I beheld! The common people, especially those who live in the country, have no knowledge whatever of Christian teaching, and unfortunately many pastors are quite incompetent and unfitted for teaching. Although the people are supposed to be Christian, are baptized, and receive the holy sacrament, they do not know the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments, they live as if they were pigs and irrational beasts, and now that the Gospel has been restored they have mastered the fine art of abusing liberty." The Reformation did not reach the broad spectrum of society. The laity’s understanding of evangelical doctrines was minimal, and the pastors were hardly better than their parishioners.

It was at this juncture that the reformers began to recognize the need of creating an appropriate educational system to implement the new faith among the populace. The Reformation then quickly became an educational process. The whole enterprise of the reform now meant teaching a bare minimum of evangelical doctrines to the mostly illiterate peasants, thereby winning at least their outward conformity. In particular, the reformers concentrated their efforts on the education of the pastors on which the success of the reform movement rested. It was the local pastors who were to introduce, explain, and teach the new tenets to the people;
the Lutheran doctrines were conveyed in their sermons, instruction, and admonition.

Luther's *A Sermon on Keeping Children in School*, written in 1530, well represents the concern for clerical education. In this educational treatise Luther urged the parents to send their children to school. Although he conceded the necessity of providing the youth with the general education to prepare them for secular life, he argued that the principal purpose of schooling was to foster pastors. He stated: "If you will not raise your child for this office, and the next man will not, and so on, and no fathers or mothers will give their children to our God for this work, what will become of the spiritual office and estate? The old men now in the office will not live forever. They are dying off every day and there are no others to take their place. What will God finally say to this at last?" Christendom was suffering from the lack of capable spiritual leaders; therefore, the dedication of children to the holy office was a most honorable and most meritorious service to God. "You may rejoice and be glad from the heart," Luther continued, "if you find that you have been chosen by God to devote your means and labor to raising a son who will be a good Christian pastor, preacher, or schoolmaster, and thereby to raise for God a special servant, yes, an angel of God, a true bishop before God, a savior of many people, a king and prince in the kingdom of Christ, a teacher of God's people, a light of the world... There is no dearer treasure,
no nobler thing on earth in this life than a good and faithful pastor and preacher. In Luther’s mind, a principal purpose of schooling was to raise future pastors.

With strong concerns for clerical education, the reformers instituted two vigorous measures to supplement the curricular reform of the university. Whether he attended a university or not, the candidate for a pastorate was required to take an ordination examination. It was introduced in Lutheran Germany in 1528, as prescribed in the Unterricht der Visitatoren. The task of examining the candidate was entrusted to the superintendent. The Unterricht reads: "We have also considered it wise to ordain that in the future when a pastor or preacher either by death or otherwise leaves his benefice and some one is accepted in his place by the patron, such a one shall be presented to the superintendent before he is given the benefice or received as a preacher. The superintendent shall question and examine him as to his life and teaching and whether he will satisfactorily serve the people, so that by God’s help we may carefully prevent any ignorant or incompetent persons from being accepted and unlearned folk being misled." Melanchthon, the composer of the Unterricht, wrote that the introduction of the ordination exam was prompted by the deplorable conditions which the reformers witnessed in the 1527 visitation; “for time and again and especially in recent years experience has shown how much good or evil may be expected from competent or
incompetent preachers. The Saxon model of the ordination exam was imitated in many other Lutheran territories. Any one who wished to enter the clerical profession in Lutheran Germany had to be well versed in the evangelical doctrines and also able to correctly teach them to the people.

An electoral decree of 1535 transferred the right to examine the candidate for ministry to the theological faculty of Wittenberg. As indicated in Chapter 4, Melanchthon's 1533 reform thoroughly changed the theological curriculum of the university in agreement with the Augsburg Confession, which "is the true and eternal consensus of the universal church of God and should be piously and faithfully offered, maintained, and propagated." Therefore it is beyond doubt that the professors tested the candidates upon their knowledge of evangelical theology. There is some concrete information on what the ordinands were required to know. In 1552 the examiners in Ernestine Saxony were given the following guidelines:

First, that they shall teach and preach the Holy Gospel unadulterated and pure, without any human addition, in accordance with the Augsburg Confession and particularly with the articles presented at Schmalkald and at that time consented to and accepted by Doctor Martin Luther of blessed memory together with twenty theologians and others who were gathered there at the time. Second, that they shall administer the holy sacraments just as Christ our dear Lord established and ordained and as he ordered and commanded that they be kept. Third, that they shall neither believe, teach, nor preach Zwinglian or Anabaptist teachings nor those of any other of the religious fanatics who are opposed to the Schmalkald articles mentioned above, that they shall, on the
contrary, argue and fight against them."\textsuperscript{22}

The *Ordinanden Examen* of 1558 which Melanchthon composed for the examiners of Wittenberg, stipulates more precisely the main articles that the ordinands had to know and teach to the parishioners after their ordinations. They first should be able to "distinguish between Christian teaching and that of heathen religion and other sects." Then they were to be examined on such theological *loci* as: the Trinity, the coexistence of divinity and personality in Christ, His virginal birth, the Creation, the Fall and original sin, the Ten Commandments and other laws of Moses, the difference between the law and the gospel, forgiveness of sin and justification by faith, the futility of good works for salvation, and proper administration of the sacraments.\textsuperscript{23} Even after they were ordained, the pastors had to be diligent in studying these articles. It was warned that "also all these questions are to be repeated in the visitation by pastors and people."\textsuperscript{24}

When a candidate passed the ordination examination, he received a certificate, which approved his fulfillment of the requirements for ministerial office and officially entitled him to preach and teach the gospel and administer the sacraments.\textsuperscript{25} In the Lutheran territories, the ordination certificate weighed heavily in obtaining a post and procuring ecclesiastical advancement; doctrinal competence and educational attainment was the determining factor.\textsuperscript{26} Therefore
it is obvious that the ordination exam was one of the most effective vehicles for the creation of doctrinally-qualified pastors.

While the curricular reform and the ordination exam served as preliminary measures to train those who wished to enter the spiritual office, the visitation was intended to check and guide continuously the pastors who were already installed in parishes. First established in 1527 in Ernestine Saxony, the visitation was executed in all Lutheran territories during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In the 1527 visitation the visitors found that few local pastors had clear ideas of the new doctrines. At that time, however, they lacked explicit directions and had no concrete idea on how to remedy the problems exposed to them on the spot. It was in next year that the visitation could bear a more constructive nature. Having personally witnessed the various problems in the local parishes, Melanchthon composed in early 1528 the Unterricht der Visitatoren to offer a guideline to future commissions.27

In his preface to the Unterricht, Luther described the purpose of the establishment of the visitation: "Now that... we have come to see how grievously the Christian church has been confused, scattered, and torn, we would like to have seen the true episcopal office and practice of visitation re-established because of the pressing need."28 The visitors were to investigate the operation of the local parishes, ferret out
ecclesiastical and religious problems including clerical shortcomings, provide the ministers with doctrinal norm and ministerial direction, and sanction the incompetent. Among other things, the visitors had to check whether the pastors were teaching doctrine adequately to the parishioners: "We have given these instructions to the pastors and explained to them that they should clearly and correctly present to the people these most important matters of the Christian life we have here described, namely, repentance, faith, and good works, while passing by many other things of which the poor masses understand little."

The visitation was a very important tool for maintaining the training of the pastors. There was the possibility that after their ordinations pastors would forget the evangelical doctrines or neglect conveying them to the people. But through the visitation, they were continuously reminded of what was expected of them. By the year 1533 every Ernestine pastor had appeared at least once before the visitorial inquisitors. By being investigated on their capacity, guided with concrete directions, and reproved and even punished for their errors, the Lutheran pastors received abiding education throughout their whole careers. To put the matter simply, through the visitation the reformers enlarged, solidified, and perpetuated the training of the actual agents of the Reformation. After personally serving as a visitor, Luther wrote in January 1529 to John Frederick: "we maintain,
believe, and know that Your Electoral Grace can have ordered no better work than the visitation."

It is now obvious that the goals and efforts of Melanchthon and other reformers to upgrade the quality of clerical education were realized in the second half of the sixteenth century. By the late 1550s, the curriculum of all Lutheran universities was thoroughly reorganized under the direct and indirect influence of the Praeceptor Germaniae. A great majority of the evangelical pastors studied at these reformed universities. Their training was not temporary; it went far beyond the precincts of the academic world. Their competence for ministry was checked and enhanced through the strict ordination requirements. After entering into the pastorate, they were encouraged and forced by the regular visitation to continue and promote their study. In short, throughout their whole life the Lutheran pastors had to and did meet a high educational demand. Anticlericalism certainly survived in the Late Reformation. But the criticism of the parishioners was no longer against the pastors' educational background or teaching ability, which was one of the main targets of anti-sacerdotalism on the eve of the Reformation. Instead, many recent case studies of the Lutheran local parishes in the Late Reformation show that due to the elevated clerical performance the evangelical messages penetrated deeply into the lives of ordinary people. To conclude, Melanchthon's pastors learned and taught well. His university
reform, the ordination exam, and the visitation constituted a systematic educational apparatus, and thanks to it the Protestant pastors in the Late Reformation became a professional class. This is one of the most significant contributions of the Reformation to the modern world.

The historian approaches and interprets his subject unavoidably with certain assumptions. The present study has not been able to escape this trap. In tracing the relationship between Renaissance humanism and the Reformation in the sixteenth century, it has held three basic assumptions. In the first place, humanism was essentially an educational and literary, not philosophical, movement. Certainly there were some higher underlying ideologies that gave birth to and nurtured humanism. But they were so diverse and even opposing among themselves that no one of them could be regarded as a single, unifying philosophy of humanism. In the second place, the historical importance of the Reformation lies not just in the doctrinal and liturgical changes; its lasting, broader impact on culture and people's life is as much significant. The third assumption is that, if humanism was an educational movement and if the implementation of the evangelical theology in society was carried out largely by education, the university was an appropriate yardstick to measure the relationship between the two forces since nowhere else did these two encounter each other more directly.
At the end this survey of the impetus, course, and aftermath of Melanchthon's curricular reform of four German universities, one irresistible conclusion arose. In spite of the innate difference between the humanists' enthusiasm for wisdom and the reformers' commitment to doctrine, humanism and the Reformation became extraordinarily conducive to each other, and it was mainly so through the reform of universities. In the pre-Reformation period, the humanists could not realize their desire to replace the scholastic subjects and methods with the humanistic educational program. Although the studia humanitatis attracted some recognition at some institutions, the deep-seated traditions remained unchallenged; dialectic, speculative metaphysics, scholastic commentaries went on to predominate the curriculum. The Reformation changed the situation drastically. The emphasis on unadulterated Biblical studies and the new concept of the principal pastoral duty of preaching and teaching combined to strike a lethal blow to scholasticism. As soon as their patrons adopted Protestantism, the universities filled their curriculum with languages, grammar, rhetoric, and other humanistic subjects. By the middle of the sixteenth century, humanism took the prestige which scholasticism had enjoyed for more than three centuries. Thus it is not true that the Reformation was detrimental to the muses. It is also untrue that humanism remained a negligible force in the German universities of the Reformation period. It penetrated the
faculties of arts and theology both as content and form of study. The Reformation, albeit for its own purposes, planted, fostered, and perpetuated humanism in the German universities.

There has been a commonplace that humanism had a negative factor for the Reformation. Many scholars have believed that whatever role the humanists-turned-reformers played in the progress of the Lutheran Reformation, they held rational theological viewpoints - such as synergism and the spiritualist view of the Eucharist - in opposition to the orthodox Lutheran doctrines. Therefore, there was a fundamental and lasting cleavage between humanism and the Reformation. This interpretation was based on the old definition of Renaissance humanism.

But if one follows the "emergent consensus" on the essence of humanism, there arises a quite different conclusion. Humanism had an equally productive influence on the Reformation. In spite of its peripheral status at early times, it prepared the way to the evangelical breakthrough. More importantly, it provided valuable instruments for theological education and the daily duties of the Lutheran pastors. Under the reformed curriculum, the future pastors learned the new doctrines directly and correctly with the help of the original languages and the loci method. History and classical studies certainly broadened their knowledge on the Christian traditions. By virtue of their grounding in rhetoric, the pastors could convey the evangelical messages
more persuasively and effectively. In short, without the humanistic subjects and methods, the creation of qualified pastors and therefore the success of the Reformation would have been inconceivable.

A final remark seems necessary. Melanchthon was by no means a man wavering between humanism and the Reformation. Rather, he blended two different, but not opposing, principles into productive harmony. Through his curricular reform, the ideas of Luther and Erasmus cohabited in the German universities, in the life of the Lutheran pastors, and, in the long run, in culture and society of early modern Germany. The modern concept of "enlightened piety" was greatly indebted to him.
NOTES


3. Ibid., p. 30.


5. Ibid., p. 170.


9. CR, 1, 881, no. 454: "Ego in molestissimis negotiis hoc tempore et quidem nullo cum frue tu, quantum video, versor. Adeo sunt omnia perturbata partim inscitia docentium, partim improbitate."

10. Ibid., 883, no. 456: "Ego deinceps neminem mittam quoquam nisi antea auditum a me. Non credis enim, quam inepte multi doceant, tam male imitantur optime scripta a Luthero et aliis bonis viris." ("optime" = "optima"; see the editor’s note 7 on the same page.)


14. WA, 30/2, 517-588; LW, 46, 213-258; for its background, see ibid., 209-212.

15. Ibid., 222.

16. Ibid., 223.


18. LW, 40, 313-314.

19. Ibid., 314.


21. See note 23 in Chapter 4.


23. "Der Ordinanden Examen, wie es in der Kirchen zu Wittenberg gebraucht wird," CR, 23, xxxviii: "Und bedencken wir, das die Ordinanden vleissig in allen diesen Artickeln examinirt werden, welcher repetitio auch sonst dem Volck gute einreitung gibt. Von unterscheid Christlicher Lere, und Heidnischer Religion, und anderer Secten. Vom Göttlichen einzigen Wesen. Von den dreien Personen in der Gottheit. Von vereinigung beider Naturn in Christo, der aus der Jungfrauen geboren ist. Von der erschaffung aller Creaturen. Vom fall der ersten Menschen. Von Sünd, Erbsünd, und wircklichen sünden. Von Göttlichem ewigen Gesetz, und von unterscheid der zehen Gebot, und der andern Gesetze in Moses... Von unterscheid des Gesetzes und des Evangelii. Von vergebung der sünden, und wie der Mensch für Gott gerecht wird, umb des HERRN Christi willen, durch glauben." Melanchthon provided several sample questions that the examiners were expected to use for testing the ordinands' knowledge on good works; for the questionnaire about good works and the articles on the sacraments, see ibid., xxxix-xl.

24. Ibid., xl: "Auch sind diese fragen in der Visitation zu repetiren, bey den Pastoribus vnd bey den Leuten."


27. Melanchthon first made its draft and then sent to the elector, who forwarded it to Luther for inspection. Luther
was satisfied with the content and wrote a preface to it. For a detailed background, see the editor's introduction in LW, 40, 265-267.

28. Ibid., p. 271.

29. For examples of the actual visitation procedure and practices, see Gerald Strauss, Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation (Baltimore, 1978), p. 249-261.

30. LW, 40, 287.

31. Karant-Nunn, op. cit., p. 27.

32. WA Br. 5, 3, no. 1371: "wir halten, glauben und wissen, daß E. kf. G kein besser Werk, dann die Visitation, haben befelsen konnen."

33. Gerald Strauss, "Local Anticlericalism in Reformation Germany," Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, ed. by Peter D. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman (Leiden, 1993), p. 625-637 provides many examples of anticlericalism in Weimar in the late 1560s and early 1570s; but there was not a single complaint against the pastors' educational background or instructional competence.

34. James M. Kittelson, "Successes and Failures in the German Reformation: The Report from Strasbourg," Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, 73 (1982), p. 153-175; idem, "Visitations and Popular Religious Culture: Further Reports from Strasbourg," Pietas et Societas: New Trends in Reformation Social History, ed. by Kyle C. Sessions and Philip N. Bebb (Kirksville, Mo., 1985), p. 89-101; Scott H. Hendrix, "Luther's Impact on the Sixteenth Century," Sixteenth Century Journal, 16 (1985), p. 3-14; Bruce Tolley, "Pastors and Parishioners in Württemberg," op. cit. One exception is Gerald Strauss, Luther's House of Learning, op. cit. According to Strauss, the reformers' theological pessimism about human nature led them to choose a very repressive and compulsory catechetical instruction of the laity, in particular children; especially, the methods of memorization and repetition eliminated human creativity and invited only "vacant and mindless automation" or "perfunctory responses" (p. 173); as a result, "the general attitude toward doctrines and ecclesiastical institutions was, broadly speaking, one of detachment and indifference" (p. 223). Contrary to Strauss's presumption, memorization was regarded among the contemporary humanists and reformers as the most effective pedagogical method; see Lowell C. Green, "The Bible in Sixteenth-Century Humanist Education," Studies in the Renaissance, 19 (1972), p. 112-134. For some substantial criticisms against Strauss's

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES:


____________, Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings, ed. by John Dillenberger (New York, 1961).


Von Roth, Rudolph, (ed.), Urkunden zur Geschichte der Universität Tübingen aus den Jahren 1476-1550 (Tübingen, 1877).


SECONDARY LITERATURE:


Bauch, Gustav, Geschichte des Leipziger Frühhumanismus (Leipzig, 1899).

______, Die Anfänge der Universität Frankfurt a. O. (Berlin, 1900).


Bauer, Karl, Die Wittenberger Universitäts Theologie und die Anfänge der deutschen Reformation (Tübingen, 1928).


Douglass, Jane D., Justification in Late Medieval Preaching: A Study of John Geiger of Keisersberg (Leiden, 1966).

Drews, Paul, Der evangelische Geistliche in der deutschen Vergangenheit (Jena, 1905).

Dykema, Peter, (ed.), Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Leiden, 1993).


Ferguson, Wallace K., The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation (Boston, 1948).


Friedensburg, Walter, Geschichte der Universität Wittenberg (Halle, 1917).


Gilson, Etienne, Reason and Revelation in the Middle Ages (New York, 1966).


Grant, Edward, Physical Science in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1977).


Grossmann, Maria, Humanism in Wittenberg 1485-1517 (Nieuwkoop, 1975).


Hartfelder, Karl, Philip Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae (Berlin, 1889).


Heath, Terrence, "Logical Grammar, Grammatical Logic, and


Hildebrandt, B., Urkundensammlung Über die Verfassung und Verwaltung des Universität Marburg unter Philipp dem Großmütigen (Marburg, 1848).


Hill, Charles L., The Loci Communes of Philip Melanchthon (Boston, 1944).


Kisch, Guido, Melanchthons Rechts- und Soziallehre (Berlin, 1967).


Kosegarten, Johann, Geschichte der Universität Greifswald mit urkundlichen Beilagen (Greifswald, 1857).

Krabbe, Otto, Die Universität Rostock im fünfzehnten und sechzehnten Jahrhundert (Rostock, 1854).


Mullarly, Joseph (ed. and trans.), *The Summulae Logicales of Peter of Spain* (South Bend, Ind., 1945).

Murphy, James J., *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1974).

Nabholz, Johannes, *The History of the Faculty of Arts in German Universities* (New York, 1936).


Oediger, Friedrich W., Über die Bildung der Geistlichen im späten Mittelalter (Leyden, 1953).


Richard, James W., Philip Melanchthon: The Protestant Preceptor of Germany (New York, 1907).


_____________, Die Heidelberger Universität (Heidelberg, 1936).

Rogness, Michael, Philip Melanchthon: Reformer without Honor (Minneapolis, 1969).


Schneider, John R., Philip Melanchthon's Rhetorical Construal of Biblical Authority: Oratio Sacra (Lewiston, New York; Edwin
Schnell, Uwe, Die homiletische Theorie Philip Melanchthons (Berlin, 1968).


Sperl, Adolf, Melanchthon zwischen Humanismus und Reformation (Munich, 1959).


Steinmetz, Max, "Die Universität Wittenberg und der Humanismus (1502-1521)," 450 Jahre Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, ed. by Leo Stern (Halle, 1952), vol. 1, p. 103-140.

__________, Geschichte der Universität Jena 1548/1558 (Jena, 1958).

Stempel, Hermann-Adolf, Melanchthons pädagogisches Wirken (Bielefeld, 1979).

Stern, Leo, Philipp Melanchthon: Humanist, Reformator.
Praeceptor Germaniae (Halle, 1960).

Strauss, Gerald, Luther's House of Learning: Indoctrination of the Young in the German Reformation (Baltimore, 1978).


Thorbecke, August, Geschichte der Universität Heidelberg, 2 vols. (Heidelberg, 1886).


Töppen, Max, Die Gründung der Universität Königsberg und das Leben ihres ersten Rectores Georg Sabinus (Königsberg, 1844).


Wiedenhofer, Siegfried, Formalstrukturen humanistischer und reformatorischer Theologie bei Philip Melanchthon, 2 vols.