

Luther Research in English - Speaking Countries Since 1971

Von Lowell C. Green

Ours is a formidable theme. We must include writers from Great Britain and Australia as well as North America. It is obvious that this cannot be a detailed bibliography,¹ but must be instead a discussion of trends in scholarship. Rather than describing textbooks and general surveys of the Reformation, we shall concentrate on fresh research that has produced new findings. Because of the rich abundance of materials, we shall largely confine our selection to those based upon a study of the original sources. This will eliminate most studies that were confined to translated sources. Chronologically we shall occasionally be obliged to go back before the year 1971 since no corresponding report for the years between 1966 and 1970 could be included in the 1971 Lutherjahrbuch. We shall generally follow the order of subjects in the annual Lutherbibliography of the Lutherjahrbuch; however, the distinctive character of Luther-research in non-European countries will require departures from this from time to time.

I The Sources and Bibliographical Materials

The Foundation for Reformation Research, which was renamed the Center for Reformation Research (CRR) in 1974, publishes its »Bulletin of the Library« which provides or lists valuable bibliographical tools. James A. Hinz has discussed sixteenth-century bibliography itself;² Lowell C. Green has

- 1 I know of no special report on Luther-research in English-speaking lands, other than the listings in the LUTHERJAHRBUCH, and the LITERATURBERICHT OF THE ARG. However see Roland W. BAINTON and Eric W. GRITSCH: Bibliography of the continental reformation: materials available in English. Hamden, Conn: 1972. See also Paul PAHL: Some recent English publications on Luther (1969-1973). LThJ 7 (1973), 118-128. With few exceptions, a cut-off date of January 1, 1976, was followed.
- 2 James A. HINZ: Toward the control of bibliography for the study of the sixteenth century: an introduction to the bibliography of bibliography. Bulletin of the Library, Foundation for Reformation Research 6 (1971), 1-6.

provided an introduction and index of authors for the Quellen edited by J. Michael Reu,³ Robert Kolb has contributed a bibliography on Nikolaus von Amsdorf⁴ as well as lists of the CRR microfilm holdings on Caspar Cruciger⁵ and Caspar Peucer,⁶ and, in an additional series, Hans J. Hillerbrand has prepared bibliographies on Thomas Müntzer and on Anabaptism.⁷ Further finding-lists have been devoted to CRR holdings on sixteenth-century Roman Catholic theologians and the evangelical leaders of Württemberg.⁸ A Zwingli bibliography, continuing where Georg Finsler's left off (1897), has been compiled by H. Wayne Pipkin.⁹

The publication of Luther's works in English translation is to be hailed with thankfulness. Thereby, many who would otherwise never read Luther at all are coming to a better understanding of the reformer. Unfortunately, the new American version is also being misused. Scholars who ought to remember that a translation is necessarily also an interpretation are permitting the new American version to supplant the Weimar Edition. Monographs purporting to be scientific, as well as articles in scholarly journals, and even some doctoral dissertations, are coming out with documentation limited to sources in translation. Such practices cannot be approved, at least if scientific scholarship is still the goal.

A large undertaking, the »American Edition« (AE) of Luther's Works (LW), eventually to reach 56 volumes, was undertaken as a joint publishing venture by two Lutheran presses. The first 30 volumes were devoted to the

- 3 Lowell C. GREEN: Introduction and index to the Quellen of J. M. Reu. Bulletin of the Library 6 (1971), 9-11. 17-24. 25-32; 7 (1972), 1-7.
- 4 Robert KOLB: Toward an Amsdorf bibliography. Bulletin of the Library 7 (1972), 25-31; 8 (1973), 3-6.
- 5 Robert KOLB: Caspar Cruciger. Ibid 8 (1973), 1-2. 7.
- 6 Robert KOLB: Caspar Peucer. Ibid 8 (1973), 17-23.
- 7 Hans J. HILLERBRAND: A bibliography of anabaptism, 1520-1630: a sequel, 1962-1974. Sixteenth century bibliography 1 (StL 1975); IDEM: Thomas Müntzer: a bibliography. Ibid. 4 (1976).
- 8 EARLY SIXTEENTH CENTURY ROMAN CATHOLIC THEOLOGIANS AND THE GERMAN REFORMATION: A finding list of CRR holdings. Ibid 2 (1975). EVANGELICAL THEOLOGIANS OF WÜRTTEMBERG IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: a finding list of CRR holdings. Ibid 3 (1975).
- 9 A ZWINGLI BIBLIOGRAPHY/ compiled by H. Wayne Pipkin. Bibliographica Triptamopolitana 7 (Pittsburgh 1972).

»exegetical works«; Jaroslav Pelikan edited 22 of these volumes¹⁰ before turning over the work to his successor, Hilton C. Oswald.¹¹ The section on »Reformational writings« has been edited by Helmut T. Lehmann, comprising 25 volumes.¹² Especially good in the second section are the

10 LW = LUTHER'S WORKS. LW 15, the last volume edited by Pelikan, contains the notes on Ecclesiastes from 1526 (1532) translated by Pelikan from WA 20, the lectures on the Song of Solomon from 1530-31 (1539) translated by Ian Siggins from WA 31/II, and the treatise on the Last Words of David (1543) translated by Martin H. Bertram from WA 54 (StL: Concordia, 1971).

11 For the sake of brevity, these volumes, all edited by Hilton C. Oswald and published by Concordia of St. Louis on the date indicated, are listed in tabular form.

WA	Material Presented	Translator	LW	Publication
3; 4; 55	Psalms (Dictata, Part I)	Herbert J. Boumann	10	1974
25; 31/II	Isaiah 40-66	Herbert J. Boumann	17	1972
13	Minor Prophets I: Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Micah, Nahum, Zephaniah, Haggai, Malachi	Richard J. Dinda	18	1975
13; 19	Minor Prophets II: Jonah, Habakkuk	Charles D. Froelich	19	1974
13; 23	Minor Prophets III: Zechariah	Richard J. Dinda	20	1973
56	Romans: Glosses and Scholia.			
	Chap. 1-2:	Walter G. Tillmanns	25	1972
	Chap. 3-16:	Jacob A. O. Preus		
12	I Corinthians 7	Edward Sittler	28	1973
36	I Corinthians 15	Martin H. Bertram		
36	I Timothy	Richard J. Dinda		

12 For the sake of brevity, these volumes are listed in tabular form; all were edited by Helmut T. Lehmann and published by Fortress Press, Philadelphia, on the dates indicated.

WA	Material Presented	Translator	LW	Publication
18	De servo arbitrio	Philipp S. Watson	33	1972
30/III	Marburger Gespräch und Marburger Artikel	Martin E. Lehmann	38	1971
30/II	Vermahnung zum Sakrament	"	"	"
38	Von der Winkelmesse und Pfaffenweihe	"	"	"

letters of Luther as edited by Gottfried G. Krodel, who has embodied the latest findings of Hans Volz and Eike Wolgast in the Weimar Edition.¹³ It is regrettable that although some of the volumes supply the original title of the work being offered in English, as well as its location and parallel pagination in the Weimar Edition,¹⁴ many of the volumes have failed to do so. Not only does the reader at times lack the certainty of which work of Luther is being offered, but the lack of parallel pagination makes it difficult to judge the accuracy of the translation or to compare the original words of Luther.¹⁵ Such a failure only increases the dangers of using the sources in translation.

38	Ein Brief D. M. L. von seinem Buche der Winkelmessen	"	"	"
39/II	Disputatio . . . Verbum caro factum est	"	"	"
54	Kurzes Bekenntnis vom heiligen Sakrament	"	"	"
30/III	Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen	Martin H. Bertram Ed. Franklin Sherman	47	1971
50	Wider die Sabbather an einen guten Freund	"	"	"
50	Wider die Antinomer	"	"	"
53	Von den Juden und ihren Lügen	"	"	"
Br 1-14	Letters, Vol. I	Gottfried G. Krodel	48	1963
	Letters, Vol. II	"	49	1972
	Letters, Vol. III	"	50	1975

- 13 Vol. I of the Letters, LW 48, had presented 119 letters from 1507 until March 1522; Vol. II, LW 49, gives 117 letters from March 1522 until October 1530; Vol. III, LW 50, offers 89 letters dating from January 1531 to February 14, 1546. These volumes of letters are a model in translating and editing. As in the WA, each letter is preceded by a valuable digest of its contents. Excellent critical information is provided, including the notes of Otto Clemen in WA Br 1-11, the supplementary materials of Volz and Wolgast in WA Br 12-14, and original findings of Krodel himself. Careful indication of the location of each letter in the WA Br enables the reader to consult the original as well as evaluate the translation.
- 14 The volumes edited by Pelikan since the late 1950s gave page-for-page references to the parallel locations in the Weimar Edition. Introductory articles clearly stated the original title of each work and often presented a high level of scholarship.
- 15 An example is LW 47.

The »Collected Works of Erasmus« (CWE) have begun to appear in English in a series that has been carefully edited and well received. Regular progress reports on the venture, as well as useful essays on Erasmus by prominent scholars, and also bibliographical data, are provided in »Erasmus in English«, a newsletter published by the University of Toronto Press.¹⁶ Gerald Strauss of Indiana has published a collection of documents illustrating the background of the Reformation, with source-selections ranging from the »Gravamina of the German Nation« to some of the German proverbs edited by Johann Agricola.¹⁷

II *Luther Biography*

Arthur G. Dickens of London has investigated the intellectual and social forces behind »Luther's revolt« in a new volume which surveys humanism, the printers, and the German cities, among other subjects.¹⁸ A new biography was written by a history professor at the University of Tennessee, Richard Marius; written without documentation and showing little scholarly research, the book is a bitter attack against Luther as the founder of the political and social ills of the twentieth century.¹⁹ By contrast, the brief report and description of a recently discovered account of Luther's last prayer, written by its finder, Carolyn Lenz, makes an important contri-

16 Erasmus in English 3 (1971) provided a »Cross-reference Table between LB and Opus Epistolarum« as edited by P. S. Allen, 18-23. Under the editorship of Beatrice Corrigan et al., two volumes of the COLLECTED WORKS OF ERASMUS (CWE) have appeared: Vol. 1: Letters 1-141 (1484-1500), and Vol. 2: Letters 142-297 (1501-1514)/ both volumes tr. R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson and annotated by Wallace K. Ferguson. Toronto 1974-1975.

17 MANIFESTATION OF DISCONTENT IN GERMANY ON THE EVE OF THE REFORMATION/ tr. and ed. Gerald Strauss. Bloomington, Ind. 1971.

18 Arthur G. DICKENS: The German nation and Martin Luther. LO 1974. Dickens faults Luther for not agreeing with Zwingli at Marburg (44. 74-75), overlooking that it was Zwingli's Neo-Platonism that was unacceptable to Luther; paradoxically he praises Luther's affirmation of the natural (78).

19 Richard MARIUS: Luther. Phil 1974. Holding Luther guilty for Hitler's Third Reich, Marius calls the Protestant reformers »a generation of vipers«, sees their movement as a »trauma like famine or plague that our ancestors barely survived« (12), and, as a religious skeptic, feels that Luther's movement rested upon mistaken religious notions. »Whoever Jesus was, his bones lie rotting or else are already dust in a grave long since forgotten . . . Where is Luther then if Christ is not risen?« (12. 252).

bution to Luther biography.²⁰ Over against the unfortunate tendency of scholars to treat only the early years of the reformer, Mark U. Edwards, a pupil of Lewis W. Spitz, has published a study of Luther's polemics against his Protestant opponents which provides a substantial addition to literature on the mature Luther. Starting with the Wittenberg movement (1521-22), the writer also investigates the sources showing how Luther reacted to Karlstadt and Müntzer, to the sacramentarians, and the antinomians, and includes studies on his self-understanding and his last testament, and his role in the Wittenberg Concord.²¹ Ernest G. Schwiebert beautifully summarizes Luther's career in an encyclopedia article.²²

Of fundamental importance to research into the biography and theology of Luther is the problem of the time and content of his evangelical discovery. English-speaking scholars have devoted much attention recently to this question. In 1951 the Finnish-American scholar, Uuras Saarnivaara, had called for a redating of Luther's new insight in justification on the basis of his autobiographical statement of 1545 (WA 54, 179-187), which calls for a date of 1518-1519.²³ Saarnivaara's position was well-grounded, except that perhaps he ought to have avoided the problematical word, »tower-experience«. Recent American scholars have pointed out the value of this book. Saarnivaara found an »analytic«, pre-Reformational doctrine of justification in such early works as the Lectures on Romans and other writings prior to 1518. A few years later, Ferdinand Edward Cranz of Connecticut, investigating Luther's social views, came to the conclusion that Luther could not have arrived at his reformational view of justification

20 Carolyn R. S. LENZ: A recently discovered manuscript account of Luther's last prayer. ARG 66 (1975), 79-82. The record of Luther's last prayer was entered into a book now in the library of Brown University.

21 Mark U. EDWARDS, JR.: Luther and the false brethren. Stanford 1975.

22 Ernest G. SCHWIEBERT: Martin Luther. In: Lutheran cyclopedia. 2nd ed./ ed. Erwin L. Lueker. StL 1975, 483-485. This volume will be useful for ready reference by Reformation scholars, since it provides short sketches of numerous persons and events from that period. Schwiebert's generally useful and reliable picture of Luther's entire life and work is somewhat marred by his accepting 1514 as the date of the discovery of justification (WA 54, 186) without referring to literature presenting the other side of the debate over the time and nature of his reformational discovery.

23 Uuras SAARNIVAARA: Luthers discovers the Gospel: new light upon Luther's way from medieval catholicism to evangelical faith. StL 1951.

until 1518-1519, when he reached the new perspective that the Christian exists simultaneously in two realms, namely, in Christ and in the world—a revolutionary finding for an Augustinian monk.²⁴ Green, and Carter Lindberg of Boston, both argued that Luther's discovery was the result rather than the cause of the indulgence controversy. Green showed that, prior to the autumn of 1518, (1) Luther's interpretation of Romans 1, 16-17 did not correspond to his Reformational understanding, and (2) he held a scholastic and pre-Reformational concept of faith until that time.²⁵ Lindberg followed the steps by which this transition took place, tracing the transition in Luther's controversy with Prierias.²⁶

These conclusions of American writers, supported also in part by European scholars such as Bizer, Gyllenkrok, Seils, Aland, and Kinder, have become increasingly influential in the Anglo-Saxon world. In an important Luther study, the Australian-American, Ian D. Kingston Siggins, shows himself convinced by Saarnivaara, Bizer, and Cranz, and speaks of the danger of mixing statements of the »Young Luther« indiscriminately with those of his mature period.²⁷ The problems involved have been summarized by Otto W. Heick who gives just coverage to both sides, while pointing to the importance of the work of Saarnivaara and Cranz.²⁸ The underlying

24 Ferdinand Eward CRANZ: An essay on the development of Luther's thought on justice, law, and society. Cambridge, Mass. 1959.

25 Lowell C. GREEN: Faith, righteousness, and justification: new light on their development under Luther and Melancthon. SCJ 4 (1972), 65-86. He pointed out that the words, »The just shall live by faith«, were not thoroughly expounded and did not hold specifically Reformational content in the early lectures on Romans, Galatians, and Hebrews; in fact, where these words occur in those epistles, Luther nearly passes over them without comment. *Fides* in these early lectures stands within the mediaeval confines of the three cardinal virtues (*fides, caritas et spes*); not until the »Acta Augustana« (1518) is the new concept of faith present.

26 Carter LINDBERG: Prierias and his significance for Luther's development. SCJ 3 (1972), 45-64. Lindberg comments: »... Prierias drove Luther to intensified exegesis of Scripture and study of Church history. Luther commented in more than one place that it was Prierias' attack which spurred his thoughts« (WA 6, 497 f). Lindberg cites Franz Lau in support of the late »Tower experience«. See Franz LAU: »The posting of Luther's theses—legend or fact?« CThM 38 (1967), 697.

27 Ian D. Kingston SIGGINS: Martin Luther's doctrine of Christ. Yale publications in religion 14 (New Haven 1970), especially 3-8.

28 Otto W. HEICK: The just shall live by faith. CThM 43 (1972), 579-590.

problem is whether one may identify statements of the Young Luther as the position of the Mature Luther, a procedure of Karl Holl and his followers. Those who warn against this point out that in so doing one ascribes teachings of the »Catholic« Luther to the »Evangelical reformer«, and thereby distorts his relationship to the later Lutheran Church. If this is correct, then a new biography of Luther is urgently needed. Prior to this, thorough discussions on an impartial basis are needed in a forum such as the International Congress on Luther Research. Meanwhile, the failure to deal seriously with the problem of the time and nature of Luther's transition from the Roman Catholic to the evangelical position mars the validity of the research of many fine scholars.

The trial of Luther was presented in two volumes following the 1971 anniversary of the Diet of Worms. The English canon, James Atkinson, investigated Luther's trial in the broader sense; in his volume, which sketched the history and provided copious quotations from the sources in translation, he presented the trial before Cajetan, the Leipzig Debate, the two bulls against Luther by Leo X, the trial at Worms, and the verdict given in the Edict of Worms.²⁹ De Lamar Jensen of Utah traced Luther's trial from the indulgence controversy, and then published the Edict of Worms in English, together with a sixteenth-century text in French.³⁰ Thomas A. Brady of Oregon charged the Lutherans at Augsburg (1530) with being unfair toward the Zwinglian citizens of Strassburg; since the city needed a political alliance with Saxony more than with Zürich, Jacob Sturm abandoned Zwingli, imposed Lutheran theology upon Strassburg, and maneuvered the city into the Schmalkald League.³¹

III The Theology of Luther

Two professors at Luther Seminary, St. Paul, Minnesota, have written theologies of Luther. Gerhard O. Forde took the *Theologia crucis* and the Law-Gospel dialectic as the principle for his study, which includes God's conde-

29 James ATKINSON: The trial of Luther. NY 1971.

30 De Lamar JENSEN: Confrontation at Worms: Martin Luther and the Diet of Worms, with a complete English translation of the Edict of Worms. Provo, Utah 1973. This is an elegant gift-edition with beautiful plates, including a facsimile reprint of a sixteenth-century text of the Edict in French.

31 Thomas A. BRADY, JR.: Jacob Sturm of Strasbourg and the Lutherans at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530. ChH 42 (1973), 183-202.

scension to man, atonement and justification, the sacraments, sanctification and political ethics, eschatology, and the church.³² Herman A. Preus has presented the results of a lifetime of reading, studying, writing about, teaching, and living Luther. Although his is not a critical work, it possesses that life and feeling which are absent in many writings on Luther. Preus presents the doctrine of God under the theology of the cross, followed by the doctrine of man, sin and justification, the church, the Christian life, and finally eschatology.³³

Interest has grown in Anglo-Saxon countries for Luther's »De servo arbitrio«. Freedom of the will was the major emphasis on the 1976 program of the Concordia Academy, an annual conference reminiscent of the Luther-Akademie, which concentrates upon the Lutheran Confessions. Included among the speakers were Klaus Schwarzwäller of Göttingen, Robert Preus of Fort Wayne, Walter Bouman of Columbus, and William Hulme of St. Paul. A number of colleges and seminaries offer occasional or regular seminars on »De servo arbitrio«. John Loeschen published an analysis of the concept of *necessitas* in relation to *promissio*; he found that for Luther, *necessitas* is the consequence of God's promise when seen from divine perspective, and »the condition for the certainty of our conscience in God's promise«, seen from the human perspective.³⁴ Meanwhile, Harry B. McSorley's book continued to engender a lively debate among Roman and Protestant scholars.³⁵

Closely related is the problem of Law and Gospel, which has come acutely to life in the controversies of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod. One group has based its thinking upon the position of the nineteenth-century patriarch, C. F. W. Walther,³⁶ and upon the work of Werner Elert in a contemporary theology of Law and Gospel; their system relates Law and Gospel not only to dogmatics and ethics, but also to practical areas such as homiletics,

32 Gerhard O. FORDE: Where God meets man: Luther's down-to-earth approach to the Gospel. MP 1972.

33 Herman A. PREUS: A theology to live by: studies in Luther. Accepted in 1975 for publication by Concordia, St. Louis. The writer expresses his thanks to Preus for making the typescript available for advance reading.

34 John LOESCHEN: Promise and necessity in Luther's De servo arbitrio. LQ 33 (1971), 257-267.

35 Harry J. MCSORLEY: Luther: right or wrong? MP 1969.

36 C. F. W. WALTHER: The proper distinction between law and Gospel/ tr. W. H. T. Dau. StL 1928 sqq.

evangelism, and stewardship.³⁷ This more liberal group («moderates») followed Elert, while some conservative opponents, objecting to a »Gospel reductionism«³⁸ and to the rejection of the third use of the law among the »moderates«, found themselves more comfortable with the position of Paul Althaus.³⁹ »Moderates« charged conservatives in turn with a legalism which destroyed the theology of Luther and the Confessions in the emphasis upon the inspiration, inerrancy, and authoritativeness of the Holy Scriptures.⁴⁰ A good balance was achieved by Richard Klann of St. Louis, who discerned the opposite dangers of legalism and antinomianism, corrected some misunderstandings about an alleged antinomianism in Elert, and pointed to the solution in the Formula of Concord.⁴¹

Outside the Missouri Synod, American theologians who urged the centrality of Law and Gospel included Robert C. Schultz, Forde, William Lazareth, Green, and Herman A. Preus. Karl Hertz of Springfield, Ohio, sharply criticized the misuse of Luther and the neglect of Law and Gospel in a sociological investigation by Kersten.⁴² Due to the overwhelming influence

- 37 Edward H. SCHROEDER: Law-Gospel reductionism in the history of The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod. CThM 43 (1972), 232-247. The homiletic implications have been developed by Richard R. CAEMMERER: Preaching for the church. StL 1959, with the thesis that the sermon should (1) proclaim the demands of God's law, (2) convince man of his inability to fulfil the law, and (3) show him how God nevertheless supplies his need.
- 38 John Warwick MONTGOMERY: Crisis in Lutheran theology. Vol. 1. Grand Rapids 1967, 81-123.
- 39 Eugene F. KLUG: Luther on law, Gospel, and the third use of the law. The Springfielder 38 (1974), 155-169.
- 40 Paul G. BRETSCHER: The log in your own eye. CThM 43 (1972), 645-686. He makes some good points, but harms his own case in seeking to overthrow his opponents. He quotes the conservative, Robert Preus: »The authority of Scripture is that property by which it *requires faith* and obedience to all its declarations«, Bretscher objects: »But this makes »faith« a response to *law* and *demand*, not to the Gospel«, taking the position that the Gospel cannot rest upon any imperative [676]. Preus could easily in return cite Luther's exposition of the First Commandment in the Large Catechism, where faith is commanded.
- 41 Richard KLANN: Reflections on disputes regarding the proper distinction between law and Gospel. Concordia journal 1 (1975), 34-45.
- 42 Karl HERTZ: Ethical stances and social issues among American Lutherans. LQ 24 (1972), 71-90. Cf. Lawrence KERSTEN: The Lutheran ethic: the impact of religion on laymen and clergy. Detroit 1970. Hertz charges that Kersten's questionnaire omitted important

of Reformed theology, especially in Calvinism, Puritanism, and Barthianism, Lutherans in America often show a Reformed leaning in regard to Law and Gospel, and accept the consequences for doctrine, ethics, and hermeneutical principles.

Ian Siggins, an Australian scholar residing in the United States, has written an important volume on Luther's Christology⁴³ in which he rejects the position of Aulén⁴⁴ and warns of the danger of stereotyping Luther's doctrine of the saving work of Christ. Actually Luther follows none of the previous dogmatic theories, but bases his Christology on Biblical theology.⁴⁵ Siggins' book is exemplary in many ways, for he considers all the periods of Luther's life, thereby avoiding the common tendency to draw hasty conclusions from the Young Luther, and provides generous documentation drawn from most categories of Luther's works. Especially noteworthy is his comparison of the varying meanings of the term, *Deus absconditus*, in several periods and contexts of Luther's career.⁴⁶ Although Siggins does not always attend to problems of textual criticism, nevertheless his knowledge and utilization of almost the whole Luther corpus gives his work reliability and permanent significance.

Luther's ecclesiology in relation to the *Una sancta ecclesia* and the *Magnus consensus* of the ages continues to be a problem for the scholar. In comparing Luther with Erasmus on this point, recent Roman Catholic scholars have charged Luther with a »radical individualism« and a contempt for tradition. John W. O'Malley of Detroit characterized the position of Erasmus as »continuity« at the expense of Luther's »discontinuity«. Without questioning the validity of attributing the three »*sola's*« to Luther or documenting them from the sources, he ascribed Luther's growing alienation to the allegedly exclusivistic use of Scripture.⁴⁷ Thereby he overlooked Luther's

points for evaluating the beliefs of a Lutheran, and that his attitudes toward Luther were based upon Ernst Troeltsch, Richard H. Tawney, Erich Fromm, and others. The book has been promoted by Lutheran church officials with free copies mailed to the clergy.

43 See note 27.

44 Ibid, 108 f. 133 f.

45 Ibid, 112 f.

46 Ibid, 82 f.

47 John W. O'MALLEY: Erasmus and Luther, continuity and discontinuity. SCJ 5 (1974), 46-65.

broad acceptance of the church-fathers and the historic creeds and liturgies of the Church, as attested to by such a treatise as »Von den Konziliis und Kirchen« (WA 50, 509-653). As a corrective, Green published an essay which compared Erasmus, Luther, and Melanchthon, and found that the two reformers were fully concerned about maintaining the *Magnus consensus*, but that they insisted that only that tradition was authentic which agreed with the Holy Scriptures.⁴⁸

The reformers' views on church-government were discussed by Hermann Sasse of Australia, who pointed out that for the reformers, authority in the Church must be divided into two aspects. The *potestas ecclesiastica* was primarily *jure divino*, that is, the authority vested in the Church to administer Word and Sacrament, »not by human force, but simply by the Word« (Conf Aug 28, 21). All other functions given to the bishops are *de jure humano* (Conf Aug 28, 19) and are not essential for the office of bishop.⁴⁹

The problem of sacramental fellowship within the doctrine of the Church has occupied theologians in Australia. The Leuenberg Concord, severely criticized by Scandinavian and American theologians, has also been rejected by Australians. An English translation was published in 1971 in the »Lutheran Theological Journal«, edited by H. P. Hamann of Luther Seminary in Adelaide, to which the editor added critical annotations.⁵⁰ Comparing the preliminary form of September 1971 with the revision of March 1973, he found the changes all to the good, but held that the basic objections had not thereby been overcome. The criticisms of Leuenberg have come especially from Scandinavia and Finland to »show a *magnus consensus*« of world Lutheranism against Leuenberg's position. Hamann concludes that it is »a question of union of churches vs. unity of faith«, or »as much unity now as possible, truth later« vs. »truth first, unity later«, in a move which abandons the position of Luther.⁵¹

48 Lowell C. GREEN: Erasmus, Luther, and Melanchthon on the *Magnus consensus*: the problem of the old and the new in the reformation and today. LQ 27 (1975), 364-381. This essay spoke also to the misunderstanding of Luther in James K. McCONICA: Erasmus and the grammar of consent. *Scrinium Erasmianum* 2 (1969), 77-99.

49 Hermann SASSE: Church government and theology. LThJ 6 (1972), 37-44.

50 DOCUMENTATION/ ed. Henry P. Hamann. LThJ 5 (1971), 122-134.

51 Henry P. HAMANN: Report on Leuenberg. LThJ 7 (1973), 110-117; quotation on 115.

The Lord's Supper itself has been researched by, among others, Edward F. Peters of Kansas. He has presented his findings on Luther, Melanchthon, and their followers at the Concordia Academy (1974) and in an earlier essay.⁵² Peters has found a difference between Luther and Melanchthon where the latter has gone out from Bucer's formula: *Nihil habet rationem sacramenti extra usum a Christo institutum*. Luther held that the sacramental union extended throughout the Communion service (WA Br 10, 348 f), whereas Melanchthon limited the presence of Christ to the moment of distribution and reception (CR 6, 48; 23, 61 f. 418 etc.). Peters illustrates these differing views on the nature and duration of the Real Presence with the controversies over Wolferinus, Besserer, and Beatus. Bucer's own position is traced by James M. Kittelson of Ohio to the teaching of Erasmus. Like Erasmus, Bucer felt that »communion« was the main part; therefore he was not concerned about the elements themselves, and could readily give in to Luther on this matter.⁵³ P. David Pahl of Australia has pointed to Luther's teaching of a bodily as well as a spiritual benefit from the Lord's Supper, tracing this concept back to the church fathers, showing its importance for Luther and the Confessions, and following its subsequent history through Lutheran Orthodoxy to Ernst Sommerlath, Elert, and Sasse.⁵⁴

IV Other Aspects of Luther's Teachings and Work as Reformer

With typical Anglo-Saxon interest in practical matters, British and American scholars have concentrated upon the political and social teachings of Luther. In his monograph on political ethics in the Reformation, John Tonkin relates these issues to justification. Christ's alien righteousness makes the believer *justus* and therefore a member of the spiritual kingdom; but since he is still *simul peccator*, he also remains in the worldly realm and subject to its authority. Tonkin sees merit in Luther's »freeing the world from dependence upon a religious framework of understanding to be a true

52 Edward F. PETERS: Luther and the principle: outside of the use there is no sacrament. CThM 42 (1971), 643-652.

53 James M. KITTELSON: Martin Bucer and the sacramentarian controversy: the origins of his policy of concord. ARG 46 (1973), 166-183.

54 P. David PAHL: A bodily influence in the sacrament — in the Fathers, in Luther, in modern Lutheranism. In: THEOLOGIA CRUCIS: studies in honour of Hermann Sasse/ ed. Henry P. Hamann. Adelaide 1975, 61-69.

government of law». ⁵⁵ Specific interactions of Luther in the political order have been treated in several other monographs. James S. Preus of Indiana has discussed the relationship of Luther and Carlstadt in the Wittenberg Movement of 1521-22. He notes that the »radical« measures which Carlstadt introduced in January 1522 had all previously been approved by Luther. Why then did he oppose Carlstadt? Preus' answer can be reduced to two main points: because Luther saw in Carlstadt a rival who threatened his own authority at Wittenberg, and because he felt that his rival's policies for implementation of reform endangered the cause of the Gospel. ⁵⁶ In his biography of Carlstadt, Ronald J. Sider agrees with Preus that until the conflict with Luther, both reformers were in essential doctrinal agreement. But when Sider extends this claim to the year 1524, ⁵⁷ he is overlooking the great difference in regard to the fundamental doctrine of Law-Gospel and the two kingdoms. Carter Lindberg of Boston has contrasted Carlstadt's legalistic demands for change at Wittenberg with Luther's emphasis upon the Gospel, and concluded: »The startling aspect of Luther's ministry was that in the midst of personal and social disintegration he did not tell people what they ought to do, but rather what God has done for them.« ⁵⁸ Robert N. Crossley of Minnesota traces Luther's political thought from the Wittenberg Disturbances and the Knights' Revolt to the Peasant War. He insists that Luther consistently stood by his basic position in which he recognized the divine institution of civil government and the wickedness of any popular revolt. ⁵⁹ A similar justification for Luther is given by Lloyd B. Volkmar of Texas in a book based entirely upon translated sources. ⁶⁰ Kyle Sessions of Illinois has published an analysis of various interpretations of the Peasant War with

55 John M. TONKIN: Church and the secular order in reformation thought. NY 1971, 44-46. 60.

56 James Samuel PREUS: Carlstadt's ordinaciones and Luther's liberty: a study of the Wittenberg Movement 1521-22. Cambridge, Mass. 1974, 66. 77.

57 Ronald J. SIDER: Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt: the development of his thought 1517-1525. Leiden 1974, 125-133. 143.

58 Carter LINDBERG: Reformation models of ministry as resources. LQ 27 (1975), 27-35; quotation, 35.

59 Robert N. CROSSLEY: Luther and the Peasants' War: Luther's actions and reactions. Jericho, N. Y. 1974, especially 62-64. 115 f.

60 Lloyd B. VOLKMAR: Luther's response to violence: why the reformer hurled his harsh »No!« against the peasants. NY 1974.

suggestions on how it should be understood today,⁶¹ and Eric Gritsch of Pennsylvania, although writing critically of Luther's doctrine of the two realms and of its applicability today, credits the reformer with consistency.⁶² Hans O. Tiefel has seriously criticized Luther's political ethics, held him responsible for the developments in the German Third-Reich, and censured the Lutheran theologians and churchmen of Germany. Even men who resisted Hitler, such as Walter Künneth and Hermann Sasse, are chided for adhering to Luther and rejecting Barth and the Barmen Declaration, while Althaus, Elert, August Marahrens, et al., are bitterly denounced.⁶³ Karl Hertz likewise called for a turning from the Lutheran position to that of Barth and his associates,⁶⁴ and attacked Hans Schwarz for referring to Althaus.⁶⁵ Schwarz in turn defended himself and pointed out distortions in the polemic of Hertz.⁶⁶

Luther's Biblical interpretation has been investigated in several studies on the relation of the Old Testament to the New Testament. James S. Preus has supplemented his earlier work which was limited to the Young Luther with an essay which presents the views of the Mature Luther.⁶⁷ The Australian, Maurice E. Schild, has studied apocalyptic in Luther with reference to his

61 Kyle C. SESSIONS: The war over Luther and the peasants: old campaigns and new strategies. SCJ 3 (1972), 25-44.

62 Eric W. GRITSCH: Martin Luther and violence: a reappraisal of a neuralgic theme. SCJ 3 (1972), 37-55.

63 On Luther's ethics, see Hans O. TIEFEL: The relationship between salvation and ethics in Luther's theology. LQ 25 (1973), 284-294; Tiefel writes: »For Luther, salvation in Christ does not directly affect, it does not transform, inform, or permeate the external and social structures of life« (289). TIEFEL announces that the following is taken from a forthcoming book in: The German Lutheran Church and the rise of National Socialism. ChH 44 (1972), 326-336. Tiefel develops the doctrine of the two-kingdoms in a kind of Dualism reminiscent of Troeltsch in: Use and misuse of Luther during the German Church Struggle. LQ 25 (1973), 395-411. See also the reply of GREEN: The political ethos of Luther and Lutheranism: a reply to the polemics of Hans Tiefel. LQ 26 (1974), 330-335.

64 Karl HERTZ: A response to Schwarz. LQ 27 (1975), 76-79. Hertz misquotes Schwarz and distorts his position in his criticisms of the item in note 65.

65 Hans SCHWARZ: Luther's doctrine of the two kingdoms — help or hindrance for social change. LQ 27 (1975), 59-75.

66 Hans SCHWARZ: The two kingdoms — tool and shibboleth. LQ 27 (1975), 257-259.

work on Daniel and Revelation.⁶⁸ Green has studied the homiletic technique of Luther in an essay on his doctrinal preaching.⁶⁹ The occasion of a new hymnbook with a common liturgy for all English-speaking Lutherans has opened a controversy over the applicability of Luther's liturgical principles today. Some representatives of the Inter-Lutheran Commission on Worship (ILCW) have rejected Luther's position on the Canon of the Mass in favor of the thinking of several Roman and Anglo-Catholics.⁷⁰ Opponents have criticized their position as unevangelical and irreconcilable with the Lutheran Confessions, and have supported instead the teaching of Luther.⁷¹ The hymn collection was praised for having restored many hymns of Luther and the continental hymnwriters.

Regarding the Catechism and education, a number of essays have appeared. Strauss has investigated paedagogical principles in the Reformation,⁷² Green has studied uses of the Bible in the schools,⁷³ and William J. Wright of Tennessee the rise of education in Hesse.⁷⁴ Genevieve Kelly of California

67 James Samuel PREUS: Luther on Christ and the Old Testament. CThM 43 (1972), 488-497. Cf. PREUS: From shadow to promise: Old Testament interpretation from Augustine to Luther. Cambridge, Mass. 1969.

68 Maurice E. SCHILD: Luther's interpretations of Daniel and Revelation. In: *Theologia crucis* [see note 54], 107-118.

69 Lowell C. GREEN: Justification in Luther's preaching on Luke 18: 9-14. CThM 43 (1972), 732-747.

70 Thus recently Mark SENN: Martin Luther's revision of the eucharistic canon in the *Formula Missae* of 1523. CThM 44 (1973), 101-118. Cf. the sarcastic attack on Luther in the earlier essay of Eugene BRAND: Luther's liturgical surgery. In: *Interpreting Luther's legacy* = Essays in honor of Edward C. Fendt. MP 1969, 108-119; Brand criticizes Luther for having made his changes in the canon of the mass.

71 Oliver K. OLSON: Contemporary trends in liturgy viewed from the perspective of classical Lutheran theology. LQ 26 (1974), 110-157. The »Eucharistic Prayer« is rejected in favor of the *Verba testamenti*, and even the usage of the term »Eucharist« among Lutherans, by Paul ROREM: Luther's objection to a eucharistic prayer. The Cresset 38 (1975), 12-16. See also Arnold F. KRUGLER: The words of institution: proclamation or prayer? *Concordia journal* 2 (1976), 53-60.

72 Gerald STRAUSS: Reformation and pedagogy: educational thought and practice in the Lutheran reformation. In: *The pursuit of holiness in late medieval and Renaissance religion*/ ed Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman. Leiden 1974, 272-293.

73 Lowell C. GREEN: The Bible in sixteenth-century humanist education. *Studies in the Renaissance* 19 (1972), 112-134.

74 William J. WRIGHT: The impact of the reformation on Hessian education. ChH 44 (1975), 182-198.

has specialized in attitudes toward drama among theologians and educators; she shows that Luther's support for drama was invaluable to its development, and adds to his the views of men such as Melanchthon, Agricola, Waldis, and Sachs.⁷⁵ Luther as musician and hymnwriter has received attention, chiefly from theologians and musicologists of the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod.⁷⁶ William Young of Michigan has investigated the publication of music at Strassburg, shedding light upon the work of Luther, Johann Walter, Wolff Köpphel, Mathias Greiter, and others.⁷⁷

V Luther's Relationships with Others

An outstanding series of studies into Luther's connections with his predecessors has been contributed in the doctoral dissertations of the pupils of Heiko A. Oberman. They fill a long-felt need in scholarly circles. Scott H. Hendrix of South Carolina has presented a study of the doctrine of the Church in mediaeval exegesis of the Psalms, together with the ecclesiology contained in Luther's first lectures on the Psalter.⁷⁸ The examples from writers such as Augustine, Cassiodorus, Hugo of St. Cher, Peter the Lombard, and Perez are of great interest to the Luther researcher, but the fact that the investigation of Luther is limited to »Dictata super Psalterium« (1513-1515) means that what is said about the reformer by Hendrix has limited validity for his career as a whole (see Part II). Kenneth Hagen of Wisconsin first researched the concept of testament in mediaeval exegesis and in Luther's Lectures on Hebrews,⁷⁹ afterwards he studied Luther's later development

75 Genevieve KELLY: Theater and theology in the German reformation. LQ 25 (1973), 160-175.

76 A FOLIO OF HYMNS OF MARTIN LUTHER IN NEW TRANSLATIONS AND SETTINGS/ tr. F. S. Janzow and arr. Carl Schalk and Richard Hillert. Church Music (1975) Nr. 1, 32-39; Roger UTTI, »The imagery behind Luther's »Ein feste Burg«, ibid., 41-45; Oliver C. RUPPRECHT: »Das Achtliederbuch in historical and critical perspective (1524-1974)«, Church Music (1974) Nr. 2, 35-51, with musical settings of the eight tunes. Herbert NÜCHTERLEIN: The sixteenth-century Kantorei and its predecessors. Church Music (1971) Heft 1, 3-8.

77 William YOUNG: Music printing in sixteenth-century Strasbourg. Renaissance quarterly 24 (1971), 486-501.

78 Scott H. HENDRIX: Ecclesia in via: ecclesiological developments in the medieval Psalms exegesis and the Dictata super Psalterium (1513-1515) of Martin Luther. Leiden 1974.

79 Kenneth HAGEN: A theology of testament in the Young Luther: the Lectures on Hebrews. Leiden 1974.

until 1527 in comparison with several contemporaries,⁸⁰ with questionable conclusions for the doctrine of Law-Gospel.⁸¹ In a comparison of Luther and Hus, Hendrix points out important contrasts in the theology of the two reformers.⁸² David C. Steinmetz of North Carolina, after subjecting the use of the word »Augustinian« theology to a critical analysis, notes four different meanings for the term, and then questions Oberman's application of the term to Luther.⁸³

Heading our list of publications relating to Luther and his contemporaries is a new monograph on Erasmus as a New Testament scholar by Albert Rabil, Jr., of New York;⁸⁴ his analysis of Erasmus' hermeneutical concepts, and of his Biblical interpretations, will interest scholars everywhere. The theology of Lefèvre was compared with that of Luther by the Canadian scholar, Henry Heller, and found pre-Reformational,⁸⁵ whereas Green found

80 Kenneth HAGEN: From testament to covenant in the early sixteenth century. SCJ 3 (1972), 1-24. He searches the positions of Luther, Erasmus, Melanchthon, Zwingli, Bucer, and others. I am not convinced by his documentation when e.g. Hagen finds that »Melanchthon sees a soteriological and sacramental continuity of Old and New Testament in *promissio*, a synonym for *testamentum*, *pactum* and *foedus*« citing CR 21, 37-41. Only the following words apply: »Accurate enim in scripturis obseruanda sunt vocabula sc. promissionis Testamenti pacti foederis et similia quibus divinae promissiones significantur« (CR 21, 41). It seems to me that Melanchthon isn't calling these words synonyms, but is saying that they must be distinguished, *accurate obseruanda sunt*.

81 Hagen writes: »For the young Luther up to 1517-18, only one Word comes forth from God. That Word is constant and the same. It is variously called testament, promise, law, gospel ... The difference between old and new testament is with man, not with God ... The difference between the testaments is the difference between receiving the *testamentum dei et Christi* as letter or spirit, as old or new« (5). This conclusion seems to conflict with statements of Luther himself (see WA 57 II, 59-60; later in WA 2, 466), and Hagen gives no documentation from Luther for this crucial statement. Thus also in his book, 65.

82 Scott H. HENDRIX: »We are all Hussites«?: Hus and Luther revisited. ARG 65 (1974), 134-161.

83 David C. STEINMETZ: Luther and the late medieval Augustinians: another look. CThM 44 (1973), 245-260.

84 Albert RABIL, Jr.: Erasmus and the New Testament: the mind of a Christian humanist. San Antonio 1972. Rabil compares Erasmus and Luther on Romans in Chap. VI, 157-180.

85 »Despite [his] use of the terminology of the Lutherans, Lefevre's later evangelicism

an anticipation of the view of justification in Luther, Melanchthon, and the Formula of Concord in Erasmus' view of *imputatio*.⁸⁶ John Headley of North Carolina, proceeding from the earlier studies of Stange, Althaus, and Köhler, has reopened the question of Luther's attitudes toward the Fifth Lateran Council, showing the reformer's decided rejection of that meeting, accompanied with a new skepticism toward conciliar as well as papal authority.⁸⁷ Headley notes that Luther praised the University of Paris (WA 2, 676 f) in 1519 for criticizing the Council and appealing its condemnation of the Pragmatic Sanction to another, more ecumenical council.⁸⁸ David Hemsall has shown that the Sorbonne was sympathetic to Luther and his position on the indulgence prior to the Leipzig Debate; in spite of pressure from Eck and others, Paris delayed its condemnation of Luther until months after his excommunication, first turning against him in April 1521.⁸⁹ Other Roman Catholics who reacted to Luther included Raffaele Maffei, discussed by John F. D'Amico,⁹⁰ Jacob Schöpfer, researched by Philip J. Secker,⁹¹ and Gasparo Contarini, investigated by James Bruce Ross.⁹² Among the opponents of Luther from the left, several studies have been devoted to Thomas Müntzer besides those already mentioned. Joyce Irwin of Georgia has shown that Müntzer grounded his theology in Scriptures, interpreted or even distorted according to his pneumatic presuppositions.⁹³ Ronald F. Thiemann of

like his earlier was still far from the thought of the Wittenberg theologians. The basic antinomies of Lutheran thought — grace and sin, law and gospel — escaped him. « Henry HELLER: »The evangelicism of Lefèvre d' Etaples: 1525. Studies in the Renaissance 19 (1972), 42-77; quotation, 64.

86 Lowell C. GREEN: The influence of Erasmus upon Melanchthon, Luther and the Formula of Concord in the doctrine of justification. ChH 43 (1974), 183-200. Reprinted in condensed form as »Erasmus and the reformation«. Theology digest 23 (1975) No. 1, 26-30.

87 John HEADLEY: Luther and the Fifth Lateran Council. ARG 64 (1973), 55-78.

88 Ibid, 62 and note 28.

89 David HEMSALL: Martin Luther and the Sorbonne, 1519-21. Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research 46 (1973) No. 113, 28-40.

90 John F. D'AMICO: A humanist response to Martin Luther: Raffaele Maffei's *Apologeticus*. SCJ 6 (1975), 37-56.

91 Philip J. SECKER: James Schöpfer: »Catholic and Evangelical«. SCJ 4 (1973), 99-107.

92 James Bruce ROSS: The emergence of Gasparo Contarini: a bibliographical essay. ChH 41 (1972), 22-45.

93 Joyce IRWIN: Müntzer's translation and liturgical use of Scripture. CThM 43 (1972), 21-28.

Connecticut, after accusing Luther of having judged Müntzer without sufficiently studying his theology, nevertheless acknowledges that Luther correctly saw the incompatibility of their teachings as an opposite position on Law and Gospel and justification.⁹⁴ Richard G. Cole of Iowa has assessed the political views of Eberlin von Günzburg, including his utopian state of Wolfaria, and compared his views with those of Luther.⁹⁵ His colleague at Luther College, John R. Christianson, has refuted the notion that the Lutheran reformers rejected Nikolaus Copernicus or that there was among them a war of religion versus science. He shows that earlier Lutherans (Osiander, Melancthon, Rhaeticus, Reinhold, Brahe et al.,) espoused a geo-static Copernican position, whereas Christopher Rothmann, Michael Mästlin, and the latter's pupil, Johann Kepler, led the movement to a helio-static Copernicanism.⁹⁶ Robert Kolb of St. Louis has researched Luther's friend, Nikolaus von Amsdorf, showing his place in the Reformation and in the formation of the Lutheran Confessions in the following period.⁹⁷

VI Luther in His Influence Upon the Following Generation

In view of the pronounced interest in the Confessions in the free-church situation prevailing in Anglo-Saxon lands, and with special consideration of 1977 as the quadricentennial of the Formula of Concord, it is fitting to conclude our essay by calling attention to several important studies in this area. Regarding the period preceding the appearance of the Formula of Concord, we should mention, besides Kolb's work on Amsdorf, the research on Flacius by Oliver K. Olson of Philadelphia.⁹⁸ Luther Peterson of New York

94 Ronald F. THIEMANN: Law and Gospel in the thought of Thomas Muentzer. LQ 27 (1975), 347-363.

95 Richard G. COLE: Law and order in the sixteenth century: Eberlin von Günzburg and the problem of political authority. LQ 23 (1971), 251-256.

96 John R. CHRISTIANSON: Copernicus and the Lutherans. SCJ 4 (1973), 1-10.

97 Robert Allan KOLB: Nikolaus von Amsdorf, knight of God and exile of Christ: piety and polemic in the wake of Luther. Ph. D. Diss., University of Wisconsin, 1973; Parents should explain the sermon: Nikolaus von Amsdorf on the role of the Christian parent. LQ 25 (1973), 231-240.

98 Oliver K. OLSON: Theology of revolution: Magdeburg, 1550-1551. SCJ 3 (1972), 56-79, discusses the political views not only of Flacius but also of Amsdorf, Nikolaus Gallus, other Gnesio-Lutherans and Philippists, and other contemporaries. His 1966 dissertation at Hamburg was on Flacius as a liturgiologist. He gave a commemorative lecture on

has investigated the Philippists, Johann Pfeffinger and Georg Major.⁹⁹ Of the actual framers of the Concord, studies made include Kolb's work on Jakob Andreae,¹⁰⁰ an investigation into the role of Andreas Musculus in furthering women's education by Green,¹⁰¹ a book by Ernest F. Klug of Fort Wayne comparing Luther and Chemnitz on the doctrine of Scripture,¹⁰² and English versions of Martin Chemnitz and David Chytraeus by Preus, Kramer, and Montgomery.¹⁰³

A major work on Lutheran theology after Luther has been undertaken by Robert D. Preus of Fort Wayne; it is a historical-systematic study, following the order of the traditional loci. The first volume investigates the manner in which theological prolegomena were handled by Luther and such successors as Melancthon, Chemnitz, Chytraeus, Nikolaus Selnecker, Johann Gerhard, Cort Aslakssen, Jesper R. Brochmand, and many others, down until David Hollaz; the second volume is devoted to the treatment of God and creation among a similar cross-section of theologians.¹⁰⁴ Preus has additional material at hand for future volumes continuing this fruitful analysis. In

Flacius at the 1975 Concordia Academy: Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520-1575): his influence upon the Formula of Concord and later times.

99 Luther David PETERSON: The Philippist theologians and the Interims of 1548: soteriological, ecclesiastical, and liturgical compromises and controversies within German Lutheranism. Ph. D. Dissertation, the University of Wisconsin, 1974. Listed in Dissertation abstracts international, A: The humanities and social sciences 35 (1974), 2913-A. Peterson read a paper at the 1975 Concordia Academy: The Interim, Adiaphora, and the Albertine Saxons.

100 Robert KOLB: Six Christian sermons on the way to Lutheran unity. CThM 44 (1973), 261-274. Kolb plans to publish an English translation of the Six Sermons of Andreae in 1977.

101 Lowell C. GREEN: The education of women within the context of universal education: an important aspect of the reformation of the sixteenth century. Paper read at the Sixteenth Century Studies Conference, Iowa City, Iowa, November 1, 1975. Pending publication.

102 Ernest F. KLUG: From Luther to Chemnitz: on scripture and the word. Grand Rapids 1971. This book is a valuable addition to available materials in English.

103 DE DUABUS NATURIS IN CHRISTO/ tr. Jacob A. O. Preus as Two natures in Christ. StL 1970; Examen Concilii Tridentini/ tr. Fred Kramer as Examination of the Council of Trent. StL 1971. These join the earlier translation of David CHYTRAEUS': De sacrificiis/ tr. John Warwick Montgomery as Chytraeus on sacrifice. StL 1962.

104 Robert D. PREUS: The theology of post-reformation Lutheranism. Vol. 1: A study of theological prolegomena; Vol. 2: God and His creation. StL 1970-1972.

conclusion, we refer to a work in the theology of the Confessions by the Finnish-American scholar, Taito Almar Kantonen. After teaching theology at Hamma Divinity School, Springfield, Ohio, for thirty-six years, he has added to his many other publications this volume treating the doctrine of man in the Lutheran Confessions. Written both with a deep knowledge of Luther and a broad acquaintance with Confessional thought, his is a masterly synthesis which deserves a widespread circulation.¹⁰⁵

As a postscript, we must refer to an important investigation into the influence of Luther upon the nineteenth-century theologian, Albrecht Ritschl, as recently published in the revised dissertation of David W. Lotz of New York City.¹⁰⁶ So far as his Luther research is concerned, several criticisms are in order: methodologically, his work is weakened by his citation of translated texts. Thus he quotes the Lectures on Romans in the version of Wilhelm Pauck, who, however, tends to make Luther in English read very much like Karl Holl's interpretation. Since he also quotes Ritschl from the English version, some scientific theologians will be displeased also with his picture of the nineteenth-century liberal. When he introduces Luther's distinction of Law and Gospel, Lotz claims that this distinction is already found in the »*Dictata super Psalterium*« (1513-1516), where actually Luther is operating within Augustine's contrast of the letter and the spirit.¹⁰⁷ Apart from several blemishes such as these, however, it must be said that this young scholar has approached his topic with a rare gift for balanced decisions and a wisdom far beyond his years, so that he has been able to refute careless criticisms of Ritschl coming from the orthodox side, and to show Ritschl's fundamental concern for Luther (Chap. I). Lotz gives due recognition to the points where Ritschl actually distorted reformational thought (Chap. II-IV), and then proceeds to show how nevertheless the great liberal's understanding and misunderstanding of Luther has been a crucial factor in subsequent Luther research, history, and theology (Chap. V).

105 Taito Almar KANTONEN: *Man in the eyes of God: human existence in the light of the Lutheran Confessions*. Lima, Ohio 1972.

106 David W. LOTZ: *Ritschl & Luther; a fresh perspective on Albrecht Ritschl's theology in the light of his Luther study*. Nashville 1974.

107 *Ibid.*, 106 f.