

Martin Luther's Relations with Italian Humanists

With Special Reference to Ioannes Baptista Mantuanus

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The subject with which this article is concerned, »Luther's relations with Italian humanists«, is an important but difficult topic to discuss. The influence of Italian humanism on the intellectual and religious development in late medieval Germany has been discussed by many scholars.¹ How much knowledge Luther had of classical writers has also been analyzed.² But Luther's familiarity with and knowledge of Italian humanism and especially of the famous humanist-poet Baptista Mantuanus (1448-1516) has not been as closely discussed and examined as other questions we have just mentioned.³ It is clear that the question is an important one if we are to understand the relationship between Martin Luther and Italian humanism.

It is out of the scope of this paper to define the term »humanism« in detail or to review a long, complicated history of the interpretation of the term. Since the days of Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1897) and of the learned debate between Ernst Troeltsch (1865-1923) and Wilhelm Dilthey (1833-1911) over the relationship of the Renaissance and the Reformation,⁴ the term »humanism« has been variously interpreted and defined. Of the past German students of history who dealt with the problem, Paul Joachimsen (1867-1930), Gustav Bauch (1848-1925), Ludwig Geiger (1848-1919) and Michael Seidlmayer (1902-1961) may be men-

1 See, for example, Lewis W. SPITZ: *The religious renaissance of the German humanists*. Cambridge, MA 1963; James M. KITTELSON: *Humanism and the Reformation in Germany*. *Central European history* 9 (Atlanta, GA 1976), 303-322. For a recent bibliographical essay on the topic, see James D. TRACY: *Humanism and the Reformation*. In: *Reformation Europe: a guide to research*/ ed. by Steven Ozment. StL 1982, 33-57.

2 See Oswald G. SCHMIDT: *Luther's Bekanntschaft mit den alten Classikern*. L 1883; Hans-Ulrich DELIUS: *Zu Luthers historischen Quellen*. LuJ 42 (1975), 71-125.

3 See, for example, Emil ZWEYNERT: *Luthers Stellung zur humanistischen Schule und Wissenschaft*. Chemnitz 1895; Werner SCHWARZ: *Studies in Luther's attitude towards humanism*. *The journal of theological studies* 6 (Oxford 1953), 66-76.

4 *THE REFORMATION: basic interpretations*/ ed. and with an introduction by Lewis W. Spitz. 2nd ed. Lexington, MA; Toronto 1972, 11-43.

tioned as some of the Renaissance scholars whose views on humanism have been influential.⁵ Great contributions have been made in recent years by scholars in the United States. Hans Baron's concept of »civic humanism«, Paul O. Kristeller's views on humanism which understand it to be an educational curriculum with emphasis on grammar, rhetoric, history, poetry and moral philosophy and Charles Trinkaus' discussion of the relationship between the *studia humanitatis* and the *studia divinitatis* deserve special attention from any serious student of Renaissance humanism.⁶

For purposes of our discussion, it is important to emphasize that humanism, as Kristeller has often pointed out, was an essentially literary, rather than a philosophical, movement rooted in a desire for the cultural rebirth of classical antiquity and that, originating in Italy, it spread to the countries of the North in the early and late fifteenth century. It is generally agreed that humanism affected Germany before it influenced England and France. The political and social conditions were relatively peaceful in Germany in the fifteenth century, while England and France were embroiled in the Hundred Years' War. A second

5 Of their numerous publications, we mention here only Paul JOACHIMSEN: *Gesammelte Aufsätze: Beiträge zur Renaissance, Humanismus und Reformation*/ ed. by Notker Hammerstein. Aalen 1970; Ludwig GEIGER: *Renaissance und Humanismus in Italien und Deutschland*. 2nd ed. B 1899; Michael SEIDLMAYER: *Wege und Wandlungen des Humanismus: Studien zu seinen politischen, ethischen, religiösen Problemen*. GÖ 1965. For Bauch's publications see note 30 below, Grossmann: *Humanism in Wittenberg*, 140.

6 See especially Hans BARON: *The crisis of the early Italian renaissance: civic humanism and republican liberty in an age of classicism and tyranny*. Princeton, NJ 1966; Paul Oskar KRISTELLER: *Humanism and scholasticism in the Italian renaissance*. Byzantion 17 (Bruxelles 1944/45), 346-374; Paul Oskar KRISTELLER: *The classics and renaissance thought*. Cambridge, MA 1955; Charles TRINKAUS: *In our image and likeness: humanity and divinity in Italian humanist thought*. 2 vols. Chicago, IL 1970. For representative recent German books, see, for example, Hans RUPPRICH: *Humanismus und Renaissance in den deutschen Städten und an den Universitäten*. Reprint of the ed. L 1935. DA 1964; Heinz O. BURGER: *Renaissance, Humanismus, Reformation: deutsche Literatur im europäischen Kontext*. Bad Homburg, ZH 1969. A useful aid is Eckhard BERNSTEIN: *Die Literatur des deutschen Frühhumanismus*. S 1978. For recent discussions of German humanism, see Lewis W. SPITZ: *The course of German humanism*. In: *Itinerarium Italicum: the profile of the Italian renaissance in the mirror of its European transformations*/ ed. by Heiko A. Oberman with Thomas A. Brady, Jr. Leiden 1975, 371-436; Erich MEUTHEN: *Charakter und Tendenzen des deutschen Humanismus*. In: *Säkulare Aspekte der Reformationszeit*/ ed. by Heinz Angermeier. M 1983, 217-276 [extensive and useful notes, 231-266].

reason for the early arrival of humanism in Germany was that a great number of German students went to Italy to study law, literature and other subjects during this time and became acquainted with the new learning which was spreading in Italy.

Although many scholars emphasized in the past that humanism took on a more religious character as it crossed the Alps, recent studies of the religious elements of Renaissance humanism and the resultant de-emphasis on the pagan or secular nature of the Renaissance movement as a whole may result in further studies of the relationship between religion and humanism both in Italy and in Germany. For example, much has been discussed in recent years on how much the Order of the Augustinian Hermits in Germany contributed to the development of humanism.⁷ The recent publication of important books on Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516) also deserves our attention.⁸

It is commonly stated that Italian humanism began to spread in Germany in the latter half of the fifteenth century. But we must be more careful about the timing. Already in the twelfth century a number of German students began to go to Italian universities such as Bologna, Padua and Pavia to study law. As some commentators have noted, law students played an important role in the dissemination of Italian humanism.⁹ The German students who went to Italian law schools in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were clerics who wanted to acquire a knowledge of Roman law.¹⁰ Perhaps one of the best known German

7 Rudolph ARBESMANN: *Der Augustiner-Eremitenorden und der Beginn der humanistischen Bewegung*. Würzburg 1965; *BIBLIOGRAPHIE ZUR GESCHICHTE UND THEOLOGIE DES AUGUSTINER-EREMITENORDENS BIS ZUM BEGINN DER REFORMATION*/ ed. by Egon Gindele. B 1977; Adolar ZUMKELLER: *Augustiner-Eremiten*. TRE. Vol. 4. B; NY 1979, 728-739. See also Paul O. KRISTELER: The contribution of religious orders to renaissance thought and learning. *American Benedictine Review* 21 (NY 1970), 1-55; Franz MACHILEK: *Klosterhumanismus in Nürnberg um 1500*. *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg* 64 (1977), 10-45.

8 Paul VOLK: Abt Johannes Trithemius. *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 27 (1962), 37-49; Klaus ARNOLD: *Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516)*. Würzburg 1971; Noel L. BRANN: *The abbot Trithemius (1462-1516): the renaissance of monastic humanism*. Leiden 1981.

9 See, for instance, Denys HAY: *The Italian renaissance in its historical background*. Cambridge 1961, 69-74; Lauro MARTINES: *The social world of the Florentine humanists*. Princeton, NJ 1963. Cf. William J. BOUWSMA: *Lawyers in early modern culture*. *American historical review* 78 (NY 1973), 303-327.

10 Erich GENZMER: *Kleriker als Berufsjuristen im späten Mittelalter*. In: *Études d'histoire du droit canonique dédiées à Gabriel Le Bras*. Vol. 2. P 1965, 1207-1236. See also Theodor MÜTHER: *Römisches und kanonisches Recht im Mittelalter*. Rostock 1871, 5-8.

jurists of the thirteenth century was Johannes Semeca († 1246), also known as Johannes Teutonicus.¹¹ The canon of Goslar and provost of Halberstadt, he taught at Bologna after obtaining the decretorum doctor degree there and wrote an immensely influential »Glossa ordinaria«. Because only canon law was taught at almost all German universities until the middle of the fifteenth century, many German students, especially from the southern and western cities of Germany, went to the universities of upper Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century to study Roman and canon law.¹² Although most of them went to Italy to study law, they were influenced by the early humanist movement which was affecting Italian universities. On returning to Germany, many of these students played an important role in the diffusion of Italian humanism in their own country.

In Bologna, there was already a German »nation« in the twelfth century, and it soon became the strongest of all foreign nations at the university.¹³ Between 1289 and 1562 there were about 4400 German students in Bologna,¹⁴ many of whom were law students. Around the beginning of the fifteenth century, the University of Padua, which was by then no less prestigious than Bologna, had the largest number of German students in the Faculty of Law.¹⁵ Viewed in this

- 11 [Johann] [Friedrich] VON SCHULTE: Johannes Teutonicus (Semeca, Zemeke). *Zeitschrift für Kirchenrecht* 15 (1881), 107-132; Kenneth PENNINGTON: A »consilium« of Johannes Teutonicus. *Traditio* 26 (NY 1970), 435-440. Another famous thirteenth-century German, Nicolaus de Bibra († after 1307), studied Roman law in Rome and Padua. On his »Occulti Erfordensis carmen satiricum«, written in 1281-1283, see Theodor MÜTHER: *Der Occultus Erfordensis und seine Bedeutung für die Geschichte der Jurisprudenz in Deutschland*. In his: *Zur Geschichte der Rechtswissenschaft und der Universitäten in Deutschland*. Jena 1876, 38-67; Gustav BAUCH: *Die Universität Erfurt im Zeitalter des Frühhumanismus*. Breslau 1904, 1-24; Winfried TRUSEN: *Anfänge des gelehrten Rechts in Deutschland: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Frührezeption*. Wiesbaden 1962, 222 f.
- 12 Heinz LIEBERICH: *Die gelehrten Räte: Staat und Juristen in Baiern in der Frühzeit der Rezeption*. *Zeitschrift für bayerische Landesgeschichte* 27 (1964), 120-189.
- 13 Karl H. BURMEISTER: *Das Studium der Rechte im Zeitalter des Humanismus im deutschen Rechtsbereich*. Wiesbaden 1974, 64; Helmut COING: *Römisches Recht in Deutschland. Ius romanum medii aevi* 5 (Milano 1974) Nr. 6, 47.
- 14 Burmeister: *Op. cit.*, 65. See also Arnold LUSCHIN VON EBENGREUTH: *Quellen zur Geschichte deutscher Rechtshörer in Italien. Sitzungsberichte der phil.-hist. Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 124 (W 1892), 1-30.
- 15 Coing: *Op. cit.*, 47: »Im Laufe des 15. Jahrhunderts überflügelten Siena und Padua Bologna. Padua hat für die Deutschen auch in der Folgezeit besondere Bedeutung gehabt.«

light, the historical process known as the »Reception of Roman Law« in Germany, which began at the end of the thirteenth century and ended with the establishment of the Reichskammergerichtsordnung of 1495, can be characterized as one aspect of the diffusion of Roman law in Europe as a whole.¹⁶ It is important to note again that when these German clerics returned to their homeland, they brought with them humanistic ideas and concepts which they acquired while they studied law in Italy.

In recent years, many studies of the early humanistic movements in late medieval Germany have been published.¹⁷ They show in general how German students educated in Italian universities were instrumental in starting and promoting humanistic circles and groups in German cities such as Heidelberg, Bamberg, Nürnberg, Eichstätt, Augsburg and Ulm.¹⁸ As examples of German students who studied law in Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century, we may mention Nicolaus Cusanus (1401-1464) and Gregor Heimburg (c. 1400-1472). Cusanus, the noted theologian and philosopher, received the degree of decretorum doctor in 1432 from the University of Padua. Heimburg, who is sometimes called the greatest German lawyer of the fifteenth century, was also a graduate of the University of Padua, from which he received the doctor in

16 There is a vast literature on the »Reception of Roman Law«. To list only a few, Paul KOSCHAKER: *Europa und das römische Recht*. 4th ed. M 1966; R. C. VAN CAENEGEM: *The reception of Roman law*. In: *The late middle ages and the dawn of humanism outside Italy: a meeting of northern and mediterranean traditions*/ ed. by M. G. Verbeke and J. Ijsewijn. Leuven 1972, 195-201.

17 For an old study of early humanistic circles, see Paul JOACHIMSOHN: *Frühhumanismus in Schwaben*. *Württembergische Vierteljahrshefte für Landesgeschichte* 5 (1896), 63-126. 257-288. For a more recent study, see, for example, Hans RUPPRICH: *Die Frühzeit des Humanismus und der Renaissance in Deutschland*. L 1938.

18 Studies of the circles in the cities mentioned include the following: Karl SCHÄDLE: *Sigmund Gossenbrot, ein Augsburger Kaufmann, Patrizier und Frühhumanist*. Augsburg 1938; Friedrich ZOEPFL: *Der Humanismus am Hof der Fürstbischöfe von Augsburg*. *Historisches Jahrbuch* 62/69 (1949) Heft 2, 671-708; Anton UHL: *Kardinal Peter von Schaumberg*. In: *Lebensbilder aus dem Bayerischen Schwaben*. Bd. 3. M 1954, 37-80; Franz BITTNER: *Leonhard von Egloffstein: ein Bamberger Domherr und Humanist*. *Bericht des Historischen Vereins zu Bamberg* 107 (1971), 53-159; Theodor NEUHOFFER: *Die älteren Pirkheimer und Eichstätt*. *Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Eichstätt* 64 (1971), 85-91; Gerhard RITTER: *Aus dem Kreise der Hofpoeten Friedrichs I.* *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* 38 (1923), 109-114; Helmut WACHAUF: *Nürnberger Bürger als Juristen*. Erlangen 1972; Gerhard GÄNßLEN: *Die Ratsadvokaten und Ratskonsulenten der Freien Reichsstadt Ulm*. Köln 1966.

utriusque juris in 1430.¹⁹ Unlike other clerics who studied in Italy, Heimbürg was one of the earliest German laymen to study law there. Thus even in the first half of the fifteenth century Italian humanism was transmitted to Germany by students like Cusanus and Heimbürg.

In the second half of the fifteenth century, too, German students went to Italian universities in great numbers. But what is notable is that after about 1450, the number of lay German students who studied law in Padua and other Italian universities increased rapidly. As one historian put it, »when change did come the pace was almost precipitous«. ²⁰ On returning to Germany, these sons of the nobility and the city patriciate and, increasingly in the second half of the century, of the urban bourgeoisie became chancellors and counselors of church and secular princes or secretaries and advisers to large city governments. Some of them became transmitters not only of Roman law, but also of the new humanist movement which originated in Italy. Let us briefly look at some examples.

Matthias von Kemnat († 1476) and his humanistic circle in Heidelberg have often been discussed.²¹ Special mention must be made of the Pirckheimers of Nürnberg. Thomas († 1473) and Johann Pirckheimer (1441-1502) were two of

19 On Nicolaus Cusanus, see Paul E. SIGMUND: *Nicholas of Cusa and medieval political thought*. Cambridge, MA 1963; Morimichi WATANABE: *The political ideas of Nicholas of Cusa, with special reference to his De concordantia catholica*. Geneva 1963; Erich MEUTHEN: *Nikolaus von Kues (1401-1464): Skizze einer Biographie*. 6th ed. MS 1982. About Heimbürg, see Paul JOACHIMSOHN: *Gregor Heimbürg*. Reprint of the ed. Bamberg 1891. Aalen 1983; Morimichi WATANABE: *Humanism in the Tyrol: Aeneas Sylvius, Duke Sigmund and Gregor Heimbürg*. *Journal of medieval and renaissance studies* 4 (Durham, NC 1974), 177-202; Morimichi WATANABE: *Gregor Heimbürg and early humanism in Germany*. In: *Philosophy and humanism: renaissance essays in honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*/ ed. by Edward P. Mahoney. Leiden 1978, 406-422.

20 Wolfgang KUNKEL: *The reception of Roman law in Germany: an interpretation*. In: *Pre-Reformation Germany*/ ed. by Gerald Strauss. NY 1972, 269. See also Frank BARON: *Plautus und die deutschen Frühhumanisten*. In: *Studia humanitatis: Ernesto Grassi zum 70. Geburtstag*/ ed. by Eginhard Hora and Eckhard Kessler. M 1973, 89: »Seit etwa 1450 sind die Texte der studia humanitatis in Deutschland stark vertreten.«

21 Karl HARTFELDER: *Matthias von Kemnat*. *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte* 22 (1882), 331-349. See also Karl HARTFELDER: *Deutsche Übersetzungen klassischer Schriftsteller aus dem Heidelberger Humanistenkreis*. HD 1884; Maximilian BUCHNER: *Die Stellung des kurpfälzischen Kanzlers und Speyerer Bischofs Mathias Ramung (gest. 1478) zum geistigen Leben seiner Zeit*. *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 16 (1909) Nr. 1, 81-94.

the members of the illustrious patrician family in Nürnberg who studied law in Italy in the fifteenth century. After studying at Bologna, Pavia, Padua and Perugia, Thomas received his doctorate in canon law from Padua in 1445; Johann completed his legal education at Padua in 1465. Johann was very much influenced by Italian humanism and was in correspondence with Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499) while studying in Padua.²² We must also remember that some German students who later became famous for their literary accomplishments also went to Italy during the second half of the fifteenth century. The wandering poet and humanist Peter Luder (c. 1415-1474?), who was in Italy, is so well known that no detailed examination is necessary here in our discussion.²³ After studying at Erfurt, Albrecht von Eyb (1420-1475) went to the universities of Pavia, Bologna and Padua, obtaining his doctorate in both laws finally in 1459 from Pavia. It was in Pavia that he was introduced to humanistic studies by his teacher Balthasar Rasinus. As canon of Bamberg after 1494, he assiduously promoted early Franconian humanism.²⁴ Johann Pirkheimer's famous son, Willibald Pirkheimer (1470-1539), also went to Padua to study law.²⁵ Because of his increasing interest in humanism and philosophy, his father ordered him to transfer to Pavia so that he might complete his legal studies. In addition to the above, many others such as Johann von Eych, Bishop of Eichstätt (1445-1464), Peter von Schaumberg (1388-1464), Bishop of Augsburg, Johannes von Dalberg (1455-1503), Bishop of Worms, and Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514) of Nürnberg may be mentioned.²⁶

22 Arnold F.S. REIMANN: Die älteren Pirkheimer: Geschichte eines Nürnberger Patriziergeschlechtes im Zeitalter des Frühhumanismus (bis 1501). L 1944; Neuhofer: Op. cit., 85-91.

23 Wilhelm WATTENBACH: Peter Luder, der erste humanistische Lehrer in Heidelberg. Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins 22 (1869), 33-127; E.F. BARON: The beginnings of German humanism: the life and works of the wandering humanist Peter Luder. Berkeley, CA 1966. — Berkeley, CA, University of California, Diss. 1966.

24 Max HERRMANN: Albrecht von Eyb und die Frühzeit des deutschen Humanismus. B 1893; G. GAILHOFER: Der Humanist Albrecht von Eyb. Sammelblatt des Historischen Vereins Eichstätt 42 (1927), 28-71; Joseph A. HILLER: Albrecht von Eyb, medieval moralist. Washington, DC 1939.

25 Rud[olf] HAGEN: Willibald Pirkheimer in seinem Verhältnis zum Humanismus und zur Reformation. Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Stadt Nürnberg 4 (1882), 61-211; Walter FUCHS: Willibald Pirkheimer. Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung 31 (1971), 1-18; Niklas HOLZBERG: Willibald Pirkheimer: griechischer Humanismus in Deutschland. M 1981.

26 Studies of these Germans include Ernst REITER: Rezeption und Beachtung von Basler Dekreten in der Diözese Eichstätt unter Bischof Johann von Eych (1445-1465). In: Von Konstanz nach

These examples show that in the first and second half of the fifteenth century, many German students went to Italy to study and became transmitters of humanistic ideas and concepts on returning to their home country. It seems easy to assume in this connection that these German law students were responsible for the transfer of a large amount of legal knowledge from Italy to their country during this period. Although only briefly (April-June, 1505) a student of law, Martin Luther himself could cite in the »Defence and explanation of all the articles« (1521) Nicolaus Tudeschis Panormitanus (1386-1445), one of the most distinguished Italian canonists of the late Middle Ages.²⁷ How much did Luther know about Italian humanism and humanists? How did he come to know about Baptista Mantuanus in particular? Any serious attempt to assess the influence of Italian humanism on the Reformation must be based on a close examination of the relationship between Italian humanists and the reformer himself. It is no doubt with this in mind that Helmar Junghans wrote the famous article in 1970 on »The influence of humanism on Luther's development up to 1518«.²⁸ Bernd Moeller asserted not long ago: »Ohne Humanismus, keine Reformation.«²⁹

If the southern and western parts of Germany came under the influence of Italian humanism before the sixteenth century, what was the intellectual state

Trient = Festgabe für August Franzen/ ed. by Remigius Bäumer. M; W 1972, 215-232, Uhl: Op. cit.; Karl MORNEWEG: Johann von Dalberg: ein deutscher Humanist und Bischof. HD 1887; [Wilhelm] WATTENBACH: Hartmann Schedel als Humanist. Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte 11 (1871), 351-374; Richard STAUBER: Die Schedelsche Bibliothek: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Ausbreitung der italienischen Renaissance, des deutschen Humanismus und der medizinischen Literatur. FR 1908.

27 WA 7, 430, 9-12 / 431, 9-12; also WA 1, 656, 30-33; 2, 10, 19-22; WA Br 1, 391, 100 (174). See Morimichi WATANABE: Authority and consent in church government: Panormitanus, Aeneas Sylvius, Cusanus. *Journal of the history of ideas* 33 (NY 1972), 227. On Luther and Panormitanus, see Ernst SCHÄFER: Luther als Kirchenhistoriker. GÜ 1897, 42. 61. 116. 204; Christa TECKLENBURG JOHNS: Luthers Konzilsidee in ihrer historischen Bedingtheit und ihrem reformatorischen Neuansatz. B 1966, 28. 127. 130-134. Of the famous lawyers, Luther also referred to Franciscus Accursius (c. 1185-1263) – WA 44, 732, 4-8 – Baldus de Ubaldis (1327-1400) – WA TR 4, 463, 17-23 (4743) – and Domitius Ulpianus (c. 170-228) – WA TR 2, 476, 15-17 (2470a) –.

28 Helmar JUNGHANS: Der Einfluß des Humanismus auf Luthers Entwicklung bis 1518. LuJ 37 (1970), 37-101. See also his recent book: Helmar JUNGHANS: Der junge Luther und die Humanisten. Weimar 1984; GÖ 1985.

29 Cited in Heiko A. OBERMAN: Headwaters of the Reformation: initia Lutheri – initia reformationis. In: Luther and the dawn of the modern era = Papers for the Fourth International Congress for Luther Research/ ed. by Heiko A. Oberman. Leiden 1974, 69.

of affairs in the middle part of Germany, in which Luther was born and educated? Were there forces and factors which promoted humanistic studies?

Intellectual life in Saxony in the fifteenth century has been described as »almost medieval in character« by Maria Grossmann in her study of humanism in Wittenberg.³⁰ The Italian Renaissance, which had been received with enthusiasm in other parts in Germany in the fifteenth century, had found less response in Saxony and middle Germany until the beginning of the next century. Two universities in the region, Erfurt (1392) and Leipzig (1409), were still essentially dominated by scholasticism. The predominantly medieval character of these two universities cannot be denied.³¹ But some recent studies of the University of Erfurt, which Luther entered in the summer semester of 1501, have shown that the influence of humanism in Erfurt was considerable and that the study of humaniora began to be encouraged by some professors as the influence of scholasticism and Aristotle gradually diminished.³²

Peter Luder came to the University of Erfurt in 1460.³³ Conrad Celtis (1459-1508), the »Arch-Humanist«, taught there in 1485-86 and inspired Conrad Mutianus Rufus (1470-1526) to pursue humanistic studies.³⁴ These early

30 Maria GROSSMANN: *Humanism in Wittenberg, 1485-1517*. Nieuwkoop 1975, 16.

31 For older studies of the University of Erfurt, see Friedrich Wilhelm KAMPSCHULTE: *Die Universität Erfurt in ihrem Verhältnis zu dem Humanismus und der Reformation*. 2 vols. Reprint of the ed. Trier 1858, 1860. Aalen 1970; Bauch: *Die Universität Erfurt ...*, recently Erich KLEINEIDAM: *Universitas studii Erfordensis*. Vol. 2: 1460-1521. L 1969. Of the older studies of the University of Leipzig, the following can be mentioned: *DIE ANFÄNGE DER UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG*/ ed. by Paul W. Ullrich. L 1895; *FESTSCHRIFT ZUR FEIER DES 500JÄHRIGEN BESTEHENS DER UNIVERSITÄT LEIPZIG*/ ed. by Rector and Senat. 4 vols. L 1909, especially vols. 1 and 2; recently *ALMA MATER LIPSIENTIS*/ ed. by Lothar Rathmann. L 1984.

32 Horst Rudolf ABE: *Der Erfurter Humanismus und seine Zeit: die Geschichte des Erfurter Humanismus bis zum Jahre 1516*. Erfurt 1953. — Jena, Univ., Diss. 1953; Horst Rudolf ABE: *Die Universität Erfurt in ihren berühmtesten Persönlichkeiten. Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universität Erfurt (1392-1816)* 4 (1958); Helmar JUNGHANS: *Erfurt, Universität*. TRE. Vol. 10. B; NY 1982, 141-144. See also Martin BRECHT: *Martin Luther: his road to Reformation 1483-1521* (Martin Luther: sein Weg zur Reformation (engl.))/ tr. by James L. Schaaf. Phil 1985, 40: »The city [Erfurt] had already become a sort of outpost of humanism in northern Germany.«

33 Spitz: *The religious renaissance ...*, 133; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 32.

34 Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 32. About Conrad Celtis in general, see Lewis W. SPITZ: *Conrad Celtis, the German Arch-humanist*. Cambridge, MA 1957; Spitz: *The religious renaissance*, 81-109. On Conrad Mutianus, see Lewis W. SPITZ: *The conflict of ideals in Mutianus Rufus*. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (LO 1953), 121-143; Spitz: *The religious renaissance, 130-154*; Burger: *Op. cit.*, 351-377.

humanists, who stayed in Erfurt rather briefly, put more emphasis on languages and rhetoric than on dialectic. There was at the beginning a peaceful co-existence between the early humanism and the scholastic method of teaching. Then the humanist movement gradually extended its sway more and more, while the scholastic method of teaching stagnated in the last two decades of the fifteenth century.

Around 1500 the intellectual situation at the University gradually became more tense. Jodokus Trutfetter (c. 1460-1519) and Bartholomäus Arnoldi from Usingen (1462-1532), the two outstanding professors in the faculty of liberal arts, began to lean increasingly to a pronounced nominalism in philosophy which began to have effects on theology. At the same time, Nikolaus Marschalk (c. 1470-1525) began to attack scholasticism in 1500,³⁵ and interest in humanism among the students continually increased. By 1501 all the bursae of the University of Erfurt had rectors sympathetic to humanism.³⁶ It was in this intellectual milieu that Luther began his studies. It is important to remember that Johann Lang (1488-1548), Luther's later friend, was another scholar with humanistic interests at the University of Erfurt.³⁷

35 On Trutfetter, see Gustav L. PLITT: Jodokus Trutfetter von Eisenach, der Lehrer Luthers in seinem Wirken geschildert. Erlangen 1876; Johannes BIEREYE: Über die Wohnung Luthers und einige zeitgenössische Humanisten in Erfurt. In: Beiträge zur thüringischen und sächsischen Geschichte = Festschrift für Otto Dobenecker zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag am 2. April 1929. Jena 1929, 243-266; Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 34-36. 40f; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 60. 126. 139. 159. Arnoldi from Usingen is discussed in the following books: Nikolaus HÄRING: Die Theologie des Erfurter Augustiner-Eremiten Bartholomäus Arnoldi von Usingen: Beitrag zur Dogmengeschichte der Reformationszeit. Limburg 1939; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 42. 56. 126; Eugen HILDEBRAND: Bartholomäus Arnoldi aus Usingen: ein Lehrer Luthers an der Universität Erfurt. Nassauische Annalen 94 (1983), 327-334. I was not able to use the last article. For Marschalk, see Gustav BAUCH: Wolfgang Schenck und Nikolaus Marschalk. Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 12 (1895), 353-409; NICOLAUS MARSCHALK'S COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF WITTENBERG, JANUARY 18, 1503/ ed. by Edgar C. Reinke and Gottfried Krodel. Valparaiso, IN 1967. For Marschalk's attack on scholasticism which began in 1500, see Grossmann: *Humanism ...*, 47f; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 34-39.

36 Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 40; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 32.

37 On Johann or Johannes Lang, see Martin BURGDORF: Johann Lange, der Reformator Erfurts. Kassel 1911; Max Paul BERTRAM: Luther und Lang: Skizze der Lebensfreundschaft zweier Augustinereremiten. Zeitschrift des Vereins für Kirchengeschichte der Provinz Sachsen 14 (1917), 129-161; Kenneth HAGEN: An addition to the letters of John Lang: introduction and

The University of Wittenberg, which was established in 1502 by Elector Frederick the Wise (1468, 1486-1525) of Saxony, presented a somewhat different picture from Erfurt and Leipzig.³⁸ Taking advantage of the past experiences of other German universities which were all patterned after the Paris or the Bologna model, the newly opened university at Wittenberg was first founded without the permission of ecclesiastical authorities and was from the beginning more open to new ideas and not hostile to humanism. In his »Dialogus«, written in 1508, Andreas Meinhardi († 1525) extolled the liberal arts and humanistic learning at Wittenberg in order to attract new students.³⁹ As Junghans pointed out in his »Wittenberg als Lutherstadt«, two persons to whom Elector Frederick the Wise entrusted the task of establishing the university, Martin Pollich from Mellerstedt († 1513) and Johannes von Staupitz (c. 1470-1524), were friends of the humanists.⁴⁰ Hermann von dem Busche (c. 1468-1534), who was the first lecturer in the humanities, Nikolaus Marschalk, who joined the liberal arts faculty in 1502, and Johann Lang, who arrived in Wittenberg in 1511 together

translation. ARG 60 (1969), 27-32; Renould WEIJENBORG: Die Wittenberger Titusbriefvorlesung des Erfurter Augustiners Johannes Lang. In: Scientia Augustiniana: Studien über Augustinus, den Augustinismus und den Augustinerorden = Festschrift Adolar Zumkeller zum 60. Geburtstag/ ed. by Cornelius Petrus Mayer and Willigis Eckermann. Würzburg 1975, 423-468; Reinhold WEIJENBORG: Das bisher unbekannte »Propheticum Sibyllae Erythrae« als Gedicht des Erfurter Humanisten Johannes Lang O. E. S. A. und als Faktor der Reformationsgeschichte. Antonianum 58 (1983), 358-447.

- 38 On the University of Wittenberg in general, see, for example, Gustav BAUCH: Wittenberg und die Scholastik. Neues Archiv für Sächsische Geschichte und Altertumskunde 18 (1897), 327-339; Karl BAUER: Die Wittenberger Universitätstheologie und die Anfänge der Reformation. Tü 1928; Max STEINMETZ: Die Universität Wittenberg und der Humanismus (1502-1521). In: 450 Jahre Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg. Vol. 1: Wittenberg 1502-1817. Halle 1952, 103-139; Maria GROSSMANN: Humanismus in Wittenberg 1486-1519. LuJ 39 (1972), 11-30; Junghans: Der junge Luther ..., 56-62.
- 39 Andreas MEINHARDI: The Dialogus of Andreas Meinhardi: a utopian description of Wittenberg and its university 1508/ ed. and tr. with introduction and notes by Edgar C. Reinke. Ann Arbor, MI 1976.
- 40 Helmar JUNGHANS: Wittenberg als Lutherstadt. 2nd ed. B 1982, 52. For Martin Pollich from Mellerstedt and Johannes von Staupitz, see Ernest G. SCHWIEBERT: New groups and ideas at the University of Wittenberg. ARG 49 (1958), 62; Burger: Op. cit., 323-327; David C. STEINMETZ: Misericordia dei: the theology of Johannes von Staupitz in its late medieval setting. Leiden 1968; David C. STEINMETZ: Luther and Staupitz: an essay in the intellectual origins of the protestant Reformation. Durham, NC 1980.

with Luther, were some of those who tried to nurture the growth of humanistic studies at the University of Wittenberg.⁴¹

In recent years, we have learned a great deal about Luther's life before his entry in 1505 into the monastery of the Augustinian Hermits in Erfurt, but how much he was influenced by the humanists in Erfurt during this time is still a disputed and open question. After initiating his studies at a »trivial« school in Mansfeld probably in 1491,⁴² he was sent in the spring of 1497, perhaps as early as 1496, to Magdeburg, where he probably came under the influence of the *Devotio Moderna*.⁴³ His schooling at the parish school of St. George in Eisenach for three or four years after one year's stay at Magdeburg was much more important from the standpoint of the influence of humanism on him. Undoubtedly the humanistic *sodalitas* around Johannes Braun (1470–1516) and other humanistically inclined teachers like Wigand Guldennapf († 1533) exerted considerable influence on the young, impressionistic student.⁴⁴

At the University of Erfurt, which he entered in 1501 as »Martinus ludher ex mansfelt«, he was registered by the newly elected rector Jodokus Trutfetter from Eisenach in the Great College (*collegium maius*).⁴⁵ In all probability,

41 On Hermann von dem Busche, see Schwiebert: *New groups ...*, 60–79; Burger: *Op. cit.*, 323–327, 354f. 388f; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 57.

42 On the influence of Erfurt humanists on Luther, see, for example, Martin BURGDORF: *Der Einfluß der Erfurter Humanisten auf Luthers Entwicklung bis 1510*. L [1928]; Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 23–44. About Luther's student days in Magdeburg, see *ibid.*, 9–15; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 27–29, 31. 63–66. The following will be useful for examining Luther's youth. Otto SCHEEL: *Martin Luther: vom Katholizismus zur Reformation*. 3rd ed. Vol. 1: *Auf der Schule und der Universität*. Tü 1921; Otto SCHEEL: *Luther und die Schule seiner Zeit*. LuJ 7 (1925), 141–175; *DOKUMENTE ZU LUTHERS ENTWICKLUNG (BIS 1519)*/ed. by Otto Scheel. 2nd ed. Tü 1929.

43 Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 15–17.

44 For Luther's letter of 5 September 1501, see Hermann DEGERING: *Aus Luthers Frühzeit: Briefe aus dem Eisenacher und Erfurter Lutherkreise 1497–1510*. *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 33 (1916), 78f. Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 30. 42, believes that Martin Viropolitanus, who sent this letter from the *Porta coeli* (Heaven's Gate) to Johannes Braun on 9 [?] September 1501 (WA Br 1, 6f [1]), was none other than Martin Luther. Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 72, seems to think that it is not clear. About the humanistic *sodalitas* in Eisenach, see Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 63–71. 304f.

45 Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 28. See also Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 32. There are still many unknown or obscure aspects of Luther's student days at Erfurt, although some new data have been found in recent years. See Biereye: *Über die Wohnung ...*; Karl-Heinz ZUR MÜHLEN: *Zur Erforschung des »jungen Luther« seit 1876*. LuJ 50 (1983), 49–125.

Luther lived in the bursa called St. George's Bursa, which was headed by Jakob Scholl (c. 1487-1505), a friend of humanism.⁴⁶ Crotus Rubianus (c. 1480-1545), later one of the authors of the famous »Letters of obscure men«, also lived in the same bursa.⁴⁷ As a student of the liberal arts faculty, Luther naturally studied in the first four years of his higher education scholastic subjects, such as grammar, rhetoric and logic. He seems to have been especially impressed by Trutfetter and Arnoldi.⁴⁸ But he also read ancient writers and poets. Plato, Cicero, Livy, Quintilian and Terence, as well as many of the prescribed works of Aristotle, were on his classical reading list.⁴⁹ Of the poets, he read Homer, Ovid, Virgil and Plautus, in addition to the contemporary poet Baptista Mantuanus. He later complained that he had not read enough of the classical historians and poets as a student and that scholastic theology had prevented a further acquaintance with them.⁵⁰ But his exposure to the classical writers was not as limited as he indicated.

While studying in Erfurt, Luther came in contact with Nikolaus Marschalk, who had assembled around 1500 a circle of friends interested in the study of Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages. Together with Wolfgang Schenck (1480-1510), Marschalk also published some books which laid the foundations for future humanistic studies in Erfurt.⁵¹ Luther became a close friend of Johann Lang, a Greek scholar in the Marschalk circle, and Peter Eberbach (c. 1480-1531), often called Petreius, another pupil of Marschalk.⁵² Whether he also met Georg Spalatin (1484-1545), later important secretary of Elector Frederick the Wise, is an open question.⁵³ It is known that Luther attended in 1504 a non-

46 Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 32. 72. Cf. Burger: *Op. cit.*, 324; Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 30f (Brecht believes that Luther lived in the Heaven's Gate).

47 On Crotus Rubianus (Johann Jäger aus Dornheim), see Spitz: *The religious renaissance ...*, 113-127. 130f. 237-240; Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 31. 42; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 72f; Crotus Rubianus and Johann Lang lived in St. George's Bursa. See also Wilhelm RENDELL: *Luther, Crotus und Hutten: eine quellenmäßige Darstellung des Verhältnisses Luthers zum Humanismus*. Marburg 1890.

48 Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 34. 36.

49 *Ibid.*, 43; see also Schmidt: *Luther's Bekanntschaft ...*

50 WA 15, 46, 18-21 (1524); Brecht: *Martin Luther*, 43; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 89.

51 Bauch: *Wolfgang Schenck ...*; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 34.

52 On Peter Eberbach, see Junghans: *Der Einfluß ...*, 92; Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 42; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 45-48. 53f. 79.

53 Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 40f; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 79. Marschalk's students included Georg

compulsory lecture on the comedy »Sergius« of Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), which was given by Hieronymus Emser (1477-1527),⁵⁴ a severe critic of Luther in later years. Since Marschalk went to Wittenberg in 1502, taking with him two of his pupils, Georg Spalatin and Hermann Trebelius (c. 1475-1514) from Eisenach,⁵⁵ his influence on Luther in Erfurt should not be overrated. But all in all Luther had enough opportunity to acquaint himself with Erfurt humanists. It has often been noted that when he entered the Augustinian monastery in 1505, the only books he took with him were Virgil and Plautus.⁵⁶

Luther was in Wittenberg from 1508 to 1509 to lecture on moral philosophy, but, as Heinrich Boehmer (1869-1927) put it, he returned to Erfurt in 1509, with the same spiritual outlook with which he had left it a year before.⁵⁷ It is only after Luther came a second time to Wittenberg in 1511 that he became more acquainted with some of the Italian humanists and their philological techniques. While lecturing on the Psalms (*Dictata super Psalterium*) as an obscure professor, Luther became what Ernst Schwiebert and Helmar Junghans called a »Biblical humanist«⁵⁸ without being fully aware of it. The person around whom humanists and future reformers rallied in the period 1512-1517 was Georg Spalatin, chaplain, librarian and private secretary of Elector Frederick the Wise.⁵⁹ Luther also became acquainted in 1515 with Conrad Mutianus, the humanist of Gotha.⁶⁰ But, taken as a whole, Luther's knowledge of Italian humanism never became extensive.

Spalatin and Johann Lang. Spalatin, who was then Marschalk's secretary, lived in Marschalk's house called »Zum Glücksrad« (Augustinerstraße 15), which was near St. Georg's Bursa. See Burger: *Op. cit.*, 324; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 72. Junghans – *ibid.*, 79 – thinks that Luther probably met or at least saw Spalatin. See also Georg BERBIG: *Georg Spalatin und sein Verhältnis zu Luther auf Grund ihres Briefwechsels bis zum Jahre 1525*. Halle 1906; Irmgard HÖß: *Georg Spalatin 1484-1545: ein Leben in der Zeit des Humanismus und der Reformation*. Weimar 1956.

54 Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 42; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 40. 83. On the »Sergius«, see also Spitz: *The religious renaissance ...*, 64. 240; Junghans: *Der Einfluß ...*, 74.

55 Junghans: *Der Einfluß ...*, 96; Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 40; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 40. 42. 90.

56 WA TR I, 44, 21-23 (116); Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 80. 87.

57 Heinrich BOEHMER: *Road to Reformation: Martin Luther to the year 1521* (*Der junge Luther* (engl.)/tr. by John W. Doberstein and Theodore G. Tappert. Phil 1946, 53.

58 Schwiebert: *New groups ...*, 69; Helmar JUNGHANS: *Luther als Bibelhumanist*. Lu 53 (1982), 1-9.

59 See note 53 above.

60 Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 41.

Of all Italian humanists of his time, Luther was definitely familiar with Lorenzo Valla (1405-1457), Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494), Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola (1469-1533) and Petrus of Ravenna (1488-1518). In his »Explanations of the Ninety-five theses« (1518), he mentioned – without regard to Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola – these Italians along with Johannes Rucherat from Wesel (c. 1425-1481), Johannes Reuchlin and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1455-1536).⁶¹ No doubt, Valla was the most important of them all. It was through the second edition of Valla's attack on the Donation of Constantine, edited by Ulrich von Hutten (1488-1532), that Luther became acquainted with the famous Italian humanist's work.⁶² Already in 1433, Nicolaus Cusanus had denied the authenticity of the Donation of Constantine.⁶³ But Valla's attack, which Hutten published in 1518 and 1519 in enormously popular editions of his own, not only refuted the authenticity of the document successfully but established Valla's reputation as an incisive, daring student of philology who criticized Aristotle, dialectic and the Scholastics and emphasized the importance of ancient languages. Reinhold (Renoud) Weijenborg (1920-1984) noted in his recent study that Johann Lang also referred to Valla, as well as Pico, in his »Scolia in Lactancium« (Explanatory notes on Lactantius) which was based on his lectures given in October 1518.⁶⁴ In 1537 Luther published an annotated translation of the Donation of Constantine, »Einer aus den hohen Artikeln des päpstlichen Glaubens, genannt Donatio

61 WA I, 574, 21-26. Of the many recent books on Valla, see Mario FOIS: *Il pensiero cristiano di Lorenzo Valla nel quadro storico-culturale del suo ambiente*. Roma 1969; Giovanni DI NAPOLI: *Lorenzo Valla: filosofia e religione nell'umanesimo italiano*. Roma 1971; Salvatore I. CAMPOREALE: *Lorenzo Valla, umanesimo e teologia*. Firenze 1972; Wolfram SETZ: *Lorenzo Vallas Schrift gegen die Konstantinische Schenkung De falso credita et ementita Constantini donatione: zur Interpretation und Wirkungsgeschichte*. Tü 1975. Luther said that Valla was »ein fromer man gewesen, purus, simplex, dexter, candidus. ... Is coniunxit pietatem cum literis« (WA TR 2, 107, 6-10 [1470]). Recent studies of Pico della Mirandola are too numerous to be mentioned here. On Petrus of Ravenna, see Gotthold BOHNE: *Petrus Ravennas, sein Leben und sein Werk*. In: *Concordia decennalis: deutsche Italienforschung = Festschrift der Universität Köln zum 10jährigen Bestehen des Deutsch-Italienischen Kulturinstituts Petrarchahaus 1941*. Köln 1949, 147-200.

62 Setz: *Op. cit.*, 163f.

63 Watanabe: *The political ideas ...*, 151f; Setz: *Op. cit.*, 25-32.

64 Reinhold WEIJENBORG: *Die »Scolia Lactancium« des Erfurter Reformators Johannes Lang*. ARG 73 (1982), 35-67.

Constantini.«⁶⁵ By the first half of the sixteenth century, Valla had apparently become well known in Saxony. In discussing Spalatin's purchase for the University Library in 1539, Walter Friedensburg (1855-1938) stated: »More remarkable than the number of books purchased (153), or the price (\$ 3,000), is their content. Here we search in vain for Aristotle, and only now and then we encounter a Scholastic. ... In the collection were also writings by the Humanist Marsilius Ficinus, Aeneas Sylvius, Angelus Politianus, Leo Aretinus, Picus of Mirandula, Laurentius Valla, Reuchlin, and Erasmus.«⁶⁶

Luther considered Valla a complete partisan of his own views and relied on Valla in his reply to Erasmus, »De servo arbitrio« (The enslaved will), 1525, »Indeed«, said he, »for my part, one Wycliff, and another, Lorenzo Valla, as well as Augustine, whom you [Erasmus] omit, is my entire authority.«⁶⁷ In the Table talk, Luther praised Valla on three occasions, saying in one place: »Lorenzo Valla is the best Italian that I have seen or discovered. He disputes ably on free will. He sought simplicity in piety and letters at the same time.«⁶⁸

Thus Luther's familiarity with Valla is clear beyond doubt. But it is much harder to determine to what extent Luther was familiar with Pico della Mirandola and Petrus of Ravenna. Another Italian, Marsilio Ficino, was no doubt one of the most popular Italian humanists in Germany partly because of his friendly attitude towards German counterparts, in contrast to the posture of superiority taken by Poggio Bracciolini (1380-1459) or Enea Sylvio Piccolomini (1405-1464).⁶⁹ In 1482, Ficino welcomed a delegation sent by Duke Eberhard II of Württemberg (1447, 1496-1504) which included Johannes Vergenhans (= Naucclerus, 1430-1510), Gabriel Biel (1410-1495) and Johannes Reuchlin.⁷⁰ Reuchlin

65 WA 50, (65) 69-89.

66 Cited in Schwiebert: Luther and his times, 251.

67 Spitz: The religious renaissance ..., 242.

68 WA TR 1, 109, 1-3 (259): »Laurencius Valla ist der best Walh, den ich mein lebtage geschn oder erfaren hab. De libero arbitrio bene disputat. Quaesivit simplicitatem in pietate et in literis simul.«

69 For a brief introduction to the vast literature on Marsilio Ficino, see Josef NOLTE: Ficino, Marsilio (1433-1499). TRE. Vol. 11. B; NY 1983, 171-174.

70 Spitz: The religious renaissance ..., 12f. About Martin Prenninger, a Doctor of Canon and Civil Law at the University of Padua, who respected Marsilio Ficino greatly and who held the chair of Canon Law at the University of Tübingen, see Wolfgang ZELLER: Der Jurist und Humanist Martin Prenninger gen. Uranius (1450-1501). Tü 1973; Raymond KLIBANSKY: The continuity of the Platonic tradition during the middle ages, together with Plato's Parmenides in the

studied later in Italy with Ficino and Pico. Pico, like Ficino, began to enjoy popularity in Germany in the second half of the fifteenth century. Jakob Wimpfeling (1450-1528) once regretted that he had not heard Pico, Ficino and other Italian humanists. Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560) was certainly familiar with Pico. But whatever Luther knew about Pico, Petrus and Ficino seems to have been acquired only indirectly or superficially.⁷¹

What is, then, the relationship between Luther and Mantuanus? How much did the reformer know about the popular humanist-poet from Mantua? In the Table talk, Luther stated that of the contemporary poets, he first read Baptista Mantuanus.⁷² What kind of poet was he? Why did Luther read his poems? What did he think of them?

Baptista Mantuanus was born at Mantua, April 17, 1447⁷³ as the eldest son of Pietro Spagnolo, a Spanish nobleman from Granada, who had settled in Mantua after the naval battle off Gaeta in 1435.⁷⁴ A pupil of Publio Gregorio Tifernate di Castello (1414 – after 1462) and of Giorgio Merula (1430/31-1494) in classical literature and language, he moved to Padua and attended the University of Padua probably in the years 1462 and 1463. He studied philosophy there under Paolo Bagellardi († 1492/94).

Entering the Carmelite monastery at Mantua around 1464 against his father's will,⁷⁵ he continued his studies at Ferrara. Ordained priest in 1470, he became

middle ages and the renaissance. Millwood, NY 1982, 44. The first part of Klibansky's book was originally published in 1939, the second part, in 1943.

71 Spitz: *The religious renaissance*, ..., 45.

72 WA TR 1, 107, 31f (256): »Baptista Mantuanus primus fuit poeta, quem legi, deinde legi Heroidas Ouidii, post incidi in Virgilium.« See also *Dokumente zu Luthers Entwicklung* ..., 88; Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 42f; Junghans: *Der junge Luther* ..., 79. 205.

73 His year of birth is generally given as 1448, but see Hans TRÜMPY: *Die Fasti des Baptista Mantuanus von 1516 als volkshundliche Quelle*. Nieuwkoop 1979, 5.

74 For the life of the poet, see, for example, Giuseppe FANUCCHI: *Della vita del B.P. Battista Spagnoli detto il Mantovano*. Lucca 1887; Wilfred P. MUSTARD: *The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus*. Baltimore, MD 1911, 11-17; Erich MEUTHEN: *Baptista Mantuanus. Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. FR 1957, 1228; William Ernest PAINTER: *Baptista Mantuanus, Carmelite humanist*. Columbia, MO 1960 – Columbia, MO, University of Missouri, Diss., 1960; Reinhard DUCHTING: *Baptista Mantuanus. Lexikon des Mittelalters*. Vol. 1. M; ZH 1980, 1424f.

75 At the age of sixteen, Baptista revealed his decision to join a cloistered life in a letter to his father. Painter: *Op. cit.*, 37. 40: »Having come down with the plague and stricken with fear from the fever, he turned to St. Mary for aid and promised a votive and to serve her ceaselessly if

lector in the monastery of St. Martin at Bologna in 1472. His studies were continued at the University of Bologna, and he received his Master of Theology in 1475. Although his monastery was visited by a plague during his term as lector, he was sheltered and protected by a wealthy friend, Lodovico Foscarari, in the city and later found a refuge at a beautiful villa of an enthusiastic pupil, Baptista Refrigerio, in the ancient village of Claterna between Imola and Bologna.⁷⁶

In 1479/80 he was prior at Mantua and then was elected Vicar-General of the Carmelite Reformed Congregation of Mantua in 1483. It is remarkable that he was elected to this office six times, each time serving a two-year term followed by the four-year retirement from office.⁷⁷ When he was elected Vicar-General of the Mantuan Congregation again in 1489, he accepted the Santa Casa of Loreto from Cardinal Basso and established a group of Carmelite monks there. Next year he was in Bologna. But he seems to have spent most of his remaining life at Mantua. On May 22, 1513, he was elected General of the entire Carmelite Order and probably held the office till his death on March 20, 1516. He was beatified on December 17, 1885, by Pope Leo XIII.⁷⁸

Baptista enjoyed the favor and the patronage of the Gonzagas of Mantua, especially of the Marquis Francesco II. (1484-1519) and the Marchioness Isabella (+ 1539). He also had many good friends who were important Italian humanists in Bologna, Florence and Rome, as well as in Mantua. They included Giovanni Baptista Refrigerio, Lodovico Foscarari and Filippo Beroaldo (1453-1505) in Bologna; Pico della Mirandola, both uncle and nephew, and Angelo Poliziano (1454-1494) in Florence; Pomponio Laetus (1425-1498) and Giovanni Pontano (1422/26-1503) in Rome; and Andrea Montagna and Mario Equicola (c. 1470-1525) in Mantua.⁷⁹ In his »Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum«, Johannes Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, spoke highly of Baptista Mantuanus' accomplishments in various fields – in theology, philosophy, poetry and oratory. Baptista was also proficient not only in Greek but also in Hebrew.⁸⁰ According

he were cured. His situation was reminiscent of Luther's oath to serve St. Anne at a critical moment in his life.«

76 Mustard: Op. cit., 12; Painter: Op. cit., 61-63.

77 Painter: Op. cit., 79; Trümper: Op. cit., 5.

78 Painter: Op. cit., 90-94. 99; Trümper: Op. cit., 5.

79 Painter: Op. cit., 84 f. 220-224.

80 Mustard: Op. cit., 26; Painter: Op. cit., 232.

to Paulus Jovius (1483-1552), his interest in Hebrew was so great that it interfered with the full exercise of his poetic gift.⁸¹

Baptista Mantuanus wrote numerous works both in verse and in prose. He is said to have produced some 55 000 stanzas of verse. Segments of his works were printed in several hundred editions from as early as 1489.⁸² Of his poems, the most famous were the »Eclogues« in ten books, a bucolic work written at Padua when he was 15 or 16 years old.⁸³ His other poems included eight books of »Silvae«, three books of »De suorum temporum calamitatibus«, which were composed during the plague of Bologna in 1478,⁸⁴ and seven poems, each of which was entitled »Parthenice«, the first containing three books on the life of the Blessed Virgin, the second made up of three books on St. Catherine of Alexandria and the others dealing with St. Margarita, St. Agatha, St. Lucia, St. Apollonia und St. Caecilia.⁸⁵ The »Parthenice« was very much admired by

81 Paulus JOVIUS: *Elogia virorum literis illustrium*. BL 1577, 117: »... ut ... in excolendis Musis curam ac diligentiam remittere cogereetur« (cited in Mustard: *Op. cit.*, 26f).

82 Painter: *Op. cit.*, 100. 212. 233. Baptista's »Opera omnia« were published in P 1497, Köln 1500, Bologna 1502, P 1507 and 1513, Lyon 1516 and Antwerpen 1576. The Paris edition of 1513, with copious commentary by Jodocus Badius Ascensius (1462-1534/35), and the Antwerp edition of 1576, complete but rather rare, are two especially important editions. W. Leonard GRANT: *Neo-Latin literature and the pastoral*. Chapel Hill, NC 1965, 127, speaks of »Mantuan's versus paene innumerabiles«, 126: »Mantuan's unbelievable productivity in Latin prose and verse alike is proverbial.«

83 [Ioaannes] BAPTISTA Mantuanus: *Opera omnia*. Vol. 1. Antverpiae 1576, 57-97. The first printed edition of the »Eclogues« appeared at Mantua in 1498. Eight of the ten eclogues were written in Padua between 1463 and 1464; two remaining eclogues were probably written in 1498. Cf. Mustard: *Op. cit.*, 35. Although rather critical of Mantuanus, Jacob BURCKHARDT: *The civilization of the renaissance in Italy* (Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien (engl.))/ tr. by S.G.C. Middlemore. Vol. 2. NY 1958, 349, says: »... his eclogues, once much read and still worth reading, appeared among his earliest works about 1480.« About the popularity of the eclogues as a literary genre after the 1460's, see Grant: *Op. cit.*, 118-163.

84 [Ioaannes] BAPTISTA Mantuanus: *Opera omnia*. Vol. 3. Antverpiae 1576, 243-318 (Silvarum lib. III aucti et restituti; 1, 1-54 (De horum temporum calamitatibus, sive de vii. peccatis capitalibus). The »De calamitatibus temporum« was first published in Rome in 1487. Painter, who discusses the content of the poem on pages 134-144, says that it was first published in 1489. Cf. Gabriel WESSELS: *B. Baptistae Mantuani ... libri tres De calamitate temporum*. *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* 4 (Roma 1916), 1-96.

85 [Ioaannes] BAPTISTA Mantuanus: *Opera omnia*. Vol. 2. Antverpiae 1576, 1-159. The Greek term »Parthenice« means virgin. The first »Parthenice« was dedicated to Lodovico Foscarari and Baptista Refrigerio; the second to Pietro Bembo (1470-1547). On the »Parthenices« and Baptista's Mariology, see Painter: *Op. cit.*, 159-193.

his contemporaries and published in many editions. He also has poems on the lives of Lodovico Morbioli, Dionysius the Areopagite, St. George, St. Blaise and St. Nicholas of Tolentino.⁸⁶ A book of »Epigrammata ad D. Falconem protonotarium«, six books of »Alfonsus«, twelve books of »De sacris diebus« and others were also written in verse.⁸⁷ Composed in the last years of his life and dedicated to Leo X, the »De sacris diebus«, or »Fastorum libri XII«, first appeared at Lyons in 1517 and was based on the »Fasti« of Ovid.⁸⁸

The most popular of his prose works were undoubtedly the »De vita beata« and the three-book work, »De patientia«. Written in Platonic and Ciceronian style, the »De vita beata« (1463), his first publication, was dedicated to his father by the 16-year-old son.⁸⁹ The »De patientia« (after 1481) discussed a supernatural motivation for the patientia provided by Christianity as against the apathia of the Greeks and the consolatio of the Romans. It was »an inquiry into the subject of knowledge and the nature of the body, the nature of the soul, the ills that beset them, and it was to offer some remedies«. ⁹⁰ Some of other prose writings were the »Tractatus de loco conceptionis Christi«, »Epistola contra calumniatores«, »De causa diversitatis inter interpretes sacrae scripture« and the like.⁹¹

86 Baptista: Opera omnia 2, 220-229 (De vita B. Ludovici Morbioli Bononien. Carmen); 2, 159-201 (De vita B. Dionysii Areopagitae lib. III); 2, 201-220 (De vita B. Georgii Martyris lib. I); 1, 179-206 (De vita B. Blasii lib. II); 1, 206-245 (De vita B. Nicolai Tolentinis lib. III).

87 Baptista: Opera omnia 1, 100-118 (Epigrammatum ad Falconem lib. I); 3, 1-99 (Alfonsus pro rege hispaniae, de victoria ad Granatam lib. VI); 2, 234-387 (Fastorum lib. XII. secundum duodecim anni menses digesti). For the list of Baptista's works and their published editions after 1500, see Edmondo COCCIA: Le edizioni delle opere del Montovano. Roma 1960, 109-129. Cf. Mustard: Op. cit., 28f.

88 For a modern selection from the work, accompanied by commentary and a German translation, see Trümpy: Op. cit. I was not able to consult Joachim SMET: The Fasti of blessed Baptista (Unpublished M. A. thesis, Washington, DC, The Catholic University of America, 1943).

89 [Iohannes] BAPTISTA Mantuanus: Opera omnia. Vol. 4. Antverpiae 1576, 178-211 (eiusdem [Baptistae] Mantuani de vita beata dialogus iucundissimus). The »De vita beata« was written to explain to his father why he had entered a monastic life. Painter: Op. cit., 43-45. 102-118.

90 Painter: Op. cit., 121. The text is in Baptista: Opera omnia 4, 1-178. Hartmann Schedel copied the Brescia (1497) edition of the »De patientia« in 1499 (M, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 28123, 186: »Finis laus deo 1499 H.S.«).

91 For a discussion of Baptista's »Opus aureum in Thomistas«, see Paul Oskar KRISTELLER: Le Thomisme et la pensée italienne de la renaissance. Montreal 1967 – now available in English in Paul Oskar KRISTELLER: Medieval aspects of renaissance learning: three essays/ ed. and tr. by

Baptista's writings, which he produced with the greatest fluency and rapidity, enjoyed great popularity. Many of his contemporaries hailed him as a second Virgil.⁹² In 1496 Erasmus called him a »Christianus Maro«.⁹³ His bust was set up at Mantua before his death besides one of another Mantuan, Virgil.⁹⁴ His works were carried abroad and widely reprinted in many European cities, such as Bonn, Brussels, Deventer, Paris, Leipzig, Strassburg, Koblenz, Wittenberg, Erfurt, Bologna, Frankfurt and Tübingen.⁹⁵ In 1505, the year in which Luther entered the monastery, no less than thirty-eight editions of his works were published in Strassburg, Cologne, Deventer, Erfurt, Leipzig, Milan, Paris, Wittenberg and Zwolle.⁹⁶

The popularity of Baptista's works was based not only on his good style⁹⁷ but also on his religiosity, which was manifested in many of his poems. His »pious, monastically tinted poetry« made him enormously popular especially in Northern Europe.⁹⁸ The Platonic theme of love, which was discussed in »Eclogae« I-IV

Edward P. Mahoney. Durham, NC 1974, 29-91 (extensive bibliographical notes on Baptista, 65-68).
92 Painter: Op. cit., 99.

93 Des[iderius] ERASMUS Roterodamus: *Opus epistolarum*/ ed. by P[ercy] S[tafford] Allen. Vol. 1. Oxford 1906, 160: »Thus the famous Baptista Manuanus' works in my judgment make him worthy of the name Christianus Maro, just as Lactantius was worthy of the title Christianus Cicero. And it is my prediction, if I am not deceived, that the time will come when Baptista will not be inferior in glory and fame than his countryman (Virgil) as soon as the years have eliminated the envy« (cited in Painter: Op. cit., 214).

94 Painter: Op. cit., 99: »A monument stands in the city today representing the two poets of Mantua; one Baptista, one Virgil. The statue representing the Goddess of Poetry is undecided who deserves the crown she holds in her hand, »Cui Dabo?«

95 See Coccia: Op. cit.

96 Coccia: Op. cit., 29-34. See also Martin VON HASE: *Bibliographie der Erfurter Drucke von 1501-1550*. AGB 8 (1967), 655-1096 at 670 (58f); 672f (67. 72) $\triangle$ Martin VON HASE: *Bibliographie der Erfurter Drucke von 1501-1550*. 3rd ed. Niewkoop 1968, 7-9 (58f. 67. 72).

97 To be sure, there were severe critics of his style. Julius Caesar Scaliger calls his poetry »flabby, languid, ill-arranged, unrhymic, commonplace, not without native ability, but rather without art« (mollis, languidus, incompositus, sine numeris, plebeius, non sine ingenio, sed sine arte – Grant: Op. cit., 127). Grant himself says, *ibid.*: »His Latin is undoubtedly intended to be classical, but, even after revision, displays startling irregularities and crudities of vocabulary, syntax, and meter. His versification is adorned with a truly remarkable number of false irregularities.« See also Mustard: Op. cit., 58-60 (»Syntax«, »Metre«, »Vocabulary«). Cf. Burger: Op. cit., 361: »Später galt es in Erfurt als banausisch, den Virgilius Noeticus dem Klassiker Vergil vorzuziehen.«

98 Spitz: *The religious renaissance*, 45; Painter: Op. cit., 226; Brecht: Op. cit., 43.

the »Eclogues«, was enhanced by the religious overtones of the work as a whole.⁹⁹ His discussion of such calamities as war, the plague, the weakened Church and the Turks in the »De calamitatibus temporum« brought home to the reader the poet's intense religiosity.

Another reason for the popularity of his poems was that as a veteran member and administrator of the Reform Congregation of Mantua, the poet referred to the need for reform frequently. In an age when there was a wide demand for an end to the laxity in church life and administration and for stricter discipline, the Carmelite Order was famous for its reform efforts.¹⁰⁰ Baptista criticized not only the clergy of the day but also the Roman Curia. Especially in »Ecloga« IX, »Falco«, »De moribus curiae Romanae post religionis ingressum«, he attacked those in high places who took everything for themselves and left nothing for those who needed care.¹⁰¹ In his »De calamitatibus temporum«, he asked Sixtus IV (1471-1484) to rid the Church of corruption and to weed out the vice so that the Church might develop further.¹⁰² Undoubtedly it was this aspect of his poetry which appealed to Luther.

A third reason for the popularity of many of his poems was that like Luther and his contemporaries, Baptista was intensely concerned about the threat of the Turks to Christendom. The potential threat of the Turks to all of Europe was brought home to most intellectuals by the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The Greek peninsula was in Turkish hands by 1461. As the Turks posed a real threat to all of Italy, many humanists expressed their fears in their writings.¹⁰³ A lengthy section in the »De calamitatibus temporum« discussed the Turks and their threat to Christianity.¹⁰⁴ Fearful of the weakening of the Christian West,

99 Grant: *Op. cit.*, 129: »Mantuan's first eclogue was probably the best-known Neo-Latin pastoral ever written in Europe.«

100 Meuthen: *Baptista Mantuanus*, 228; Painter: *Op. cit.*, 45-51. 69f. 86f. 227; Brecht: *Op. cit.*, 43; Junghans: *Der junge Luther ...*, 79. Painter: *Op. cit.*, 72, argues that Baptista would have been against Luther.

101 Baptista: *Opera omnia* 1, 89-93; Mustard: *Op. cit.*, 108-113. Cf. Trümper: *Op. cit.*, 31-35.

102 Baptista: *Opera omnia* 3, 40-42. Cf. Painter: *Op. cit.*, 73. In the »Fasti« too, Baptista criticizes the Curia and the ecclesiastical and secular manners of the time. Cf. Trümper: *Op. cit.*, 6f.

103 For a short introduction, see Richard W. SOUTHERN: *Western views of Islam in the middle ages*. Cambridge, MA 1962, 84-109.

104 Baptista: *Opera omnia* 1, 30f. Cf. Painter: *Op. cit.*, 73f. 101. 134. 140f. 196f. In his »Obiurgatio cum exhortatione, ad capienda arma contra infideles: ad reges et principes Christianos (*Opera omnia* 1, 154-168), Baptista appealed to the Pope, the Emperor, the kings of Hungary, France,

Baptista expressed interest in crusades against the Turks. A poet, who was noted for his religious fervor, expressed a strong desire for the reform of the Church and warned against the menacing Turks, was obviously a darling of the Northern Europeans in the sixteenth century.

Baptista Mantuanus was recommended to Luther by Nikolaus Marschalk, who respected the poet greatly and persuaded Wolfgang Schenck to publish in 1501 the »Aeglogae Vergelij Neoterici: hoc est Baptistae Mantuani Carmelitae«. ¹⁰⁵ Luther's teacher at Erfurt, Trutfetter, had referred to the poet. ¹⁰⁶ Another teacher at Erfurt, to whom Luther was close, Arnoldi from Usingen, had quoted from the Mantuanus' poetry. ¹⁰⁷ It is known that Conrad Mutianus, who was close to Luther, was also familiar with the poet. ¹⁰⁸ Luther must have read some of Baptista's works carefully and perhaps intensely. In 1537 he could cite forty-one hexameters from the fourth »Eclogue«. ¹⁰⁹ In commenting on Psalm 39:13, Romans 5:4, Hebrew 3:14, Luther used verses and passages from Baptista's »Epigrammata ad D. Falconem protonotarium«, »De patientia« and »Eclogues«. ¹¹⁰ He also used Baptista's statements on several other occasions. ¹¹¹

Twenty-three years ago, Lewis W. Spitz pointed out that in order to see what formula Neo-Latin poets arrived at in relating poetic culture to the Christian religion, »the influence of Baptista Mantuanus needs to be further explored«. ¹¹² Regrettably, his suggestion has not been followed to any appreciable extent. Many historians have probably been too much influenced by confessional or

Portugal, Navarre, England, Dacia, Poland, Prussia and Russia, the Venetian Senate, the Marchese Francesco Gonzaga of Mantua, other European princes and the Christian people to defend Christian Europe.

105 Bauch: Wolfgang Schenck ..., 362; Coccia: Op. cit., 21 f; Burger: Op. cit., 324. 361. Junghans: Der junge Luther ..., 39 f. 79 f: »Seine ›Aeglogae‹ erschienen gerade 1501 in Erfurt, als Luther in diese Stadt kam, und zwar durch Humanisten.«

106 Brecht: Op. cit., 43. Plitt: Op. cit., 14. 46 f, does not mention Baptista when he discusses the writers with whom Trutfetter was familiar.

107 Brecht: Op. cit., 43.

108 Ibid.

109 WA TR 3, 376, 26-28 (3525).

110 WA 3, 221, 29-32 (Epigrammata ad D. Falconem protonotarium – Cur boni viri post habeantur); WA 56, 303, 24 f (Patientia I, 32); 57 III, 151, 12 (Ecloga I, 114). See Junghans: Der junge Luther ..., 205.

111 WA 2, 435, 10 and WA Br 2, 168, 7 f (328): »Praesens male iudicat aetas, iudicium melius posteritatis erit.«; WA 9, 24, 15; WA Br I, 35, 8 (11); WA TR 6, 346, 11 f (7031).

112 Spitz: The religious renaissance ..., 271. Cf. Spitz: The course ..., 381.

nationalistic considerations to pursue the study of the topic. But nowadays there seem to exist conditions much more favorable for this kind of research than before. There is, first of all, a growing interest in the medieval background and sources of Luther's thought and theology. The emphasis is now more on continuity than discontinuity. In addition, the so-called Burckhardtian view of the Renaissance that it was basically pagan and anti-Christian has been subjected to criticism in recent years. Studies of Renaissance humanism and humanists, which are free of denominational or confessional rigidity, have become more common and widespread. The question of what the Renaissance and especially Italian humanism contributed to religious thought has frequently been discussed recently.¹¹³

Viewed in this light, further research on Baptista's influence on Luther and, taken more widely, the influence of Italian humanism on the reformer will be not only welcome but also rewarding. To be sure, Luther himself did not become a humanist, remaining, as Heiko A. Oberman put it, »an outsider«, as far as the humanist movement was concerned.¹¹⁴ But we can learn more about

113 See, for example: *THE PURSUIT OF HOLINESS IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE RELIGION*/ ed. by Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman. Leiden 1974.

114 Oberman: *Headwaters* ..., 70.

115 The relationship between Baptista and his contemporaries mentioned above is briefly touched on in Bauch: *Die Universität* ... (Agricola, Wimpfeling), Painter: *Op. cit.* (Wimpfeling), Grant: *Op. cit.* (Wimpfeling), Burger: *Op. cit.* (Hegius, Wimpfeling, Cordus) and Junghans: *Der junge Luther* ... (Wimpfeling). See also Gustav C. KNOT: *Aus der Bibliothek des Beatus Rhenanus: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus*. Schlettstadt 1889; Karl HARTFELDER: *Das Katharinenfest der Heidelberger Artistenfakultät: ein Beitrag zur inneren Geschichte mittelalterlicher Hochschulen*. Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher 1 (1891), 55; Arturo FARINELLI: *Divagazioni eruditi*. Torino 1925, 63. 156; Georg ELLINGER: *Geschichte der neulateinischen Literatur Deutschlands im sechzehnten Jahrhundert*. Vol. I. B 1929, 103-107; Paul Gerhard SCHMIDT: *Jodocus Badius Ascensius als Kommentator*. In: *Der Kommentar in der Renaissance*/ ed. by August Buck and Otto Herding. Boppard 1975, 68f; Jozef IJSEWIJN: *The coming of humanism to the Low Countries*. In: *Itinerarium italicum = The profile of the Italian renaissance in the mirror of its European transformations*; dedicated to Paul Oskar Kristeller on the occasion of his 70th birthday ed. by Heiko A. Oberman and Thomas A. Brady. Leiden 1975, 229. 232. 240. 252 n. 280; Spitz: *The course* ..., 399; John F. D'AMICO: *Beatus Rhenanus and Italian humanism*. *Journal of medieval and renaissance studies* 9 (Durham, NC 1979), 237-260; Franz J. WORSTBROCK: *Zur Biographie des Alexander Hegius*. *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 29 (Louvain 1980), 161-165; Franz J. WORSTBROCK: *Joachim Lüntaler, ein Passauer humanistischer Dichter des späten 15. Jahrhunderts*. *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance-Mitteilungen* 9 (1985), 97-111.

the Mantuan poet, Italian humanism and Luther if we continue to study the relationship between Baptista and Luther's contemporaries, such as Alexander Hegius (1440/45-1498), Rudolf Agricola (1443/44-1485), Jakob Wimpfeling (1450-1528) and Euricius Cordus (1484-1535).¹¹⁵

P.S.: While the author was examining the proofs, the following useful article was brought to his notice – Lewis W. Spitz: Luther and humanism. In: Luther and learning = The Wittenberg University Luther Symposium/ ed. by Marilyn J. Harran. Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University; LO; Toronto: Associated University, 1985, 69–94.