



## Luther in Review: Approaches in Major Studies —A Bibliographical Perspective

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The understanding of the thought of Martin Luther has always been in process, and certainly there has always been more than one way to view him. Otto Wolf, *Die Haupttypen der neueren Lutherdeutung* (1938) and Horst Stephan, *Luther in Wandlungen seiner Kirche* (1952)—to name but two older accounts—were well able to document this fact.<sup>1</sup> Today, however, the patterns have multiplied and the perspectives have shifted more radically, especially in Roman Catholic circles, as may be noted from the contrast presented by Otto Hermann Pesch, *Ketzerfürst und Kirchenlehrer* (1971).

In regard to bibliography, Luther scholarship has kept track of the new arrivals by way of the *Lutherjahrbuch* since 1919, and even brief annotations in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte / Archive for Reformation History* (since 1972 in a separate “Literature Review”). The way through the various Luther editions has been helped by Kurt Aland, *Hilfsbuch zum Luther Studium* (1982). A list of publications for the Luther Year 500 has been diligently supplied by Evangelischer Pressedienst, *Dokumentation*, 6 Frankfurt/Main 17, Haus der Evangelischen Publizistik, Friedrichstrasse 2-6, W. Germany.

But where to start the study of Luther? A serious beginning may very well be made from three mountain peaks, listed alphabetically: Paul Althaus, Roland H. Bainton, and Hans J. Hillerbrand—authors of the clearest exposition of Luther’s theology, the most moving account of Luther’s life, and a magisterial presentation of the entire Reformation. The already seasoned Luther student will do well to return to these authors at a later date as well, because only then will their profundity be truly appreciated.

<sup>1</sup>Regarding bibliographical information in this essay, only the year of publication is being supplied. Additional information (place of publication, publisher, etc.) can be obtained by consulting recent issues of the *Lutherjahrbuch*, an annual publication into its 50th edition in 1983 and published at Göttingen by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. The abbreviation E. T. is used to designate “English translation” of books. Occasionally only the English title is provided, even though it maybe a translation.

### I. RECENT ROMAN CATHOLIC ASSESSMENTS

While the Reformation was an intense drama, it has always evoked deep thought as well. Its most prominent feature has been the relationship of Luther to the Roman Catholic Church. At one time it was a relationship of antagonism, the depth of which may be experienced by reading the 758 page study of Wilhelm Walther, *Für Luther wider Rom: Handbuch der Apologetik Luthers und der Reformation* (1906). Facts, fears, and hatred fill pages upon pages. More sober,

though still chilling, are such respectable older studies as Otto Scheel, *Martin Luther: Vom Katholicismus zur Reformation* (2 vols., 1916-17) from a Protestant point of view, and in a Catholic perspective Hartmann Grisar, S.J., *Luther* (3 vols., 2nd ed., 1911-12) and its English adaptation, *Martin Luther: His Life and Work* (1930). Of course, the ancient conflict cannot be romanticized away. We read of it also in two of the best most recent studies: Hellmut Diwald, *Luther: Eine Biographie* (1982) and Heiko A. Oberman, *Luther: Mensch zwischen Gott and Teufel* (1982). But the hate and the suspicion are gone. Hence we may note that one of the most positive discoveries of recent Luther scholarship has been the recognition of the evangelical nature of St. Thomas Aquinas' thought and the catholicity of Martin Luther. Several factors helped to achieve such a radical re-evaluation. The ecumenical movement has matured and is now deeply influencing the theological mind-set of today. Then, too, the impact of the remarkably fair (even when sharply critical) Joseph Lortz, *Die Reformation in Deutschland* (1939; 4th ed., 1962; E. T. 1968) has been felt widely. However politely, Lortz faulted the Catholic Church for having succumbed by the 16th century to the teachings of William of Ockham, which Lortz regarded as essentially un-Catholic (German ed., 1.204). The religious break that subsequently took place was therefore due both to the unclarity of Catholic teaching and Luther's sincere though misguided subjectivity. Most importantly, Lortz noted that Luther was far more committed to the traditional Catholic position than to authentic heresy. Hence Luther was above all "a conservative revolutionary" (ibid., 1.305). At the same time Catholic scholarship succeeded in clearing Luther's character of the charges which had been laid by Cochlaeus in the 16th century. This was persuasively accomplished by Adolf Herte, *Das katholische Lutherbild im Bann der Lutherkommentare des Cochlaeus* (3 vols., 1943). The next daring, though indeed cautious, step was undertaken by Stephanus Pfürtner, *Luther und Thomas im Gespräch: Unser Heil zwischen Gewissheit und Gefährdung* (1961); E. T., *Luther and Aquinas on Salvation* (with an introduction by Jaroslav Pelikan, 1964). Pfürtner succeeded in showing that Luther's concept of the certainty of salvation does not essentially conflict with the views of St. Thomas Aquinas. The subsequent step was a bold one. While still a Dominican, Otto Hermann Pesch received ecclesial permission to publish his 1010 page book, *Theologie der Rechtfertigung bei Martin Luther und Thomas von Aquin: Versuch eines systematisch-theologischen dialogs* (1967). Building upon modern Luther scholarship, Pesch draws a brilliant comparison between Luther and St. Thomas. His point is that a difference in formulation need not necessarily lead one to suspect an irreconcilable conflict. Thus Pesch distinguishes between Luther's existential theology and St. Thomas's sapiential theology and argues for their ultimate complementarity. For English readers a

helpful introduction to the Catholic ecumenical understanding of Luther has been provided by *Catholic Scholars Dialogue with Luther*, ed. Jared Wicks, S.J., with an afterword by Warren A. Quanbeck (1970). The range and depth of Catholic ecumenical concern may be seen in two further studies. Jared Wicks, S.J., *Man Yearning for Grace: Luther's Early Spiritual Teaching* (with a foreword by George A. Lindbeck, 1968), provides a thoughtful analysis of the reformer's early thought and concludes:

The weaknesses and one-sidedness we have noted do not cancel out the potential

for reform and renewal this spirituality offered in the sixteenth century and still offers in the twentieth. This was especially clear in Luther's brilliant campaign against the *via moderna*, in the Christological passages of the *Lectures on Hebrews*, and in the *Treatise on Indulgences*. These works should be sources of lasting enrichment to Christians of all confessions. (277)

Harry J. McSorley *Luther: Right or Wrong? An Ecumenical-Theological Study of Luther's Major Work The Bondage of the Will* (1969), while critical of Luther's "necessitarian argument" (332), places Luther within the larger context of the scholastic tradition and truly appreciates Luther's positive insights. Yet appreciation does not exclude awareness of authentic limitations, and the need to reflect on the tragedy of the Reformation. Subsequently, McSorley has reaffirmed his views and writes with the greatest poignancy:

had Luther *carefully studied* Thomas' teaching on the evangelical law...and the necessity of grace..., as well as Thomas' doctrine of faith and works, grace, predestination and man's bondage to sin as set forth above all in his commentaries on the Pauline epistles, there is *every reason to suspect* that he would not only have accepted this doctrine, but would actually have cited it, along with the teaching of Paul and Augustine, against the errors he found in some of the late Scholastics concerning the unaided powers of man's fallen nature in respect to justification.<sup>2</sup>

The ecumenical impact is particularly clear when one contrasts, for example, the once influential but pre-ecumenical study by Wilhelm Link, *Das Ringen Luthers um die Freiheit der Theologie von der Philosophie* (1940; reprinted, 1955), with such genuinely insightful newer works that are fully prepared to recognize the evangelical depths of St. Thomas, as in Hans Vorster, *Das Freiheitsverständnis bei Thomas von Aquin und Martin Luther* (1965); Ulrich Kühn and Otto H. Pesch, *Rechtfertigung im Gespräch zwischen Thomas und Luther* (1967); and Horst Karsten, *Taufe und Rechtfertigung bei Thomas von Aquin und Martin Luther* (1970). Similarly encouraging is the continuous Catholic ecumenical reading of Luther, as in the case of Otto Hermann Pesch, *Hinführung zu Luther* (1982).

## II. LUTHER AND HIS MEDIEVAL HERITAGE

Precisely because Luther scholarship has been so successful in dialogue with Rome, the exploration of the medieval roots of the Reformation has become a

<sup>2</sup>Harry J. McSorley, "Thomas Aquinas, John Pupper von Goch, and Martin Luther: An Essay in Ecumenical Theology," *Our Common History as Christians: Essays in Honor of Albert C. Outler*, ed. John Deschner, Leroy T. Howe, and Klaus Penzel (New York: Oxford., 1975) 99.

significant venture. It started already in the last century when on Luther's birthday in 1883 there appeared two significant studies: Friedrich Nitzsch, *Luther und Aristoteles*, and Oswald Gottlob Schmidt, *Luthers Bekanntschaft mit den alten Classikern*. Their works were followed by Albert Evers, *Das Verhältnis Luthers zu den Humanisten* (1895); Martin Burgdorf, *Der Einfluss der*

*Erfurter Humanisten auf Luthers Entwicklung bis 1510* (1925); Alphons Victor Müller, *Luthers Theologische Quellen* (1912) and *Tauler und Luther* (1918); Ernst Wolf, *Staupitz und Luther* (1927); Herbert Rommel, *Über Luthers Randbemerkungen von 1509/10* (1930); Paul Vignaux, *Luther Comentateur des Sentences* (1935); Adolf Hamel, *Der junge Luther und Augustin* (4 vols., 1934-35; reprinted 1980); Rudolf Kekow, *Luther und die Devotio Moderna* (1937); and Friedrich T. Ruhland, *Luther und die Brautmystik: Nach Luthers Schriftum bis 1521* (1938). More recent notable studies are by Bengt Hägglund, *Theologie und Philosophie bei Luther und in der occamistischen Tradition* (1955) and *The Background of Luther's Doctrine of Justification in Late Medieval Theology* (1971); Gottfried Edel, *Das Gemeinkatholische mittelalterliche Erbe beim jungen Luther* (1961); Leif Grane, *Contra Gabrielem: Luthers Auseinandersetzung mit Gabriel Biel in der Disputatio Contra Scholasticam Theologiam, 1517* (1962); Gerhard Hennig, *Cajetan und Luther: Ein historischer Beitrag zur Begegnung von Thomismus und Reformation* (1966); Werner Dettloff, *Die Entwicklung der Akzeptations- und Verdienstlehre von Duns Scotus bis Luther* (1963); Reinhold Weier, *Das Thema vom verborgenen Gott von Nikolaus von Kues zu Martin Luther* (1967) and *Das Theologieverständnis Martin Luthers* (1976); Reinhard Schwarz, *Vorgeschichte der Reformatorischen Busstheologie* (1968); Hartmut Hilgenfeld, *Mittelalterlich-traditionelle Elemente in Luthers Abendmahlsschriften* (1971); Karl Heinz zur Mühlen, *Nos Estra Nos; Luthers Theologie zwischen Mystik und Scholastik* (1972); Otto Hermann Pesch, *The God Question in Thomas Aquinas and Luther* (1972); Maria Grossmann, *Humanism in Wittenberg, 1485-1517* (1975); and Bengt R. Hoffman, *Luther and the Mystics*, (1976) and *The Theologia Germanica of Martin Luther* (1980).

The account would not be complete if we would not pay special attention to Heiko A. Oberman, formerly of Harvard and now of Tübingen. In his epoch-making *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (1963), Oberman challenged the trend of viewing Nominalism as a decline of scholasticism—a thesis so charmingly though inadequately stated by J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1924; reprinted, 1954). Hence Luther, in Oberman's view, was confronting a strong and lively tradition which he overcame, but from which he also greatly learned. Invaluable to English readers is Oberman's introduction, *Forerunners of the Reformation: The Shape of Late Medieval Thought Illustrated by Key Documents* (1966). Oberman further amplified the impact of Gabriel Biel in his *Masters of the Reformation* (1981). Oberman also succeeded in attracting several most able students who have greatly contributed to the understanding of late Middle Ages and Luther, e.g.: E. J. Dempsey Douglass, *Justification in Late Medieval Preaching: A Study of John Geiler of Keiserberg* (1966); David C. Steinmetz, *Misericordia Dei: The Theology of Johannes von Staupitz in Its Late Medieval Setting* (1968) and *Luther and Staupitz: An Essay in the Intellectual Origins of the Protestant Reformation* (1980); Steven E. Ozment, *Homo Spiritualis: A Comparative Study of the Anthropology of Johannes Tauler, Jean Gerson*

and Martin Luther (1509-16) in the Context of their Theological Thought (1969)—Ozment is also author of several other studies on the Reformation and editor of *The Reformation in Medieval Perspective* (1971)—James Samuel Preus, *From Shadow to Promise: Old Testament Interpretation from Augustine to Young Luther* (1969); Scott H. Hendrix, *Ecclesia in Via: Ecclesiological Development in the Medieval Psalms Exegesis and the Dictata super Psalterium*

(1513-1515) of Martin Luther (1974) and *Luther and the Papacy: Stages in a Reformation Conflict* (1981); and Kenneth Hagen, *A Theology of Testament in the Young Luther: The Lectures on Hebrews* (1974). Oberman's latest and already mentioned *Luther: Mensch zwischen Gott und Teufel* (1982), though popular in presentation, pursues further Luther's complex encounter with nominalism and repeatedly calls attention to Luther's Protestant insights which were in effect formally in accord with a nominalist approach and may have even been generated by it. Thus Luther's medieval heritage cannot be adequately determined by merely direct quotation and reference, but must be explored in regard to general attitudes and presuppositions as well.

### III. LUTHER AS THEOLOGIAN

The third observation is intended as a consolation to the despairing who have been overwhelmed by the complexity and number of the already mentioned works. Namely, to Luther studies a continuous sense of coherence and liveliness is provided by several major Luther scholars, who have—through creative in

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sight and literary skill—produced books that evoke authentic enthusiasm for Luther and offer fresh understanding. In the past generation such scholars were at least three: Karl Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kirchengeschichte* (vol. 1, 7th ed., 1948; vol. 3, 1928); Emanuel Hirsch, *Lutherstudien* (2 vols, 1954); and Werner Elert, *Morphologie des Luthertums* (2 vols., 1931; rev. ed. 1952-1953). For this generation a similar service is being rendered by the writings of the following: (1) Heinrich Bornkamm, *Luther's World of Thought* (1964); *Luther's Doctrine of Two Kingdoms* (1966); *Luther and the Old Testament* (1969); *Luther im Spiegel der deutschen Geistesgeschichte* (1970); *Luther: Gestalt und Wirkungen* (1975); and the posthumously published *Martin Luther in der Mitte seines Lebens: Das Jahrzehnt zwischen dem Wormser und dem Augsburger Reichstag* (1979). Seldom has a theologian combined such capacity for detailed analysis and profound observation as well as for striking generalizations and popular formulation. (2) Gerhard Ebeling, *Evangelische Evangelienauslegung: Eine Untersuchung zu Luthers Hermeneutik* (1942; reprinted, 1962); *Luther: An Introduction to His Thought* (1970); and *Lutherstudien* (2 vols., 1971ff). From hermeneutics to Luther's scholastic roots, Ebeling's attention has been focussed on Luther the creative theologian. (3) Rudolf Hermann, *Luthers These "Gerecht und Sunder zugleich"* (1960); *Von der Klarheit der Heiligen Schrift* (1958); *Zum Streit um die Überwindung des Gesetzes* (1958); *Gesammelte Studien zur Theologie Luthers und der Reformation* (1960); and *Luthers Theologie* (1967). With remarkable clarity Hermann has highlighted the dialectic of the justified existence. (4) Walther von Loewenich, *Luther's Theology of the Cross* (1929; E. T., 1976)—this was a highly influential early work which recognized the characteristic shape of Luther's theology and pursued its inherent complexities in subsequent studies. *Luther als Ausleger der Synoptiker* (1954); *Von Augustin zu Luther: Beiträge zur Kirchengeschichte* (1959); *Luther und der Neuprottestantismus* (1963), a seminal work on Luther in contemporary German theology; and *Wahrheit und Bekenntnis im Glauben Luthers* (1974) as well as, most recently, *Martin Luther: Der Mann und das Werk* (1983). (5) Jaroslav Jan Pelikan, the already legendary historian of Christian doctrine, has edited one half of the American edition of *Luther's Works*, to which series he also contributed a companion volume

*Luther the Expositor: Introduction to the Reformer's Exegetical Writings* (1959). Throughout Pelikan's numerous publications Luther has received significant attention, while three studies have paid concentrated attention to Luther in a remarkable way: *Obedient Rebels: Catholic Substance and Protestant Principle in Luther's Reformation* (1964); *Spirit versus Structure: Luther and the Institutions of the Church* (1968); and *Interpreters of Luther: Essays in Honor of Wilhelm Pauck* (1968). (6) The Finnish Luther scholar Lennart Pinomaa has consistently developed an existential understanding of Luther and applied this perspective to several difficult and important themes in Luther's thought: *Der Zorn Gottes in der Theologie Luthers: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Einheit des Gottesbildes bei Luther* (1938); *Der Existenzielle Charakter der Theologie Luthers: Das Hervorbrechen der Theologie der Anfechtung und ihre Bedeutung für das Lutherverständnis* (1940); *Faith Victorious: An Introduction to Luther's Theology* (1963); and *Die Heiligen bei Luther* (1977). (7) E. Gordon Rupp, the noted British historian of the Reformation and a Methodist, has been a long-time defender of Luther, beginning with *Martin Luther: Hitler's Cause or Cure? In Reply to Peter F. Wiener* (1954);

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*The Righteousness of God: Luther Studies* (1953) has been a landmark statement on the central insight of Luther. (8) On the North American continent Lewis W. Spitz has brilliantly combined concerns for 16th century humanism and the thought of Martin Luther, both placed in the wider context of intellectual history. Supervisor of numerous superb doctoral dissertations at Stanford University, and author of many learned articles on Luther, Spitz has also published such a definitive study as *The Religious Renaissance of the German Humanists* (1963) and a profound bestseller, *The Renaissance and Reformation Movements* (1971).

#### IV. LUTHER ON PARTICULAR DOCTRINES AND ISSUES

The significance of Luther to many a student, however, has come about by pursuing a central doctrinal route and therein discovering what Luther really had to offer. Four such routes have been recently travelled most often.

1. *Faith and Justification*. The meaning of faith itself has emerged in recent scholarship as an inquiry for the date of Luther's evangelical discovery. Ernst Bizer, *Fides ex auditu: Eine Untersuchung über die Entdeckung der Gerechtigkeit Gottes durch Martin Luther* (1958; 3rd ed., 1966) is often credited with having (unsuccessfully in my judgment) challenged the early date of 1513-1515 in favor of a later one. Indeed, in Germany Bizer did evoke a lively debate, e.g., *Der Durchbruch der reformatorischen Erkenntnis bei Luther*, ed. Bernhard Lohse (1968). However, an observation is in order. Already a decade before Bizer, the American Finnish scholar Uuras Saarnivaara, *Luther Discovers the Gospel* (1951), argued for a later date.

Also the doctrine of justification has continued to elicit great interest. Consequently justification has been recognized as a complex perspective in which a definite growth is certainly in order. We are, however, limited by space to record the more representative studies only: Adolf Allwohn, *Gottesdienst und Rechtfertigungsglaube: Luthers Grundlegung Evangelischer Liturgik* (1926); Oswald Bayer, *Promissio: Geschichte der reformatorischen Wende in Luthers Theologie* (1971); Theobald Beer, *Der froliche Wechsel und Streit: Grundzeuge der Theologie Luthers* (1974); Martin Bogdahn, *Die Rechtfertigungslehre Martin Luthers im Urteil der neueren katholischen Theologie* (1971); Wilhelm Dantine, *Justification of the Ungodly* (1968); Gerhard

O. Forde, *Justification by Faith: A Matter of Death and Life* (1982); Hans Iwand, *Glaubensgerechtigkeit nach Luthers Lehre* (1951) and *Rechtfertigungslehre und Christusglaube* (1961); Matthias Kröger, *Rechtfertigung und Gesetz: Studien zur Entwicklung der Rechtfertigungslehre beim jungen Luther* (1960); Ulrich Kühn and Otto H. Pesch, *Rechtfertigung in Gespräch zwischen Thomas und Luther* (1967); Alfred Kurz, *Die Heilsgewissheit bei Luther* (1933); Robin A. Leaver, *Luther on Justification* (1975); Rudolf Mau, *Der Gedanke der Heilsnotwendigkeit bei Luther* (1969); Günther Metzger, *Gelebter Glaube: Die Formierung reformatorischen Denkens in Luthers erster Psalmenvorlesung* (1964); Hans Michael Müller, *Erfahrung und Glaube bei Luther* (1929); Reinhold Neubauer, *Geschenkte und umkämpfte Gerechtigkeit: Eine Untersuchung zur Theologie und Sozialethik Reinhold Niebuhrs im Blick auf Luther* (1963); Albrecht Peters, *Glaube und Werk: Luthers Rechtfertigungslehre im Lichte der Heiligen Schrift* (1967); Elke Plutta-Messerschmidt, *Gerechtigkeit Gottes bei Paulus: Eine Studie zu Luthers Auslegung von Römer 3, 5* (1973); Regin Prenter,

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*Der Barmherzige Richter: Iustitia dei passiva in Luthers Dictata super Psalterium 1513-1515* (1961); Manfred Schloenbach, *Glaube als Geschenk Gottes* (1962); Reinhard Schwarz, *Fides, Spes und Caritas beim jungen Luther unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der mittelalterlichen Tradition* (1962). Clearly, closely connected with justification is the doctrine of sanctification and the definition of justice itself: Leonhard Fendt, *Luthers Schule der Heiligung* (1929); Axel Gyllenkrok, *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung in der frühen evangelischen Theologie Luthers* (1952); Hans Hübner, *Rechtfertigung und Heiligung in Luthers Romerbriefvorlesung* (1965); F. Edward Cranz, *An Essay on the Development of Luther's Thought on Justice, Law, and Society* (1964); and Johannes Heckel, *Lex Charitatis: Eine juristische Untersuchung in der Theologie Luthers* (2nd ed., 1973).

2. *The Church.* The second area of inquiry where an abundance of studies prevails is the doctrine of the church. Unlike justification, this area has not been in the limelight. Yet the written output indicates that the church and the ministry are of vital importance to Luther scholarship: Jan Aarts, *Die Lehre Martin Luthers über das Amt in der Kirche* (1972); Walther Bienert, *Evangelische Kirchengestaltung: Das Ringen um Luthers Kirchenideal von der Reformation bis zur Gegenwart* (1940); Wilhelm Brunotte, *Das geistliche Amt bei Luther* (1959); Ruth Gotze, *Wie Luther Kirchenzucht übte* (1958); Gert Haendler, *Luther: On the Ministerial Office and Congregational Function* (1979); Johannes Heckel, *Das blinde, undeutliche Wort Kirche: Gesammelte Aufsätze* (1964); Gerhard Hilbert, *Ecclesiola in ecclesia: Luthers Anschauungen von Volkskirche und Freiwilligkeitskirche in ihrer Bedeutung für die Gegenwart* (1920); Wolfgang Höhne, *Luthers Anschauungen über die Kontinuität der Kirche* (1963); Hellmut Lieberg, *Amt und Ordination bei Luther und Melancthon* (1962); Kurt Matthes, *Das corpus Christianum bei Luther im Lichte seiner Erforschung* (1928); Eberhard J. Müller, *Luther und die Kirche* (1934); Karl Müller, *Kirche, Gemeinde und Obrigkeit nach Luther* (1910); Rosemarie Müller-Streisand, *Luthers Weg von der Reformation zur Restauration: Die kirchenkritische Theologie des frühen Luther und die Grundlagen ihrer Wandlung* (1964); *This is the Church: Basic Studies on the Nature of the Church*, ed. Anders Nygren (1952); Herman A. Preus, *The Communion of Saints: A Study of the Origin and Development of Luther's Doctrine of the Church* (1948); Karl Gerhard Steck, *Lehre und Kirche bei Luther* (1963); Theophil Steude, *Communio Sanctorum beim frühen*

*Luther* (1967); Joseph Vercruyse, S. J., *Fidelis Populus* (1968); and Wilhelm Wagner, *Die Kirche als Corpus Christi beim jungen Luther* (1937). While it is clear that Luther regarded the Word as constitutive of the church, and hence approached the reality of the church Christocentrically and existentially, Luther was not oblivious to the needs of administrative structures. As his own experience in the newly reformed church deepened, he was prepared more and more to value tradition and godly precedent. Luther's doctrine of the ministry underwent a similar maturing process.

3. *The Lord's Supper*. As Luther in his own time devoted a considerable amount of concern to the correct understanding of the eucharistic presence of Christ, so also Luther scholarship has found it necessary to repeatedly clarify this issue. Unfortunately, ecumenical concerns have sometimes been at the expense of the truth as Luther saw it. At the same time, very fortunately, a respectable bibliography can be recorded of such authors who have sought to offer positive insights, often from within a Lutheran position, notably: Hans

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Asmussen, *Abendmahl und Messe* (1949); Gustaf Aulén, *Eucharist and Sacrifice* (1958); Paul C. Empie and James I. McCord, *Marburg Revisited: A Reexamination of Lutheran and Reformed Traditions* (1966); Jürgen Diestelmann, *Konsekration: Luthers Abendmahlsglaube in dogmatisch-liturgischer Sicht* (1960); Hans Grass, *Die Abendmahlslehre bei Luther und Calvin* (1954); Franz Hildebrandt, *EST-Das Lutherische Prinzip* (1931); Karl Jäger, *Luthers religiöses Interesse an seiner Lehre von der Realpräsenz* (1900); Robert W. Jenson, *Visible Words: The Interpretation and Practice of Christian Sacraments* (1978); Walther Kohler, *Zwingli und Luther: Ihr Streit über das Abendmahl nach seinen politischen und religiösen Beziehungen* (2 vols., 1924); Walther von Loewenich, *Vom Abendmahl Christi* (1938); Fido Mann, *Das Abendmahl beim jungen Luther* (1971); Peter Meinhold and Erwin Iserloh, *Abendmahl und Opfer* (1960); Hans B. Meyer, *Luther und die Messe* (1965); C. J. Munter, *Het Avondmaal bij Luther* (1954); Albrecht Peters, *Realpräsenz: Luthers Zeugnis von Christi Gegenwart im Abendmahl*, (1960); Ferdinand Pratzner, *Messe und Kreuzesopfer: Die Krise der sakramentalen Idee bei Luther und in der mittelalterlichen Scholastik* (1970); Erich Roth, *Sakrament nach Luther* (1952); Hermann Sasse, *This Is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament of the Altar* (1959); Wolfgang Schwab, *Entwicklung und Gestalt der Sakramentstheologie bei Martin Luther* (1977); Ernst Sommerlath, *Der Sinn des Abendmahls* (1930); and Carl F. Wissloff, *The Gift of Communion: Luther's Controversy with Rome on Eucharistic Sacrifice* (1964).

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4. *Special Issues*. A topic of major interest has been society—church and state, politics, economy, government structures, social problems, just war. To those who have been accustomed to label Lutheran theology as devoted to otherworldly concerns, this should come as a surprise. If we had included more extensively East German publications, the subsequent and already long list would be even longer! Yet more than the volume of the material, its contents support a portrait of Luther that has been often overlooked. Already in 1915 Karl Mueller recognized that Luther could agree to political disobedience! At the same time, Luther's two kingdom theory is complex



and no doubt will merit further exploration. The following are the major studies: Harald and Hermann Diem et al., *Zur Zwei-Reiche-Lehre Luthers* (1973); Arno Deutelmöser, *Staat und Glaube* (1937); A. G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther*; Walter Elliger, *Luthers politisches Denken und Handeln* (1952); Günter Fabiunke, *Martin Luther als Nationalökonom* (1963); Hans R. Gerstenkorn, *Weltlich Regiment zwischen Gottesreich und Teufelsmacht* (1956); Wolfgang Günter, *Martin Luthers Vorstellung von der Reichsverfassung* (1976); Gunnar Hillerdal, *Gehorsam gegen Gott und Menschen: Luthers Lehre von der Obrigkeit und die moderne evangelische Staatsethik* (1955); Hermann Jordan, *Luthers Staatsauffassung* (1917; reprinted, 1968); Gustav Kawerau, *Luthers Gedanken über den Krieg* (1916); Hubert Kirchner, *Luther and the Peasant War* (1972); Karsten Klähn, *Luthers sozioethische Haltung im Bauernkrieg* (1940); Hermann Kunst, *Martin Luther und der Krieg* (1968); and *Evangelischer Glaube und politische Verantwortung: Martin Luther als politischer Berater* (1976); Franz Lau, *Luthers Lehre von den beiden Reichen* (1953); Kurt Matthes, *Luther und die Obrigkeit* (1937); Georg Merz, *Glaube und Politik im Handeln Luthers* (1933); Karl Müller, *Luthers Äusserungen über das Recht des bewaffneten Widerstands gegen den Kaiser* (1915); William A. Müller, *Church and State in Luther and Calvin* (1954); Rudolf Ohlig, *Die Zwei-Reiche-Lehre Luthers in der deutschen lutherischen Theologie der Gegenwart seit 1945* (1974); Peter Heinrich Schmidt, *Martin Luther und der Klassenkampf* (1923); *Reich Gottes und Welt: Die Lehre Luthers von den zwei Reichen*, ed. Heinz-Horst Schrey (1969); Christa Tecklenburg Johns, *Luthers Konzilidee in ihrer historischen Bedingtheit und ihrem reformatorischen Neuansatz* (1966); Gustav Törnqvall, *Geistliches und weltliches Regiment bei Luther* (1947); Karl Trüdinger, *Luthers Briefe und Gutachten an weltliche Obrigkeit zur Durchführung der Reformation* (1975); Günther Wolf, *Luther und die Obrigkeit* (1972); and Eike Wolgast, *Die Wittenberger Theologie und die Politik der evangelischen Stände* (1977).

5. *Other topics.* Luther scholarship has also been concerned with “smaller” topics, which in reality are major issues, but in regard to which a limited amount of studies appear to have sufficed. Here hermeneutics has occupied a prominent place, leading us to recognize that Luther distinguished between “in principle” and “in practice”: while Scripture was most often (but not always) regarded as infallible, those who interpreted Scripture remained human and liable to err: Friedrich Beisser, *Claritas Scripturae bei Martin Luther* (1966); Heinz Bluhm, *Martin Luther Creative Translator* (1965); Ragnar Bring, *Luthers Anschauung von der Bibel* (1951); Willem Jan Kooiman, *Luther and the Bible* (1961); Peter Meinhold, *Luthers Sprachphilosophie* (1958); Hermann Noltensmeier, *Reformatorische Einheit: Das Schriftverständnis bei Luther und Calvin* (1953); H. Ostergaard-Nielsen, *Scriptura sacra et viva vox: Eine Lutherstudie* (1957); M. Reu, *Luther’s German Bible*

(1934); Peter G. Sandstrom, *Luther’s Sense of Himself as Interpreter of the Word to the World* (1961); Joseph Sittler, *The Doctrine of the Word in the Structure of Lutheran Theology* (1948); Hans Wernle, *Allegorie und Erlebnis bei Luther* (1960) and A. Skevington Wood, *Captive to the Word* (1969).

The intensity of Luther’s concern with God is projected into his writings. Here the mystery of God receives a prominent place: Hellmut Bandt, *Luthers Lehre vom verborgenen Gott* (1958); Fritz Blanke, *Der verborgene Gott bei Luther* (1928); and a study of the interpretation of

Luther by John Dillenberger, *God Hidden and Revealed* (1953). To the Christian, however, the mystery is made clear in the passion of Christ and, subsequently, in one's own suffering and struggles: Ulrich Asendorf, *Gekreuzigt und Auferstanden: Luthers Herausforderung an die moderne Christologie* (1971); Pierre Bühler, *Kreuz und Eschatologie: Eine Auseinandersetzung mit der politischen Theologie im Anschluss an Luthers theologia crucis* (1981); Paul W. Gennrich, *Die Christologie Luthers im Abendmahlsstreit* (1929); Reiner Jansen, *Studien zu Luthers Trinitätslehre* (1976); Marc Lienhard, *Luther: Witness to Jesus Christ* (1982); Regin Prenter, *Luther's Theology of the Cross* (1971); Ian D. K. Siggins, *Martin Luther's Doctrine of Christ* (1970); Erich Vogelsanf, *Die Anfänge von Luthers Christologie* (1929); and Dorothea Vorländer, *Deus Incarnatus: Die Zweinaturenchristologie Luthers bis 1521* (1974). It is therefore from within a Christocentric perspective that Luther copes with the problem of predestination: Fredrik Brosche, *Luther on Predestination: The Antinomy and the Unity between Love and Wrath in Luther's Concept of God* (1978); Gerhard Rost, *Der Prädestinationsgedanke in der Theologie Martin Luthers* (1966); Klaus Schwarzwäller, *Theologia crucis: Luthers Lehre von Prädestination nach De servo arbitrio* (1970). Luther's unqualified trust in God is clearly seen in his providential understanding of history: John M. Headley, *Luther's View of Church History* (1963); Hans W. Krumwiede, *Glaube und Geschichte in der Theologie Luthers* (1952); Hanns Lilje, *Luthers Geschichtsauffassung* (1932); and Heinz Zahrnt, *Luther deutet Geschichte* (1952). While Luther's own concern with the role of the Holy Spirit was prominent, Luther scholarship has not generally followed suit, except: Th. Meinhold, *Der Heilige Geist und sein Wirken am einzelnen Menschen mit besonderer Beziehung auf Luther* (1890) and Regin Prenter, *Spiritus Creator* (1953).

At the same time serious attention is paid to the meaning of being human, beginning with the doctrine of creation: David Löfgren, *Die Theologie der Schöpfung bei Luther* (1960); continuing with an analysis of the self: Wilfried Joest, *Ontologie der Person bei Luther* (1967); Erdmann Schott, *Fleisch und Geist nach Luthers Lehre unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Begriffs "totus homo"* (1928; reprinted, 1960); and M. A. H. Stomps, *Die Anthropologie Martin Luthers* (1935); and then interpreting the meaning of human reason: Brian A. Gerrish, *Grace and Reason* (1962); Bernhard Lohse, *Ratio und Fides* (1958); and Herbert Olsson, *Schöpfung, Vernunft und Gesetz in Luthers Theologie* (1971). The confrontation with Erasmus often provides the occasion to interpret Luther's view of human freedom: Oswald Bayer, *Umstrittene Freiheit: Theologische-philosophische Kontroversen* (1981); Dietrich Kerlen, *Assertio: Die Entwicklung von Luthers Theologischem Anspruch und der Streit mit Erasmus* (1976); Ernst W. Kohls, *Luther oder Erasmus* (2 vols. 1972-78); Eduard Schweingruber, *Luthers Erlebnis des unfreien Willens* (1947); Klaus Schwarzwäller, *Sibboleth: Die Interpretation von Luthers*

*Schrift De servo arbitrio seit Theodosius Harnack* (1969); and Aarne Siirala, *Divine Humanness: Towards an Empirical Theology in the Light of the Controversy between Luther and Erasmus* (1970). Original sin is interpreted by Helmut Echternach, *Die Lutherische Erbsündenlehre—als oekumenische Verheissung* (1973), but more attention has been devoted to the problem of evil: Hans M. Barth, *Der Teufel und Jesus Christus in der Theologie Martin Luthers* (1967); Georg Beins, *Das Verhältnis der kritisch-idealistischen Philosophie zum Problem des Bösen im Vergleich mit der Einstellung Luthers* (1927); and Harmannus Obendiek, *Der Teufel bei Martin*

*Luther* (1931). At the same time the believer's continuous struggle for faith is brought to light by interpreting Luther's view of tribulations: Helmut Appel, *Anfechtung und Trost im Spätmittelalter und bei Luther* (1938); Horst Beintker, *Die Überwindung der Anfechtung bei Luther* (1954); Peter Bühler, *Die Anfechtung bei Martin Luther* (1942); Rolan Dalbiez, *L'Angoisse de Luther: Essai Psychologique* (1974); Günter Jacob, *Der Gewissensbegriff in der Theologie Luthers* (1929; reprinted, 1966); Carl Stange, *Luthers Gedanken über die Todesfurcht* (1932); and Erich Vogelsang, *Der Angefochtene Christus bei Luther* (1932).

While concerns about natural law as well as Law and Gospel are continuous, the echoes of a dialogue with Karl Barth are not to be overlooked: Ahti Hakamies, "*Eigengesetzlichkeit*" *der natürlichen Ordnungen als Grundproblem der neueren Lutherforschung* (1971); Gerhard Heintze, *Luthers Predigt von Gesetz und Evangelium* (1958); Ernst Kinder and Klaus Haendler, *Gesetz und Evangelium* (1968); Bertold Klappert, *Promissio und Bund: Gesetz und Evangelium bei Luther und Barth* (1976); Thomas M. McDonough, a Roman Catholic, has offered an insightful presentation in *The Law and the Gospel in Luther* (1963); Ole Modalsli, *Das Gericht nach den Werken* (1963); Martin Schlömann, *Natürliches und Gepredigtes Gesetz bei Luther* (1961); and Aarne Siirala, *Gottes Gebot bei Martin Luther* (1956).

The basis of Luther's ethics may be seen in Ragnar Bring, *Das Verhältnis von Glauben und Werken in der lutherischen Theologie* (1955); Martin Seils, *Der Gedanke vom Zusammenwirken Gottes und des Menschen in Luthers Theologie* (1962); and Kjell O. Nilsson, *Simul: Das Miteinander von Göttlichem und Menschlichem in Luthers Theologie* (1966). The subsequent inquiries into various ethical problems, as previously the discussion of church and state, continue to acknowledge Luther's and Lutherans' concern for life in this world as well: Karl Eger, *Die Anschauungen Luthers vom Beruf* (1900); George W. Forell, *Faith Active in Love* (1954); Helmut Gatzen, *Beruf bei Martin Luther und in der Industriellen Gesellschaft* (1964); Paul Joachimsen, *Sozialethik des Luthertums* (1927); Wilfried Joest, *Gesetz und Freiheit: Das Problem des Tertius usus legis bei Luther* (1951); Olavi Laehteenmaeki, *Sexus und Ehe bei Luther* (1955); William H. Lazareth, *Luther on the Christian Home* (1960); Waldemar Macholz, *Die romantische Ehe und der lutherische Ehestand* (1929); William W. Rockwell, *Die Doppelhehe des Landgrafen Philipp von Hessen* (1904); Heinz Schrader, *Luther und das Geld: Ein Wirtschaftskommentar zur Reformation* (1983); Laubert Schuurman, *Confusio Regnorum: Studie zu einem Thema aus Luthers Ethik* (1965); Gustav Wingren, *Luther on Vocation* (1957); and Donald Ziemke, *Love for Neighbor in Luther's Theology* (1963). Without venturing into the large field of liturgy on this occasion, we shall nevertheless note three studies that deal with the theology of worship: Gunnar Wertelius, *Oratio Continua: Das Verhältnis zwischen Glaube and Gebet in der Theologie Martin Luthers* (1970); Regin

Prenter, *Theologie und Gottesdienst/Theology and Liturgy: Collected Essays* (1977); and Vilmos Vajta, *Luther on Worship* (1958).

On two issues Luther has not only been defended but also severely criticized. As Anabaptist studies have become a serious field of inquiry, Luther's evaluation of Anabaptism appears to have been unfair even though understandable from his point of view: Mark U. Edwards, Jr. *Luther and the False Brethren* (1975); Hans Werner Gensichen, *We Condemn* (1967); Harry Loewen, *Luther and the Radicals* (1974); Ulrich Mauser, *Der junge Luther und die*

*Haeresie* (1968); John S. Oyer, *Lutheran Reformers against Anabaptists* (1964). Luther's attitude toward the Jews cannot be persuasively justified. For a variegated discussion of the problem, see Walther Bienert, *Martin Luther und die Juden: Ein Quellenbuch mit Einleitung und Erläuterungen* (1982); Johannes Brosseder, *Luthers Stellung zu den Juden im Spiegel seiner Interpreten* (1972); Alfred Falb, *Luther und die Juden* (1921); Armas K. E. Holmio, *Lutheran Reformation and the Jews* (1949); Walter Holsten, *Christentum und nichtchristliche Religion nach der Auffassung Luthers* (1932); Edgar Mills, *Martin Luther and the Jews* (1968); C. Bernd Sucher, *Luthers Stellung zu den Juden* (1977). At the same time it may be in order to note that Luther, increasingly, looked at matters of Christian existence and theology within an eschatological perspective. It seems that this accent has not always been sufficiently noted. Ulrich Asendorf goes a long way to correct the situation with his study *Eschatologie bei Luther* (1967).

The process of understanding Martin Luther has not ended. At the same time, the large amount of studies of Luther's thought—matched only by the literature on St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas—is not to be taken lightly and regarded as mere bulk. Along with the brilliant investigations even the mediocre and plodding observations have contributed to a fuller understanding of the Reformer's theology. The new generation of Luther scholars, standing on the shoulders of such an achievement, can be expected to proceed even further, which means even more books on Luther. And unless they proceed and progress in quality as well, the enthusiasm for Luther's 500 birthdays will have been short-lived.